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INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

magistrates, princes, and kings—the settlement of man's highest and most sacred relationship, that between him and God.

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

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

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

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

Hand in hand with these Catholic reformers, and true to their principle that men must be altered by religion but not religion by men, others, inspired to the work, began the heavy task of bringing improvement into the conditions of the Church as called for by Clement VII and the circumstances of the time; for the horrors of the war, and, in particular, of the sack of Rome, had given a serious turn to many minds and brought with them a realization of the one thing needful. While in the older orders, often in a very corrupt condition, a real enthusiasm for reform had been

awakened, new foundations, after the manner of the Theatines, were arising. Paolo Giustiniani reformed the Camaldolesi, Egidio Canisio the Augustinian Hermits, Gregorio Cortese the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, Francesco Lichetto the Franciscan Observants. A Venetian nobleman, Girolamo Miani, founded the Society of the Somaschi for the alleviation of bodily and spiritual misery in northern Italy; Antonio Maria Zaccaria of Cremona founded in Milan a society of regular clergy called at first Sons of St. Paul and afterwards Barnabites; and the Umbrian Matteo da Bascio was the pioneer of the Capuchin Order, which, after overcoming many difficulties, was to become of the greatest importance in raising religiously and morally the life of the common people.

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

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

In the midst of a situation thus strained and dangerous, the conclave met on the nth of October 1534. Thirty-five Cardinals were present. Only one, Alessandro Farnese, had been appointed by Alexander VI, and a second, Matthaeus Lang, by Julius II. All the others had received the purple from the two Popes of the house of Medici. Among the creations, however, of Leo X and Clement VII there was so little union and solid co-operation that they were powerless. The position of several Cardinals was, up to the last, pretty well a matter of conjecture. The Sienese envoy Lodovico Sergardi, on the 8th of October 1534, reckoned the Italian party at nine: Pucci, Salviati, Ridolfi, Medici, Cibo, Spinola, Grimaldi, Cupis, and Cesi. As four Cardinals of Italian nationality (Gaddi, Trivulzio, Sanseverino, and Pisani) belonged to the French side, the above-named diplomatist believed that the adherents of Francis I would amount to twelve. One of the Frenchmen, however, Cardinal Castelnau de Clermont, did not arrive in time, so that his vote was lost. In Sergardi's opinion the Imperialists fairly counterbalanced the French: two Spaniards (Merino and Quinones), two Germans (Lang, Archbishop of Salzburg, and Cles, Prince-Bishop of Trent), and seven Italians (Piccolomini, Cesarini, Vincenzo Carafa, Palmieri, Ercole Gonzaga, Doria, and Campeggio). The neutrals he considered were Farnese, Ferreri, Cornaro, Grimani, and Accolti. Yet only two days later Sergardi wrote that Palmieri was more inclined to the French, Doria to the Italians, while Grimani and Accolti showed Imperialist leanings. That Accolti was already at that time counted on as an adherent of Charles V is clear

from a despatch of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga of the 10th of October 1534, which differs, however, in many other respects from the statements of Sergardi. According to this document, there was close accord between Grimani, Cesarini, Salviati, and Accolti, whose negotiations with the Imperialists came to nothing. “The Italian party,” remarks Cardinal Gonzaga, “boast of having ten members, but in reality they are only four.” With regard to the French, the Cardinal comes to the same reckoning as Sergardi.

The leader of the French was the energetic Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, although Tournon carried on the negotiations with the other members of the conclave. The adherents of Francis I formed a compact body, and went very cautiously to work; they kept their choice of a candidate a close secret; only one thing they made known, that they would exclude any Spaniard, or German, or even an Italian favourable to the Emperor.

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

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

Alessandro Farnese, Dean of the Sacred College, of which he had been a member for forty years, was not only the oldest but intellectually the most important of all the Cardinals. A penetrating intelligence, fine culture, great diplomatic experience and ability could not be denied him even by his enemies. Amid the keen spirit of faction shown by the French and Imperialist Cardinals he had succeeded with admirable tact in maintaining an independent position. Even if his relations with the French Cardinals were good, it was to his exceptional advantage with the

Imperialists that repeatedly on previous occasions and especially now, just after the death of Clement VII, he had expressed himself in favour of a general Council, and with it of a thorough reform of ecclesiastical affairs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Giulia, already married in 1489 to Orsino Orsini, caused great scandal1 by her amour with Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, but thereby led to the further aggrandizement of her family. Her daughter Laura married Niccolò della Rovere, nephew of Julius II. Alessandro Farnese was born at the end of February 1468 at Canino or, as some state, at Rome. Thus his youth fell in the heyday of the Italian Renaissance, of which the lights and shadows were reflected in his life. In Rome Alessandro enjoyed the instruction of the famous humanist Pomponio Leto; later on he finished his education in the house of Lorenzo de' Medici in Florence and at the University of Pisa. Under Innocent VIII he returned to Rome, and soon won the approval of the powerful vice-chancellor,

Rodrigo Borgia. His entrance into the Papal service was hindered, for Alessandro Farnese had incurred temporary imprisonment and the ill favour of Innocent VIII on account of his

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

A proof of the Cardinal's extraordinary versatility was the excellent footing on which he stood with Julius II, the great opponent of Alexander VI. He not only kept the legation of Ancona, but received many other marks of favour from Julius. The ambassadorial reports show clearly how close was his intercourse with the Pope. It was also Julius II who legitimatized the Cardinal's two natural sons, Pier Luigi and Paolo. Besides these the Cardinal also had an illegitimate daughter, Costanza, and about 1509 a third son, Ranuccio. The mother of Pier Luigi and of Paolo, who died young, was a lady of the Roman aristocracy who lived in the Cardinal's house in the neighbourhood of the Arenula. It was not until 1513 that this illicit connection of Alessandro's came to an end; up to that date he had not yet received priest's orders.

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

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

Cardinal Alessandro's relations with Leo X were very advantageous to him, for they had been friends in youth. The rich benefices bestowed upon him by the Pope made such a large addition to his income that he was able to begin building the huge palace on the Via Giulia which has handed down his name to posterity. Leo X, who personally inspected the edifice while under

construction, was also a frequent guest of Farnese on his hunting expeditions, when the Cardinal entertained him with royal splendour in his castle of Capodimonte. When in 1518 Farnese declined, on the pretext of an illness, to accept the post of Legate to the Emperor, the Pope seems to have taken it in good part. That Adrian VI should have granted Farnese a reservation deserves special mention in view of the restraint observed by this strict Pontiff in bestowing favours.

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

Cardinal Alessandro, since 1524 Bishop of Ostia, shared Clement's imprisonment in St. Angelo until permission was given him, in 1527, to leave the fortress and go to Spain. He went first, however, to the free Cardinals at Parma. From that city on the 13th of December 1527 he congratulated the Pope on his liberation. Clement was not slow to avail himself of the services proffered in that letter, for in1528 he appointed Farnese Legate in Rome. When in 1529 the Pope lay seriously ill the Cardinal was the candidate for the tiara approved by the Kings of France and England; nevertheless, he was so acceptable to Charles V that when the latter came to Italy he was appointed to bid him welcome.

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

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

The preparations for the coronation took time, for the Romans were making ready a great act of homage to the new Pope. On the evening of the 29th of October a torch-light procession, in which the civic magistrates and great nobles took part, made its way to the Vatican. In its ranks

were observable three triumphal cars, the decorations of which symbolized the beginning of a new and more spiritual era; the figure of Rome was supported by those of the Church and Faith. The coronation, held with all splendour on the 3rd of November, gave the Romans a fresh outlet for their enthusiasm; they were entertained with a display of fireworks, and two days later with festivities on the Piazza of St. Peter's. The rejoicings increased when Paul III gave lavish alms to the poor and sick, and removed the oppressive taxes with which Rome had been burdened since the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

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

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

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

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

Of the many painters, sculptors, and medallists who have handed down to posterity Farnese's outward features, none has succeeded so admirably as Titian. He has painted three portraits of this pontiff; each is incomparable in fidelity to life and suggestive portrayal of the characteristics of the original. The first of these three, belonging to the year 1543, shows the lean, middle-sized figure of Paul III seated in an armchair. He is deep in thought, the body slightly bent forward; the mozetta, a light red tippet trimmed with ermine, covers his shoulders; beneath is seen

the fine white Papal garment. All the details are strictly true to nature; the dress, the thin hands, the intellectual head with its long aquiline nose, the piercing eyes and gloomy forehead; the shrewd countenance is framed in a full beard of a greyish-white colour. In a portrait painted later the Pope appears much older; the composition is almost identical with that of the former picture, only the Pope here wears the camauro, or Papal cap, and his posture is still more bent forward; the beard has become more silvered. The fallen-in, shrunken form with the left hand hanging loosely down—the right holds a piece of writing—represents in a striking way the weariness of one well stricken in years. The third portrait, however, reveals the strength and energy dwelling in this apparently failing man, and also gives a glimpse into the family history of the Farnesi.

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

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

One result of this sagacity was the careful consideration preceding all his undertakings, the deference shown to the opinions of men of experience, and the peculiar tact with which Paul III. handled all his affairs. The slowness of his speech, partly natural to him and partly the result of old age, was increased on formal occasions by his anxiety to express himself both in Latin and Italian in the choicest and most refined manner, often drawing on his memory for classical allusions, as well as by his scrupulous avoidance of tying himself down by a positive "yes" or "no." While trying to arrive at a definite settlement of matters under negotiation, he yet liked to have a free hand up to the last moment. So report the Venetian ambassadors, in agreement with Paolo Giovio. This historian lays great stress on the fact that the Pope employed this method even with the Sacred College. With a most significant play of features he listened, as a lover of free discussion, to all they had to say, but reserved for himself complete independence in the use he made of their opinions, for he always maintained a position above party. The control that the Pope had over himself was matter for admiration. Always knowing the point at which he aimed and possessing great strength of will, this skilled diplomatist succeeded in tracing out the most secret intentions and schemes and turning them to his own uses. With the same skill he knew how, in a conflict of opinion, to steer clear on a middle course.

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

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

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

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

If the policy of neutrality to which he clung with nervous tenacity, as appearing to him with his wide experience and wise calculations to be not merely on political but on ecclesiastical grounds the only right course to pursue, occasionally brought him into collision with the Emperor, the reason was to be found in the Spanish supremacy in Italy. The French, however, did not on this account gain an advantage in proportion to their hopes and wishes. As a mediator free from party spirit, Paul, recognizing better than his unfortunate predecessor his position as head of the Church, endeavoured to restore that peace to Christendom for which the need was doubled in view of the everpresent menace of the Turk. With an energy equally worthy of acknowledgment he strove to secure not only a permanent equipoise between the two great powers of Europe, but also the political independence of the Holy See in Italy, and to rescue the last fragment of national liberty left to that unhappy country after the entrance of foreign domination under Clement VII Unfortunately these high aims were from the beginning marred and frustrated by a nepotism often exceeding all bounds.

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

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

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

CHAPTER I.

The Conciliar Question in the Years 1534-1537-

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

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

In these consultations the question of the Council naturally had a foremost place. Vergerio upheld, only with greater emphasis, the points of view which he had expressed in his letters; Germany, with regard to the Council, had centred hopes on the new Pope which it would be dangerous to disappoint. The daily increasing religious dissension from which the nation was suffering was attributed to the dilatoriness of the Holy See in facing the question of the Council, now looked to as the only effectual remedy; if some speedy change of attitude were not assumed, there was a fear that the Germans, by an appeal to a national council, might settle their ecclesi-astical affairs with a free hand; only if they felt perfectly sure that the Pope would summon

a council without delay, could any hope be entertained of their refraining from carrying out such intentions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vergerio received his credentials on the 10th of February 1535, but did not leave Rome until somewhat later. Before his departure, Paul III wrote to various prominent German scholars, among whom was Frederick Nausea, and begged them to support the nuncio in his exertions on behalf of the Council. The brief to Ferdinand I bears the date of the 10th of February. In it the Pope informs the King that on his recommendation he has again bestowed the nunciature on

Vergerio, not only to his court, but to all the Princes and Circles of the Empire, with the task, in precedence of all others, of bringing about the Council on which his, the Pope's, heart was so set. Shortly before Easter, probably on the 23rd of March, the nuncio, after a hazardous journey, reached Vienna. In his despatch to the Papal private secretary, Ambrogio Ricalcati, on the 25th of March, he describes his first negotiations on the question of the Council with King Ferdinand, Cardinal Cles of Trent, and other personages then resident in Vienna, especially the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Duke Henry of Brunswick.

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

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

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

commands, the German Princes, beginning with the Bavarian Dukes, and to encourage opinions favourable to the Council.

Vergerio himself began the first part of his journey through the Empire on the 17th or 18th of April. His first business was with the Princes of Bavaria and .with some of the Suabian and Franconian Circles. As he had no plenary instructions from Rome concerning Trent, he confined himself to his original commission of recommending Mantua to the German Princes, a city already provisionally assented to by Ferdinand subject to the expression of the Emperor's opinion. Cardinal Matthaeus Lang of Salzburg, to whom Vergerio went first, set before him the necessity of first awaiting the answer of Charles V before visiting the other Circles; for no Prince or Estate of the Empire would give him a certain pledge with regard to the Council and its appointed place of meeting if he could not meet them with the previously ascertained agreement of the Pope with the Emperor and the King on this question of locality; he also recommended that he should be accompanied by an Imperial envoy, and told him that he might at once pay his visit to the Bavarian Princes to ask their advice. Vergerio, therefore, sent a request to Ferdinand to apply again to his brother for an early reply.

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

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

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

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

On the 6th of June Vergerio returned to Vienna, where, before entering further on his journey through the Empire, he hoped at last to learn clearly what the Emperor intended as to the seat of the Council and to settle the arrangements for his further progress with Charles and his council. He lost no time in telling Ferdinand that great danger would arise if he were obliged to announce that the Emperor had not declared himself in favour of any particular place, but had left

the choice to the Princes; this could only lead to a national synod or to the choice of some spot in Germany prejudicial to the interests of the Church.

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

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

Vergerio had now, on the 19th of July, started from Vienna on his second journey through the Empire. In accordance with his last transactions with Ferdinand, he resolved to travel slowly in expectation of the Emperor's answer, for which the King of the Romans had again applied, and at first to visit only Catholic Princes, especially the Bishop of Bamberg, the head of the Franconian Circle, and the Elector Palatine. In his despatches he dwells, as always, on his devotion to the cause and the advantages which would accrue to the Emperor and his brother, at this particular moment, if they were to take a firm initiative in the matter of the Council, so that the Pope might in a special manner bind the German Princes to him by his decisive furtherance of this affair. At Ratisbon Vergerio met the Counts Palatine Philip and Frederick and was invited by them to the

marriage of the latter at Heidelberg on the 15th of September. They personally accompanied him on the journey. Both Princes promised, in letters expressing loyalty to the Pope, to proclaim their ardour for the Council. If this already filled the nuncio with intense pleasure, his hopes were raised still higher by the marks of honour awaiting him on his reception by the Lutheran Margrave, George of Brandenburg.

Vergerio, in accordance with his original programme of addressing himself at first only to the Catholic Estates, had not thought of visiting this Prince. But when he heard in Neuburg that George's residence at Ansbach was only eight miles away, doubts arose in his mind whether the Margrave, whose connections were so influential, would not take it amiss if a visit to him were omitted, especially as it was impossible to avoid touching his territory. Vergerio therefore came to the rapid decision on the 3rd of August to visit George at his seat. The Margrave at once sent an escort of honour to meet him and invited him to alight at his castle. At Ansbach itself the nuncio was received with tokens of the greatest pleasure; during his two days' stay his host was unwearied in his hospitable attentions. In the course of their negotiations on the question of the Council, the Margrave showed good-will and the utmost readiness to come to an understanding; he declared that certainly the previous resolutions of the Diet of the Empire stood in the way of a council being held out of Germany, but promised to use his influence with the other members of the Schmalkaldic League, apart from whom he could give no independent promise, in a sense corresponding to the wishes of Paul III and Charles V. The resolutions in opposition to a council in Italy could be again repealed by the Princes; but he was glad that the Pope had determined, as was now the case, before fixing a specified place, to consult the Princes on this point, whereas to adopt the view of the Bavarian Chancellor Eck would be kindling a fire of hostility towards Pope and Emperor in Germany. George had also no objections to raise against the retention of the ancient forms in the Council. Vergerio became convinced that on this important point he would also exert himself to restrain the other Protestants from putting forward fresh demands. The Margrave's declaration by word of mouth was in keeping with a letter to the Pope of the 4th of August handed by him to the nuncio. This was couched in the most submissive language, and expressed the hope that the future Council would remove the discord in the Church and restore unity, objects towards which he was determined to co-operate to the best of his power. Vergerio thought it impossible to doubt that here he was dealing with something more than fine words. Indeed, the tears sprang to the Margrave's eyes when the nuncio, on taking leave, referred to the responsibility for the welfare of his subjects' souls that he had brought upon himself by introducing the Protestant teaching. George excused himself for the innovations on the grounds of the wishes of his people and the example of other States, and said earnestly that things should thus continue only until the Council. In farewell George remarked: "I indeed wish that the good Pope himself could have seen the few tokens of my attachment that I have been able to show you during the last two days; then I might still have hoped that his Holiness would have looked upon me as his servant. Commend me to him, and inform him that I place myself at his disposal."

After all this it is easy to understand how Vergerio formed fresh hopes for the success of his mission as regards the Council, and for the solemn reconciliation of those who had fallen away. He now considered that the time had come to visit Augsburg also. There he found the like friendly welcome; to his proposals concerning the Council, the civic authorities replied that they

would not be wanting in support of such a Synod if it were held in agreement with the Emperor and the King of the Romans.

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

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

After visiting the ancient episcopal cities of Franconia, Vergerio passed on by way of Heidelberg to the Rhine. Still joyfully elated by his hitherto successful journey, he had no suspicion that a great disappointment was in store for him. This came from the Elector Louis of the Palatinate, who, although he certainly passed externally for a Catholic, was already strongly under the influence of Protestantism. It was only with great difficulty that the nuncio was able to get a hearing from the Elector at all. At last, on the 24th of August, he succeeded in meeting and laying his case before him. In his answer, which the Elector gave in writing, the latter certainly thanked the Pope, and praised his fervour on behalf of the Council, but explained that the previous resolutions of the Diet did not permit him to accept Mantua, an Italian city, as its seat. In his oral communications with the nuncio beforehand he had used much blunter language on this point, saying that it was not the business either of Paul III, or of the Emperor in conjunction with the Pope, to appoint the place of meeting; that belonged only to the Diet of the Empire. Vergerio pointed out in his reports to Rome the necessity of encountering with determination this dangerous opinion, which, if it obtained many supporters, would probably lead to a national council; the Pope must make efforts, through the Emperor, to dislodge the Elector from this standpoint. Vergerio himself tried to bring the influence of Louis' thoroughly Catholic-minded brother to bear. He therefore wrote to the latter, as well as to King Ferdinand.

In view of the attitude of the leading secular Elector, it was for Vergerio a matter of great gratification that he received at that time favourable answers from a succession of other Princes and Prelates: as, for example, from the Master of the Teutonic Order, Walther von Cronberg, whom Vergerio had visited at his castle of Mergentheim; then from the Bishop of Spires, Philip

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

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

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

On his way from Halle to Berlin, Vergerio passed through the territory of the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, then resident in Vienna. The danger of traversing this most Protestant country was increased by an outbreak of plague. Nevertheless, the nuncio went on, but on account of the epidemic did not take up his quarters in one of the villages, but in Wittenberg. To his astonishment he found himself cordially welcomed by the electoral captain Hans Metzsch. The castle of the Elector was assigned to him as a lodging, where he also had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a Lutheran religious service. Vergerio reported to Rome that all the respect and honour due to his position were paid to him just as if they were living in the good old days. Metzsch and other officials were profuse in their praises of the Pope who was so friendly to the Council; from this behaviour of the greatest opponent of the Holy See, Vergerio drew hope and consolation. He was strengthened in his opinion that the summoning of the Council would detach many from Protestantism by the meeting which took place in the electoral castle between him and the originator of the German schism, Luther, who appeared accompanied by Bugenhagen, wearing his best clothes, with a gold chain round his neck, carefully shaved, and having his hair

neatly trimmed; “for,” he had said to his astonished barber, “in the presence of the Pope’s ambassador I must look young, so that he may think that I am still good for some time to come to have a hand in many things.” And he succeeded in his object; Vergerio, in his report to Rome, remarked that, although Luther was fifty years of age, he was strong and hearty, and that he looked not yet forty. “ The first question he put to me, as I remained silent,” Vergerio proceeds, “was whether I had heard in Italy the current report that he was a German sot.” In further talk Luther boasted of his marriage with Catherine Bora, and defended the arbitrary ordination of his followers. Vergerio listened to all his defiant remarks with great self-control, and only retorted now and then with a word or two. His restraint, however, came to an end when Luther declared: “We, through the Holy Spirit, are certain of all things, and have no need in truth of any Council; but Christendom has need of one, that those errors may be acknowledged in which it has so long lain.” When Vergerio rebuked this arrogance, and put to Luther the question whether he thought that the assembly of the universal Church sitting under the protection of the Holy Spirit had nothing to do but decide what he deemed good, his antagonist interrupted him with the words: “I will yet appear at the Council, and may I lose my head if I do not uphold my cause against all the world; that which proceeds from my mouth is not my wrath, but the wrath of God.” '

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

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

Vergerio’s address to the members of the Schmalkaldic League was dated the 1st of December 1535. On the 21st of that month the League drew up their answer, signed by the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, Duke Francis of Brunswick-Lüneberg, and also by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. They made it clear that they were conscious of their political preponderance and were now inclined to refuse the Council, when it was offered, for which in the days of their weakness they had been loud in demand ; before the general feeling in favour of it, which was widely spread even in Protestant circles, the Schmalkaldic Princes dared not venture to say this openly. But in their reply they clearly and in terms insulting to the Pope rejected any council the forms and order of which should be of Papal appointment, and generally any assembly held

outside the borders of Germany. Even if they considered a council necessary, it must yet be one entirely free, to which should be chosen, on the combined decision of the Emperor, kings, potentates, princes, and authorities, suitable and impartial persons of all ranks, to examine into the controversies of religion and decide upon them according to God's word.

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

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

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

In Rome the ambassador of Francis I used very different language. When Jean du Bellay, just nominated Cardinal, was appointed to the Papal court at the end of June 1535, he was instructed by his treacherous master, to whom religion was merely a political tool, to give the Pope the fairest assurances with regard to his support of the Council and the return of the German Protestants to the Church. Nothing, the Cardinal was to insist, was a matter of such desire to Francis as a good Catholic Council bent on the extirpation of error. With regard to place, the King was resolved to be guided by the opinion and wishes of the Holy Father, both on account of the

Papal authority and of his own attachment and loyalty to the person of Paul III, who certainly in all his transactions had always before his eyes the welfare and peace of Christendom. The King's transactions with the Protestants, so the Pope was to be further assured, aimed at bringing them to a recognition of Paul's supreme authority as chief ruler of the universal Church. If success attended the King's efforts, Paul III might go on to summon a council at Rome and there display that authority in fitting splendour!

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

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

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

The aversion of a great number of Protestants to any council, giving vent to itself in popular agitation, was overlooked by Vergerio as well as the fact that with regard to the General Synod of the Church two fundamentally opposed conceptions existed. The Catholics continued to hold fast to the belief that the Council came to its decisions assisted by the Holy Spirit, and that therefore such decisions were unconditional. The Protestants, upholding the dead and ambiguous letter of the Bible to be the supreme arbiter in matters of belief, would only consent to the decisions of the Council in so far as they agreed with their own interpretations of the Scriptures. The Council they aimed at was one so constituted that the acceptance of their doctrines was a matter of certainty. Thus the praises of the Council in Protestant mouths were to a great extent discounted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

their office. To Strasoldi were also assigned the arrangements for the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.

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

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

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

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

The Saxon Elector treated the nuncio from the first with the most unseemly lack of consideration. Vorst had announced to him, in the most courteous terms, the object of his mission. John Frederick answered from Grimma on the 1st of February 1537 that he had already begun his journey to Schmalkald to join the League, and that it was impossible for him to fix a place of meeting; the nuncio might, if he chose, go there, and there was all the more reason for his so doing

as the matter in question would come under discussion by the League, while the Elector himself could give no individual decision. To this John Frederick adhered, and on the 5th of February he came to Weimar, where Vorst was at that moment staying. The latter now hoped to obtain an audience, but the Elector kept out of his way; he went so far as to turn off the road leading past Vorst's inn, so that the nuncio might not even catch sight of him.

After this treatment Vorst was undecided whether he should fall in with the invitation to appear at Schmalkald. But as the Elector of Mainz, whom he visited at Calve, near Halle, strongly advised him to do so, he made up his mind to make one more final endeavour. In spite of illness, in spite of ice, snow, hail-storms, wind, and floods, he made the six days' journey to Schmalkald, arriving there on the 24th of February.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Somewhat earlier the Saxon Elector had asked Luther to draw up the articles on which, as on an authoritative and unalterable basis, the Protestants were to take their stand against the Council. By the end of 1536 this work was finished, and the approval and subscription of the Wittenberg theologians obtained, Melanchthon making the remark that, if the Pope would accept the "Evangelium," his superiority over the rest of the episcopate, according to human *law Jure humano*, might be admitted for the sake of peace. These articles were known as the Articles of Schmalkald; they were twenty-three in all, agreeing in many points with the Confession of Augsburg. But an entirely different spirit animated the present document; its whole tendency was in opposition to the Augsburg Confession. The latter was an endeavour to remove points of difference, and to retain as nearly as possible the semblance of Catholic teaching. As regards its composi-tion it rested theoretically on old Catholic principles in its appeal to a General Council summoned by the Pope. The Augsburg Confession in its essentials was certainly the work of Melanchthon, but the Schmalkaldic articles, the work of Luther, declared in the very preamble that Protestants had no need of a council. They asserted the contrary sharply, and in the most bitter and most insulting language ; they said, for example, of the Holy Mass: "Above all, from the evils of this dragon the scum and vermin of all manner of idolatry, has been begotten." Purgatory was called a " phantom," celibacy a " doctrine " of the devil. Of the Pope they declared that, " since he was *not jure divino,* i.e. by God's word, the head of Christendom, it therefore followed that all that he had done and purposed in the name of such false, impious, iniquitous, and usurped authority had been and still was an empty and devilish business, bringing corruption on the whole Catholic Church and destroying the first article of belief in the redemption of Jesus Christ." "As

it is impossible for us," this document goes on to say, " to worship the devil himself as Lord and God, so is it impossible for us also to suffer his apostle, the Pope or Antichrist, to be head and lord within his government, since the Papal rule is lying and murder and destructive both of body and soul; therefore we cannot kiss his feet or say, Thou art our gracious Lord; but rather, with the angel in the book of Zacharias, The Lord rebuke thee, Satan!"

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

The treatment of Paul III's representative at Schmalkald has hardly any parallel in the history of diplomacy. Vorst was received by the Elector on the 25th of February. After stating his case he presented an authentic copy of the Bull of citation and two briefs, one of which was addressed to John Frederick as Elector and the other to the same Prince as convener of the Saxon Circle. He took the documents and laid them on a table in front of him. All he said to Vorst was that he had nothing more to communicate to him, then stood up laughing and left the room to take advice with his counsellors, leaving the Bull and briefs behind him. His council afterwards made excuses for him, saying that the other Princes had requested him to meet them in order to discuss matters of grave importance. They also declared that their master could give no answer until he had first conferred with his allies of the League; under the circumstances the nuncio could only return to his lodgings and take the briefs with him. Van der Vorst replied calmly and with dignity to this somewhat summary intimation. He begged his Grace the Elector to read the briefs and the Bull, as he would then be better able to consult the Princes about them. But John Frederick's chancellor insisted that the nuncio should take the briefs away. Van der Vorst replied that it was neither fitting nor right to do so ; once they had been placed in the Elector's hands, he, the nuncio, could not withdraw them. Granted even that the Elector had not said in express words that he accepted them, he had yet given it to be understood by his silence that he did not refuse them; the chancellor ought to convey the briefs to his master, for how, without having read them, could the latter take counsel upon them? The chancellor now broke out and accused the nuncio of scholastic and sophistical devices. Van der Vorst persisted in his refusal to take back the briefs as a proceeding incompatible with the dignity and honour of his mission.

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

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

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

Van der Vorst had gone away from Schmalkald to Zeitz, where he arrived on the 13th of March 1537 and proclaimed the Council to the Princes staying there: the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, and Duke Henry of Brunswick. They returned favourable answers. In a report from Zeitz on the 23rd of March Vorst declared that it was by no means the case that all the Lutherans were against the Council, and that popular expectation was still hoping for one although the Schmalkald faction had done all they could to bring discredit on the proposal. In the course of his journey the nuncio visited the Bishops of Bremen, Hildesheim, and Munster, and later on the Duke of Cleves and the three ecclesiastical Electors on the Rhine. While all the above named accepted the Council, the Elector Palatine Louis was not more friendly than in the days of Vergerio. Vorst's mission came to an end with his visit to the Netherlands; and on his return he also proclaimed the Council in Switzerland.

CHAPTER II.

The Conciliar Question in the Years 1537-1539.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In a brief of the 15th of February 15374 the Pope, referring to the high confidence he reposed in him in choosing Mantua as the seat of the Council, invited Duke Federigo Gonzaga to make the necessary preparations in his capital for that event. In his answer of the 24th of February the Duke thanked the Pope for his announcement and for the honour conferred upon him by the Council holding its sessions in his city—a circumstance which he had hitherto, in the absence of anything like authorized assurances, regarded merely as “rumour.” He expressed his willingness to make preparations, but declined to incur a general responsibility for the security of the Council, and begged the Pope to send someone with plenipotentiary authority with whom the necessary matters might be arranged. The Pope thanked the Duke on the 21st of March for his ready willingness, and set his anxiety at rest by the assurance that no further protection would be necessary than would be sufficient to maintain public order in the city; at the same time he bestowed upon him the Golden Rose by the hands of his chamberlain, Giovanni Battista de Grassis.

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

It was not until the 9th of April, when the Pope in consistory wished to come to a decision on the date of his journey, that Cardinal Gonzaga delivered to him the Duke’s letter of the 24th of March, which was then read aloud. On the same day the Pope directed Ricalcati to inform the Duke that his demand, as unnecessary as it was harmful, could not be acceded to; at the same time he asked for an answer, by return of courier, informing him of the Duke’s final decision. Upon this the Duke sent his secretary, Abbatino, to Rome, where he arrived on the 15th of April, and on the following day laid his message before the Pope. The Duke’s answer, orally conveyed, was that

he adhered to his demand. Abbatino defined this in precise terms; it would be necessary for the Pope to have in his pay a bodyguard of 1500 foot soldiers and 100 horsemen, the total number of whom, indeed, need not be levied at first, but, in the Duke's candid opinion, they would have to be brought up to full strength as the concourse of visitors to the Council increased.

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

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

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

His Holiness, however, was unwilling that a single Catholic nation should hold itself aloof, as otherwise there arose the danger of a schism. Mantua was now out of the question not merely on account of the Duke's unfair behaviour, but also because the French, whose tacit consent had been gained previously with difficulty, would not now, after the prorogation, listen to the mention of such a locality. The Pope therefore wished to obtain the Emperor's opinion as to some place in Italy to which no Catholic could take exception. As there was no time to lose, he begged for as speedy a reply as possible; failing that, he had thought of asking the Venetians to consent to one of their cities, Verona possibly or Padua, being set apart for this sacred function. As the Venetians were the common friends of Europe, it might be assumed that no one, even in Germany, would be dissatisfied with such an arrangement. In the event of a refusal on the part of the Republic, the

Pope had made up his mind to summon the Council as soon as possible at Bologna or Piacenza. These places offered all that was necessary, and recommended themselves to all Catholics as cities of the Church, the common mother of Christendom, where especially the Holy See observed a constant neutrality. Further, in order to obviate any objection to the choice of one of these two Papal cities on the plea that it would hamper the freedom of the Council, the Pope promised to place the particular city, in which the General Council should be held, under the jurisdiction of the Synod so long as the sessions lasted. Paul III asked the Emperor for a speedy answer in order to be able to give timely notice of the locality chosen, whither he himself would go in the beginning of October, in order, with God's help, to open the Council, which the afflictions of the Church had made a crying necessity, and which in days long before his elevation to the Papacy had been the object of his great desire. An instruction for the information of King Ferdinand, corresponding in substance to the message to the Emperor, was also sent to the nuncio Morone.

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

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

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

The question of locality, since the choice of a city belonging to the Papal States had been given up on account of the anticipated opposition of the Princes, was at last happily solved after

long negotiations with Venice. On the 29th of August 1537 Paul III addressed a brief to the Doge and Signoria. As in the present divided state of the Princes of Christendom there was hardly a spot in the whole of Italy acceptable and without suspicion to all parties for the meeting of a General Council, the Pope, under these circumstances, turned to Venice as the one neutral body politic in the peninsula in possession of cities suitable for the above purpose, and begged the Republic, by granting the use of one of the latter, to assist him in this pious undertaking. At first the Signoria declined on account of the difficulties then besetting them from the advance of the Turks against Corfu, and entrusted this reply to their orator at the Papal court on the 6th of September. But the assiduous efforts of the nuncio Verallo and Cardinal Grimani6 succeeded at last in obtaining a favourable result; although the scale was certainly turned by the news of the raising of the siege of Corfù by the Turks. The decree of the Venetians consenting to Vicenza as the seat of the Council was drawn up on the 21st of September, and on the 25th of that month their envoy was ordered to communicate this decision to Paul III. He delivered his message on the 28th of September at Nepi, where the Pope was then staying.

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

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

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

In a consistory of the 19th of December 1537 Legates were appointed to discuss the affairs of the Council together with the preliminary peace negotiations: Cardinal Cristoforo Jacobazzi to the Emperor, and Cardinal Rodolfo Pio of Carpi to the King of France. Jacobazzi, who joined the Emperor's court at Barcelona on the 17th of January 1538, afterwards had repeated conversations

with Covos and Granvelle. The latter declared that Charles V would leave nothing undone to secure the accomplishment of this sacred and necessary work The only point, therefore, that called for discussion was whether the Pope would be successful in obviating the hindrances arising in other directions, especially the opposition of the German Protestants, who were not only themselves animated by hostility to the Council and striving for a national synod, but by their threatening attitude were also hindering the Catholic Princes and prelates of Germany from attending the Council. A second obstacle of importance was created by the position taken up by the King of England, who was doing all in his power to incite Francis I and Charles V against the Holy See.

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

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

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

Outside of German affairs the English schism and the recovery of the Scandinavian kingdoms called for consideration. Together with these questions of supreme moment there were others, such as the utilization of monastic buildings either abandoned or despoiled, and the

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

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

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

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

consideration for Campeggio, to wait until May the 4th, and communicated their resolve to him. The Papal Master of Ceremonies, Giovanni Francesco Firmano, who was to have assisted at the entrance of the Legates, reached Vicenza on the 14th of April, but on the 24th was again recalled by the Pope to Piacenza.

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

On receiving this intelligence the Legates thought that there would only be a short respite; they wished, even if the Pope should further decide not to furnish them with official powers to open the Council, to carry out nevertheless their solemn entry into Vicenza as previously intended, for they considered that their presence there was now necessary, as otherwise they would only confirm the ill-disposed in their belief that the Council had never been seriously intended. After Campeggio had met his two colleagues in Padua on the 1st of May, their entry was positively fixed for the 12th, unless in the meantime they received a prohibition from the Pope. As this did not take place, and the Master of Ceremonies, Blasius de Martinellis, was actually sent by Paul III to assist them, the entry was made on the appointed day with full ceremonial, as the Legates at once reported. The burgesses of Vicenza, who had hitherto viewed the whole proceeding with indifference, ordered a costly baldachino to be got ready for the Legates ; still much remained to be done to complete the repairs of the Cathedral. Only five bishops took part in the entry with the Legates, namely, in addition to Tommaso Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre, the Cardinal's brother, the two nuncios Rangoni and Giberti, Pietro Paolo Vergerio of Capo d'Istria, and Filippo Donato of Retimo. There was also present in Vicenza since the 30th of April Johannes Magnus Store, Archbishop of Upsala, banished from Sweden and now sojourning in Rome. He, however, was hindered by illness from taking part in the solemnities of the entrance.

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

This was settled in a congregation of Cardinals at Genoa on the 28th of June 1538. The Bull dated from that city on the same day gave as the reason for this third prorogation the wishes of the Emperor, of the King of France, and of King Ferdinand, as well as the non-appearance of the bishops at Vicenza.

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

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

No mention had been made in the Bull of the 28th of June of a point which had a bearing on the prorogation of the Council to the following year. This was the notion first suggested personally in May 1538 by the Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg to King Ferdinand, that independently of the Council, which was still indeed rejected by the Lutherans, an attempt should be made in Germany to come to an understanding with the latter, for which purpose the Pope might send commissaries to that country. Joachim was of opinion that certain concessions, especially with respect to the administration of the chalice to the laity and the marriage of the clergy, would be indispensable. Ferdinand, who grasped eagerly at the idea of such an attempt at an understanding—for in the interests of a strong movement against the Turks his whole heart was in the unification of Germany—wished Joachim to make the suggestion to the Emperor, who could discuss it with the Pope. He took the nuncio Morone into his confidence in order that the latter might inform Paul III. beforehand of the scheme. Morone did so in a despatch of the 2nd of June, although the plan seemed to him open to objection on account of the demand for concessions; but he suggested that the Pope might perhaps during the Council order a committee to sit, in lieu of the Synod, to consider terms of agreement with the Protestants, although certainly not in the sense of Joachim's proposal. Very soon afterwards Ferdinand again returned to the subject with the nuncio, and the latter now took the view that the Pope must either go forward with the Council and propose concessions or send commissaries to Germany as desired, for otherwise the Papal authority and obedience in Germany would be in the greatest danger.

When Charles V and Paul III had their last conference in Genoa at the end of June 1538, the former had come round to his brother's suggestion of a "Concordia," while the Pope had also been informed of this scheme in Morone's letter of June the 2nd. Ferdinand's proposal strengthened the Emperor in his wish to obtain a postponement of the Council to a very decided degree; the Pope, under exist-ing circumstances, had no other course left to him than to assent.

Thus simultaneously with the prorogation of the Council the despatch of Cardinal Aleander to Germany was agreed to between the two supreme heads of Christendom.

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

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

Nor was the question of the Council helped by Aleander's legation. The religious policy of Charles V and his brother had received a direction from their adoption of the scheme of concord, which stood for years to come in the way of the realization of a General Council of the Church. When on the 2nd of November the nuncio Mignanelli presented to Ferdinand the Bull for the prorogation, the latter certainly gave the fullest assurances with regard to his future attitude towards the Council, but very soon afterwards he changed his tone. In the course of a long conversation with Aleander on the 8th of December he spoke of the necessity of a "true and general reform in Christendom" as the only remedy, but said not a word in mention of the Council. Mignanelli, to whom the Imperial envoy Johann von Weeze, formerly Archbishop of Lund, as well as Cardinal Cles of Trent and others at court gave only negative replies when the question of the Council was brought up, came himself to think that it would be useless to hold one without the assistance of the lapsed Catholics and without the power of bringing them under obedience; to do so would only bring on the Pope personally needless trouble, and expose Rome and the Holy See to great danger without any previous certainty of success.

Aleander, after his experience of the non-committal attitude of the Princes and diplomatists, could not have any hope of anything better even if, in the circles of the Catholic theologians, he still found much earnest sympathy with the Council. As from the Bishop of Vienna, Johann Faber, who had also submitted to the Pope, through his agents in Rome, a forcible entreaty to hold the

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

Not less unpropitious was the attitude of France in spite of the armistice of Nice. The nuncio Filiberto Ferreri wrote from Laon on the 28th of October 1538 that, on presenting the Bull of prorogation to the Constable Montmorency, he had represented to the latter that, notwithstanding the Turkish danger, there would be no impossibility in holding the Council at the time appointed and getting through its most important business quickly and easily, if the King of France and the Emperor would throw for a while their particular interests into the background and make common cause together to bring the German Protestants into submission and a temper of obedience to the Church; the war against the Turk would not thereby suffer, but at last be put in a condition, through the combined participation of united Christendom, to achieve substantial success. Montmorency certainly showed that personally he was in sympathy, but he explained to the nuncio that the King would not agree to the Council, nor permit the publication of the Bull of prorogation, unless his "own" (that is, Milan) was first of all restored to him; on the German Protestants he could only bring friendly representations to bear; to take in hand an understanding with them was the affair of the Emperor. To the nuncio's reply that the Pope was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Montmorency's only rejoinder was to repeat once more that without a peace and the restoration of Milan neither the Council nor the Turkish war could be thought of. In January 1539 the Papal chamberlain, Latino Giovenale Manetti, sent to France with special instructions, also reminded Francis of the Council in his presentation audience. He received the answer that no success could be anticipated from such an assembly until peace had previously been concluded between the King and the Emperor, and both could intervene with their authority for the execution of the decrees of the Council.

Farnese at once informed the ambassador at the Imperial court, Giovanni Poggio, and the Legate Aleander, of Manetti's mission to France and the reply made to him by Francis I, Paul III,

in the first instance, wished that, in the interest of the Turkish war, the Emperor should be in Italy in the spring; this would also be of advantage to the affairs of the Council; with regard to the latter, the Pope was of opinion that it was neither serviceable nor honourable to have repeated prorogations, since thereby an opportunity was only given for the ill-disposed and calumnious to vent their fury.

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

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

At the time of the Frankfort negotiations there was much discussion in Rome as to the issue of the conciliar affairs. Opinions were divided; three possibilities were considered: either to open the Council at the time appointed, a course favoured by the majority of the Cardinals, or to prorogue once more, or finally suspend it. The Pope's inclination certainly was to open the Council, but, if again there was no attendance of prelates at Vicenza, to suspend it indefinitely,

against which proposal the Imperial ambassador entered a protest in order to demand a fresh prorogation. Paul III showed, however, as he had already repeatedly declared, that he had no longer any inclination to keep postponing the Council from one date to another, as it was sufficiently well known what injury was thus inflicted on the repute of the Holy See. He succeeded in a short time in winning over the greater number of the Sacred College to his view that the Council must either be held at once or indefinitely postponed until circumstances were once more so altered as to offer a real prospect of the Synod becoming a practical possibility.

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

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

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

The conciliar episode of Vicenza was finally closed. In the years immediately following, the dominant idea was the restoration of German unity by means of religious discussions, a policy persisted in by the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand in spite of all the representations and

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

CHAPTER III.

The Work of Church Reform prior to the Council of Trent.

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

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

In order to show his sympathy as much as possible with the general demand for the removal of the gigantic mass of abuses, Paul III at the beginning of his reign not only accepted the dedication of such an exceptionally outspoken writing as Caccia's, but also introduced a series of important regulations and measures which announced a final break with the dilatory policy of Clement VII. Already on the 17th of October 1534, in his address to the Cardinals on the great questions of the day, he touched, along with the Council and the restoration of peace to Christendom, on the reform of the clergy, which would have to begin in high places. In the first consistory after his coronation on the 13th of November 1534 he declared that the general assembly of the Church must be preceded by a reform of the Curia and of the College of Cardinals,

and insisted on all the clergy without exception wearing clerical dress. Accordingly on the 20th of November he appointed a commission, consisting of Cardinals Piccolomini, Sanseverino, and Cesi, to consider the reform of morals; at the same time Cardinals Campeggio, Grimani, and Cesarini were entrusted with an inquiry into all the offices belonging to the States of the Church. Both commissions entered on their labours together. They were exhorted to more earnest activity on January the 8th, 1535, after the German nuncio, Vergerio, then staying in Rome to make his personal report, had represented in the most urgent manner that reform would admit of no longer delay. Ina motu proprio of the 15th of January the Datary Jacobazzi and the Regent of the chancery, Pietro Fiori, Bishop of Castellamare, were ordered to put into thorough execution the Bulls of Leo X of the 13th of December 1513 relating to reform and taxation. Every infringement was to be severely punished, and for every excessive demand restitution exacted.

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

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

One of the chief obstacles to the noble regenerative efforts of Adrian VI was the strong spirit of secularity pervading the College of Cardinals, whereby the measures of reform were deprived of their organic means of execution. It was necessary to infuse new elements of life into a body consisting only, at the time of Paul’s elevation, of men who, with the exception of Lang and Clermont, were the creatures of the Medici Popes. If things were to be bettered, the Pope required suitable fellow-workers. This was the object of the famous nomination of Cardinals of the 21st of May 1535, by which the bad impression caused by the bestowal of the purple on the 18th of December 1534 on the two youthful nephews of Paul III, Alessandro Farnese and Guido

Sforza of Santafiora, was effaced. The selection made on this occasion showed clearly that the Pope was thinking seriously of Church reform. Among those nominated were men distinguished for purity of life, piety, and learning. The claims of different nations were also considered ; Germany, France, and England were worthily represented by Schonberg, Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, and John Fisher, the saintly Bishop of Rochester, then a prisoner of Henry VIII, and under impending sentence of death. Amongst Italians the Pope had at first fixed his eyes on two men whose knowledge and integrity in the conduct of great affairs he had specially tested since his accession to the throne. They were Girolamo Ghinucci of Siena, the learned Auditor of the Camera, and Jacopo Simonetta, a Milanese. To them the Pope bethought himself of attaching a third. He was one spoken of among the men of highest character in Italy as "the peerless." This unique personality was Gasparo Contarini.

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

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

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

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

The nomination of Contarini, a layman whose name implied a programme of reform, produced an especially powerful impression. Reginald Pole at this time gave it as his opinion that he had often read of virtue receiving the due meed of honour, but never hitherto had he known, in his own experience, of so signal an instance of its realization, for the Pope, out of pure recognition

of the man's noble character, had thus chosen Contarini for high honour, although he had never previously had any personal relations with him.

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

Gasparo Contarini was a member of one of the oldest families of the Venetian nobility. Born in 1483, he proceeded to the University of Padua, and by a carefully arranged course of studies grounded himself thoroughly in theology and philosophy. On his return to his native city he followed the usual career of a nobly born Venetian, took his place on the Great Council, and in 1518 became a member of the commission of the sinking fund. Three years later, at a very critical juncture, the Republic sent him as ambassador to Germany to the court of Charles V. In this post he rendered his country important service and acquired for himself a wealth of fresh experience. At Worms he had no personal intercourse with Luther and did not even see him, but everything he heard about him was distasteful in an exceptional degree to his high ideals and to his refined and aristocratic temperament. Later on Contarini accompanied the Emperor to England, and afterwards to Spain; thence he returned in 1525 to Venice, where he devoted himself to the studies he loved so well. But already in 1527 the confidence of his fellow-citizens had conferred on him the post of ambassador to the Curia, at that time a position of exceptional difficulty. Although during this mission he served the interests of Venice devotedly at the court of Clement VII and also later at that of Charles V, he suffered many vexations. Yet this was compensated for by the grateful recognition felt towards him by the great majority of his fellow-men.

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

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

Contarini's great characteristics and virtues were consecrated by his profoundly Christian and genuinely Catholic convictions. Reginald Pole wrote with perfect fitness when he said that Contarini knew full well how much the human understanding could discover through its own investigation, and how much the grace of God had conveyed to man. Contarini's whole personality, like his writings, was cast in one perfect mould. Unswervingly loyal in his convictions, he was yet to the core a man of peace, in his intercourse with others genial above all

things, affectionate and worthy of affection, and always strongly inclined to an optimistic view. His outward appearance, moreover, was uncommonly attractive; he had a beautiful head with refined, intellectual, gentle features.

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

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

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

transgression, and errors, to punish with the utmost severity the disobedient and contumacious, and if necessary to call in against them the support of the secular arm.

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

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

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

Sacred Palace or the Vicar-General, and the latter was to see to the removal of a further array of scandals justly offensive to the laity. In this respect prominence was given to the dissensions between the secular and regular clergy, the saying of Mass by ignorant priests, and the incessant alms-gathering of the Mendicants. Henceforward no member of an Order was to be allowed to perambulate the city without a companion or without special permission of the Vicar-General.

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

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

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

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

"Oh most learned and most excellent Contarini," began his letter, dated the 13th of March 1536, "would that thy hopes never at any time deceived thee! The exceeding goodness and open-heartedness of thy nature raise in thee such hopes that thou seest already accomplished that which thou esteemest best and profitable. Alas! quite other is the course of things. Believest thou not, that I, if there were any hope whatsoever, to establish some good and salutary reform, would offer and devote myself to the work, I do not say in pursuit of honour, but, in the words of the chief Apostle, even unto the cross and death; for if I to my own loss could bring some advantage to the

Church, I should count it my greatest gain! But, believe me, the vices and evil passions of our time cannot understand open-heartedness and wisdom. It is true we have in our Pope an eminent ruler of the Church who only thinks and wishes what is worthy of him; but he is not stronger than the perversity of the age, for the body of Christendom is sick, sick too of a malady for which momentary help is of no avail; it would be better by wide and circuitous methods to bring in a partial remedy, just as in the gradual course of time this disease itself was brought in little by little. Many night vigils must there be, many changes of medicine, and a treatment the object of which is often obscure, in order to restore to the Church her health and dignity."

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

Worldlings such as the Mantuan envoy treated the summons, even to such distinguished men as these, with derision. But, as a matter of fact, the formation of the commission of nine was quite as important a step towards Catholic reform as the nomination of Cardinals in May 1535. The members were not only in every respect distinguished, but they were entirely independent men, almost all without places in the Curia, and therefore in a position to review and criticize freely the given circumstances without being cramped by the forces of tradition. The Pope enjoined upon them, as binding on their consciences, to commit to writing every point on which, in their opinion, measures of reform should be undertaken, and declared emphatically that if they failed in this obligation he would at once call them to account before the judgment-seat of God. The deliberations, as to which the members of the commission were sworn to secrecy, were worthily ushered in by a fine speech by Sadoleto on the reform of the Curia and the clergy. It says much for the impression made on the humanists by the sack of Rome and for the different views of that event taken by the paganized and the Christian wings of that party, that Sadoleto took his starting-point from the terrible event which befell the Eternal City in 1527, and declared that this great disaster, of which the traces were not yet wiped away, was not, as some supposed, a mere accident of misfortune, but a just sentence of God on the guiltiness of men. And yet there were worse things in store: the Turks were threatening the total destruction of Christendom ; here, too, the guilt lay in the sins and disunion of Christians. Sadoleto then boldly adduced the culpability of earlier Popes; in eloquent language he went on to say that the misfortunes of the Church and of the world sprang from the source whence once had come their deliverance—namely, from the occupants of the Roman See. After the latter had left the path of holiness and began to make religion a source of gain, princes and people had become envious. When it was seen that the Popes did nothing to remedy the disorders of the clergy, the Roman Curia fell into contempt and discredit, the authority of the Holy See and of the Church was brought low, and the clergy became

the objects of universal hatred. How deep this hatred was a glance at the condition of the world would show. Germany and England were lost, Italy herself was often hostile to the jurisdiction of the Pope; the Eternal City was without a defender in face of the menace from the Turk. In this general distress a champion had been raised up in the person of Paul III. Amid the strife of princes he re-mained neutral and devoted his efforts to peace; he had summoned a General Council, and further had now called to the Curia men of eminence to consult together on the means of remedying the shortcomings of the Church. There was the learned and loyal Fregoso, in his morals and earnest enthusiasm a pattern of ancient piety; there was Gian Pietro Carafa, strict in his life, winning in his words, the heroic friend of poverty; there was Gian Matteo Giberti, firm and earnest as one of the bishops of old, living only for God and goodness; there was Reginald Pole, a scion of the royal house of England, whose learning and virtue were not unknown in Rome; there was Gregorio Cortese, worthily renowned for his learning and his blameless career ; lastly, there was Cardinal Contarini, whose one thought was the restoration of their pristine glory to the Apostolic See and the Sacred College. If the other Cardinals would combine their efforts with those of Contarini and give their aid to the commission, and, as was to be hoped, would co-operate effectually with the Pope, then, without a doubt, they would restore to the Cardinalate its former dignity, to the Papacy its authority as of old, to the priesthood favour with God and honour among men as enjoyed of yore.

While the reform commission was holding its sittings under Contarini's presidency, Paul III, in a consistory held on the 13th of November 1536, declared that the unconditional reform of the Church in head and members was necessary; he would not fail to do his part, only the Cardinals could not perform a more acceptable thing than in bringing to his notice all matters open to blame. This was followed on the 22nd of December by a nomination of Cardinals, affording fresh evidence of Paul's sincerity in the matter of reform. The well informed were already aware in the beginning of November that important additions to the College of Cardinals were under consideration; even then a list of names was mentioned of unexceptionable reputation. The surmise that Contarini's influence was here at work was not incorrect. The openly expressed intention to break down in this way the preponderance of the Medici party naturally stirred the latter to opposition. Private communications, as well as a consistorial discussion on the 20th of December, led to no understanding. But as the Pope's determination was none the less unflinching, he carried out his purpose. On the 22nd of December the purple was bestowed on Gian Pietro Carafa; Gian Maria Ciocchi del Monte, Archbishop of Siponto; Ennio Filonardi, formerly nuncio in Switzerland, now Prefect of St. Angelo; Jacopo Sadoleto, Bishop of Carpentras; Cristoforo Jacobazzi, Bishop of Cassano and Datary; Charles Hémard de Denonville, Bishop of Macon and French ambassador in Rome; Rodolfo Pio of Carpi, Bishop of Faenza and nuncio at the court of Francis I; Reginald Pole, Apostolic Protonotary; and Lodovico Borgia, Duke of Gandia. Three appointments were also reserved *in petto*, one of which was to be subject to the Emperor's nomination. On the 23rd of December, del Monte, Filonardi, Sadoleto, Jacobazzi, Denonville, and Pole received the insignia of their new dignity, the others receiving them by deputy. Contrary to the expectations of all men and to his own in particular, Aleander was not at this time made a Cardinal; only on the 13th of March 1538 did he reach the long-coveted distinction, together with Niccolò Gaetani of Sermoneta, a youthful nephew of the Pope. Apart from the latter, the not less youthful Lodovico Borgia, and del Monte, who fell later under the suspicion of grave moral defects, this increase of the Sacred College was not undeserving of the

appreciation accorded by contemporary opinion. All the rest were virtuous, seriously minded men, widely experienced in affairs, for the most part possessed of literary culture, and convinced of the necessity of an ecclesiastical reformation. Three of them were members of the reform commission, and these three likewise the most distinguished recipients of the purple at the Christmas consistory of the year 1536.

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

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

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

Before the English schism had taken place Pole had left England. He visited Sadoleto at Carpentras, and formed a close friendship with this man of kindred spirit; afterwards he went to Padua, renewing there, and in the neighbouring Venice, old associations and forming new ones.

Pole now entered into close intercourse with the leaders of Catholic reform: Giberti, Cortese, Contarini, and Carafa. While the last named wished the teachers of error to be treated with the utmost rigour, Pole, like the others, was of opinion that friendly measures should be employed. Pole's closest ally was undoubtedly Contarini, to whom he looked for fatherly friendship and counsel, and submitted to him his writings for examination. But Contarini on his part also was not satisfied with his own productions until they had met first with Pole's approval. It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful relation of friendship than that existing between these two men of lofty ideals. Their correspondence bears witness how they supported and were the complement of each other.

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

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

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

This remarkable document, in which the abuses of the Curia and Church are fully exposed with the greatest freedom and in the strongest terms but always with a devout earnestness, begins with an expression of joy that Paul III had set himself seriously to the task of supporting the tottering Church and bringing her back to her original dignity and beauty. With this aim in view he had called the commission together and charged it to set forth clearly all the abuses under which the Church, and especially the Roman Curia, had so long suffered, and that too without respect for the Pope or any other person. Accordingly the memorial points out as the root of all ecclesiastical abuses the reckless exaggeration of the Papal authority by unscrupulous canonists asserting, with sophistical flattery, the Pope to be not merely the legitimate dispenser of benefices but their absolute master, with the right of selling them without thereby incurring the guilt of simony, since it was generally permissible for him to act in all things according to his own pleasure. From this source, as it were *ex equo Trojano*, had issued all the abuses which had brought the Church to the verge of destruction and on themselves an evil repute among unbelievers.

Following on the strong words of this preamble, the commission explains that in the performance of their task it is their intention to pass over entirely the Pope's position as sovereign

of the States of the Church and to deal only with what concerns him as head of the Church Universal and as Bishop of Rome. Then comes once more a serious exhortation to the head of the Church. In the Church also as well as in the State described by Aristotle in his Politics, existing laws must be observed before anything else, dispensations granted only on grounds of strict necessity, and the exercise of the power of the keys removed from all taint of venality.

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

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

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

The commission called for the most thorough regulation of the monastic orders. All houses that had become corrupt should be suffered to die out and then put in possession of new and zealous monks. Preachers and confessors must be carefully chosen by the heads of Orders and only accepted after examination held before the bishop. In future, convents of women must be subject to the bishops, as their visitation by members of monastic orders had led to scandals and sacrilege. For the rest, a cancerous evil was touched upon which had contributed not a little to the letting loose of the storm against the Church in different countries : the venal exercise of spiritual authority by Legates and nuncios, whereby the Holy See was dishonoured and the people stirred to disaffection. The bishops, especially those of Italy, were to keep sharper watch over the public

schools and the books in use in them; they were to prohibit public discussions on difficult theological questions and to keep an eye on the publication of printed books.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the other hand, there was hardly any other point in ecclesiastical administration over which such loud and violent complaint and accusation against the Church in general and the Roman Curia in particular was raised, as over the constant and heavy demands for money accompanying the grant of ecclesiastical graces or the transaction of ecclesiastical business; this

was especially the case with regard to the new tax (*compositio*) introduced by Sixtus IV and payable to the Dataria on presentation to a benefice. The reform commission went into this matter very thoroughly, calling in as aids to their deliberations such learned specialists as Aleander and Badia.

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

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

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

The German Lutherans did not let slip the opportunity of making the most of the document for their own purposes in unfair and odious ways. The good effect anticipated with such certainty by the idealizing Contarini proved a failure. Not even a lukewarm appreciation was accorded to

the merits of the memorial, which bears lasting testimony to the insight and integrity of its originator. Rather there was a repetition of the experience of Adrian VI, when with his outspoken recognition of ecclesiastical abuses he turned to the German nation. The Protestant reformers misrepresented with malicious glee the confession of so many faults and used it as a justification for their apostasy. Johann Sturm of Strassburg, who published the memorial, with a preface addressed to the Cardinals, exhorted the latter to pursue the work of reform, since the worst had not yet been disclosed; they had only shown a few wounds on the limbs without observing that the blood in the body of the Church was vitiated—liver, heart, lungs, and kidneys were attacked.

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

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

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

In the question of the *compositio* Contarini never slackened. He therefore at last addressed a report to the Pope himself, in which he once more gave the grounds for his strong opinion, and with his habitual candour declared the root of the preposterous system of the Curia to lie simply in the teaching of the extreme curialists that the Pope had unlimited power in the disposal of patronage, and in his jurisdictional authority, and might also traffic in them for money without committing simony. In proportion to the Cardinal's high estimate of the plenary power of the Papacy was his emphatic warning against any misuse of the same and his opposition to those who would have raised it to the level of absolute and arbitrary dominion. It is against the law of Christ, which is a law of freedom, he insisted, that Christians should be subject to an absolute and purely autocratic Pope. Without doubt the highest power in the Church has been given to the Pope by Christ, but it is a dominion of reason exercised over men of free will. His commands, prohibitions, dispensations, must not be arbitrary but according to the rules of reason, the Divine commandments, and charity, which ever have regard to God and the good of all mankind. After one more warning against the erroneous teaching of the extreme curialists, whereby occasion had

been given to the Lutherans to write such books as the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, Contarini thus sums up his arguments: “Most Holy Father, Christ has bestowed upon you the highest jurisdiction over Christian people, but this power is a government by reason. May your Holiness take heed not to swerve from this rule and not to yield to the impotence of the will, which chooses evil, and so fall into the slavery of sin. Avoiding this, you will be the mightiest of potentates, because in the highest sense free and under such a rulership something, as it were, of the life of heaven will be brought down to earth.”

It speaks well for Paul III that he accepted this outspoken utterance in the best spirit. Contarini, who had well-nigh begun to despair, found this out as he accompanied the Pope on an expedition to Ostia on a fine November day in 1538. “On the road thither,” he wrote to Pole, “our good old Pope spoke to me privately about the reform of the *compositio*. He said that he had with him the little treatise I had written on the subject and had read it in the morning hours.” From the conversation that followed Contarini plucked up spirit. His hopes, now rising, now sinking, must have been quickened afresh by the approval with which the memorial of 1537 was received in Spain. Sepulveda fully acknowledged in a letter the noble intentions of its author and believed himself justified in now expecting that the Council would soon meet and the abuses in the Church be done away.

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

CHAPTER IV.

Renewal of the College of Cardinals. Reform Commissions.

On the 20th of December 1538 a fresh creation of Cardinals took place. If political considerations predominated on this occasion, yet the nominees were men of the highest character. The French party had an addition to the ranks of their supporters in Robert de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Châlons; the Imperialists the same in the Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Archbishop of Burgos, a kindred spirit to Carafa, and in Pedro Manriquez, Bishop of Cordova. Nevertheless, the Emperor, for whose sake Paul III had also on the 18th of October 1538 invested the Bishop of Compostella, Pietro Sarmiento, with the sacred purple, was still dissatisfied; for on the 20th of December, together with the above named, the Scotsman, David Beaton, was nominated and he was counted on the French side. Two others who were to be named in the interests of France and Venice the Pope reserved in petto. The first of these, Ippolito d'Este, whose appointment on the 5th of March 15392 followed on the final peace with the Duke of Ferrara, stood high in favour with Francis I. The second, proclaimed on the 24th of March 1539, was Pietro Bembo. His elevation excited much attention; it had been preceded by a sharp contest. Many, especially Cardinals Quinones and Carafa, took exception to the previously loose life of this distinguished humanist. There was a further difficulty that the Venetian Government had another candidate.

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

As the Rota, Cancelleria, Penitentiaria, and the Courts of Justice had to be reformed together with the Dataria, in the spring of 1539 the members of the commission of four were increased to eight. They now consisted of Cardinals Cupis, Campeggio, Ghinucci, Simonetta, Contarini, Carafa, Cesarini, and Ridolfi. The reform of each department was assigned to two Cardinals apiece; thus Contarini and Carafa undertook the Penitentiaria, Ghinucci and Cupis the

Courts of Justice. The results of these four special commissions were afterwards to be dealt with in a general meeting of all the members.

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

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

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

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

times that a beginning was made to limit the bestowal of monasteries *in commendam*, and that the character of nominees to bishoprics was made matter of examination. It is still further significant of Paul III's good-will that he was ready to accept information and advice on the subject of Church reform from lay persons such as Vittoria Colonna and Camillo Orsini, even when their language was downright and outspoken.

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

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

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

Orientalist; as a father of the poor he was beloved by all. In 1536 he had already refused the Cardinalate, and on this occasion also the nomination was sorely against his wishes.

Although the reform commission throughout the year 1539 had pursued their labours with determination, and the question of general reform had been discussed in a general congregation, the spring of 1540 came round without any conclusive results having been reached. This was all the more distressing to Paul III since his nuncios abroad were also pressing for an acceleration of the labours now so long retarded in consequence of the silent, unswerving, and persevering opposition of those whose interest it was to maintain the status quo. At last the Pope took energetic action in person; the consistorial minutes for the 21st of April 1540 report that "His Holiness gave orders that the matter of curial and official reform should be wound up, *i.e.* put into practical execution."

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

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

Aleander, writing to Morone on the 27th of April 1540, says: "The work of reform goes on busily from day to day. Today a general meeting took place in the apartments of Cardinal Cupis, the Dean of the Sacred College." Aleander regretted that he was prevented from taking part, as there was a prospect of a sharp discussion with Cardinal Pucci. The Pope had given orders that Aleander, in spite of his impaired health, was to listen to the reports of all the deputies. Aleander thought that the difficulties raised by the many interested parties would certainly be very great,

but notwithstanding this a successful issue might, with God's help, be hoped for since the Pope was thoroughly in earnest. Even one so unfriendly to Paul III as Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga had to admit that reform was making progress. The Grand Penitentiary, Pucci, made no concealment of his opposition, and when the decisions of the reform commissioners were laid before the consistory, he defended his case so ably that several Cardinals were brought over to his side. Pucci was loud in his complaints against Contarini for his peevish appeals to his conscience. If the matter, in spite of Pucci's opposition, was pursued further, it was not merely owing to Contarini's determination but to the intervention of Paul III as well. The consistorial minutes for the 6th of August 1540 report: "The reform of the Penitentiaria was despatched and settled."

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

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

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

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

were successful. In the same way the progress of the work of reform has been but scantily reported ; the question of indulgences was, in particular, a cause of very great difficulty.

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

In autumn of 1541 the Pope had approached yet another matter : this was the reform of the pulpit, which in Italy as well as in other countries exhibited grave deterioration. Cardinals Contarini and Aleander were therefore enjoined to draw up written rules and instructions for preachers. This was the origin of Contarini's Instruct on preaching, in which special suggestions are given for dealing with the most disputed points in the Protestant controversy, with a warning to avoid above all things unintelligible subtleties and to adapt the teaching of the pulpit to the mental capacities of the hearers.

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

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

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

Pistoia; Giovanni Morone; Gregorio Cortese and Tommaso Badia. On July the 3rd, 1542, Cristoforo Madruzzo, Bishop of Trent, reserved *in petto*, was declared Cardinal.

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

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

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

vacancy in the Sacred College caused by Fregoso's death, to replace him by Cortese, as one possessing all the requisite qualifications, talent, learning, eloquence, wisdom, piety, a true priestly spirit, and integrity of morals.

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

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

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

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

Even in Germany the Pope's conduct, as Vergerio reported to Aleander, made the best impression. But it was very soon to be made plain that between the decree and its execution there lay a long interval, in the course of which innumerable difficulties would have to be overcome. The bishops declared themselves ready to obey the Pope as soon as he put them in a position to reside in their sees with usefulness and dignity. Paul III referred the matter to the commission on reform, where a searching examination was made into the episcopal revenues. In the process of these transactions a spirit of opposition soon arose in the Sacred College. Individual members were strongly displeased that the scheme of reform would deprive them of a status at the Papal court that cost them nothing. The Pope, however, made it known in a consistory at the end of January 1541 that he would not modify the conditions relating to the duty of residence. At a meeting of the reform commission at the house of Cardinal Cupis the claims of the bishops were once more examined, and in consistory on the nth of February a respite of twenty days was given, on the expiration of which the bishops had to betake themselves to their dioceses. When subsequently the reform commission also gave their detailed reply to the bishops' demands, nothing more seemed to stand in the way of drawing up the necessary Bull. Paul III, in a consistory held on the 23rd of March, insisted on the matter being speedily despatched and the demands of the bishops conceded; nevertheless, the settlement dragged on to the end of the year. On the 25th of November the Pope again brought up the question of reform in consistory. Thereupon, on the 2nd of December, Cardinal Ridolfi at last laid before consistory the draft of a Bull. But now a fresh obstacle arose, as it was immediately pointed out how much was contained in the document that was disadvantageous to the religious orders. It was therefore resolved that a hearing should first be given to their procurators. The Pope's earnestness, no longer doubted in any quarter, was

evinced on the 9th of December, when he strongly insisted in consistory on the settlement of the business, whereupon the Bull containing the first attempt to solve the question of episcopal residence was finally drawn up. Contrary to all expectation,0 however, its publication was, at the last moment, deferred. The principal ground for this was to be found in the difficulties that the different Governments were prepared to raise. Morone told this openly to Granvelle in January 1543, when the latter, then in Trent, complained that so little had yet been done for the general betterment of the Church. In his reply Morone said plainly that the difficulties standing in the way of reform came not only from the side of the prelates or from the scarcity of priests, but also from the laity themselves and the secular princes, by whom the jurisdiction of the Church was thwarted, and who enticed those on whom the measures of reform would fall to become Lutherans, as had actually happened in several instances.

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

Still more important was the verdict of Contarini, who, at the Diet of Ratisbon on the 25th of June 1541, impressed upon Ferdinand I the difference between the past and present condition of the Curia, to the great advantage of the latter. The Cardinal begged the King to reflect that to carry out reform at one stroke was impossible, but that he, Contarini, who had had a share in the proceedings of reform, could testify that even if the results had not by any means been generally successful, yet many abuses had been done away with; precautions had been taken that bishops should reside in their dioceses; the Pope had called the worthiest men to places in the Sacred College; lastly, it was obvious that the Roman Court had undergone reform of such a sort that any comparison between the morals now obtaining and those of the reigns of previous Popes must result in a verdict favourable to the former. The truth of Contarini’s assertion was confirmed by Sadoleto, who also drew particular attention to the fact that graces and dispensations were no longer bestowed with such facility as before, and that in the granting of indulgences it had become a strict rule to dispense them in moderation and with the avoidance of the suspicion of venality. The arbitrary sentences of excommunication, in support of which many ecclesiastical dignitaries appealed to ancient privilege, had been entirely swept away by Paul III in 1541. A great many isolated enactments of reform clearly showed, moreover, that the Pope was seriously bent on encountering the abuses prevailing among the secular and regular clergy not only of Italy but of all countries in Christendom.

Owing to the inconsistency and weakness shown by Paul III in these as in other matters, many serious defects continued, however, to exist in the sphere of ecclesiastical affairs, but the

way to a thorough improvement, calling in the nature of things for ample time, had, all the same, been opened up; many abuses, even if they were not done away with altogether, were so violently shaken that succeeding Popes, and, above all, the Council of Trent, were able to lay the axe to their roots, thus giving to Catholic reform its full shape and establishing it upon a firm legal basis.

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

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

CHAPTER V.

Peace and the Crusade.—Charles V. captures Tunis and visits Rome.

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

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

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

The exasperation of the Frenchmen rose higher when they found that their demand for the appointment of another of their countrymen to the Cardinalate and the transference of the Legatine post to Jean de Lorraine was dismissed; they reproached Trivulzio bitterly for having induced them to be parties to the election of such a man. The Cardinal thereupon betook himself once more to the Vatican and in a state of great agitation made a scene in the Pope's presence: if, he said, the French returned home without hopes, Francis I would take heavy vengeance; for his own part, he added, he preferred death to the disfavour of the King. Paul III rejoined with dignity that it was right and fitting that Trivulzio should be a faithful servant of the King, but he would also like him to remember that he was a Cardinal and an Italian, and that his days were spent not in

France but in Rome; for his own part, he stood in no fear of French menaces, and was determined as Pope to remain neutral.

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

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

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

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

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

Imperialist command, Francis would not agree to the condition in question. The Bull of taxation accordingly was not despatched.

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

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

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

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

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

On the 13th of June 1535 the Christian Armada put out to sea. As the wind was favourable, they sighted on the following morning the African coast, and the disembarkation of the troops in the harbour of Carthage was effected without mishap. More difficult was the siege of the fortress of Goletta, lying on the tongue of land between the sea and the lagoon El Bahira, and at once the arsenal of Barbarossa and the key of Tunis. In order to reduce the forces of the enemy Charles promised full pardon to all apostate Christians serving in their ranks who should come over to him. Although great numbers complied, the siege was still an arduous business. The troops suffered severely not only from the heat of the climate but from want of water and adverse winds which blew dust-storms in their face. The garrison made repeated attempts to destroy the siege-

works by sallies from within. These and subsequent engagements under the blazing African sun were portrayed in colours in large cartoons by a Fleming, Jan Vermayen, who was in the Emperor's suite. He was an artist of intelligence, devoted to his craft and efficient in execution; his pictures now adorn the Imperial galleries in Vienna.

The fortress of Goletta, bombarded by land and sea, was not taken till the 14th of July ; many guns and nearly a hundred baggage-waggons fell into the hands of the victors. Although the majority in the council of war were of opinion that further operations should be confined to sea against Bona and Algiers, Charles decided to press on to Tunis. The army began to move on the 20th of July; after a toilsome march they came in touch with that of Barbarossa, and a battle ensued, described in vivid terms by the Emperor in an autograph letter to his sister Maria. The enemy, notwithstanding his numerical superiority, was routed; pursuit, however, was impossible, as the troops were almost exhausted from thirst and heat.

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

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

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

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

In Rome, as in all Italy, the operations of war in Africa had been followed with closest attention. The Pope was kept carefully informed through the reports of the nuncio in attendance on the Emperor. Above all, intercessions were offered up to Heaven for the success of the Christian arms. At first, indeed, the withdrawal of the fleet had been followed by the appearance of corsairs before Civita Vecchia, against whom the Pope at once ordered measures of defence to

be taken. On the 20th of June a triduum of fasting and processional litanies was ordered to supplicate the Divine succour. Three days later, the first procession, in which the populace joined in great numbers and devotion, wended its way from S. Marco to S. Maria del Popolo. On the 25th and 26th of June similar processions went from S. Maria sopra Minerva to Ara Caeli, and from S. Lorenzo in Damaso to St. Peter's.

In the beginning of July unfavourable reports of the Tunisian expedition were disseminated by the French party. It was also given out that an envoy of the French King was exercising an evil influence on Barbarossa. The Pope, however, in a very friendly brief to the Emperor on the 15th of July, expressed his hope that the latter would be fully successful. When on July the 28th the news arrived of the taking of Goletta, the Pope at once wrote congratulations and ordered thanksgivings. At last, on the 2nd of August, came the first announcement that Tunis had fallen, and this was confirmed on the following day in letters from the Emperor. In Rome the rejoicing was general except among the Emperor's enemies, who had hoped for his ruin. The Pope ordered displays of fireworks and thanksgivings throughout the States of the Church. On the 15th of August a solemn Mass was said in S. Maria Maggiore, attended by all the Sacred College ; the Bishop of Viterbo, Giovanni Pietro Grassi, preached on this occasion; the Pope himself chanted the *Te Deum* and took part in the procession.

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

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

As reports from various quarters, even from the nuncio at Charles's court, concerning the sinister designs of the Hapsburgs upon Italy reached Paul III, he too began to dread this supremacy. Grave anxiety beset him as he contemplated the Emperor's visit to Rome. It was of little avail that the latter declared that, as a proof that his aim was not that of universal monarchy,

as his enemies asserted, he was coming with only a slender escort of troops. Even if the Pope announced officially the pleasure it would afford him to see the Emperor in Rome, and ordered the clergy of Naples to give a solemn reception to the conqueror of Barbarossa, yet his real feelings were of a very different kind. The first outburst of joy at the humiliation of the corsair gradually gave place to fears of the Spanish supremacy, against which Paul III, quite in vain, had tried to find a bulwark in Venice. French diplomacy knew how to make adroit use of the situation; they worked with undiminished activity to bring Charles into discredit with the Curia.

It was of advantage to them that recent misunder-standings had arisen between the Imperial and Papal courts, owing in part to the nepotistic tendencies of the Pope. In order to remove these differences and to ascertain clearly the Emperor's intentions, it was resolved at the end of August to send Pier Luigi Farnese into southern Italy. He was to take with him the brief of invitation to Rome in the Pope's own hand, and to treat of the peace, the Turkish war, the Council, the expedition against the Varani in Camerino, and the punishment of Henry VIII, as well as to justify the appointment, without the Imperial consent, of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to the Bishopric of Jaen.

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

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

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

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

prepared to convene the Council; that he was taking Steps to issue the summons was communicated to the French King. Strong representations were also made to Francis I concerning his advances to England, his intrigues in Germany, his alliance with the Turks, and his arbitrary exaction of tithes.

Cardinals had to be sent to welcome the Emperor, but it was not easy to find suitable persons. A consistory discussed the matter on the 26th of November without arriving at any decision; at last, on the 29th, Cardinals Piccolomini and Cesarini were appointed. They started from Rome on December the 5th, as the Emperor was expected at the end of the month. The two Cardinals only undertook the mission unwillingly, for they had not only to fulfil the courtesies of welcome, but to discuss the questions handled with such infelicitous results by Pier Luigi Farnese, and there yet remained a most important topic bristling with difficulty: the ill-starred question of Milan. This had entered on an acute phase owing to the death on the 1st of November, without legitimate heir, of Duke Francesco Sforza. Francis claimed Milan for his second son Henry, Duke of Orleans. As Charles V refused unconditionally to hear of the husband of Catherine de' Medici and claimant of Florence and Urbino, the renewal of the war between the two rivals was imminent. Paul III was not wanting in efforts to preserve peace; he took a middle course, and proposed that the Duchy should be given to the third son of Francis, the Duke of Angouleme. The two Cardinals proposed this compromise to the Emperor on the 22nd of December at Naples. Charles replied that he must first be more closely acquainted with the conditions of this solution of the question, since experience had shown that the French, if in possession of Milan, would wish to have Naples also in their grasp.

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

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

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

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

The entrance of the Head of Christendom into the Eternal City was fixed for the 5th of April. The Pope had made most extensive preparations, although the Emperor had begged that there might be an abstention from special festivities. Notwithstanding the precarious state of the finances, nothing was spared of genuine Roman pomp to do honour to the conqueror of Barbarossa, already celebrated in high-flown verse by the poets of the Eternal City. The whole city was to appear in its utmost splendour, and the Emperor, as the successor of the Caesars, to make his way along the ancient Via Triumphalis through the arches of Constantine, Titus, and Septimius Severus, over the ruins of ancient Rome and past the Capitol till, having traversed the whole length of the new city, he reached the Vatican. All buildings interfering with the route were accordingly demolished. Rabelais, who was an eye-witness of the destruction, says that upwards of two hundred houses and three or four churches were pulled down. Through the Forum a straight road was laid down and this historic site raised and levelled by an accumulation of loads of debris. The works were under the direction of the talented Latino Giovenale Manetti, who, in the short space of fifteen weeks, had rendered extraordinary services. The decorations in the city itself were arranged by Antonio da Sangallo the younger; Battista Franco, Raffaello da Montelupo, and other artists carried out his instructions. Another collaborator in this work was Baldassare Peruzzi.

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

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

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

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

The splendid cavalcade rode through the Porta S. Sebastiano, richly decorated with frescoes and stucco work, to the Baths of Caracalla, past the Septizonium, still rising proudly on the southern point of the Palatine, and through the Arch of Constantine. After leaving this point the Emperor was confronted by the huge mass of the Colosseum, recently stripped of its obnoxious outbuildings. The Emperor, struck with astonishment, reined in his horse in order to gaze on the wonderful amphitheatre. He then rode under the Arch of Titus across the Forum to the Arch of Severus. In front of the Temple of Divus Romulus an annexe, obstructing the view of the porphyry pillars of the entrance and doors of bronze, had been pulled down. The mediaeval baronial tower before the Temple of Faustina had also been removed. From the Arch of Severus the procession turned to the right into the Via di Marforio on to the Piazza di S. Marco, where, from designs by Sangallo, an immense arch had been erected, the statues and paintings on which aroused the admiring wonder of his contemporaries. Among other Germans engaged on the decorations was that Martin Heemskerk whose sketches and famous panorama offered to the Romans a valuable picture of this occasion. From S. Marco the next point reached was the Via Papale. Thence the procession turned to the left to the Campo di Fiori and by way of the Via de Banchi struck the Tiber. Amid the thunder of cannon from St. Angelo the castle bridge, adorned with statues, was passed and the Borgo entered, where the houses were hung with tapestries as on the Festival of Corpus Christi.

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

The next day, the 6th of April, was at once devoted to the discussion of the many unsettled questions which for so long a time had been calling for solution. The diplomatists reported that

this first private interview between the Emperor and the Pope lasted for more than six hours. On Friday and Saturday Charles V, with a small suite, visited the most famous churches and monuments of antiquity in the capital of the world. From the roof of the Pantheon he enjoyed a panorama of incomparable views.

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

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

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

In order to understand the pitch of temper aroused in Charles and his defiance of diplomatic conventionalities, it must be borne in mind that the rupture of peace on the part of Francis had taken him completely by surprise and greatly exasperated him. While the French envoys expressly and solemnly assured him that Savoy would not be touched, there came in March the invasion of that country and the occupation of the chief city, Turin. In the same category of offences was the declaration of Francis that he must at once be put in possession of the life reversion of Milan. At the same time the Emperor received news of Sulieman's return to Constantinople and of Barbarossa's journey thither. While the French King was in close relations with the infidel, he

was seeking to calumniate the Emperor in Rome, accusing him and his brother of being the cause of all the misfortunes in Christendom, both as concerned the faith and as concerned the Turk. Against these lying charges Charles felt it to be his duty to vindicate himself by appealing at this critical moment in his own way to the verdict of publicity.

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

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

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

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

When the Emperor on the following day was taking leave of the Pope and the Cardinals, once more a disagreeable incident arose. The French envoys asked for an explanation of the speech of the day before, especially if it were the Emperor's intention to challenge their King to a duel. Charles V, this time speaking in Italian, declared it was far from his thoughts to defame or attack the French King; he had only wished to vindicate himself, and regretted that any other construction could have been put upon his words. Even if he had been obliged to complain of certain acts of the King, he was nevertheless desirous not of war but of the maintenance of peace; only, the peace must not be compulsory, and if he should be forced to wage war he would defend himself with all his might; even if the very Turk were to be invading his States, he would first

repel the attacks of France. The proposal of a personal encounter had been made only in the case of peace being impossible, and was not intended as a direct challenge to the King, at least in presence of the Pope. He also knew well what the odds were against him in such a combat, pitted against the strength and valour of Francis I. He wished only a means of avoiding a war which must issue, amid the dangers threatening from Turks and Protestants, in the total ruin of Christendom. He saw this catastrophe so clearly that no one need have been surprised at his speech of the day before; he therefore called upon the King to withdraw his troops within twenty days, whereby he had no intention of dictating a term to the King's movements but only of warding off a premature rupture.

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

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

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

During the Emperor's visit Paul III had given repeated signs of his great satisfaction with his guest's demeanour. He had not concealed his expectation that Charles would make upon him much more unreasonable demands than were actually put forth. In their personal interviews many doubts were solved, misunderstandings cleared up, and grounds of suspicion removed. Charles V presented the Pope with a magnificent diamond worth 14,000 ducats. Paul III in return sent two Turkish horses and a prayer-book bound in covers begun by Benvenuto Cellini but left unfinished, for which this craftsman made apologies.

The efforts that Charles made to influence the Pope in his favour are apparent in the lavish promises made to the Farnesi. Pier Luigi was to have Novara as a Marquisate with 20,000 ducats, his son Ottavio a state within the kingdom of Naples with a yearly pension of 10,000 ducats, and Cardinal Alessandro the rich Bishopric of Monreale or Jaen. Notwithstanding this, the Emperor

failed to attain his object, for the Pope could not be induced on any conditions to give up his neutrality. It cost much trouble to obtain his intervention in other questions ; the affair of Camerino in particular gave rise to serious difficulties.

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

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

As an answer to the Emperor's speech, extracts from which had been distributed widely by the Chancery, Francis I, on May the 11th, addressed a letter to the Pope, and likewise on the 25th of May ordered a violent protest to be read in the *Sala dei Paramenti* which even questioned the validity of the Peace of Cambrai. As France also refused to evacuate Savoy, the outbreak of war was inevitable. Paul III made every exertion to avert the unhappy strife even at the last hour, and ordered the nuncio at the Emperor's court, Giovanni Guidiccioni, to do all that was possible to assist him. He wrote with his own hand to Francis I exhorting him to peace, and on the 9th of June despatched Cardinal Marino Caracciolo to the Emperor and Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio to the King.

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

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

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

CHAPTER VI.

The Holy League and the War against the Turks.— The Congress of Nice (1538).

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

A commission of nine Cardinals was appointed on the 1st of December 1536 to discuss the measures to be taken. Although many attributed the reports of the Turkish armaments to the exaggeration of the Venetians, the Pope did no share this view; he was seriously disquieted. In accordance with the recommendations of the commission it was decided, at the beginning of January 1537, to tax the Italian clergy in two-tenths and to raise a hearth tax of one ducat on every family in order to procure the sums necessary for territorial defence. It was also proposed once more to send Legates to Francis and the Emperor on embassies of peace.

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

The agitation of the Pope increased when the mission of Mario Aligeri, Bishop of Rieti, and that of Cesare de' Nobili, both appointed in the middle of February to approach once more the hostile monarchs in the name of peace, failed entirely. Since nothing could be hoped for from Venice, always trying to prolong her peace with the Sultan from a deep distrust of the Emperor, the Pope found himself flung upon his own resources for the protection of his territories against the impending Turkish attack; with all possible haste he levied troops and had the harbours of Ancona and Civita Vecchia put into a state of defence.

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

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

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

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

Not less painful than such aspersions were the impediments put in the Pope's way in Italy itself towards collecting the funds for the Turkish war, although the reports of the Sultan's projects were more and more threatening. The curial officials, the Roman citizens, the envoys from foreign courts, the cities and barons of the Papal States all remonstrated and heaped up difficulty upon difficulty. The Pope pertinently and repeatedly pointed out that when the head suffered all the members must suffer. At the end of June he ordered prayers, fasts, and a procession from S. Marco to the church of the Minerva; all the religious orders and confraternities took part in this solemnity, and in the ranks of supplicants the Pope was seen walking barefooted. The preparations for

defence were carried on with fervour, for it was reported that the Turk had never before put forth his strength to such an extent as at this crisis. How great the danger seemed is shown from the circumstance that not merely the ports of Ancona, Civita Vecchia, Ostia, and Terracina, but also Rome and all towns within a circuit of sixty miles were put in a state of defence. Paul III resolved to remain in Rome; those, he declared, who had fears might leave the city; he would abide at his post. In August he had assembled upwards of 6000 men in the city. To Pier Luigi Farnese was committed the command of the troops appointed for defence of the coasts. These preparations called for great sums of money, the collection of which was an endless source of chagrin to the Pope; as in Rome itself, so elsewhere, only to name Spoleto, Perugia, Ferrara, and Urbino, the new levies caused the greatest opposition.

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

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

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

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

Venetians now armed in good earnest; among other measures they took steps to engage the services of 8000 German auxiliaries.

When on the evening of the 15th of September the news of the conclusion of the treaty reached Rome, the Pope's joy was indescribable. He at once summoned from his country house Blasius de Martinellis, his Master of the Ceremonies, in order to make special regulations for the publication of the treaty in Rome. This official recommended a great public solemnity, since ten Popes had endeavoured without success in time past to win over Venice against the Turk. Steps were taken accordingly; and on the 23rd of September the Venetian Cardinal, Contarini, sang a solemn high mass in St. Peter's during which the Governor of Rome made an oration while the Pope closed the proceedings by intoning the Te Deum. Immediately after this celebration came the news of the relief of Corfù.

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

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

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

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

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

The Pope made use of this position of things, having shortly before the armistice made arrangements for a new mission of peace, by intervening once more on his own part in order to put an end once and for all to the unhappy warfare. He at once gave orders for demonstrations of joy at the conclusion of the armistice and for prayers for the final cessation of hostilities. Then on the 19th of December 1537 he appointed two Legates, Cardinal Rodolfo Pio of Carpi for the French, and Cardinal Cristoforo Jacobazzi for the Imperial court; with a view to the Turkish war

and the Council they were to use all their influence to turn the armistice into a durable peace. But to the French ambassador in Rome the Pope at the same time declared that, after all his hopes had thus been deceived, he could no longer preserve his neutrality but would become the antagonist of that party on whose wilful obstinacy the indispensable peace was wrecked.

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

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

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

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

Before the conclusion of the League the Pope had declared his readiness to meet the Emperor and Francis in order personally to mediate for peace, without which a successful campaign against the Turks was out of the question. Nice had been proposed as the scene of the conference, and Charles V had announced his agreement. As new and reliable information of a very threaten-ing kind concerning the plans of the Sultan had been received, it was settled in a consistory held on the 28th of January that the departure of the Pope for Bologna should be fixed for the 8th or 10th of February. But Francis I, deeply chagrined at the conclusion of the Holy

League, showed, to the Pope's great disgust, a total disinclination for the meeting. He was convinced that Paul III was by this time completely gained over by the Emperor, and therefore put difficulties on the top of difficulties. The Pope, nevertheless, did not allow himself to be dismayed. Even though the unfortunate state of things forced him repeatedly to put off his departure from Rome, yet, with characteristic tenacity, he held by his purpose and at last carried it into execution. The French King, whose alliance with the Turks caused great dissatisfaction in his own country, could not indefinitely put off his appearance, since the aged Pontiff was prepared to enter on a journey attended by so many hardships and risks.

Cardinal Vincenzo Carafa having been named Legate of Rome on the 20th of March, the Pope, to the great surprise of many, left the city on the 23rd. He went by Monterosi, Ronciglione, Viterbo, Montefiascone and Acquapendente to Montepulciano, where he was honourably welcomed at the command of Cosimo de' Medici. From Montepulciano, without touching Siena, he made his way by Monte Oliveto, Castelnuovo, Poggibonsi, Castelfiorentino, and Fuecchio to Lucca. This city, into which Paul III entered on the 7th of April, was freed on its entreaty from the interdict under which it had lain on account of the arbitrary taxation of the clergy.

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

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

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

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

Some days earlier the Emperor and his suite had reached the harbour of Villafranca. On the arrival of a message conveyed by a Papal envoy he altered his original plan of visiting the Pope in person at Savona and accompanying him to Nice, by sending seventeen ships to the former place to meet him. Paul III. was anxious to allay every suspicion of partisanship, but could not

avoid meeting the Emperor first, and in order to set at rest any disquietude on the part of the French King, he sent to him Latino Giovenale Manetti.

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

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

To the toils already undergone on the journey were now added the inconveniences, not less great, of the sojourn in the convent; but the aged Pope, full of ardour in the cause of peace, bore with a youthful vigour all the irksomeness of his position. The Emperor kept on board his galley at Villafranca, and two days later he made his first visit to the Pope with a great retinue about him; this first conference took place in the Franciscan convent. As the Pope informed the Venetian ambassador, the topics of conversation were principally the refusal to give up the fortress and matters of ceremonial, while as regards the peace only some general inquiries were exchanged. The Emperor was very indignant at the Duke of Savoy; he suspected that the revolt of the garrison was only a pretence, and had thoughts of holding his conferences with the Pope for the future under fitting military protection or perhaps on board his own galley. Paul III was also highly displeased at the non-surrender of the stronghold, not simply because it forced him to go into uncomfortable quarters, but on another ground as well. He was afraid that Francis I would make this incident the excuse for keeping away, and he therefore sent the nuncio Ferreri on another mission to the King.

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

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

the private secretary Ricalcati and his replacement by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, a decided alteration had taken place in the treatment of State affairs.

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

With so many dazzling prospects before him, it is conceivable that the Pope may have underrated the difficulties confronting his designs. This was partly owing to the too favourable reports given by Cardinal Carpi. How unwillingly Francis I consented to the conference can be seen from his strange delay in appearing at Nice. He had already on different occasions ordered his arrival to be announced; first it was to be on the 25th, and then again on the 29th of May. When at last, on the 31st, he did arrive, the Congress might have been considered opened. The King, who was lodged at Villeneuve, some miles from Nice, set forth on the 2nd of June, magnificently dressed and with a stately following, to meet the Pope, who awaited him in a small house one mile outside Nice. Cardinals Contarini and Ghinucci had already been sent forward to meet the French King. Francis I displayed the greatest reverence in the presence of the Pope; he stood up, always with head uncovered, in speaking to the Vicar of Christ; he made courteous apologies for his late arrival ; he could not, however, be induced to treat personally with his adversary. For the space of four hours this first interview between the Pope and the King was carried on in private in a chamber to which they had withdrawn after the first ceremonial greetings were over.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the 18th of June Charles V and Francis I affixed their signatures, and two days later the Pope left Nice. He had suffered there not less from the discomforts of his quarters than from the exacting and agitating nature of the transactions. The fleet on which he made his return voyage consisted of six Imperial and six Royal galleys; at Villafranca Charles joined him with twenty-four. At Oneglia, where the Pope said Mass, he had a long interview with Charles, and on the 22nd of June they entered Genoa together in state; Paul III alighted at the Fieschi palace and the Emperor at the Doria. During their sojourn an understanding was come to about the Council; at the same time Paul did not forget his own interests in the general ones, for he always managed adroitly to combine the two together. With regard to the contract of marriage of November 1537

between the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, and Ottavio Farnese, it was now finally settled that the Imperial ambassador Aguilar should draw up the treaty relative to this union in Rome. Paul III therefore bestowed on the Emperor the "Cruzada" for five years and other Church revenues in Spain, estimated at the value of two million ducats. He, however, had no intention then of acting unconditionally on the Emperor's side and giving up his neutrality. Assurances of a tranquillizing character were given to Francis I on this point, and a marriage between a French prince and Vittoria, daughter of Pier Luigi Farnese, was proposed.

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

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

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

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

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

promontory of Actium. His intention evidently was to force the Imperialists to a blow by opening hostilities, but contrary to expectation, Grimani met with such fierce resistance that he had to return to Corfù after a drawn battle.

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

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

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

CHAPTER VII.

The Papal States and the Rise of the Farnese Family.— Disputes with Cosimo de' Medici.—Subjection of Perugia and of the Colonna

Together with the great questions of European politics, Paul III from the beginning of his reign was often occupied with the affairs of the Papal States. If Clement VII had handed over to his successor an overwhelming burden in every relation of the Papacy, this was specially the case with regard to the immediate possessions of the Church. The capital brought low1 by the sack and other disasters, the provinces drained dry and ruined by many campaigns, the State treasury exhausted,—that was the situation into which Paul III entered on his accession.

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

Paul III, on receiving tidings of these events, issued summonses against the guilty parties and then sent troops under the Counts of Santafiora and Pitigliano, who routed the "men of blood." On the 1st of January 1535 a new Vice-Legate appeared in Perugia whose soldiers cleared those under banishment and robbers out of the city. There still remained the work of overawing the fomenters of sedition in the neighbourhood; this task was entrusted to Giovanni Battista Savelli. In July the Papal troops captured Spello and other strongholds of the Baglioni and destroyed them. The restoration of order in Perugia was beset by difficulties: a new Vice-Legate appointed by Paul III laboured in vain. Tranquillity was not finally restored until the Pope came in person, on the 10th of September 1535, to Perugia and installed the illustrious Cardinal Grimani as Legate. The Baglioni were forbidden to come within forty miles of Perugian territory, gifts of grain were bestowed on the inhabitants, and for the maintenance of order a garrison was established within and without the city.

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

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

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

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

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

in fact the case. Many other relations besides Pier Luigi ventured at first secretly, and afterwards openly, to find their way to Rome; they were all before long enjoying to the full the Papal favour.

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

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

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

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

were sent to the Emperor and King Francis, received special instructions regarding the duchy of Camerino, with which Ercole Varano was formally invested in May.

A great many of the Cardinals, especially Ercole Gonzaga, a strong opponent of the Pope and entirely dependent on the Emperor, disapproved of measures of force against Camerino. Pier Luigi Farnese determined to try the effect of personal intervention; even if at first he achieved nothing, yet he thought that in this way he might smooth the way to a change of mind on the part of Paul III. His ground of hope was that the Emperor would arrive at a settlement, especially as the Pope presumably would be influenced by the Turkish peril. Costanza Farnese, the wife of Bosio Sforza, Count of Santafiora, also promised the envoys from Urbino to intercede with her father. Guidobaldo's adherents placed their chief hopes on the Emperor; however unbending Paul III might appear, they still believed that, if the Emperor stood firm, the Pope would not run full tilt against such an obstacle; they were not deceived in their anticipations.

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

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

Benedetto Accolti, sprung from a family of Arezzo, was in the truest sense a creature of the Medici Popes. Having entered holy orders without a vocation, this polished humanist, who was on terms of intimacy with all the most prominent literati, won the good graces of Leo X by his poetic talent. Under Clement VII his rise was swift; he became successively Bishop of Cremona, Archbishop of Ravenna, and in 1527 Cardinal; in 1532 he purchased, as he had purchased the former dignities, the governorship of Ancona and the Legation of the March. In this position the tyrannical character of this genuine product of the Renaissance, steeped to the core in all the corruption of his age, reached its rankest development. The unfortunate people of Ancona underwent a veritable reign of terror. Accolti, whose cruelty and immorality passed all bounds, carried things to such a pitch that even the patience of Clement VII was worn out. He was deprived of the Legation and on the 5th of September 1534 replaced by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici; but Accolti refused to resign. Then came Clement's death. The new Pope on October the 31st, 1534, appointed Paolo Capizucchi governor of the March and reserved to himself the decision on the Legation. Being well acquainted with the affairs of Ancona, he determined to visit with punishment the scandals that had there been perpetrated. On the 31st of March 1535 one of the citizens, Vicenzo Fanelli, was arrested for having brought false accusations against one of Accolti's opponents, in order to bring about his execution. The trial of this perjurer was the prelude to the arrest and detention in the fortress of St. Angelo of Cardinal Accolti, orders carried out

suddenly on the 5th of April 1535. On hearing of this the Imperial ambassador went at once to the Pope and asked that Accolti might be interned provisionally in his palace or in the Vatican. Although this request was supported by the College of Cardinals, Paul III was inflexible. All Rome was dismayed at such strict justice; it was soon feared that there might be a repetition of the sequels to the discovery of Cardinal Petrucci's conspiracy under Leo X; many Cardinals thought of flight. Accolti, from fear of poison, would hardly touch food. At the request of the representatives of Charles and Ferdinand the Pope gave the prisoner permission to make his own arrangements for his board; but the legal proceedings took their course. The revelations made during this inquiry disclosed monstrosities bordering on the incredible. Accolti pleaded guilty to some of the charges but afterwards, false to the last, retracted his confessions. His counsel, the famous jurist Silvestro Aldobrandini, employed all his skill to save him; finally the scale was turned in his favour by the Emperor—no one rightly knew why—intervening warmly for him. A compromise was arrived at by the end of October by the terms of which the Cardinal regained his freedom on payment of a fine of 59,000 scudi. He had, however, to admit his guilt, which he did under protest, resign Ancona and Fano, and promise not to quit the Papal States without the Pope's permission. On his liberation Accolti at once went to his friend Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, equally the enemy of Paul III, at his palace in the Via Alessandrina. There he remained till the spring of 1536; then, with the Pope's permission, he went to Ferrara, later on to Venice, until finally Cosimo de' Medici gave him hospitality.

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

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

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

The assassination of the despot in Florence aroused the attention of all Italy as well as of Rome; no one had expected events to take this turn. Cardinals Salviati, Ridolfi, and Gaddi, as well

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Pope's applications on behalf of Filippo Strozzi were unavailing ; his relations with Cosimo became subsequently worse and worse, and fresh causes of difference were constantly springing up; among them the question of the Turkish war tithe led even to a temporary imposi-tion of the interdict. There was less likelihood, too, of an improvement in the situation taking place since Cosimo's secretary of state, Francesco Campana, incited the Florentine officials and clergy against the Holy See and the Florentine agents in Rome raised unfounded suspicions against the Pope's private life.

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

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

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

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

During the conference at Genoa in June 1538, as already mentioned, Charles V had proposed a marriage between his natural daughter Margaret, the widow in her sixteenth year of Alessandro de' Medici, and Ottavio Farnese. By this alliance, the first rumour of which had caused the greatest agitation among the French party and given rise to grave threats against the Curia, Charles hoped to fetter the Pope to himself. On this occasion he had no more regard for the wishes of his child than he had in 1536 when the girl of fourteen was given in marriage to Alessandro. Margaret would much rather have taken as her husband her suitor the Duke Cosimo of Florence; she felt a deep repugnance to bestowing her hand on the boy Farnese, only in his thirteenth year and the inheritor of his father's tainted constitution. But no heed was given to such considerations. On the 12th of October 1538 the Imperial ambassador, Aguilar, Pier Luigi, and Ottavio .Farnese concluded the marriage treaty at Rome, to ratify which Margaret's presence was demanded. On the 3rd of November, the Pope's coronation day, she entered the city. The mourning garments worn by her as the widow of Alessandro de' Medici, and by her suite, contrasted sharply with the festal reception prepared for her as the daughter of the Emperor. The marriage ceremony was performed forthwith on November the 4th, when, as she herself afterwards declared, she refrained from uttering the nuptial affirmative, and with unconcealed contempt she met her boyish and uncouth husband, even refusing to consort with him in wedlock; all the Emperor's exhortations were at first ineffectual. The disunion between husband and wife, who, as Cardinal de Lenoncourt remarked, were on the footing of cat and dog, soon became the daily subject of Roman gossip. It was the occasion of pleasantry of the worst kind, and an abundant source of disgust to the Farnesi as well as to the Emperor. The dissensions of this married couple promised to be interminable; by the interference of unauthorized persons they were made more acute and led to the most disagreeable negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope. Paul III rued the alliance, and by the end of December 1539 had already declared that his family was being overwhelmed by the same misfortune as that which had befallen the Medici. It was only after a long time, and then with reluctance, that Margaret submitted to the hard lot laid upon her by the iron necessities of statecraft. In August 1545 she bore her husband twins, but even this did not bring to pass any real inward sympathy between her and her husband; neither the one nor the other had any superiority of character, and each gave full play to the impulses of a violent nature.

The succession of Camerino as well as the Turkish war exhausted the Papal treasury entirely. The opening up of new sources of revenue was seen to be unavoidable, as the war was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A year later, on his return from Lucca, the Pope in person came to Perugia, where a solemn reception awaited him. He remained, however, only two days, visited the works at the citadel, and began his journey back to Rome on the 26th of October. Notwithstanding the prayers of the inhabitants he refused to make any alteration in the existing conditions; not till September in the following year, on the occasion of a second visit to the city, did he make any concession. He agreed once more to the removal of all censures, confirmed the statutes, gave exemption from taxes freshly imposed after the rebellion, instituted a civic magistracy of forty persons, of whom every ten should exercise for three months the authority of the former Priors, appointed captains for the country districts, and remitted the hearth tax. "God and his Holiness be praised," remarks Bontempi, "this is more than the city expected; we have brighter hopes for the future." But these expectations were not fulfilled, for although Paul III afterwards visited Perugia on many occasions, he held by the ordinances of September 1542. The largest part of the independence of former days was irretrievably lost; all now depended on the personality of the Legate.

Quite as unfortunate in its issue as the opposition of the Perugians to the increase in the price of salt was the attempt of Ascanio Colonna to defy this measure. The beginning of Paul III's reign had already been marked by misunderstandings with Ascanio, who wished to be invested with Frascati. As the Pope showed no inclination to strengthen the position of this already powerful vassal1 and most important of the Imperial partisans among the Roman nobility, Ascanio left Rome in smothered anger. Thenceforward the Pope kept an anxious eye on the Colonna; he was never free from the dread that there might be on their part a repetition of the troubles of which he had been a witness under Clement VII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ascanio and those members of his family who had adhered to him went into exile in Naples. During his meeting with the Pope at Lucca the Emperor interceded on behalf of this sorely

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

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

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

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

the sphere of art, especially his construction of new thoroughfares in Rome, was of great advantage to the inhabitants; not less so his regulation of the currency.

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

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

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

A month later the Romans witnessed the splendid spectacle of the state entry of Charles V. The next year wore a graver aspect, for the Turkish power was menacing. But in 1538 the Carnival was again kept amid gaiety. At the end of this year the marriage of Ottavio Farnese with Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V and widow of Duke Alessandro de' Medici, took place. The 3rd of November, the anniversary of the Pope's coronation, had been chosen for the ceremony. The Duchess received the homage of the Senate, Conservators, and Roman nobles in the villa of Clement VII on Monte Mario, now part of her Medici inheritance and henceforward known as the Villa Madama. At the Porta del Popolo she was welcomed by Cardinal Farnese, the Ambassadors, and the Papal Court, and she proceeded in state to the Vatican, where her husband awaited her. In the ante-camera de' Paramenti she paid her respects to the Pope, surrounded by the Cardinals. Paul III placed her on his left hand and presented her with costly wedding gifts. In her magnificently furnished apartments in the palazzo Cesi, Margaret received the noblest ladies of Rome. During the following days festivities followed close on each other; banquets, balls, illuminations in which the whole city, especially the Castle of St. Angelo, seemed to soar upwards

in fire, competitions between horses, oxen, and buffaloes, took place in bewildering variety. The most beautiful of these festas, that on the Piazza Navona, was described by the Portuguese painter Francesco d'Olanda, then staying in Rome. He saw the twelve richly gilt chariots, ornamented with designs in relief and suitable devices and carrying the Caporioni in magnificent antique garments, descend from the Capitol, preceded by a hundred Roman youths dressed in exact accordance with classical attire. The antique mode was so faithfully reproduced that Francesco seemed to see before him the Emperors and conquerors of old.

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

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

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

The obstinate tenacity with which the old tendencies of the Renaissance held their ground in spite of certain considerations is shown clearly in the Carnival celebrations of 1545. The Sienese envoy reported expressly on the 31st of January that on this occasion there was a disposition to give up an exclusively antique pageant as in former times, and substitute one suggestive of present conditions, the victory over the heretics and the Turks, the triumph of the Christian faith and of the Holy See. Nevertheless, ample room was afforded for the display of classical reminiscences. The procession on Carnival Thursday, February the 12th, 1545, which took its way from the Capitol to the Piazza Navona, was composed of thirteen cars, one from each quarter of Rome, accompanied by the city guilds. On the first Paul III was represented as

Androclus taking the thorn from the paw of the lion, the type of heresy. The inscription ran: “The obedient shall receive graces, the proud shall be brought low.” On the second car sat Fortune, clad in silver, with a golden wheel; on the third was seen the investment of Constantinople, with the words, “Except the Lord keep the city, he watcheth in vain that keepeth it”; the fourth displayed a golden dragon guarding the garden of the Hesperides; the fifth the goddess Cybele holding the pineapple, the symbol of Rome; on the outside was depicted the story of Troy; the sixth triumphal car conveyed seven figures in the act of disputation ; and the seventh a shepherd, made of gold, strangling a silver snake. Both these groups, according to the inscriptions, again referred to the contest with error. The three next (the one-eyed Arimaspians vanquishing the griffin, Heraclius as victor over Sidrodus, and a combat between three Turks and three Christians) contained, as did the twelfth (Trajan overcoming the barbarians), allusions to the defeat of the Turks. The eleventh, on which was a galley passing between the pillars of Hercules with the inscription, “Their word has gone out into all the world,” symbolized the spread of Christianity in the New World. The last car, with Prometheus chained, was in honour of the Emperor, symbolized by an eagle, as the conqueror of the Turks.

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

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

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

to whom it would be impossible to attach the reproach of conduct so incongruous with their high office.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Conciliar Question and the Imperial Efforts at Reunion in the Years 1539-1541.

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

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

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

The Emperor and the Catholic Princes stood crippled in the presence of all these events. While the Protestants were acting on the offensive everywhere with spirit and strength, the Catholics were often incapable of assuming the defensive. For the development of such a situation the blame lay partly with the absentee Emperor and the failure of the Catholics to recognize the strength of their opponents, but principally with the German episcopate. It was characteristic of the latter that on the conclusion, on the 10th of June 1538, of the Catholic league of defence at Nuremberg, only the Archbishop of Salzburg and Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, as Archbishop

of Magdeburg and Administrator of Halle, were present; all the other bishops shrank back from fear of their Protestant neighbours. The petty spirit and worldliness of most of the German ecclesiastical magnates, combined with Lutheran licence," had brought about, even in professedly Catholic territories, a state of disorganization of the very worst augury for the future. On this point the testimony of the Papal nuncios is unimpeachable. If Vergerio's reports had previously given a very unfavourable account of Church affairs in Germany, those of his successors were still more discouraging.

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

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

That Aleander did not take too gloomy a view is evident from the accounts sent to him by Fabio Mignanelli, Morone's successor as nuncio. From Trent to Linz, a stretch of nearly 300 hundred Italian miles, wrote Mignanelli, he had found the churches and convents almost entirely abandoned by secular and regular clergy, the practices of piety had ceased from among the people,

the churches were no longer frequented, and even alms were discontinued. With regard to the scarcity of clergy, Ferdinand entirely confirmed the nuncio's statements; he was himself unable, save with difficulty, said the King of the Romans, to supply his private chapel with suitable chaplains. The Protestant propaganda made full use of this bad state of things; everywhere, even in the court itself, there were lapses from the faith. Cardinal Cles of Trent, in consequence, was more and more anxious concerning Ferdinand's power of resistance to the Lutheran influences surrounding him.

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

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

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

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

Under these circumstances the Pope on his side was unwilling to neglect any means of accelerating the peace between the two monarchs upon whom the successful issue of the Council depended. As soon as he had heard from Luis de Avila and von Gye of the Emperor's intention to pass through France to the Netherlands, and had been informed of the proposals of peace, Paul III determined to send his own grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, as Legate to Charles and Francis. In a secret consistory of the 24th of November 1539 the majority of the Cardinals

assented to this arrangement. On November the 26th Farnese received the Legate's cross; two days later he left Rome with his suite. For the transaction of the current affairs of state his place was taken by Cardinal Sforza Santafiora.

In the instructions handed to Farnese before his departure the Pope acknowledged his satisfaction that the seeds of peace formerly sown by him at Nice were now bearing the longed-for fruit, which he already looked upon as ripe. Acting on this supposition, Farnese was to move the two monarchs to send their prelates to the Council. As the place of meeting, Vicenza, favourably situated for all nations, was, in the first instance, again proposed, and, as an alternative, with a view to French feeling, Milan. If the Council met and thereby the return of the Protestants was effected, an undertaking against Henry VIII as well as against the Turks might, under the circumstances, be kept in view.

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

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

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

Francis I escorted his Imperial guest, who had stayed in Paris until the 7th of January 1540, as far as St. Quentin. Here they took farewell of each other on January the 20th. While the Emperor went on to Valenciennes, Francis betook himself to Amiens; thither Farnese hastened, full of impatience to lay before the King his latest instructions. On the 9th of February he had an audience at which, besides Cardinal Cervini, the French nuncio Ferreri was present. Making his previous declarations at Paris his starting-point, Farnese explained that even if the special object of his mission presupposed the publication of a peace, he was yet induced to believe, in view of the intimate relations between the two monarchs, that this event might he regarded as a certainty. With the exhortation that Francis would soon give effect to the desired consummation, he coupled the request that his Majesty would give the sorely needed assistance against the Turks and towards the recall of the Protestants and Henry VIII to their obedience to the Church. In this connection he showed how, in view of the necessity of reform in ecclesiastical matters, the Council brooked of no delay.

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

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

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

A sudden light was thrown on the actual state of affairs by an expression which escaped the Emperor's lips during an audience granted to Poggio on the 3rd of March. To an inquiry of the nuncio with regard to the prospects of peace, Charles V answered drily that that was a matter that

caused him more anxiety than almost any other that he had had to deal with in the whole course of his life; it would require the most mature consideration between himself and his brother Ferdinand. The latter, however, saw in the Emperor's proposal to Francis that the hand of his daughter, with the Netherlands as her dowry, should be bestowed on the Duke of Orleans, a grave infringement of his own interests. He had no need to disquiet himself, for Francis was soon to show that he had no intention of paying the price demanded by the Emperor, the renuncia-tion of Milan and the surrender of Piedmont and Savoy.

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

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

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

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

In spite of all representations to the contrary, he followed up this project with his characteristic tenacity of purpose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to the Word of God, Holy Scripture, and Apostolic doctrine, he would command them to abstain from them.

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

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

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

Concessions such as communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy could only be made with the sanction of the whole Church. Once points of this sort were yielded there would be no more talk of a Council, and in the absence of the consensus of other nations only one more

and a greater breach in the organic unity of the Church would be the consequence. Besides, a unification by compact would also lead, against the Emperor's wishes, to a complete separation from the Holy See.

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

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

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

Farnese, however, during his legation did all that lay in his power to guard the Catholic standpoint in the question of the religious conferences. He was at the same time unwearied in exhorting the Pope to carry out real reforms in Rome, to summon the Council as soon as possible, even without France, to come to an agreement with the Catholic princes of the Empire, to nominate German Cardinals independent of the Emperor, and especially to have a more express consideration for the conditions of Germany, to which, after the first outburst of interest, less attention than was adequate had afterwards been given in Rome.

The nuncios Morone and Poggio also were not backward, but all their representations to the Imperialists fell on deaf ears. The answer of the Emperor to the Legates' memorial was one of unconditional refusal: the Council was an impossibility so long as the Catholic princes did not consent and were unrepresented; the Protestants opposed any Council outside Germany, nor could the Synod impose taxation for the Turkish war subsidy. The Emperor retorted on Poggio with irritation that the Council was made use of to frighten him; on that question he had not been remiss in any respect, nor would he in future expose himself to any reproach. With rising temper Charles thrice exclaimed: "His Holiness has only to declare the Council open"; whereupon he then set

forth in detail that there was no prospect of a Synod at that time, that the only possible course was a convention.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contarini was to repair first to his see at Belluno in order to await the development of affairs in Germany, whether they would seem to make his presence at the convention expedient and were not prejudicial to the Council and the authority of the Holy See. He stayed on in Rome, and was still there when Cardinal Farnese arrived on the evening of May the 31st. The latter, who had returned by France, had had a very friendly reception from Francis I. He quieted the King with regard to the Pope's entrance into the Catholic League, the character of which was purely defensive, and assured him that the Holy See would maintain a strict neutrality. The marks of honour conferred on Farnese by the King could not, indeed, really console him for the complete

failure of a mission on which he had entered with the highest expectations: he had done nothing to further the cause of peace in State or Church.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This division in the Catholic party placed ‘Morone, who had no special instructions and received no support from the majority of the ecclesiastical princes, in a very difficult position. He therefore derived great satisfaction from Contarini’s appointment, the first news of which reached him on June the 11th. To Cervini also, who was still with the Emperor, and who had asked him on the 9th of June if it was advisable that he should come to Hagenau, he replied on the 16th by a pressing invitation to do so. King Ferdinand wished to see him there ; the presence of a Legate would be of more use than that of a mere nuncio. Moreover, if Contarini, appointed on the 21st of May, were to arrive punctually to his time, there would not be even then too many representatives of Catholicism in the field. “God knows,” wrote Morone on June the 19th to Farnese, “how I long for the coming of Cardinal Contarini, as I do not possess as much authority as the pressure of the time demands.”

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

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

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

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

proceedings on the basis of the unratified resolutions of Frankfort, a design which Morone did all he could to frustrate.

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

Accordingly, subject to the Emperor's approval, a "Christian colloquy" for the provisional settlement of religious affairs was to be opened at Worms on the 28th of October, to be followed by an Imperial Diet for the purpose of coming to further decisions. To this colloquy or conference each party was to send eleven members. The reception of a Papal representative, negatived at Frankfort, was left by the Protestants to the Emperor's decision, saving that, as they insisted, his primacy was not to be acknowledged. The Catholics on their part proposed that the Augsburg Confession with its apologia should form the ground of discussion. Herein lay an important concession; for this was precisely the point to which the Protestants attached great value, since they hoped, in such a way, by a declaration of their doctrines before a great audience, to win over fresh adherents. Their rejoicing, however, over this success was not unmixed with bitterness, for they were compelled to admit to themselves that the attainment of their main object, the maintenance of the Frankfort Recess, was thus thwarted; they had not succeeded in excluding the Pope; they had failed also to carry through the double committee, the great and the small, stipulated at Frankfort, whereupon Bucer had bitterly complained that they were now willing to transfer the discussion to a " mere handful of people."

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

CHAPTER IX.

The Conference at Worms.

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

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

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

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

The essential reason which withheld Paul III from sending either Contarini or Cervini to Hagenau was clearly given in a letter of July the 24th, from Cardinal Farnese to Morone, in which he, at the same time, set forth the fundamental position of the Holy See towards the religious negotiations in Germany. From all that he heard of the Diet of Hagenau, especially concerning Ferdinand's proposals and efforts to secure an agreement at any price with the Lutherans, the Pope had renounced all hope of the Diet coming to a favourable issue, so that he was afraid of inflicting some fresh injury on the dignity of the Holy See, and, by the despatch of a Legate, of conferring a certain amount of authority on decisions which might easily turn to the advantage of the Lutherans.

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

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

This was certainly a vain hope. In spite of all Cervini's protests, Charles V, in the middle of August 1540, gave his assent to the conference on religion settled upon in the Recess of

Hagenau; he declared, however, that the decisions of the latter were not to be finally binding, but would be referred to the decision of the Imperial Diet, which he hoped to attend. The Emperor further expressed his strong opinion that the dangers of religious discussion would be greatly lessened if the Pope would send a nuncio and his theologians to Worms, which the Recess of Hagenau certainly left him at liberty to do. If this were done, then he and his brother for their part would also appoint commissaries who could then co-operate with the Pope's representatives in order to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory ending.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Campeggio's unfitness for the task entrusted to him is otherwise made evident. At first he was so completely possessed by his fatal illusions that Provost Hotfilter, of Lubeck, wrote: "The good prelate is under the impression that everything can be put right by easy manners and pleasant speeches." When Morone pointed out to him the harsh reality he was much annoyed. The antagonism between the two Papal diplomatists became more and more apparent; Morone declared that he could not work together with Campeggio, and might also have pleaded on his own behalf that the latter alone was vested with full Papal authority. Morone, who felt deeply aggrieved, reproached Campeggio with imparting his counsels to anybody and everybody; and even if this and other accusations require to be considerably discounted, there yet can be no doubt that Campeggio was unequal to his post. Bishop Bernardo Santio of Aquila, who happened to be at Worms at the time, also came to the same conclusion.

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

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

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

In Hagenau each of the two opposing parties was per-mitted to have eleven votes. While the Protestants had freedom of choice, Ferdinand at once designated the Catholic representatives. Their places were allotted accordingly: the three ecclesiastical Electors, Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, the Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate, the Dukes William and Louis of Bavaria, Duke William of Juliers, the Archbishops of Salzburg and Magdeburg, and, lastly, the Bishop of Strasburg. But the Elector of Brandenburg had now openly joined the Protestants, while the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Juliers were so strongly inclined to Lutheranism that hardly any doubt could exist as to their attitude. Thus there remained only eight Catholic votes, three more of which, at the same time, were not firmly Catholic ; the Protestants could count on fourteen votes, if not more, for certain. Thus on a ballot of the twenty-two deputies the Catholics were bound to be completely outvoted. In order to prevent this, Morone made every effort in his power; he proposed, instead of an oral conference, an interchange of written opinions, and was assiduous in impressing upon Granvelle the dangers accompanying an appeal to the vote. The Imperial minister could not turn a deaf ear to these representations; he therefore pronounced himself also in favour, in the first place, of written communications, and sought by means of separate consultations to unite the Catholic representatives in an orthodox declaration on the articles of belief first to be brought under consideration, relating to original sin and justification. This showed that the apprehensions with regard to Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Juliers were thoroughly justified; for their representatives now declared that their views on the articles in question were in agreement with those of the Protestants.

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

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

The keen insight of Morone at once perceived the danger to the Catholic cause concealed in this proposal, as it left room for verbal negotiations and also indirectly for the dangerous recourse to the vote on questions of religious belief; he therefore plied Granvelle with earnest counter-arguments. With reference to the Lutheran sympathies of three out of the eleven Catholic representatives, he observed that the declarations of the chief spokesmen ought only to be

supplemented by others if a majority of the party considered it necessary; also the supplementary points should be brought forward only by the chief speakers themselves. At first Granvelle refused to listen; although, he rejoined, learned canonists declared that a conference might be held in writing as well as by word of mouth, he still thought it best to adhere to the resolution of Hagenau, as was also the Emperor's wish. He had besides made his fresh proposal after consulting Campeggio, whose objections were by no means so strong as Morone's. As the conversation proceeded Granvelle grew more and more excited. Morone replied to him firmly and calmly. The result of the interview was a new proposal on Granvelle's part, on the 2nd of January 1541, in which the nuncio's fears were to a certain extent taken into account. Only members of the majority on each side would be allowed to add anything to the statements already made, in their name, by the chief speakers; the views of the minority would be transmitted to the Imperial commissary to be dealt with at his discretion.

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

On the 5th of January the Protestants accepted the proposal that the disputation should be conducted by each of the two chief speakers, but demanded that after they had spoken the rest of the deputies on both sides should be allowed to give utterance to their views. If this were agreed to, then the representatives of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and Juliers would make open declaration of their Protestantism and thus their party would be able to boast themselves of the victory. The representatives of Bavaria and Mainz therefore declared such a concession inadmissible, though Granvelle tried in vain to tranquillize them by new proposals. They went even further than Morone, with whom in other respects they were in closest understanding. Granvelle was in despair; as before, he threatened the Papal representatives even now with a national council, but this they saw was no more than a device to intimidate them.

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

Such a step had been expected by penetrating observers at the beginning of the year. Since Granvelle was certain that he would receive the wished-for mandate, he could now listen to all the suggestions made to him. How he succeeded in detail in overcoming all obstacles so that, at the last hour, the conference was yet enabled to make a start, is not known; probably Bavaria and Mainz were admitted into the secret. The Protestants declared themselves satisfied with the concession that all their deputies should be allowed to speak. Morone thought this would be favourable to the Catholic side, as in all probability there would be a recrudescence of the old controversy between Melanchthon and Bucer on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Against Melanchthon it was proposed to put up Eck as speaker; no one on the Catholic side would venture

to rise in debate against him. In this way the danger was obviated of the Brandenburg, Palatine, and Juliers delegates giving vent to their Protestant views. Morone might assert with justifiable satisfaction that he had done all he could to avert the dangerous procedure of casting votes on matters of belief and to give another direction to affairs.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER X.

The Mission of Contarini to Germany.— The Diet of Ratisbon.

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

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

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

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

The appointment of Contarini—from the strictly ecclesiastical point of view in itself a great concession—shows that the Pope on his part was doing his utmost to enable Charles to bring the proposed negotiations to a happy issue. In the Imperial court at Spires the most sanguine

expecta-tions were cherished. Charles hoped that the purity of mind, the dignified bearing and the transparent sincerity of life of this eminent Cardinal would, without fail, impress the Protestants and induce them to make greater concessions than they had hitherto done; what was to be conceded the Imperialists did not divulge. Strange was the suggestion made by Granvelle to the Papal nuncio; he asked, in fact, that a sum of money should be sent to Germany by the Pope, so that in this way the Protestants might be enticed into a return to the Church. But Paul III refused, considering such a proceeding dangerous and far from honourable.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Landgrave of Hesse, afraid that the Emperor might inflict upon him the penalties incurred by his bigamous marriage, had entered into secret negotiations with Granvelle and

declared his readiness to support Charles against the Turks and other external enemies and to observe neutrality in the question of Guelders. The adroit Granvelle insisted on an agreement with Charles's policy of ecclesiastical reunion as an accessory. Thus in the middle of December 1540 there took place at Worms a secret conference on religion between Bucer and Capito on the one side and Johann Gropper and the Imperial secretary, Gerhard Veltwick, on the other, the result of which was the draft of a formula of agreement. In this document a compromise on the doctrines of original sin and of justification appeared to have been found. Granvelle hoped that, in like manner, an accommodation might be reached on the remaining articles. Not until the 5th of January 1541, after Philip had given notice of his consent to the Congress at Worms, did he receive the declaration of the Imperial favour that he had so greatly longed for; but the Landgrave had to pledge himself to put in a personal appearance at the Diet of Ratisbon. Thus Charles was entitled to hope that he had won over to his schemes one of his most dangerous opponents and the most turbulent of the Protestant princes. The Elector Joachim II, to whom Bucer, without naming the authors, had shown the draft agreement of Worms, also declared himself to be in substantial agreement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contarini was to prevent the intended exclusion of Eck from the conference by the Protestants, and yet, should the negotiations take a favourable course, to induce this violent controversialist to show some corresponding moderation in his disputations.

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

On the following day Poggio also arrived in Innsbruck. From him Contarini learned that the Emperor had already taken up his residence in Ratisbon, but that he had still to await the coming of the princes. Although under these circumstances there was no need for special haste, the Cardinal left Innsbruck on the same day and travelled by Rosenheim and Erding to Landshut. Here, at the Emperor's request, he had to halt, as the preparations for his solemn entry into Ratisbon as Legate were not yet finished. This took place on the 12th of March; early in the afternoon of the following day he had an audience, accompanied by Morone and Poggio. The Cardinal unfolded the object of his mission, and expressed his readiness to support the Emperor with all his power in the religious pacification of Germany. At the close of the audience Morone presented a Papal brief by which he was accredited as nuncio in Poggio's place.

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

It cannot be denied that Contarini at first did not sufficiently grasp the character and impetus of the Protestant movement, and therefore underestimated the difficulties standing in the way of the restoration of concord. He was confirmed in his optimism by the agreement on the doctrine of original sin arrived at at Worms. "I hope to God," he wrote, on hearing of it, to Farnese from Bologna on the 12th of February, "that the eternal differences may not again interpose themselves; as I have often told the Pope, the disagreements on essentials were not so serious as many

supposed. Would to God that many had never taken up their pens on behalf of the Catholic cause, doing thereby more harm than good."

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

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

In this perplexed condition of affairs Contarini determined, in conjunction with Morone, to enter on a via media : the Imperialists must be withheld from making lavish concessions, injurious to the welfare of the Church, in their politically motived efforts after a settlement at any price; Bavaria and the allied princes must be dissuaded from their schemes of war which, under existing circumstances, would be fraught with peril.

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

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

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

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

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

At last, on the 23rd of April, Charles V ordered the Legate, under the seal of the strictest silence, to be made acquainted, as the work of theologians of the Netherlands, with the draft of an agreement secretly prepared to take the place of the Confession of Augsburg as the basis of negotiation. This document, known later as the "Book of Ratisbon," was the outcome of secret promises entered into at Worms in December 1540. In three-and-twenty articles the most important points of controversy were dealt with as gently as possible. The whole, emanating chiefly from Gropper, placed the doctrines on which there was a common belief in the foreground, while the differences were toned down as much as possible or passed over. Many doctrines were upheld in the Catholic sense, yet in so Protestant a garb or in one so capable of a Protestant interpretation that in case of necessity even that party could find the formulae satisfactory.

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

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

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

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

Contarini was, in fact, assiduous in smoothing the way, where it was possible, for better relations with the Protestants. Not only the strict Lutheran, Johann Sturm, and the apostate Dominican, Bucer, were the objects of his kind and friendly solicitations, but also with the Protestant princes, especially the powerful Elector of Brandenburg, he strove to establish amicable communications. All his behaviour to those who differed from him in religion was founded on mildness and conciliation. With a scrupulousness which almost amounted to anxiety he endeavoured to avoid everything which might hurt the feelings or rouse the animosity of those severed from the Church; thus he even refrained from announcing the Jubilee Indulgence granted by Paul III to supplicate the Divine help in the work of unification. In his letters he never ceased to insist that the Protestants must be met with love, gentleness, and friendliness;1 although at the same time he certainly dwelt on the necessity of firmness and determination. Throughout the whole course of the Diet of Ratisbon he was consistent to these principles. It was due to him that the beginning of the conference was favourable beyond expectation. He bridled Eck's impetuosity with such success that Melanchthon, who had counted on the opposition of this passionate opponent, remarked, "If Eck were to fight in his usual fashion, he would be doing our work for us."

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

becomes necessary in order to attain perfect renewal, this latter being given and imputed to men through faith.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contarini, trusting without doubt in the justice of his cause, had at first indulged in exaggerated hopes of the outcome of the Ratisbon deliberations; he had represented to himself the doctrinal differences as much less than they were in reality. It was not until the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist came under discussion that he saw clearly in their full compass the colossal difficulties standing in the way of religious unity. While hitherto he had believed that the ailments which clung to the Church owed their tenacity to the mistaken treatment of previous physicians, he now saw that the seat of the evil really lay much deeper. He did not delay at once to set forth his conviction in his despatches to Rome. "Unless God works a miracle," he wrote on the 13th of May, "the self-opinionativeness and obstinacy of the Protestant theologians will make agreement impossible." To the timid Catholic collocutors Gropper and Pflug, as well as to Granvelle,

Contarini declared with great frankness that he saw that the difference with the Protestants was a difference about things, and that therefore no unification could be found in words. He personally had no wish for an illusory peace, a mutual betrayal, nor would he suffer the doctrine of the Church to be made ambiguous by a multiplicity of words; he was resolved not to move an inch from Catholic truth.

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

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

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

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

The principles upon which Contarini acted were laid down by him on the following day in a letter to Farnese. First of all, he said, the verity of the Faith must be upheld; secondly, there must be no yielding to the inducement to express Catholic doctrine in equivocal terms, a proceeding certain to lead only to greater dissension; thirdly, steps must be taken to convince Germany and Christendom at large that the strife proceeds neither from the Holy See nor from the Emperor, but from the obdurate adherence of the Protestants to their errors. These incisive words, coming from

one as lenient and placable as Contarini, carried twofold weight. The Cardinal-Legate was thus emphatic because he had arrived at the conviction that the Protestants could make no appeal on behalf of their Eucharistic teaching to any ground of probability, let alone to any doctrinal author-ity, but solely and simply to their own arbitrary opinion.

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

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

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

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

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

about an agreement. Although Rome had not as yet spoken, still, under this position of affairs, there was no longer any doubt that the conference was a complete failure.

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

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

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

to keep Charles from leaving the wrong track once he had entered upon it, just as if it were part of the Imperial office to lay down regulations in matters of faith.

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

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

CHAPTER XI.

Continuation of the Diet of Ratisbon.—Its Close and Failure.

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

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

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

majority of the Sacred College withheld from Contarini the praise justly due to his attempts to bring about a conciliatory issue, they yet expressed themselves unmistakably against concessions vaguely formulated and of indeterminate scope.

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

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

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

Faith was to him a concern of yet higher consideration, wherefore Contarini was to be watchful and upon his guard against any ambiguity or obscurity of statement.

The Cardinal finally was requested to urge greater discretion on his surroundings, and with reference to the complaints made to the nuncio Dandino by King Francis regarding the Legate's subservience to the Emperor and his coolness towards the Catholics, was admonished to be for the future somewhat more forward and decided in his support of the truth and to avoid even the appearance of too great compliancy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Emperor who, notwithstanding all failures, was resolved to pursue his previous policy, was so unpleasantly surprised by Contarini's announcements that he had to fall back on clumsy objections and excuses. All attempts to bring him to a definite decision in the matter of the League were repelled as on earlier occasions,1 while on this one he remarked that the Bavarians were only scheming to implicate him in a dangerous war. His objections to the immediate summons of the Council only showed plainly that here also he was bent on his former policy of procrastination.

He thought, in the first place, that the Pope would have done better to have waited for the close of the Diet, since then the princes themselves probably would have asked for a Council. The Legate thereupon pointedly replied: "In that case, it would be still better if this proposal came from them personally." To the Emperor's further objection that if the Synod were summoned while the Diet was still in session the princes might come forward again with a demand for a Council in Germany, or even for a national council, Contarini explained that a definite course had been settled upon already in consistory; at the same time he begged for a final reply, as the courier had to be sent back in two days. Charles, however, was not prepared to give such an answer until he had consulted his brother Ferdinand, who had arrived on the 21st of June. Contarini remarked besides that the Emperor's refusal was caused in part by the suspicion which he nourished that the Pope's decision was due to the solicitations of the Bavarian Dukes.

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

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

In Rome it was perceived, with keener insight than by Contarini, that the Emperor, with his apparently friendly approaches to the Pope, had no other object in view than to bring about the acceptance of his plan of toleration. On the 23rd of June the "Ratisbon Book," with the documents appertaining to it, at last made its appearance, and was handed over by the Pope to a special commission of examiners. On the evening of the 5th of July, Contarini's despatches of the 27th and 28th of June, with the Emperor's reply on the question of the Council, arrived. Cardinal Farnese at once laid it before the Pope, who immediately summoned a consistory for the 6th of July, at which, on the basis of Contarini's reports, the Ratisbon negotiations were submitted to

full consideration. Due allowance being made for the import-ance of the topic, no final resolution was arrived at, but on the 7th Farnese was able to tell Contarini that the Pope held the removal of the suspension and the early meeting of the Council to be necessary. The Emperor did not seem to grasp correctly the task of the Synod, which consisted in the establishment of dogmas of faith and in the removal of abuses. The toleration of heresies excluded the only remedy, the general Synod of the Church, and would only aggravate the existing evil.

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

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

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

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

Charles V. saw matters in another light. The change of opinion, on which Morone had built such great hopes, proved itself illusory. When, on the 10th of July, Contarini presented Morone's opinion, prompted by the League, upon the "Ratisbon Book," he was received with discourteous coolness, although Morone only repeated what the Legate already had often propounded. The Emperor, stung by the failure of his schemes of reunion, poured out his anger on the Legate. When

the latter dwelt on the importance of his longer sojourn in Germany, Charles replied that he must now look exclusively to his own interests, as the others had consistently done.

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

Two days after this audience Charles received the answer of the Protestants to his plan of toleration. It was a refusal, in accordance with the wishes of the Saxon Elector. This, in combination with the Catholic resolution of July the 5th, sealed the fate of the Emperor's scheme. Yet on this very 12th of July the latter presented to the Estates his proposition for the Recess of the Diet, in which, without even taking notice of the Pope's formal offer of a Council, he still tried to force through his scheme of toleration; the articles on which there was agreement were to be acknowledged and accepted as Christian doctrine, the articles on which there was not agreement were to be postponed until the General Council gave a decision; this also was the Legate's opinion. But if the Council were not held at all, or, as seemed necessary, were to be deferred to a later period, the negotiations on religion would again be resumed in a Diet of the Empire. The Emperor added that he was very shortly to have an interview with the Pope, and would then endeavour to learn from the latter what might be expected concerning the Council. Until a decision was come to, the publication of libellous writings was to cease, the Imperial Court of Chancery to continue its sittings, the peace of Nuremberg to be maintained and, finally, subsidies to be raised against the Turks.

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

The reception given by the Estates to the Emperor's proposals showed that the danger of a national council was once more close at hand. The Protestants, in their reply of the 14th of July, recommended the acceptance of the articles agreed upon, but under impossible conditions ; they demanded a free Christian council within the German nation, over which the Pope should have no jurisdiction, or, if that were unattainable, a further treatment of religious affairs in a convention of the Estates of the Empire. Scarcely better was the position adopted by the Electoral College in

which, against Mainz and Treves, the majority, Brandenburg, the Palatine, and Cologne, carried a resolution that the articles agreed upon should be held valid until a free council or national convention should be held. Under the authoritative influence of Bavaria the Catholic princes threw their weight into the scales against the articles. On the other hand, they begged the Emperor to use his influence with the Pope to obtain the meeting of a General Council, or, if that were impossible, of a national council in Germany. Thus from all these quarters came the demand for a council on German soil, or in any case for a council of the German nation.

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

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

On the 22nd of July, Contarini, soon after the receipt of letters from Farnese, dated the 7th and 10th, had an audience of the Emperor; Morone and Verallo were also present. On being told that the Pope had already applied to Venice on the subject of Vicenza, Charles replied that the Germans wished the Council to be held in their own country. The Legate, apart from other reasons, drew special attention to his certain knowledge of the Pope's strong desire to attend the Council in person, which on account of his great age would be impossible if the meeting-place were to be in Germany.

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

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

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

When Contarini, on July the 26th, took leave of King Ferdinand, the latter told him that the final message of the Recess had not yet been settled; but that it would not give satisfaction to anyone, neither to Pope nor Emperor, neither to Protestants nor Catholics. As the King declined to explain more precisely, the Legate made further inquiries and found out in other ways that Charles, under pressure from the Estates, was actually ready to yield on the question of a council in Germany. He therefore, on the 27th of July, together with the nuncios Morone and Verallo, waited on the Emperor and made counter-representations. First to accept the Council and then attach to it impossible conditions was, he declared, to reject it altogether; he had formerly, however, been of a different opinion, and had promised to withstand the German demands on this point. Charles told the Legate in reply that he had been misinformed; he had not consented to the meeting of the Council in Germany, but at the urgent prayer of the princes had promised only to try and obtain the consent of the Pope. In the Recess the clause was included that he would petition the Holy Father to consent to the Council being held in Germany, and that in case this did not happen, a national council or another Diet should be held. Thus Contarini's objections were of no avail. He was unacquainted even with the text of the Recess3 when, on the 29th of July, he left Ratisbon with the Emperor ; as soon as he was able to get a sight of it at Trent he saw that on many points it differed from previous engagements and promises to such an extent that it asserted, in direct contradiction to the truth, that the Legate had given his word that the Council should be held in Germany. In a letter to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg of September the 19th, 1541, he entered a protest, and begged that either the publication of the Recess might be stopped, or, if that were no longer possible, that a supplement might be added containing the necessary corrections.

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

Thus the attempt at Ratisbon to unite irreconcilable differences came to an end with striking advantages for the Protestants, who met the future with the most joyous expectations. In the

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

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

CHAPTER XII.

Return of Contarini—His Death.—Apostasy of Ochino.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This pious company, the *spiritualis* as their contemporaries called them, welcomed the new tenets on justification on the same mystical and ascetic grounds which had recommended them to Pole. In contradistinction to many preachers to whom outward works were all in all, they, conscious of human weakness and instability, were disposed to emphasize the redeeming grace of Christ. From this temper of mind the new theory had sprung of which they became the enthusiastic adherents. Without ceasing to be Catholics they could do this while as yet the Council had issued no decree; the idea of going out from the Church had never entered their minds. A clear

testimony to this was given by a man who, according to Luigi Priuli of Venice and Lodovico Beccadelli of Bologna, was a foremost member of Pole's circle, the poet Marcantonio Flaminio. Even if all the theological opinions of this good man were not infallible he was yet entirely free from that which, according to the teaching of the Catholic Church, alone consti-tutes formal heresy: the arrogance of a stubborn will and opposition to Church authority. Pole therefore found it easy to wean him from errors instilled into him by Juan Valdes of Naples. Flaminio died in 1550, a devoted son of the Church, leaving behind him a letter written in 1543 to another prominent member of the Viterbo circle, the humanist and protonotary Carnesecchi. This is of great importance as indicating his frame of mind. In it he blames severely those cantankerous critics who dissent from the dogmas and usages of the Church. "We," so he writes, "wish to humble ourselves before God and on no account, however cogent the reasons may appear, to allow ourselves to be separated from the unity of the Church Catholic."

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

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

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

One of Ochino's warmest admirers was Vittoria Colonna, who favoured him and his Order where she could, looking upon this as an opportunity for advancing the cause of Catholic reform, which she had embraced with all the depth of feeling of her ardent nature. Like many others she

turned with reverence to the great popular orator whose earnest life appeared to her to be that of a man of God. In September 1538 Ochino reached the highest position in his Order; still greater things appeared to be in store for him. In October of the following year he was strongly recommended as a candidate for the Cardinalate, and in 1541 he was again chosen Vicar-General of his Order, and his appointment confirmed by the Pope.

The election took place in Naples, where for the first time Ochino had preached in 1536. There it was that he came under the fascination of the Spaniard Juan Valdes, who, in disagreement on important points with the Catholic Church, was the votary of a vague religion of sentiment. His reverence for this man of "sweet utterance" was such that he allowed Valdes to prescribe to him the subject and scheme of his sermons. Subsequently, through Valdes, he came to know the writings of Luther, Bucer, and Calvin. The results soon showed themselves, and voices arose accusing the Capuchin monk of heresy. The viceroy wished to prohibit him from preaching, but Ochino defended himself so cleverly that the continuance of his Lenten course was sanctioned. Vittoria Colonna, on hearing of the accusa-tions, attributed them to the envy of other preachers. Almost everyone shared her opinion, and Ochino continued as before to secure triumphs as an orator; the viceroy Ferrante Gonzaga wished to have him at Palermo, Venice claimed him through no less a person than Pietro Bembo, who declared that he had never heard more profitable or more edifying sermons. "He expresses himself," so he wrote to Vittoria Colonna, "in quite a different and in a much more Christian way than any other preachers who fill our pulpits today; he gives unbounded pleasure to everyone, and when he leaves here he will carry all hearts with him." Even Pietro Aretino, that obscene jester, gave expression to emphatic praises of the great preacher ; in a letter to Paul III he announced to him his conversion under the trumpet-blast of the apostolic monk and begged forgiveness for the unjust attacks upon the Curia contained in his ribald productions. This conversion, if such it were, certainly did not last long, just as his praise of Ochino was not altogether disinterested, since the latter had been induced to accept with favour1 one of the edifying compositions which Aretino then found it useful to manufacture. There can, however, be no manner of doubt that at that time Ochino was, in the eyes of all the world, the ideal of a spiritual orator. "We have among us," reported Ottaviano de' Lotti to Cardinal Gonzaga from Rome during the Lent of 1539, "many eminent preachers; but none can be compared to Ochino."

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

Nevertheless, the disagreement in Venice was the prologue to the catastrophe. Paul III, who had hitherto valued Ochino beyond measure, had become alarmed; but it was sorely against his

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

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

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

According to a further letter from the same writer Ochino at first saw no menace in the citation to Rome, but, on the contrary, a preliminary step towards the high honour for which he strove so eagerly. If this is correct, and there is much in favour of the supposition, then the tradition in the Order holds good that Ochino was first made aware in Florence by Vermigli that what awaited him in Rome was not the purple but a prison and death. But Ochino at that time had no longing for martyrdom, although he had often before declared that he would gladly die for Christ. He states this repeatedly in a letter from Montughi to Vittoria Colonna, written immediately before

his flight on the 22nd of August 1542. In this letter, which clearly reflects his agitation and confusion of mind, he excuses his behaviour on the ground that he was acting upon the advice of others; at the same time he tries in all manner of ways to justify himself. Vittoria Colonna received the unhappy man's letter at the convent of St. Catherine in Viterbo ; without the slightest hesitation she at once took up the Catholic standpoint. The downfall of this man, who once had stood so high in the respect of his fellow-men, could not have been wholly unexpected, since in August 1541 she had exclaimed, on hearing it said that all men held Ochino to be a true Christian man, "God grant that he may so persevere."

Anxiety had thus already been awakened in this great woman's soul; nevertheless, that which now had come to pass must have shaken her to the depths. She discussed the whole matter with her director Pole, to whom naturally she also showed Ochino's letter of the 22nd of August. When the ex-Capuchin wrote her a second letter from Geneva, together with a justification of his apostasy, she sent them at once, on Pole's advice, to Cardinal Cervini with the significant remark: It grieves me deeply that the more Ochino tries to excuse the more he accuses himself, and the more he strives to save others from the shipwreck the deeper he sinks into the whirlpool, since he places himself outside the ark of salvation and security." The firm position taken by Vittoria at this critical moment is in entire correspondence with the Catholic feeling to which she gives expression in many of her noble sonnets.

Giberti, like Vittoria Colonna, condemned Ochino's apostasy without reserve and would not admit any extenuating circumstances. In a long letter to the Marchese del Vasto he gave expression to his feelings and at the same time clearly laid down the limits within which, for a Catholic, intending to be loyal to his faith, the work of Church reform might be pursued. Indignation at abuses in ecclesiastical government was no excuse for Ochino's action, since evils had always existed. "Even in time to come good and evil will coexist side by side. The saints and sages of the past in even worse times than ours did not on that account hate the authorities set over them, but felt sympathy for them, and took the only right course open to them by exhorting them by word and writing, offering up prayers and supplications to God, and fulfilling their own duties in a conscientious manner. This they did without bringing everything into confusion through unwisdom and passion, and leaving to religious innovators a false pretext to act upon."

Charitably and temperately, but even on that account with annihilating force, Claudio Tolomei criticised the step taken by Ochino, and especially his declaration that to the Pope as antichrist he owed no obedience, in a letter of remonstrance addressed to his famous fellow-citizen, the friend of former years, now so grievously led astray. Whither would it lead if everyone had a right to fly from the commands and ordinances of his rulers, to whom obedience was a bounden duty? Whether he had erred or had not erred, the summons to Rome ought to have been obeyed. "If the charges brought against you were unfounded, what was there to fear in the presence of your lawful sovereign who had done so much for you? Like gold that has been tried in the fire, your reputation for purity of life and virtue might have shone the brighter. But if the charges are true, then I know not what to think; whether you have spread false doctrine among the people through ignorance or through wickedness. I admit that to me the former supposition is hardly credible and the latter quite incredible. But whether it be the one way or the other you ought, in the first instance, if you acted through ignorance, to be deeply grateful to your accusers for having by their charges brought you to the acknowledgment of the truth, whereby, being saved

from the darkness of error, you may return again to the light of truth, to Christ Himself as the highest truth, the source, the beginning and end of all truths. But if you acted through wickedness, then this ground of action is guilty in itself and I know not anything that can exculpate you."

"Perhaps," Tolomei continued, "it will be urged in your defence that neither ignorance nor wickedness were your inducements, but that a higher enlightenment, that Christ had revealed to you hidden truths just as He also enlightened the apostle Paul and turned him from Judaism to the true faith. Christ in that case must have taught you the opposite of what He committed to His apostles and their successors, and by so doing have transformed Himself from the highest truth into the grossest falsehood! Thus Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Anicetus, and the rest of the great servants of God were deceived and the deceivers also of others! Are we really to believe that Irenaeus, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, and so many other holy and admirable teachers of the law of Christ all erred, and instead of showing us the light wrapped us in darkness, instead of teaching us truth ensnared us with falsehood? No reasonable man can open his mind to such a false conception. The Church cannot have been deserted by Christ until Luther arose, for we have His promise that He would be with us to the end of the world. Believe me, on this dark and stormy sea of conflicting opinions a star is shining to which we can look up, which can show us the way to bring us to God. This is, and alone can be, as many holy and learned men have testified, the Roman Church, which, founded by Peter, whom Christ chose to be the rock of His Church, has through an unbroken line of Popes come down to these our own days."

Morone and Pole also shared the opinions of Tolomei, Giberti, and Vittoria Colonna. They were determined to remain in the "Ark of Salvation" and to preserve inviol-able their obedience to the Pope. This strong will to believe the teaching of the Church, and to subject private opinion to the authority of the Church, is what constitutes a Catholic a true son of the Church. A transitory error, especially in matters which have not yet been defined, cannot destroy this sonship. Therefore even in Rome, if zealots murmured suspiciously against the circle of Viterbo, good men only laughed, as an agent of Cardinal Gonzaga reports on the 2nd of September 1542, adding: "The Inquisition may examine the writings of Valdes through and through, but concerning Pole and his companions the best opinion prevails." That Paul III. thought the same was shown later when he appointed Pole a President of the Council of Trent. In what high consideration the English Cardinal's great friend Vittoria Colonna always stood with Paul III has just recently been illustrated by a striking incident, hitherto unknown, of the Pontiff's closing years. In August 1546 the aged Pope believed his end to be at hand ; the question of his successor caused him constant preoccupation, and he, the ancient foe of the house of Colonna, turned to Vittoria for intimate counsel and advice.

It was not until a much later period, when the rising aggressiveness of the Protestants made the necessity of severe measures of repression apparent even to those who were in themselves averse to such a forcible exercise of authority, that serious suspicions arose against persons like Pole, Morone, and Vittoria Colonna, who were in reality the ornaments of the Catholic Church. But to represent them on that account as advocates of Protestant principles is, not to use any stronger expression, totally unhistorical. The only charge to which they are justly liable is that they displayed towards persons who were experts in concealing their radically destructive tendencies a spirit of determined leniency and a great lack of discretion. But even here we must

always endeavour to realize that the period was one of transition and uncertainty; at such times many things are possible. How confused the conditions then were may perhaps be most clearly perceived by recalling the fact that, shortly before the flight and apostasy of Vermigli, Morone and Contarini had recommended this very man to preach at Modena a course of sermons against the heretical doctrines. Lattanzio Tolomei was still anxious on the nth of August 1542 that the Pope should appoint Ochino as preacher at Siena. Indeed, the Roman agent of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga received a letter from the latter on the 22nd of August 1542 expressing a hope that he might be able to secure Ochino for Mantua.

Under these circumstances, the defection of men like Ochino and Vermigli, however painful in itself and disastrous to their own souls, was so far a fortunate event inasmuch as it at last cleared the air. A crisis had come; there was a cleavage of spirits, and inner antagonisms that had hitherto lain dormant awoke to the light of day. The period of transition, during which elements fundamentally opposed were able to work together, disappeared and with it many momentous obscurities. Every day it became clearer that the question no longer turned round particular theological opinions and errors, but centred on the foundation principle of subjection to the highest ecclesiastical authority. Among those who remained loyal to the ancient Church the consensus was as united as ever that ecclesiastical reform was necessary and at the same time the agreement that, as Isidoro Clario, Bishop of Foligno, said : “No corruption can be so great as to justify a break with the holy communion of the Church.” “Is it not better,” he urged, “to restore that which we possess than to commit ourselves to uncertain attempts to bring in something else in its place? Our only thought should be how to improve the old institutions and purify them from their defects.”

Like Paul III, the high-minded men called by him to the Sacred College espoused this view of reform. Reform in the Church and by the Church, reform not external to nor antagonistic to the Church—therein they saw the way of safety. But as regards the methods to be pursued towards the innovators, there existed for some time longer great differences of opinion.

Like their leader Contarini, Pole, Morone and, for a longer time still, Sadoleto held as before to the opinion that the best and most certain way of recovering lapsed members of the Church was to deal with them with the utmost gentleness, friendliness, and charity. Opposed to them were the strict party with Cardinals Carafa and Alvarez de Toledo at their head, who advocated, especially after the failure at Ratisbon to come to a peaceable agreement with the Protestants, that, in view of the great peril to which the purity of the faith was exposed almost everywhere and even in Italy itself, the sharpest measures of defence should be adopted, and that the heretical bodies should be met with the full force of that material power which the Church had once wielded in the 13th century against the Waldensians and Cathari. When Paul III, in July 1542, under pressure of the danger which threatened to rob the Church of such great cities as Modena and Lucca, resolved to reorganize the Inquisition1 as the instrument of this system of repression, he opened up a new era.

Mere repression, however, was not sufficient to drive off the dangers threatening the Church. Not less important than the repulse of her foes within was the reformation of clergy and laity; the burden of ecclesiastical transgression must be thrown off if apostasy was to be checked

at its source. On this arduous task Paul III did not cease to fix his attention; its happy completion had to be left to his great successors, who were men filled with the spirit of Catholic reform.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Catholic Reformation under Paul III and the Italian Bishops.—The Work of the Theatines, Barnabites, Ursulines, and Capuchins.

One of the greatest difficulties confronting a government which has entered on a wrong track is to retrace its steps and once more strike the right road. This was also the experience of Paul III in the midst of those labours of reform which, from a deep conviction of the necessity of a radical improvement in the ecclesiastical conditions of the time, he inaugurated immediately after his election, and pushed forward amid the greatest hindrances for ten years, until the Council met which was finally to settle and consolidate his policy in this respect. The Pope's compre-hensive scheme, although not crowned with complete success, embraced, apart from the restoration of the Sacred College, the reform of the Roman Curia on the one hand and, on the other, the obligatory residence of bishops in their dioceses and of the pastoral clergy as a whole in their parishes. But Paul III's conception of a genuine Catholic reform extended in other directions as well; by means of numerous particular ordinances he sought to improve the organization of the secular and regular clergy, who in many cases had sunk into habits of decadence. This side of his energetic government demands closer attention, because the evidence for it is for the most part contained in hitherto unpublished sources, and thus up to the present time has entirely escaped observation.

The isolated ordinances of a reforming character began immediately after his coronation, and by the year 1535 they had already covered an extensive area. They were principally directed at the Italian clergy, especially at the members of the older Orders, whose deep corruption and obstinate resistance to any reformation often made repeated interference necessary. A large number of regulations also apply to Spain and Portugal. Nor in the following years of his long pontificate was Paul III. less assiduous in promoting similar measures for the reform of the clergy; above all, he sought to grapple with the restoration of monastic discipline. It is particularly striking how often his intervention was necessary in the affairs of cloistered women; out of the fifty-one volumes of his briefs there are only a few which do not contain some directions of reform; for many years, such as 1539, 1540, and 1542, one decree follows another. Almost all concern the countries inhabited by the Latin races; the rest fall into the background, for the turmoil of their religious divisions was already making a peaceable work of reform impossible. The soundest and most successful results of the reforming legislation of Paul III were to be found in places where his orders could be carried out with the co-operation of men whose zeal was as genuine as his own.

Pre-eminent among such stands the lofty figure of Giberti, the great Bishop of Verona. The shining example of pastoral devotion, already set by him in the midst of the debasement of the Italian episcopate in the days of Clement VII, lasted to the end of his life. Notwithstanding the

enormous difficulties which some communities, and especially the Cathedral Chapter of Verona, had in store for him, his work of reform may be looked upon as achieved when in 1542 Giberti sent to Paul III for confirmation the entire collection of his decrees of reform, which the Pope received with high marks of recognition on the 25th of May,

These edicts of the Bishop of Verona treated exhaustively of the worthy manner of life, the attire, and general behaviour of the priesthood, the proper celebration of Divine worship, especially of Holy Mass, the profitable exercise of the preacher's office, the duty of pointing out errors of doctrine, the administration and dispensing of the Sacraments, the decent condition of churches, the abuses of the system of Indulgences, cases of reservation, processions, wedlock, the management and expenditure of church revenues, the punishment of clerical offenders—in short, almost all ecclesiastical questions were therein handled in the spirit of a Catholic reformation. For such matters this collection is a document of great importance. Giberti had it printed so that even a parish priest might possess and study it as his manual.

These masterly regulations were at a later period taken as models by such devoted bishops as St. Charles Borromeo; indeed, many of the enactments of the Council of Trent were borrowed from them almost word for word. Paul III supported where he could the reforms of Giberti, whom he had already appointed Legatus Natus in 1536. His grief, like that of all the friends of a renewed condition of ecclesiastical affairs, was great when this illustrious prelate died on the 29th of December 1543. "Our Bishop," said the Carmelite Angelo Castiglione, "lived like a saint and died like a saint." The Pope in consistory expressed regret at this great loss to the Church. In poetry and prose the deceased was celebrated as the restorer of Church discipline, as the type of a good shepherd, as a model bishop. Such to a great extent had been his reputation during the lifetime of Clement VII, and still more so under Paul III. Among those who were personally influenced by Giberti in the direction of reform, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga deserves special mention. In the better government of his diocese of Mantua, Giberti was a strong support both as an adviser and an auxiliary.

Ercole Gonzaga, born in 1505, was the son of the Marquis Francesco and the celebrated Isabella d'Este. He had been educated in the zenith of the Italian re-naissance, of which in his youth he was a votary. Administrator of the bishopric of Mantua since 1520 and seven years later created a Cardinal, he afterwards began to take life more seriously. Ercole formed close relationships with Giberti, Carafa, Contarini, and other leaders of Catholic reform and became himself a convinced adherent of the movement. In consequence of the quarrel between himself and Paul III, a disagreement called forth principally from a conflict of personal interests, Cardinal Ercole lived always in Mantua, where his predecessor Cardinal Sigismondo had already endeavoured to check the decay of clerical life. Ercole followed in his steps forcibly and successfully. When in 1540 his brother Federigo died, leaving an heir still in his minority, he was also called upon to exercise the regency; strong as a secular ruler, he was even more so in the government of his diocese.

He ruled the Mantuan bishopric with a rod of iron and, especially in the convents, some of the conditions he had to deal with could not have been worse. In order to carry out his plans of reform he gave directions, after the example set by Giberti, that in the beginning of 1534 a thorough visitation should be held of the churches of Mantua, during which in each parish the

citizens of most importance should give an account of the vocation, conduct, and sacerdotal ministry of the clergy. This commission went from parish to parish taking notes of the actual condition of things. Ercole kept eager watch over the execution of his regulations of reform. The visitation of all places in his diocese was repeated afterwards at fixed periods, and in this way a real improvement was effected. Constitutions on the plan of Giberti's were also laid down. The former disciple of Pomponazzi, Cardinal Ercole, nevertheless took very stringent measures against heresy.

In the reforms at Mantua, as well as in those at Verona, Contarini's participation was active; in the diocese of Belluno, conferred upon him by Paul III on the 23rd of October 1536, the Cardinal laboured entirely in the spirit of the treatise written in his youth on the duties of a bishop. When recalled to the Curia, he was at first only able to exercise an indirect influence; but in the summer of 1538 he took in hand personally the removal of abuses, of which there was a rich crop in the see of Belluno. His assistant, Girolamo Negri, a man of great merit, was ordered by this otherwise so mild a ruler to proceed with rigour against defaulting clergy, especially those of immoral life.

In the same way, with the support of Paul III, reforming bishops arose such as Giberti's successor Pietro Lippomano, Marco Girolamo Vida of Alba, Fabio Vigili of Spoleto, Isidoro Clario of Foligno, Ferdinando Pandolnni of Trojaand others. To these may be added Cardinal Aleander in Brindisi, Bernhard von Cles in Trent, Francesco Cornaro in Brescia, Francesco Pisani in Padua and Treviso, Carpi in Faenza and Nocera, Sadoleto in Carpentras, Carafa in Chieti, Doria in Genoa, Marcello Cervini in Reggio; lastly, Morone in Modena and as Legate in Bologna.

Contarini had already experienced the difficulty arising from his retention at Rome by his duties as Cardinal and had therefore accepted, only with reluctance, the see of Belluno. At a later period the advocates of stricter discipline at Rome called more loudly for a limitation to the nomination of Cardinals to bishoprics. Accordingly Paul III. issued a constitution in the beginning of 1547 by which the Cardinals within an appointed interval were called upon to resign their bishoprics save one. All obeyed with the exception of the French Cardinals, who were confronted with difficulties concerning the maintenance of their establishments in becoming dignity—difficulties which the Pope sought means to obviate.

Together with the Italian bishops who distinguished themselves in the cause of reform, a foremost place must be given to one General of a religious Order, Girolamo Seripando.

Great in his discernment of suitable men, Paul III, on the 12th of December 1538, had appointed as Prior-General of the Augustinian Order a Neapolitan eminent as a preacher, theologian, Ciceronian, and Hellenist, but above all as an ally of Catholic reform. The hopes of the kindred spirits in the Order at once centred upon him, and Seripando, as a matter of fact, at once drew up reforming regulations.

Before the meeting of the General Chapter in Naples in May 1539 Paul addressed to him and to the definitors of the Augustinian Hermits a brief, in which, referring to his anxiety for the restoration of the Mendicant Orders, he ordered, under pain of excommunication, the purging of all Lutheran elements from the Order together with the rehabilitation of its pristine sanctity. The Chapter elected Seripando as General, an office which he continued to administer for twelve

years. With the greatest energy he set himself to the task, so full of difficulty, of regenerating an Order from the depths of its decay. Not content with written admonitions despatched in all directions, he undertook the personal inspection and reformation of all the houses of Augustinian Hermits. Italy came first on the roll, the visitation there beginning in autumn 1539 with the kingdom of Naples, going on to Rome, Siena, Florence, Perugia, Fermo, Recanati, Ancona, Fano, Pesaro, Rimini, Cesena, Bologna, and closing with Padua and Venice. Everywhere he exercised the strictest discipline; and at the same time made his journey the opportunity for frequent preaching. On the 19th of May 1540 he was able to write from Venice that he had visited, with the exception of Lombardy, all the Italian settlements, and now had thoughts of visiting France. This intention he also carried out with the strong support of Paul III.

From the autumn of 1540 to the spring of 1541 he was occupied with the French houses and then with those of Spain and Portugal. This indefatigable reformer did not return to Italy until February 1542 ; he kept Easter in Rome, and from thence wrote a letter of exhortation to the Italian province enjoining a strict observance of the reforms. With the house in Venice Seripando was afterwards to have the greatest trouble ; nowhere else did his remedial measures meet with such strong opposition. Still greater confusion was caused by the intrusion of Lutheran elements, particularly in the Lombard province of the Order. In order to meet this danger and at the same time advance the cause of reform, Paul III convoked a fresh General Chapter at Rome in May 1543. The result of this meeting was unrelaxed effort on the part of Seripando to reform his Order; special resolutions had been passed with regard to preaching and the revision of the Augustinian rules. At the same time he was determined to extirpate Lutheranism from the Order, and found a strenuous supporter in the Pope. When at a later date Seripando was occupied exclusively with the affairs of the Council of Trent, the Pope took care that his reform work was not brought to a standstill.

Paul III was similarly engaged in the renovation of other Orders. The Dominicans claimed his special attention; twice, in 1543 and 1547, a general visitation was set on foot and carried out in obedience to Papal instructions. This Order underwent the same system of scrutiny as the others; special provision was made on the one hand against careless preachers or those who were contaminated by heresy, and on the other against itinerant friars who, in spite of all prohibitions, had become an unmanageable nuisance.

The unrelaxed efforts of the Pope, Seripando, and the bishops in sympathy with them, to restore the old Orders to something like their primitive condition, shows more clearly than anything else how deeply these institutions had been contaminated by the world and how little recuperative power they still retained. Under such circumstances it seems directly providential that the Church should have proclaimed her inextinguishable vital force in a succession of new foundations which, under the blessing and patronage of the Holy See, laid the foundations of a deep inward renewal of Christendom and infused into that body in a wonderful way the currents of reinvigorated life and strength.

During the reign of Clement VII there had already arisen, independently of the religious schism and without any relation to it, certain communities of regular clergy, or, as they were popularly called, of reformed priests, who had devoted themselves, as followers of the evangelical life and as true subjects of the Holy See, to such practical engagements as the intensifying of the

spiritual life, preaching, care of the sick, and other works of Christian charity. One of the great services rendered to the Church by Paul III was his recognition of the adaptability of these new organizations to the altered circumstances of the time and his readiness to extend to them his favour and protection.

The oldest of these new foundations, the Order of the Theatines, which sprang from the "Oratory of the Divine Love" in Rome, was still under the direction of its founder, Gaetano di Tiene, and his colleague, Gian Pietro Carafa. The former was head of the Neapolitan house, while in Venice, Bonifazio da Colle was superior.

The actual direction of the Order had hitherto been in the hands of Carafa; fearing that the forces of the Order would be weakened by disruption, he consented, not without reluctance, to the establishment of the Neapolitan branch in 1533. When in 1535 Paul III expressed the wish that the Theatines should resume their work in Rome, suspended after the sack, and that Carafa should himself return to the Eternal City, the latter was less than well pleased. A return to the restless atmosphere of the Curia filled him with repugnance and alarm. He was devoted to his sequestered life in Venice among his Theatines, and to his work in the hospitals, for which he made heroic sacrifices. He had, however, eventually to yield to the repeated and increasingly urgent solicitations of the Pope, and on the 27th of September 1536 he reached Rome with three fathers and two lay brothers, leaving behind him as vicar in Venice, Giovanni Bernardino Scoto. Carafa's fears were justified; the Pope kept him in Rome, and on the 22nd of December clothed him with the purple. Carafa had hitherto repelled this honour, and now, in his agitation, he fell ill. His cell in the Dominican convent of the Minerva, whither he had repaired, was so bare of furniture that he had not even a table on which to place his Cardinal's biretta, which was hung upon a nail on the wall. Gaetano di Tiene, who had come to Rome to attend the approaching General Chapter, remarked in his simple way that Carafa should have declined the honour. The latter, however, made it clear to him that the Pope's will was irresistible. "I have decided," said Carafa to his sister Maria, a Dominican nun in Naples, to "place my neck under the yoke."

Carafa as Cardinal lost none of his devotion to the Theatine Order, but Gaetano di Tiene was then the ruling spirit, first as superior of the Neapolitan house, and afterwards as the unofficial referee to whom, personally, all the affairs of the community were submitted with the utmost respect and obedience. Gaetano set no limits to his pastoral energy. He preached and heard confessions constantly ; the sick and those under sentence of death were never left unvisited; his retreats for the clergy, during which he urged without ceasing that the priesthood knew neither rest nor leisure, were crowned with blessings. He threw himself heart and soul into the direction of the Dominican nunnery of the Sapienza, over which the sister of Carafa, Maria, was Superior. Early in 1538 Gaetano was able to connect with the Church of St. Paul, which in time to come was to be his place of sepulchre, a chapel which, on account of its size and situation in the heart of the city, permitted him and his colleagues to have a fair field for their work in Naples.

The services in St. Paul's were conducted in the most solemn manner, subject to certain special liturgical uses; thus on either side of the altar hangings were suspended so that the officiating priest should not be exposed to distractions. In the church itself men and women were not allowed to worship together. Even the gravestones were removed from the church, which became a model of cleanliness and order. While in many other churches, in accordance with the

lax customs of the Renaissance, the behaviour of the people was highly irreverent, St. Paul's was spoken of as a centre of silence and recollection. To bring the vivacious Neapolitans to such a degree of self-discipline can have been no easy matter. On the other hand, Gaetano won great popularity by restoring at Christmas the general custom, as old as the days of St. Francis, of erecting in all churches a representation of the holy manger.

In 1539 the seeds of heresy sown by Juan Valdes in Naples, and more widely scattered by Ochino in his sermons, did not escape the vigilance of Gaetano and his colleague Marinoni, yet he was unable to carry out regulations against these dangers.

From 1540 to 1543 Gaetano's government of the house in Venice was not less energetic. Here also he was determined that an example of divine worship should be set, and encouraged the faithful to practise frequent communion. In the beginning of 1541 he held, at the request of his friend Giberti, a mission in Verona, the results of which were largely blessed. In the following year he was again engaged in efforts to counteract the teaching of Ochino, who was then, as in 1539, preaching the Lenten course of sermons to great congregations; but he was again unsuccessful in obtaining the removal of the man who was so dangerously at variance with the Church.

Gaetano's last years were spent in Naples, in unceasing labours of compassion for the bodily and spiritual infirmities of his fellow-men. In July 1545 he visited Rome and there made acquaintance with the founder of the Society of Jesus. In May 1547 he was again in Rome, called thither in order to take part in the Chapter of the Order held in the house of Carafa. This was an occasion involving an important decision; the Somaschi, founded by Girolamo Miani with the co-operation of Carafa, and in Venice and Milan the centre of beneficent work among orphans and reclaimed women, had on the 5th of July 1540 received confirmation as an association from Paul III. They had now expressed a wish to submit themselves to the care and superintendence of the Theatines; the Pope entrusted the matter to Carafa's judgment, who, after careful examination, declared himself in favour of granting the request. The Pope and the Chapter of the Theatines concurred in this decision and the two bodies were amalgamated.

In the same year 1547, on the 7th of August, Gaetano died a holy death amid all the disturbances called forth by the attempt to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Naples. Before his decease he exhorted his associates to place all their trust in Providence, since on that their congregation had been built. At the same time he besought them to be grateful to their benefactors, to have a care for the adornment of the House of God, and to love their neighbours and, above all, the sick. He offered up his life in expiation for the city of Naples, praying God that He would preserve its people in the faith. The guidance of the Order now passed to Bonifazio da Colle, who had entered it at its foundation on the 18th of September 1524, and in November 1548 the Englishman, Thomas Goldwell, was received at Naples as the first member not of Italian birth.

The members of Gaetano's community, who according to the intention of their founder were to form a company of priests devoted to the cure of souls and in direct dependence on the Holy See, were at this time officially styled Clerks Regular, those in Naples being known from the title of their house as Priests of St. Paul, and those in Venice of St. Niccolò da Tolentino. By the people they generally were spoken of either as reformed priests or as Theatines or Chietines, from the name of Carafa's bishopric of Chieti. The latter designation, often bestowed in jest on

all friends of Carafa and on the supporters of the strict reform party in particular, came into notice as early as the thirtieth year of the 16th century and afterwards became widely current. The Theatines excited admiration and wonder by their abject poverty; they never begged, but waited quietly for the alms bestowed upon them. “Poverty,” wrote the Theatine Bernardino on the 12th of September 1539, “is the only means at the present time of maintaining the clergy in independence and the Church in dignity.” The strict manner of life among the Theatines very soon became proverbial, and their example pointed the way with irresistible force to the reform of the clergy throughout Italy.

Besides the Theatines another community of Clerks Regular, on which the friends of reform looked with great hopefulness, grew in importance under Paul III. This was the society founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria, and was in many respects similar to that of the Theatines. Clement VII, in a brief of the 18th of February 1533, had approved of the congregation founded in Milan, the members of which renounced the world and surrendered themselves wholly to God for the salvation of souls. To attain this end two chief objects were kept in view: the improvement, on the one hand, of the clergy, in order thus to influence in a Christian sense the generation then growing up and, on the other hand, the reform of the rude and uncultivated classes by means of open-air missions and preaching.

At the request of Zaccaria and his colleague Bartolommeo Ferrari, Paul III, in a brief of July the 20th, 1535, confirmed his predecessor’s sanction and enjoined candidates for admission to take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience at the hand of any secular or regular priest. He also gave permission to the community to choose one among them as their Superior, to be appointed for three years, to admit other clerics and also laymen into their body, to observe publicly in their churches the hours of prayer, and to administer the sacraments of penance and of the altar at all times, with the exception of Easter. The Pope also thought it good that the first church to be built by the Order should be dedicated to St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles being held by them in special veneration, and he conferred upon them all the privileges belonging to Canons of the Lateran. Finally, he placed the community under the immediate authority and protection of the Holy See: this last privilege, however, was at first limited to five years.

In order to support the missions among the people of the Clerks Regular of St. Paul, as the new community at first was called, by means of the evangelization and direction of women, the widowed Countess Luigia Torelli founded a sisterhood of pious women which Paul III approved on the 15th of February 1535. This body, directed by Zaccaria, was known as that of the “Angelice.” This was approved by Paul III in a brief of the 6th of August 1549, while at the same time he added to their privileges especially by removing them from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop and placing them under the direction of the Superior of the Clerks Regular of St. Paul.

As the seat of the Angelice, Luigia Torelli had erected a convent in Milan near S. Euphemia; the house formerly occupied by them near S. Ambrogio they presented to the Clerks Regular of St. Paul who, on leaving their residence near S. Caterina, settled there and set up a small oratory which in 1542 they enlarged into a church for public worship. Here they laboured unceasingly, dispensing the Sacraments, preaching, and frequently holding spiritual conferences for the clergy as well as for the laity. An accusation of heresy brought against Zaccaria and his colleagues ended in the complete acquittal of the unjustly incriminated priests. On the 15th of April 1536 Jacopo

Antonio Morigia, a friend of Zaccaria, was chosen Superior. The latter had now greater freedom at his disposal for directing members of the Angelice and holding missions out of Milan. At the request of Cardinal Ridolfi he held a mission in Vicenza in 1537, and two years later he was at Guastalla, acting as peacemaker among the citizens; there he was taken seriously ill. He was taken to his home at Cremona and there, worn out by labours of charity and exercises of penance, he died on July the 5th, 1539, having just reached his thirty-sixth year.

"The Church has need of such men," said Paul III. His foundation, which clung specially to Milan, continued to flourish; the house near S. Ambrogio was found too small and the church there also was not roomy enough. For these reasons Zaccaria had already cast his eye on an ancient church dedicated to St. Barnabas standing in a very favourable position on a quiet open place not far from the so-called ship canal and within easy reach of the most populous quarter of the city. By the autumn of 1545 the acquisition of this spot was secured, and Morigia began the erection of a convent and a church from plans of his own. The convent was occupied by All Saints' Day 1547, and the church dedicated to St. Paul. The people, however, kept to the old name of St. Barnabas, and the members of the Order were known among them as the Barnabites.3On the 1st of December 1543 Paul III had already confirmed in perpetuity the privilege of 1535, then limited to five years. Thus the foundations were firmly laid of the Order from which proceeded that reform of Milan and other cities of Lombardy which at a later period was consummated by St. Charles Borromeo.

A devotion of a very special character spread gradually over the whole Catholic world through the influence of the Barnabites and the Capuchins. This was the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament during the public Exposition of the Forty Hours. It is impossible from the material at our disposal to decide with certainty whether this beautiful custom owes its origin to the founder of the Barnabites or to the Capuchin, Guiseppe Plantanida of Fermo.

While the Angelice, the true helpmates of the Barnabites, were even at a later date confined to northern Italy, another community had arisen which, in course of time, embraced in its activity the whole Catholic world. In this case also the beginnings were small and obscure. The foundress, Angela Merici, born in 1469 at Desenzano on the Lago di Garda, lost her parents in childhood and, together with her sister, was adopted by an uncle at Salo. The sudden death of this dearly loved sister was a blow which Angela felt all the more deeply as she had passed away without receiving the last Sacraments. She now flung herself with greater devotion than before into a life of piety and became a tertiary of St. Francis. On her uncle's death Angela returned to her brother at Desenzano, where she soon began to gather round her young girls of like disposition to her own. One day while in prayer in a vineyard on the road from Desenzano to Salo she had what seemed to her a revelation from heaven calling upon her to found a community of women who should strive heavenwards in a life of active charity; she saw, indeed, a ladder reaching from earth to heaven on which maidens, with lilies in their hands and crowns about their brows, were ascending led by angels.

Hitherto absorbed in her personal sanctification, she now turned to a work of neighbourly love; gathering about her the often neglected girlhood of Desenzano, she taught them simple lessons in religion and in the knowledge of common things. Invited to Brescia by the noble family of the Patengola, she there showed the same activity from 1516 onwards. According to

contemporary statements she reconciled many in that city who had been enemies for years. When a cousin of her own went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1524 she bore him company, and during the Jubilee of the following year she was a pilgrim to Rome. Through a Papal chamberlain whose acquaintance she had made on her journey to the Holy Land she was admitted to the presence of Clement VII, who would gladly have seen the centre of this pious maiden's work transferred from her native district to Rome, but, on Angela's entreaties, he put his wishes aside and allowed her to return to Brescia. There her quiet labours were interrupted by the tumult of the war which, after the League of Cognac, swept over almost the whole of Italy.

Like many others, Angela also sought refuge in the autumn of 1529 in Cremona from the encroachments of the savage soldiery. When the worst danger was over she returned to Brescia, where she took a house near the Church of St. Barnabas and began to contemplate her scheme of founding a religious community with the object of "practising Christian love in tending the sick, teaching young children, and pursuing individual holiness." On a pilgrimage to the sacred mount of Varallo, Angela disclosed her projects to her female friends. On the 15th of November 1535 they all partook of Holy Communion in St. Afra in Brescia, in confirmation of their vow of entire dedication to our Lord. Angela placed the young community under the patronage of St. Ursula, from whom it received its name. The community was not to be an Order : the members, in order to be able to carry out their work in the world, were to make their homes as before with their parents or relations, but were to meet together at fixed hours, to hear Mass daily, and to use certain prayers. As there were no special vows so there was no special clothing. For the direction of the community a Mother Superior was to be chosen for life. This rule, which Angela dictated to the priest Gabbriello Cozzano, was confirmed in August 1536 by Cardinal Cornaro, Bishop of Brescia. The community, then numbering seventy-six persons, chose Angela as their head in March 1537.1 The Canons of St. Afra placed at her disposal a dwelling in a favourable situation near their church, and a pious widow gave them a chamber in her house on the piazza of the Cathedral to serve as an oratory.

Angela lived to see her community spread all over Brescia and the villages around. She died on January the 15th, 1540, and found a resting-place in St. Afra, in accordance with a permission granted to her on the 2nd of December 1532 by the Grand Penitentiary. She was followed in the government of her community by the Countess Lucretia of Lodron, who was strongly opposed by a portion of the sisterhood, tenacious of the original regulations of the foundress, in her wish to add a leathern girdle in sign of their virginity to the habit hitherto worn. The disagreement very nearly led to a rupture when, at the critical moment, on the 9th of June 1544, Paul III intervened with a Bull which not merely confirmed the community of virgins founded in Brescia under the patronage of St. Ursula and approved by the Bishop of the see, but also settled the question of a special badge of chastity by granting a special indulgence to all members who should wear such a token. Thereupon the use of the girdle became general among the Ursulines.

The Bull of Paul III, which also gave the Superior the right from time to time and under change of circumstances to lay before the Holy See alterations in the statutes, was the first step towards the transformation of the community into a regular Order. This development, as well as the diffusion of the Ursulines over northern Italy, was accomplished later when their congregation

had become one of the most important factors in the revival of Catholic religion throughout the Peninsula.

While Italy was thus refreshed by new streams of life within the Church, apostolic men were also arising in Spain who, after passing through the experience of inward renewal in their own lives, were by work and example evoking a regeneration of the Catholic spirit on the sure foundations of the ancient religion. Such were John of Avila, Louis of Granada, and John of God.

John of Avila, born at the end of the 15th century, was at first bent on devoting himself to the conversion of America, but was restrained from leaving his native country by Alonso Manriquez, Archbishop of Seville. Here he devoted his life to converting hearts to God by his persuasive utterances. The jealousy of other preachers exposed him to many persecutions; he was even on one occasion cited before the Inquisition, but his innocence was soon recognized at that tribunal. His work as a preacher increased greatly as time went on; so many were the towns and cities that he visited that he was called the Apostle of Andalusia. In addition to his labours in the pulpit and the confessional he still found time for those of the desk. His life was written by his pupil and friend, Louis of Granada, then the second great luminary in the ecclesiastical firmament of Spain. Louis, who entered the Dominican Order at the age of nineteen, was, like his teacher, an earnest preacher. He excelled him as a writer of ascetic theology, and is reckoned among the classic authors of Spain. His most famous works are The Memorial of a Christian Life and Guide for Sinners, both masterpieces of ascetic literature.

John of God also belongs to the spiritual sons of the Apostle of Andalusia. At first, like Ignatius of Loyola, a gallant soldier, he was led to the path of his subsequent achievements by hearing a sermon by John of Avila at Granada in 1539. He left the army and gave expression to his contrition with such genuine southern fervour that he was looked upon as having lost his reason, and he was taken to the great hospital at Granada founded by Charles V, where he regained his balance of mind. Dis-missed as cured, he made a pilgrimage to Guadeloupe in New Castille and thence returned to Granada. Here in 1540 he founded a hospital and a community of persons living in the world who should take care of the sick. In time he extended his heroic work of service, as far as his position as a layman would permit, from the bodies of men to their souls; he exerted himself specially in the reclaiming of women who were leading lives of vice. An act of humanity, the rescue of a boy from the waters of the Xenil, cost him his life in March 1550. Under his successors the association founded by him continued to flourish, although these nursing brothers had no fixed rule. At last Pius V raised them to the rank of an ecclesiastical order; they were known in Spain as Hospitallers, in Italy as “Fate-ben-Fratelli,” and in Germany as Brothers of Pity. The praise of their humane works of compassion is common to all parties.

Paul III, like Clement VII, was repeatedly engaged with the claims of a new order which grew to be one of the most popular of all, and from which blessings without end were to descend upon the Church—this was the Order of the Capuchins.

The youthful creation, which aimed at restoring “even to the very letter” the spirit of the Poor Man of Assisi, went through repeated crises with no diminution of acuteness during the pontificate of Paul III. The claims already put forward by the Observants under Clement VII were now again advanced with still greater violence. It was folly on the part of the Capuchins to attach so much importance to their hood, since they could not produce a single proof that St. Francis

ever wore one; it was only done to attract attention, and their dress in its wretched condition was at bottom nothing else than contemptible vainglory. Besides, it was not the intention of the founder of the Order that his rule should be observed literally, since this was possible only for a very few and he had himself relaxed its severity. Finally, the Observants challenged the usefulness of the friars to the Church, since the latter heard no confessions and allowed no funeral rites or burials in their churches. It was not difficult for the Capuchins to reply to such accusations levelled at them in the blindness of passion, especially as regarded the objection that they heard no confessions; they could point to the repeated conflicts which had arisen between the Franciscans and the secular clergy on this very subject; besides, they had not relinquished this duty for the sake of convenience, as their zeal as preachers would prove; when necessity demanded they had never hesitated to give help to their colleagues among the clergy.

If therefore such unfounded charges failed to have any effect on the new Pope, the latter might yet feel anxious when so eminent a personage as Cardinal Quinones represented to him that the Capuchins were disturbing the peace of the Seraphic Order, of which he was protector, that they were preventing the introduction of the good elements of the Observants into the strict convents where the rule of St. Francis was observed in all its purity. Consequently, Paul III. on the 18th of December 1534 not merely confirmed his predecessor's prohibition concerning the admission of Observants, but extended it to all other Orders until the meeting of the General Chapter. Although this very severe regulation was on the 12th of January 1535 again restricted to the transfer of Observants, it was yet in no common degree detrimental to the extension of the Capuchins.

Not less hurtful was the behaviour of Lodovico da Fossombrone, the head of the young Order since 1529, and a man of self-assertive character. Hitherto he had filled his office as Vicar-General most zealously; he looked upon himself as indispensable, and was so fond of rule that it was his ambition to hold his office permanently; therefore he looked out for any pretext to prevent the General Chapter being held. At last a Papal command forced him to summon it. The Chapter, which assembled in Rome in November 1535, chose in his stead Bernardino of Asti. Lodovico felt the smart keenly, accused his brethren of ingratitude, and withdrew from the further proceedings of the Chapter. At his request Paul III called a fresh Chapter in the spring of 1536. As this resulted in the re-election of Bernardino, Lodovico refused his obedience, although the choice was confirmed by the Pope. The unhappy man, whose behaviour had found support in Cardinal Quinones, was allowed a respite until autumn; as he then continued contumacious, he was expelled from the Order with the Pope's approval.

At the same time the Capuchins had an accession in the famous writer Francis Titelmans, hitherto an Observant. This remarkable man, who at first was attached to the Hospital for Incurables in Rome, was soon afterwards made Provincial of the Roman Province, but unfortunately he died on the 15th of December 1537 on his second visitation journey.

The painful incident of Lodovico's expulsion was naturally made the most of by the enemies of the Capuchins.1 To what measures they had recourse is best seen from the fact that Quinones was successful in persuading the Emperor to write, on the 4th of December 1535, an autograph letter to the Pope asking him to forbid any further extension of the Capuchin Order, and in particular to refuse them permission to enter Spain.

But in the meantime powerful influences were at work in support of the new branch of the Franciscans. They found an enthusiastic champion in Vittoria Colonna, who had already in August 1535 drawn Contarini's attention to the Capuchins and obtained from Paul III. an immedi-ate modification of the renewed prohibition against transference from the Observant communities. Accordingly the Capuchins were permitted to receive Observants whose superiors had not designated within two months convents in which they could live under the reformed rule. On the 29th of December 1535 Vittoria wrote to Cardinal Gonzaga: "I had applied to Bishop Giberti of Verona asking him to certify you that I was speaking the truth in recommending to you these reverend fathers of the holy and true rule of St. Francis. I now send you his letter in confirmation of this." The Emperor, she continued, had been opposed to them, but was already of a different mind and would continue to be so, she hoped, after what he had seen in Rome. She was not mistaken, for after his visit to the humble Capuchin settlement Charles bore the most favourable testimony concerning them to the Pope. Paul III reminded him of the letter which he had written in December 1535. Charles replied, "I never withdraw my orders, but I do withdraw my letter, for I was badly informed."

In this way the Capuchins were restored to favour, while Vittoria Colonna, in her veneration for St. Francis, continued to afford them her indefatigable protection against unjust attacks. The evidence is afforded by her letters addressed in all directions: to the private secretary of the Pope, to Contarini, and to the Duchess of Urbino. While she besought the latter to protect the Capuchins of Fossombrone from molestation, she deplored in particular the persistent hostility of Cardinal Quinones. "He vents his hatred," so she wrote, "on the Capuchins because they have exposed so clearly the defects of his own Order." The representations of Cardinals Sanseverino and Contarini, who were supported by Pole, succeeded in overcoming all the scruples of Paul III. On the 25th of August 1536 he issued a Bull in which, in consideration of the rich fruits already brought forth by the new community and in expectation of fresh services to the militant Church, he confirmed the approbation of the Capuchins pronounced by his predecessor on the 3rd of June 1528 and conferred on the General Chapter the right to elect a Vicar-General who, as hitherto, should be subject to the General of the Conventuals. At the same time the Pope forbade, under penalty of excommunication, the Capuchin habit to be worn by anyone outside their Order. This last ordinance fell heavily on the original founder, Matteo da Bascio, when in 1537 he returned from his wanderings as a preacher of repentance to Rome, where the Capuchins in the previous year had settled on the Quirinal, near the Church of S. Nicola de Portiis.

Clement VII had appointed Matteo to special work as a preacher without attaching him to any convent. In consequence of the recent Papal decree the latter qualification became necessary, but Matteo was unable to make up his mind to conform to it. This incident naturally offered a fresh opportunity for the opponents of the Capuchins to renew their attacks.

The young community was far from securing peace; the Observants found their curtailed activity intolerable and raised incessant complaints. Paul III appointed a commission of inquiry of nine Cardinals, and in accordance with their proposal he gave orders in the beginning of January 1537 that until the General Chapter was held in Rome the Capuchins should not extend their operations beyond Italy and that no Observant should, without written permission from his Superior, go over to the Capuchins, and vice versa no Capuchin go over to the Observants. If any

of the latter wished to live by a stricter rule he might betake himself to a house appointed for him by his Superior; where no such convents existed, they were to be established.

But even now dissensions were not yet at an end. The Observants did all they could to have the Capuchin habit prohibited in order that the latter might be subordinate to—*i.e.* in subjection to—themselves. The new Order, however, had powerful supporters. They were in favour with many of the Cardinals, Contarini and Piccolomini in particular, and with the Imperial ambassador Aguilar. Vittoria Colonna came once more to the rescue of her protégés. In the autumn of 1538 she appealed not only to Contarini but to the Pope himself. Her letter to the Pontiff was dated from Lucca on the 16th of September 1538, and contains a most outspoken defence of the Capuchins as loyal and serviceable sons of the Holy See.

To Cardinal Contarini, Vittoria represented that the new Order contained so many remarkable members that it might with certainty be looked upon as the work of Christ. Let the example of the Capuchins and their admirable preaching witness in their behalf. It was her firm con-viction that the pure gold would be proved in the fire of persecution and the mere dross be consumed. One by one she met the charges brought against the Capuchins: that they were Lutherans because they preached the freedom of the spirit, that they had no authorized status, that they disobeyed the General of the Order, wore a different habit and received Observants. To the first charge Vittoria replied: "If St. Francis was a heretic, then are his followers Lutherans; if to preach spiritual freedom and to rebuke iniquity in submission to the ordinances of the Church is false, then is the Gospel also false in which it is written, 'It is the Spirit which giveth life.' "

These eloquent words were not without effect. The Observants failed in their chief demands—prohibition of the new habit and the subordination of the Capuchins. On the other hand, the Pope made more stringent his decree of the 23rd of August 1539 forbidding the Capuchins to receive any Observants except those who had a written permission to show from their Superior or from the Holy See, and a Bull of the 5th of August 1541 repeated this injunction. In other respects the Capuchins remained unmolested; they spread gradually all over Italy; in 1534 they had reached as far as Dalmatia and in 1540 they were in Corsica. Among the people love and respect for them increased from year to year, while their settle-ments were spoken of as types of the strictly cloistered life. Then came a blow, one harder than which it would be impossible to conceive; the head and glory of the Order, Bernardino Ochino, renounced the faith and married.

The downfall and disgrace of the Vicar-General set the enemies of the Capuchins on fresh intrigues and calumnies. "Such a tempest arose," wrote a chronicler of the Order, " that without God's help we had assuredly been lost." In order to involve the whole Order in disgrace, it was bruited about that Ochino had been its founder, and although the untruthfulness of this statement admitted of easy proof, it often obtained credence, while many even who wished well to the Order were made distrustful by Ochino's apostasy. There was good reason to fear that the members might be contaminated by the heresy of the head; a certain number of Capuchins did actually follow the example of their General; others by degrees reinstated themselves. In Rome Ochino's apostasy was known first in September 1542, but the Pope had been in receipt of information earlier in Perugia. How great was his agitation is shown by an expression which fell from him as, on his return journey, he caught sight of the Capuchin monastery on the slopes of Terni: "Very soon there will be an end to the Capuchins and their convents."

That an Order in which such a calamity should have occurred were better abolished was also the opinion of most of the Cardinals; only Cardinal Sanseverino spoke warningly of any hasty steps. Paul III. was guided by this eminent man's advice, and gave orders for a thorough inquiry. Cardinal Carpi, as Protector of the Seraphic Order, summoned, at the Pope's command, all the Superiors to Rome, who were there closely examined as to the purity of the faith. The result of the inquiry was that no sufficient ground was established for the abolition of the Order even if, in the case of a proportion of the fathers, suspect opinions could be proven ; taking the latter point into consideration, all the members were inhibited from preaching for the time being. Francesco of Jesi was appointed Commissary-General and soon afterwards elected Vicar-General in the Chapter of the Order held at Rome. He organized a thorough visitation of the Order, taking special care to go into the question of purity of doctrine, with close scrutiny, in the provinces of Venice and Emilia. That, notwithstanding this, distrust existed in Rome for some time later is shown by the presentation to the Capuchins, in 1545, of nineteen articles of faith on which they were required to make explicit declarations. The Vicar-General's answer was so satisfactory that the Pope restored to the Order the licence to preach. With this the Order passed safely through the last storm which might have had for them such disastrous consequences.

By this series of trials the Capuchin Order had gone through an ordeal of purification and emerged in such strength that henceforth there were no longer grounds for fear, although the enmity of the Observants did not cease.

The idea of such an Order originating from a perfectly simple man proved itself to possess an inherent vitality in no common degree. Although still temporarily confined within the limits of Italy, the Capuchins yet attained such importance that they more and more outdistanced the Theatines, The reason for this was that the Theatines always preserved a certain stamp of aristocracy, while the Capuchins acted primarily on the broad masses of the people and stirred them to the depths by their penitential preaching. In their outward appearance the poorest of the poor, they were already a living sermon and in immediate touch with that lower scale of men and women of whom they became the favourites and the counsellors. Barefooted and bareheaded, wearing only a coarse frock girt round them by a rough cord, these genuine disciples of St. Francis carried among the waifs and strays of the Italian provinces a truly apostolic missionary power. To know the depths of poverty for Christ's sake, to be spent in works of spiritual and bodily compassion for the love of their fellow-men, were the two guiding stars which led these heroic men on their toilsome way.

A middle place, as it were, between the Theatines and the Capuchins was reserved for yet another Order which, in enthusiastic devotion to the Church and lofty self-surrender for the salvation of souls, had a task of surpassing grandeur to fulfil. This was the Society of Jesus. This association, which was to supply the Church with a yet more powerful weapon than that wielded by the Capuchins in the work of reformation and restoration, had this in common with the rest of the new Orders—the pursuit, in the first place, of practical aims ; yet there were also many points of difference between them, and among them this particular one that, during the life-time of Paul III, the work of the Jesuits had already extended far beyond the confines of Italy. Quite apart from their surprisingly rapid extension and from the striking personality of their founder, the Society of Jesus deserves separate consideration for this reason that, among all the Orders of the modern era, they have formed the greatest support and the greatest defence of the Papacy.

EL VENCEDOR EDICIONES