



THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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

FROM THE GERMAN OF
LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR ✓

EDITED BY
RALPH FRANCIS KERR

OF THE LONDON ORATORY

VOLUME XXI
SIXTUS V. (1585-1590)

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

BROADWAY HOUSE : 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.

1932

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COLLECTIONS OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO IN VOLUMES XXI. AND XXII.

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| <p>BERLIN—State Library.
BOLOGNA—University Library.
BORGO IN VALSUGANA—Private possession.
BRUSSELS—State Archives.

CARLSRUHE—Library.
CITTÀ DI CASTELLO—Graziani Archives.
COBLENCE — Gymnasium Library.
CRACOW—Library of the Jagellon University.
CREMONA—Episcopal Archives.

DRESDEN—Library.

FLORENCE—State Archives.
—— National Library.
FOLIGNO—Seminary Library.

GENOA—State Archives.
—— University Library.
GÖRLITZ—Library.

INNSBRUCK — Provincial Archives.
—— Servite Library.

LONDON—British Museum.

MILAN—Ambrosian Library
—— Trivulzi Library.
MANTUA—Capilupi Library.
—— Gonzaga Archives.
MODENA—Chapter Archives.
—— State Archives.
MONTPELLIER—Library.
MUNICH—State Library.

NAPLES—National Library.
—— State Archives.</p> | <p>NICASTRO—Episcopal Archives.

OXFORD—Bodleian Library.

PADUA—Civic Library.
PARIS—National Archives.
—— National Library.
PISTOIA—Fabroniana Library.

ROME—

(a) <i>Archives</i> :
Azzolini.
Boncompagni.
Briefs.
Colonna.
Gaetani.
Papal Secret (Secret Archives of the Vatican).
Society of Jesus.
Congregation of the Council.
Consistorial (of the Vatican).
Propaganda.
Congregation of Rites.
Roman Seminary.
Spanish Embassy.
Theatines.

(b) <i>Libraries</i> :
Altieri.
Angelica.
Barberini (now at the Vatican).
Casanatense.
Chigi (now at the Vatican).
Corsini.
S. Croce in Gerusalemme.</p> |
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- (b) *Libraries:*
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| <p>Marchese Ferraioli
 (now at the Vatican).
 PietroPieri(now sold).
 Vallicelliana.
 Vatican.
 Vittorio Emanuele.</p> <p>SANSEVERINO — Municipal Archives.</p> <p>SIMANCAS—Archives.</p> <p>TURIN—State Archives.</p> | <p>UPSALA—Library.</p> <p>VENICE—State Archives.
 ———Library of St. Mark.
 ———Querini - Stampalia Library.</p> <p>VERCELLI—Chapter Library.</p> <p>VIENNA—State Archives.
 ———State Library.</p> <p>VITERBO—Communal Library.</p> <p>WITTINGAU—Archives.</p> |
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INTRODUCTION

WITH Sixtus V., the Franciscan Pope, there ascended the throne of St. Peter a man of such original and outstanding genius, who exercised so great a fascination over his contemporaries, as to lead them to attribute to him the merits which in reality belonged rather to his predecessor, Gregory XIII. Even though modern historical criticism has placed matters in this respect in a truer perspective, it has, nevertheless, not altogether grasped the part played in the affairs of the world by Sixtus V.

Although the character of the new Pope, as well as many of his ideas, and very often his methods, differed from those of his predecessor, in his case as well the first place was held by the reform of ecclesiastical life, and the restoration of unity of faith in the Christian world. In conformity with this idea, through this pontificate as well, the all-embracing and unchanging policy of the Holy See pursued its course and had the most important results for the Church.

But what was new and peculiar was the attitude of Sixtus V. in face of the grave crisis through which France was passing, and which was of so great importance to the whole future of Europe. This Pope, who had sprung from the lowliest estate, gave, in these circumstances, signal proof of his prudent and statesmanlike judgment by his care for the maintenance of the balance of power between the Catholic powers, the importance of which, both as the supreme head of the Church, and as an Italian sovereign, he clearly realized.

A two-fold aim unfolded itself before the eyes of Sixtus V. in his attitude towards the disturbances in France: the saving of the Catholic faith so seriously threatened by Calvinism, and the preservation of France as a powerful and independent state. The attainment of the former end was all the more bound to take the first place for the supreme

head of the Church in that, in the eyes of all contemporary observers, the triumph of the Huguenots in France would mean the triumph of Protestantism throughout Europe. In order to avert so terrible a catastrophe even the independence of France would have to be sacrificed in the last resort, yet the Pope was determined to use every means to prevent such a thing so long as it was possible. Hence arose his bitter struggle with Spain.¹ If Sixtus V. had placed his full moral support and his financial resources at the disposal of the King of Spain, Henry of Navarre must certainly have succumbed. What the consequent dominion, whether direct or indirect, of Spain over France would have entailed, was quite clearly realized by Sixtus V. As the French would not long have endured a foreign domination,² their country would in that case have fallen a victim to incalculable disturbances, and must have disappeared as a great power. At the same time the influence of Spain would have been so much increased that the independence of the Holy See and the liberty of the Church could no longer have been maintained.

The hesitating and changing attitude of Sixtus V. towards the disturbances in France, which was quite incomprehensible to many of his contemporaries,³ was based principally upon

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 377 *seq.* whose retrospect forms the basis of the above observations.

² Cf. the opinion of the author of the Florentine account in BRATLI, *Filip af Spanien*, Copenhagen, 1909, 200 *seq.*

³ With regard to the complaints of Philip II.'s representatives that Sixtus V. always took the line of least resistance, HÜBNER, remarks (II., 387) that this can only refer to the steady advance of Henry IV. who, with his ever-increasing Catholic following, made his influence felt in a very marked manner. The Pope acted like the tactician "who makes his own operations dependent upon those of his opponent. He changes his battle order, makes marches and countermarches, advances or retires, all according to the exigencies of the moment. But all the time he has one single aim and object in view, namely the defeat of the enemy; and here the enemy consisted of the new religion and Spanish ambition. And so Sixtus sought to loosen the fetters that bound

that natural and equitable aim, steadily pursued by all the great Popes, of averting, by means of a balance between the rival European powers, the danger of cesaropapalism, and thus preserving to the Church and the Holy See that freedom and independence which were necessary to her for the carrying out of her great mission. Sixtus V. therefore wished for a France that should be, not only Catholic, but also independent, and which should be in a position to act as a counter-weight to the mighty power of the Spanish king, the further extension of which threatened, as once the power of the Hohenstaufen had done, to paralyse and crush the Papacy in its iron embrace.¹ If Philip II. had become the absolute master not only of the south of the continent of Europe, but also of the west, how easily he might have transferred the Holy See to Toledo, or have changed Rome herself into a Spanish Avignon !

The danger of a Spanish cesaropapalism appeared all the more threatening in that Philip looked upon himself as called upon, not only to give to the Church the protection of his secular power, but also to watch over her and safeguard her.

him to Spain, for he doubted no longer that France would emerge from the crisis as a Catholic and independent nation." The appreciation of the situation given by HERRE (407 *seq.*) and BALZANI (Sisto V., p. 63 *seq.*) is very similar to that of HÜBNER. Ranke had an insufficient knowledge of the diplomatic documents, and therefore his account is incomplete and, to a certain extent, misleading ; and yet he says that it would be an injustice to Sixtus V. to reproach him with indecision and vacillation : " His powers of perception made him see things in all their bearings, he perceived the dangers on both sides, and so he gave way to opposing suggestions and the moment never arrived when he was called upon to make a final decision " (PÄPSTE, II. (8), 143). Cf. also the excellent treatment of the subject by EHSES, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lx.

¹ See SEGESSER, III., 2, 79 *seq.* Cf. also PHILIPPSON in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXXIX., 440 *seq.* and HERRE in the *Hist. Vierteljahrschrift*, 1908, 388 for Sixtus V. as the chief upholder of the principle of the Balance of Power.

Sixtus V. had seen for himself how the active but selfish zeal of the King of Spain for the interests of the Church, as well as the principles of his ecclesiastical policy, had constantly led to many usurpations in purely religious questions. The justifiable mistrust with which he watched the Spanish king, as he ostentatiously put himself forward as the protector of the Church, confirmed him in his opposition to any profit being drawn from the disturbed conditions of France to the advantage and increase of the power of Spain. By energetically resisting the ever-growing designs of Philip II., Sixtus V. bridled his cesaropapistical aims, saved France from calamitous conflicts, assured the position of the Church in that country, and set up a counter-weight on Catholic soil to the preponderance of Spain. Thus he became not only the saviour of the independence of France, but also of the liberties and independence of the Papacy.

But the importance of the pontificate of Sixtus V. was by no means ended with that. Wherever he could, especially in Germany, the Low Countries, Switzerland and Poland, he carried on the work of reform and Catholic restoration, seeking to save what still could be saved, and striving to recover lost ground. He also encouraged the missions outside Europe. With a just appreciation of the importance of learning in fighting the religious innovations, he did all he could to place at the disposal of the pioneers of the old Church the necessary intellectual equipment. To this day witness is borne to this by the Vatican Library, which he renewed and splendidly consolidated, and by the printing press which he set up there.

As a reorganizer of the Church, Sixtus V., like Gregory VII., made a close union between the universal Church and Rome the basis of his programme of reform.¹ Full of energy, always going straight and directly to his end, and extraordinarily practical, from the very beginning of his reign, he restored the almost forgotten practice, by which all the

¹ See SCHMIDLIN, *Kirchliche Zustände*, xix. Cf. SEGESSER, III., 1, 283.

bishops, within definitely fixed periods, had to render an account to him of their fulfilment of their various pastoral duties, and of the state of the dioceses entrusted to them.

Of even greater importance for the spread of reform and Catholic restoration, was the fact that Sixtus V. gave to the central government of the Church its permanent form. The same keen insight into the needs of the future, which he displayed in the attitude which he adopted towards the crisis in France, guided him in this as well. To ensure victory in the struggle against Protestantism, and to enforce the reform work of the Council of Trent, a new organization of ecclesiastical administration was called for, which would make possible a systematic, speedy and impartial discharge of the business which was brought from all parts of the world to Rome. With that clear outlook which belongs to rulers who are blessed by God he realized that this purpose would be better served by the cardinalitial congregations than by the treatment of affairs at plenary assemblies of the Sacred College, or in consistories, as had hitherto been customary. In the formation and organization of the congregations Sixtus V. showed himself to be an unrivalled organizer. His rearrangement of them, which has lasted until the present day, gave the Church a centralization and a cohesion which was an admirable complement to the work of the Papal nuncios and of the active fighting forces of the religious Orders, and which consolidated and reinvigorated the unity and authority of the old Church.¹

Thus Sixtus V. stands out in history as one of the most important of all those who have worn the tiara ; gifted with an extraordinary personality, and stamped with great single-mindedness of purpose, he proved himself a man of both genius and greatness in all his undertakings and in all his far-reaching designs. He united a clear outlook to a rare energy and complete fearlessness, and above all was possessed of a supremely practical judgment, and during his pontificate, which did not extend much beyond five years, to the marvel

¹ Cf. BALZANI, Sisto V., p. 52 *seq.*

of his contemporaries, he accomplished more than many of his predecessors, who had enjoyed a far longer reign, had been able to do.

In the Eternal City, too, no Pope of modern times has left so many traces of his building activity as Sixtus V. What Julius II. had been for Rome in the time of the Renaissance, he was for the period of the Catholic restoration.¹ To this day his renown is proclaimed by the splendid halls of the Vatican Library, the palaces built as residences for the successors of St. Peter, the aqueducts, the new streets, the obelisks adorned with the insignia of the Cross, the statues of the Princes of the Apostles on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and the dome of St. Peter's, which he almost completed.

Historians of every school agree in this, that Sixtus V. is one of the most imposing of the many great Popes produced by the period of reform and Catholic restoration.² It may well be said that posterity has unjustly withheld the title of Great from this Pope, who, full of confidence in God, steered the ship of Peter at an extremely critical time,³ with all the energy and prudence of the ancient Roman.

¹ See GREGOROVIVS, *Die Grabmäler der Päpste* (2), Leipzig, 1881, 149.

² A fact which has recently been emphasized by HERRE in a very decided manner (*Päpstwahlen*, 21, 365 *seq.*). Much earlier, in his continuation of Hortig's Church History, DÖLLINGER (III., 2, 728), declared that Sixtus V. was one of the greatest rulers of all times. In 1870, REUMONT (III., 2, 591) wrote that the three last centuries could point to no greater Pope. HASE (*Kirchengeschichte auf Grundlage akad. Vorlesungen*, III., 1, 375) praises Sixtus V. as "the hero of the renewed Papacy." EHSES (*Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lix) describes him as a Pope whose leadership and energy make him worthy to rank with the greatest men of history.

³ Cf. the *addresses delivered in the consistories of July 31, and October 25, 1589, in the *Acta consist.*, Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, Vatican Library.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER OF SIXTUS V.

AFTER the death of Gregory XIII., on April 10th, 1585, the first care of the Cardinals was directed to the preservation of peace in the States of the Church, and especially in Rome, where ample military precautions were at once taken. The duty of guarding the city, six of the gates of which were closed, was entrusted to Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora, who had at his disposal more than 2000 infantry and four companies of light cavalry, while 1200 infantry were under the command of Monsignore Ghislieri, who was entrusted with the defence of the Borgo.¹

During the first confusion after the death of the Pope many prisoners had escaped from the prisons, among them that party of thirty-six who were to have been executed before Easter. Some of the more dangerous prisoners had been removed to the Castle of St. Angelo. Cardinals Guastavillani, Colonna and Medici were especially concerned with measures for the repression of the many bandits who had made their appearance, not only in the neighbourhood of the city, but even in Rome itself. The discontented barons, too, were given serious warnings.² Although at the beginning of the vacancy in the Holy See the customary excesses were not wanting, yet, for the most part, peace was successfully maintained in Rome during the conclave, a state of affairs which was due to the behaviour of the Roman nobility, as

¹ See *Avvisi di Roma of April 13 and 21, 1585, Urb. 1054. Vatican Library, and *report from Rome of April 26, 1585, Hist. No. 5312, Archives, Wittingau. Cf. *Quellen und Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, VI., 98.

² See *Avviso of April 13, *loc. cit.* and Cardinal Medici's report in HÜBNER, I., 143.

well as to the severity of the Duke of Sora.¹ Another thing that told favourably for this end was the admirable success of the measures which the Cardinals had taken to provide Rome with food.²

Thus the election was able to begin under comparatively favourable conditions. Of the sixty members of the Sacred College only thirty-eight took part in this at first. Four others arrived later, so that the full number of the electors rose to forty-two.³ Among these there were three Germans :

¹ See *Avviso of April 20, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

² See *Rerum a Romanis pontificibus gestarum post Gregorium XIII. liber primus, in the Cod. F. IV., 81 of the Chigi Library, Rome. Cf. GUALTERIUS, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Spreno reported on April 20 : *" In urbe res omnes adeo bene dispositae sunt, ut cum summa tranquillitate transeant " (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). The *report from the archives at Wittingau (quoted p. 7 in the first note) is very similar.

³ *Farnesius, Sabellus, Serbellonus, Gamba, Jesualdus, Altemp-tius, Avalus, Columna, Gallius, S. Crucius, Ferrerius, Sirletus, Paleottus, Bonellus, Madrutius, Pelve, Sanctorius, Cesius, Rombo-lietto, Perettus, Rusticuccius, Albanus, Boncompagnus, Simon-cellus, Riarius, Deza, Caraffa, Facchinettus, Castaneus, Mediceus, Cananus, Sfondratus, Salviatus, Spinola, Contarellus, Lancel-lottus, Estensis, Mediceus, Vastavillanus, Austrius, Gonzaga, Sfortia (GUALTERIUS, *loc. cit.*). Cf. PETRAMELLARIUS, 273 *seq.* Payments made to " Ottav. Mascherino, architetto del conclave " in BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bologn., 30. The anonymous report, which was not printed until 1667 in the *Conclavi 143-211*, was, for a long time, the only available source of information for the election of Sixtus V. ; but this report can only be regarded as trustworthy when it deals with external events. This Relation, which was worked up into a pamphlet in England in 1690 and 1724, was translated by Theodor Paur in the *New Lausitz. Archiv*, L. (1873), 162 *seqq.* This report was the principal source made use of by TEMPESTI (I., 127 *seq.*), but he also utilised other contemporary sources such as Santori, Alaleone and the letter of an anonymous conclavist. An important advance was made in 1856 when MUTINELLI (*Storia arcana*, I., 159-162) published L. Priuli's

Mark Sittich, Andrew of Austria and Madruzzo, and three Frenchmen: Rambouillet, Pellevé and Contarelli. Of the Spanish Cardinals only Deza was present. The rest were all Italians. All were animated with the desire to elect the man who was most worthy and capable of carrying on the great work of reform and Catholic restoration. National and personal considerations also naturally entered into the matter, but these were only of minor importance.¹ How much the times had changed was clearly apparent from the fact that hardly any mention was made of the one-time division of the Sacred College into a Spanish-Imperial and a

report of April 26, 1585. HÜBNER's exhaustive account (I., 131-213) is based, for the most part, on the Florentine reports which PETRUCELLI (II., 243 *seqq.*) had already utilised in the same uncritical manner that he used other ambassadorial despatches. Of these Florentine reports Hübner makes most use of those of Ferdinando Medici whose important memorandum of April 24 he published in its entirety in his French edition (II., 459-467). HERRE, who has given a new and very detailed account (p. 308-364), deserves the credit of being the first to elucidate the attitude of Spain by making use of the Spanish reports which, unfortunately, are not complete. He also cleared up several other points; and he utilised the new sources of information which had been published by ORSI (*La Cultura*, N.S., I., 470 *seqq.*), BREMOND (J. de Vivonne, 159 *seqq.*) and MOTTA (Otto pontificati, 130 *seqq.*). HERRE (p. 359) very rightly points out that it was ecclesiastical and religious interests that overwhelmingly turned the scale in the election of Sixtus V.; and that it was not Medici, but Este and Madruzzo who were the real Pope-makers. In the account which follows, use has been made, for the first time, of the important *reports of C. Capilupi from the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 147. After the conclave, G. Maretti wrote: *" Si puo dicere che questo conclave sia terminato senza scoperta di rancori che cardinali hanno tra di loro fuori di quelli che si palesarono nelli primi 10 giorni della sede vacante. Madruzzo is said to have thought, "che questa è stata delle piu concorde et honorate elettioni," that had taken place for years. State Archives, Modena.

French party. The Cardinals naturally fell into groups, at the head of which stood the nephews of recent Popes.

An extraordinary combination of circumstances prevented any special influence upon the conclave on the part of the great Catholic powers. The man who, among the Catholic princes, might have intervened decisively, Philip II. of Spain, had no part in it; his wishes, as expressed in the instructions sent to his ambassador, Olivares, only reached Rome on April 24th, 1585, when a decision had already been arrived at.¹ The same was the case with the Emperor, Rudolph II., whose help had been called for by the Grand Duke of Tuscany.² As in Prague, so also in Paris, but little attention was paid to what was happening in the Curia. But it was not only ignorance of what was going on in Rome which prevented any efficacious intervention on the part of the French government, whose ambassador, Vivonne, reached Rome on April 18th, but also the weakness and want of unity of the French party in the Sacred College, since only Este and his followers adhered to the cause of Henry III., while Pellevé openly declared himself a supporter of the League. As the election of the Pope, contrary to all expectations, took place very suddenly, it was useless to think of any intervention on the part of the Cardinals who were still in France, and who had been summoned to Rome by Este on April 10th.³

Of the Italian governments only Venice and Florence were in a position to bring any great influence to bear. The cautious Venetians, however, refrained on principle from trying to influence the election of the Pope; with all the greater zeal, therefore, did the Grand Duke of Tuscany endeavour to do so. Cosimo had a representative in Rome in the person of his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, who was a man of considerable capacity, indefatigably hard-working, and fertile in expedients. In order to place the

¹ See HERRE, *Papstwahl*, 323 *seq.*

² Cf. REICHENBERGER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 82, note.

³ Cf. BREMOND, 160; HERRE, 328 *seq.*

necessary check upon his ardent temperament, the Grand Duke also sent his secretary, Belisario Vinta, to Rome.¹

Medici's declared adversary and rival had long been Alessandro Farnese. The latter, who was dean of the Sacred College, may be said to have represented in his own person the period which led from the end of the Renaissance to that of the reform and Catholic restoration.² Like Paul III., to whom he owed his promotion, Alessandro Farnese had accommodated himself to the changed times, which imperiously insisted upon the predominance of religious considerations. Transformed by his relations with Ignatius of Loyola and Philip Neri, he showed himself not only the munificent patron of artists and scholars, but also as the promotor of all Catholic endeavours. His special favour was bestowed upon the Society of Jesus, for which he built in the Gesù in Rome a sumptuous church, which became the model of many sacred edifices in the age that followed.³

Since the death of Paul III., Cardinal Farnese had witnessed the election, reign and death of six Popes. The important part which he had taken in all the preceding conclaves was so great that he had been called the "Pope-maker." This time he hoped to be able to bring about his own election, and thus bring his antagonism for Medici, his ancient rival, to a victorious conclusion.⁴ At first sight he seemed to have a strong advantage over the latter. With the Roman people, on account of the generosity with which he used his vast

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 151 *seq.*, 166 *seq.* Medici is described as the cleverest member of the College of Cardinals in Sporeno's *report of April 5, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. For Medici's turbulent temperament, his tactless remarks about many of the cardinals and his lack of courtesy to those who were not of princely blood *cf.* Serguidi's *Relatione di P. Gregorio XIII et della corte Romana 1581, Medic. 3605, State Archives, Florence.

² *Cf.* Vol. XI, p. 139 of this work.

³ *Cf.* Vol. XX, p. 577 of this work.

⁴ As early as December 31, 1583, Sporeno reported to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol that Farnese hoped to become Pope : *Report in the Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

riches, he enjoyed a popularity that could not have been greater. At the same time he was very greatly loved in the Sacred College itself; by his strictly religious sentiments, and his kindly and attractive character he had made many friends among his colleagues. In spite of this Medici was resolved to do all in his power to prevent the success of Farnese at the conclave. Political considerations determined him in this. There was reason to fear that if Farnese became master of the Papal States, the power of his brother, the Duke of Parma, would be so greatly increased that the very existence of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany would be threatened, all the more so as Spain had taken the part of Farnese.¹

As the result of the antagonism between Farnese and Medici, even in the time of Gregory XIII., the College of Cardinals had been divided into two parties; the decisive battle was now to be fought. Both the rivals sought in every way to win over the influential Cardinal Este and the nephews of the last three Popes: Altemps, Bonelli and Filippo Boncompagni. Boncompagni promised Farnese the support of his party, which seemed of all the more importance as sixteen of Gregory's Cardinals were taking part in the election. Farnese thought that he could build equal hopes upon the attitude of the King of Spain. Hitherto, the latter had excluded him, but now the Spanish ambassador, Olivares, solemnly declared that Philip II. left the Cardinals complete liberty. Medici was supremely alarmed at this declaration, and his annoyance was all the greater when he learned that he, the Cardinal Protector of Spain, had not been chosen to undertake the guidance of the adherents of Philip II. in the conclave, but Cardinal Madruzzo, whose arrival was looked for from hour to hour.²

However difficult the position in which Medici found himself, he did not lose courage, and worked for the exclusion of Farnese with undiminished zeal. It was easy for him to win over to his views Bonelli, the nephew of Pius V., who already

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 158 *seq.*

² See HÜBNER, I., 161 *seq.*

in the time of Gregory XIII. entertained hostile feelings for Farnese.¹ On April 11th Medici also won over Mark Sittich, the leader of the Cardinals of Pius IV., though on the other hand his attempt to separate Boncompagni from Farnese was a failure.² But even this did not altogether discourage Medici, and as the leader of Gregory's Cardinals continued to hold aloof, he devoted his attention to his followers.³ In this he was helped by the imprudent behaviour of Boncompagni, who had not consulted Gregory's Cardinals about the candidature of Farnese, and thinking that they would be sure to follow him blindly, had given his promise on his own authority.⁴ This mistake annoyed the Duke of Sora, who gladly set himself to influence the Cardinals in the sense desired by Medici. To all this had to be added the long-standing rivalry between the two nephews of Gregory XIII., and Boncompagni's sympathy with Farnese was balanced by the dislike of Guastavillani.⁵

While the ill-timed intervention of Boncompagni on behalf of Farnese only did the latter harm, it was clear that the powerful Cardinal Este, who had hitherto maintained an attitude of great reserve, was taking up a position of hostility to the grandson of Paul III. He was led to this, not only by the interests of the princely House of Este, but also by the conviction that Farnese, who had Spanish sympathies, was not the neutral personality that the good of the Church demanded.⁶ The Mantuan envoy, Capilupi, whose master

¹ See Serguidi's *Relatione of 1581 quoted *supra* p. 11, note 1, State Archives, Florence.

² Cf. REBASCHI CAROTTI, 15.

³ See HÜBNER, I., 158 *seq.*; REBASCHI CAROTTI, 15.

⁴ See *Capilupi's report of April 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See HERRE, 311.

⁶ See HERRE, 315 *seq.*; REBASCHI CAROTTI, 17. *Il vero subietto d' Este per papa, said Serguidi in 1581 in his Relatione di P. Gregorio XIII et della corte Rom., intendo che è Justiniano il quale vendendosi dalle cose di Genova in qua haver perso Spagna si è gettato a Franzesi forse con promessa di quella città dalla fattione nuova. Medic. 3605, State Archives, Florence.

had from the first been opposed to Farnese,¹ remarked as early as April 12th that his candidature was going badly. His opponents, he wrote, are united, and as twelve or thirteen votes will be sufficient to exclude him, it will be easy to keep them in agreement. It is difficult to understand how Farnese could have so completely deluded himself as to the importance of his alliance with Boncompagni; it was quite clear to every shrewd observer that the nephew of the dead Pope was lacking in all the qualities necessary for keeping Gregory's Cardinals united, and for guiding them, though by reason of their number they were in a position to decide the question.² On the other hand, no one had any idea that Spain too was secretly not desirous of the election of Farnese. Olivares, however, had no need to trouble himself as to this, as Cardinal Medici was safeguarding the interests of Spain.³ The latter's efforts met with so much success, that Farnese's hopes grew less every hour,⁴ and by the eve of the entry into conclave had been almost completely wrecked.⁵

In place of the grandson of Paul III. men of quite a different stamp were in the foreground. These were, of the Cardinals of Pius IV., first Sirleto, and then Paleotto and Santa Croce; of the Cardinals of Pius V., Cesi, Santori, Montalto and Albani. Among the Cardinals of Gregory XIII. the following were considered possible Popes: Torre, Facchinetti, Laureo and Castagna.⁶ When each of these was looked at individu-

¹ See REBASCHI CAROTTI, II *seq.*

² See *Capilupi's memorandum of April 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. REBASCHI CAROTTI, 17 *seq.*

³ See HERRE, 320, 329.

⁴ Cf. *Capilupi's report of April 17, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ Cf. *Capilupi's reports of April 19 and 20, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *Sporeno's memorandum of April 20, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

⁶ See the report of the conclave in *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives (cf. Appendix No. 41). See also the report of April 20 1585 in FUSAI, B. Vinta, 35. Epigrams on the 'Papabili' Montalto, Albani, Savelli, Santa Croce, Torre, Sirleto and A. Farnese in the C. Strozz. 230, p. 144 *seq.*, State Archives, Florence.

ally, it was clear that only one of them corresponded to all the requirements that were put forward by the various parties. This was Felice Peretti, known, from the native place of his family, as Cardinal Montalto.¹ It is characteristic of the shrewd insight of the Mantuan envoy, Camillo Capilupi, that as early as April 12th, 1585, he had clearly realized the true state of affairs. Montalto, he reported, has every prospect of success; he is behaving with the greatest prudence and circumspection; not even the Spaniards reject him.²

In his letter of April 12th, Capilupi calls attention to two reefs upon which the election of Montalto might meet with shipwreck. In the first place, his ambitions must not be disclosed too clearly before the proper time, and secondly he would have to reckon with the fear of Paolo Giordano Orsini, who would certainly use his influence with Cardinal Medici, who was his relative, to prevent the election of a Cardinal from whom it was to be expected that he would call him to account as the murderer of his nephew.³

Moreover, the opinion was very wide-spread that Cardinal Medici, on account of his relationship with Paolo Giordano Orsini, would certainly not favour the elevation of Montalto.⁴ But, as has so often happened in history, on this occasion too it was the unexpected that occurred.

On Easter Day, April 21st, 1585, the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in St. Peter's, after which the celebrated Muret delivered the usual discourse on the election of the

¹ See HERRE, 332 *seq.*, 336 *seq.*, who rightly points out that Montalto's chances of being elected were more clearly recognised in the city than among the electors whose judgment was easily clouded by the various influences brought to bear upon them. The *Avvisi of the Vatican Library, already utilised by GNOLI (V. Accoramboni, 234), are more reliable than the Florentine reports (PETRUCELLI, II., 249 *seq.*, 252) quoted by Herre.

² See the important *memorandum of Capilupi dat. April 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See *ibid.*

⁴ Cf. HERRE, 337.

Pope ;¹ in the evening, the conclave which had been prepared in the Vatican was closed.² There a new election capitulation was drawn up, which bound the new Pope to the restoration of peace among the princes, the war against the Turks, the carrying on of Catholic reform, the defence of the liberties of the Church, and the completion of the basilica of St. Peter's.³ At first there was still talk of the election of Farnese, but the grandson of Paul III. himself realized how small his hopes had become ; he therefore kept altogether apart, and did not wish any mention to be made of his election.⁴

On the following day Altemps made an attempt to obtain the tiara for his chosen candidate, Sirleto. Although the latter was a man of irreproachable character, he nevertheless found many to oppose him. Being purely a scholar, he was not suited to a position which before all things called for practical action and political capacity. It is significant that the ambassador of Spain, Olivares, favoured the elevation of Sirleto, obviously with the hope of being able to dominate him. But it was exactly the favour of Spain which damaged the chances of Sirleto to an extraordinary degree. Like Este, Medici was the declared opponent of the candidature of Sirleto, and in this he was greatly influenced by his annoyance at the fact that Philip II. had not entrusted him, the Cardinal Protector of Spain, with the representation of his interests ;

¹ See A. Mureti *Oratio habita ad ill. et rev. S.R.E. cardinales ipso die Paschae cum subrogandi pontificis causa conclave ingressuri essent*, Romae 1585. The *Avviso of April 21, 1585, praises the discourse as a masterpiece. Vatican Library.

² Cf. P. Alaleone in GATICUS, 338. A copy of the *Vera pianta del conclave* of 1585 (by Natal. Bonifacio) in the large collection of conclave plans in the Vatican Library. Montalto's cell in the Borgia Apartments is here given as No. 50.

³ See the wording in the *Arch. d. Castel S. Angelo, Arm. 11, c. 3, n. 23, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. LULVÈS in the *Quellen und Forschungen des preussischen Instituts*, XII., 227.

⁴ According to C. Capilupi in his *memorandum of April 24, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

he now wished to show what he could do, and how it was not the task of the ambassadors, but of the Cardinals, to provide the occupant of the throne of St. Peter.¹ Those Cardinals who, as had already been the case under Gregory XIII.,² did not wish for any Pope who was dependent upon Spain, feared lest Sirleto should carry on the government of the Church as the "chaplain of the Catholic King," and so pronounced against him.³ To this must be added the fact that Altemps acted in so impetuous a way that not a few of the Cardinals were filled with indignation.⁴

After the first fruitless scrutiny there arrived Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who had reached Rome from Innsbruck in six days. The Spanish ambassador insisted that he should at once enter the conclave.⁵ As Andrew had not received deacon's orders, Farnese, who was joined by Boncompagni, was unwilling to allow him to vote. The Cardinal of Austria, however, could appeal to the dispensing bull of Gregory XIII., thanks to which Bonelli and Medici obtained his admission to the conclave.⁶ The next scrutiny, however, produced no result. The negotiations which were carried on during the night for the election of Giambattista Castagna, who was very acceptable to Spain, also failed completely.⁷

It was of decisive importance when Medici was successful in coming to an arrangement with the powerful Cardinal

¹ See *Ibid.* .

² On this subject see Cusano's interesting *report of February 19, 1575, where it deals with the machinations practised at the conclaves of those days. State Archives, Vienna.

³ Cf. HERRE, 333.

⁴ Cf. *Capilupi's memorandum of April 24, 1585, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Fu subito spinto dentro in conclave dall'ambascadore di Spagna senza darli tempo pur a cavarsi i speroni, says a report from Rome dat. April 26, 1585, Hist. No. 5312, Archives, Wittingau.

⁶ Cf. P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 338 *seq.*; HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 407.

⁷ See the report in MOTTA, 130.

Este¹ in favour of the candidature of Montalto. Although he was Protector of France, and the friend of the Valois, this Cardinal had even more at heart the good of the Church, which called for the exclusion of any Pope who should be devoted to French interests alone, as much as one who was completely subject to Spain. Este wished for an independent personality, and for this reason both Montalto and Albani were acceptable to him. He very prudently wished to take into account the attitude of Spain, by submitting his views to the approval of Madruzzo, the trusted friend of Spain, whose arrival was imminent.²

In the meantime Medici was working with true zeal for Montalto. He succeeded in winning over to his cause, first Altemps, who feared above all things the election of Cardinal Michele della Torre,³ and then Bonelli, the leader of the Cardinals of Pius V.⁴

While, in the evening of April 22nd, the Romans were first in a state of joyful excitement at the rumour of the election of Farnese, and then, when this proved to be false, profoundly disappointed,⁵ on the evening of the following day there at

¹ After Este had returned to Rome from Tivoli, the great power that he wielded was shown by the almost incredible concourse of people that flocked to his palace; see the *Avvisi of April 13 and 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

² Cf. HERRE, 345 *seq.* For the false assertion that F. Peretti purchased the votes of Este and his followers cf. DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, *Moralstreitigkeiten*, I., Nördlingen, 1889, 552 *seq.* According to the *Avviso of April 24, 1585 (Urb. 1053, Vatican Library), Sixtus V. said to the French Envoy that, after God, he owed his election to Este.

³ Cf. PICHLER, *Il Castello di Duino*, Trento, 1882, 17 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. Medici's report in HÜBNER, II., 459 *seq.*, Priuli's report in MUTINELLI, I., 159 *seq.*, and *Capilupi's memorandum in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, all dated April 24, 1585.

⁵ *La voce uscita per la Città hiersera, che Farnese era Papa per 5 cannonate sparate da Castello per acquetare alcune questioni, che si facevano in banchi, fece in un tratto sollevare ognuno, et tanto in quell' hora fu il giubilo et l' allegrezza di Roma, che non

length arrived in Rome Cardinal Madruzzo, who had been detained in Florence by an attack of fever.¹ Madruzzo was sincerely attached to Philip II., but he was before all things a prince of the Church. He realized as clearly as Este that in the coming election the general interests of Christendom must first be safeguarded, and that it was necessary to give the Church a head who would have the wisdom and the strength to protect her as far as possible against both Spain and France.² With sentiments such as these it was not difficult for Medici, with the assistance of Bonelli and Altemps, to detach the Cardinal of Trent from the candidature of Sirleto and win him over to Montalto. From the ready assent given by the leader of the Spanish Cardinals, it was inferred that Montalto must be entirely pleasing to Philip II., a thing which Madruzzo also expressly stated. The number of the supporters of Montalto now increased in such a way that he only needed four votes for the necessary majority of two thirds.³ All the subsequent negotiations were carried on with the greatest tranquillity; on the one hand Montalto held himself quite aloof, while on the other Farnese remained until the end under the illusion that Medici would never at any cost support the election of a Cardinal who was certain to be hostile to his relative, Paolo Giordano Orsini.⁴ Thus a matter, which to all appearances

si può descrivere, all'udire questa gran nuova, che fu poi falsa, con altrettanto rammarico degli interessati in questo desiderio (Avviso of April 23, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library). Cf. the Bologna report in TEMPESTI, I., 135 *seq.* and the *report of April 26, 1585, Hist. No. 5312, Archives, Wittingau.

¹ See the *Avvisi of April 22 and 23, 1585, *loc. cit.*, and the *Diarium P. Alaleonis lib. 1, Barb. lat. 2814, p. 139 (b), Vatican Library.

² See HÜBNER, I., 203 *seq.*; BREMOND, 165; HERRE, 351.

³ See the reports of Priuli and Medici quoted *supra* p. 18, n 4.; also Madruzzo's letter to Philip II. of May 5, 1585, first quoted by HÜBNER (I., 205), and *Capilupi's memorandum of April 27, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. HERRE, 352 *seq.*

⁴ See Priuli in MUTINELLI, I., 159 *seq.*; HERRE, 354.

should have proved an obstacle to Montalto's obtaining the tiara, was actually a great advantage to him.¹

The friends of Medici decided, now that matters had advanced so far, to lose no more time. They were successful on April 24th in bringing to a conclusion the conclave, which in the opinion of most people had been destined to last a long time.² On the morning of that day Cardinal Guido Ferreri also arrived.³ He and Madruzzo had still to take the oath to the bulls concerning the election of the Pope. Before the Cardinals assembled for this purpose in the Sistine Chapel, Cardinal Gonzaga, who was one of the most zealous of the supporters of Montalto, went to his cell for a conference. With what circumspection they were acting was clear from the fact that afterwards they did not go together, but separately, to the Pauline Chapel. They wished to avoid any sort of suspicion.⁴

While the lengthy bulls concerning the election, to which Madruzzo and Ferreri had to swear, were being read, Este proposed to Cardinal Bonelli to summon Boncompagni, the leader of the Cardinals of Gregory, from the chapel into the Sala Regia, and invite him to concur in the election of Montalto, as they were now assured of a sufficient majority. This information was imparted so abruptly that Boncompagni, although he had for some time been secretly perturbed, was quite taken aback by it. He declared that he must first consult his followers. Bonelli replied that if he must do so he would have to do it at once.⁵ When Boncompagni explained the state of affairs to his followers, and urged them to vote for Montalto, most of them rather kept silence than

¹ Cf. Maffei Hist. 2.

² See the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. and *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. Appendix No. 38. See also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

³ See Diarium Alaleonis in GATTICUS, 339.

⁴ See *Capilupi's report of April 24, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See the good account in the biography *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives ; cf. Appendix No. 41.

gave a consent. Only one, Facchinetti, raised any objection ; Montalto, he thought, was certainly worthy to ascend the Throne of St. Peter, but it would be more fitting to choose a man who was older than that Cardinal, who, although he was more than sixty-four years of age, was so vigorous that he hardly seemed a man of sixty. He was told that this could not be allowed to weigh against his indisputable worthiness. The election of an older candidate was not to be recommended, apart from the circumstances of the moment, which called for an energetic personality, because frequent conclaves were by no means to the advantage of the Church. When Alessandro Riario had added a few persuasive words in favour of the election the matter was decided. No one made any objection when Boncompagni called upon his party to repair to the Pauline Chapel and vote for Montalto.¹

The Cardinals had hardly all reached the chapel when Cardinal Este, being informed by Gonzaga of the concurrence of Gregory's Cardinals, interrupted the master of ceremonies,

¹ See *ibid.* Riario's entry into the discussion is also mentioned in the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives. In Gualterius *Ephemerides, considerations favouring the election of Montalto are set forth as follows : Pontificem creandum qui principum nulli addictus esset partibus factionibusque minime studeret Christiane Reipublice depravatos corrigere mores, vitia seva recidere, populorum calamitates tollere hominumque licentiam coercere et sciret et posset, vite integritate, sanctitate, sapientia, morum gravitate, consilio, auctoritate rerumque usu omnibus polleret, magis Christiane Reipublice res negotiaque ut digitos nosset. Hunc unum fore Montaltum asseverabant, cuius mentis etas obstare nullo modo debebat, cum Pontificem oporteat viridioris senectutis esse, ut ad tantum sustinendum onus, quo nullum gravius est, pares haberet cum animi tum corporis vires, nam in effecto corpore imbecillus langueat animus necesse est. Indignum insuper esse ab Apostolico Senatu Pontificem senio confectum eo consilio deligi, ut brevi alter creetur Pontifex, cum id Cardinalium ambitionem indicet, cumque crebra Pontificum creatio ecclesiastico aerario Sedisque Apostolice ditioni sit admodum pernicioso. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

Paolo Alaleone, who was still reading the pontifical bulls,¹ and in a loud voice exclaimed: "There is no longer time to read bulls! The Pope is made: let us proceed at once to the adoration."² The bystanders at once acted upon this invitation. The Cardinals of all parties, those of Gregory as well as the old supporters of Felice Peretti: Medici, Este, Altamps, Bonelli and their friends, as well as Madruzzo, approached Cardinal Montalto to pay him homage as Pope. Farnese too, with Savelli and Gambara, however surprised they were, did the same. At that moment, which destroyed for ever the ambitious dreams of his life, Farnese gave proof of his magnanimity and strength of character, overcoming with the greatest dignity his former dislike of Montalto. The latter, too, acted in a way corresponding with the generous behaviour of his rival, by giving his vote to Farnese in the public scrutiny that followed.³ The newly elected Pope, who had first thought of taking the name of Eugenius V., called himself Sixtus V., so as to recall the memory of Sixtus IV., who had also belonged to the Franciscan Order.⁴

¹ See the passage from the *Diarium Alaleonis* in TEMPESTI, I., 158.

² HERRE (356 *seq.*), rightly contradicts the report in MOTTA (366), by maintaining that it was Este who gave the signal for the adoration, and this is confirmed by the *report (dat. April 24, 1585) of Capilupi who, at the same time, throws light on the part played by Gonzaga (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The *report in Sixtus V. P.M. (Papal Secret Archives) mentions Bonelli instead of Este. But this is a mistake. The influence of Bonelli is also exaggerated in the report in CATENA, 315 *seq.*

³ See TEMPESTI, I., 156; HERRE, 357. Cf. G. Maret's *report of May 15, 1585 (State Archives, Modena).

⁴ See TEMPESTI, I., 154 and REBASCHI CAROTTI, 26. Cf. *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Gualterius says in his *Ephemerides that the reason why Montalto chose the name of Sixtus V. was: "ut duos simul Pontifices representaret. Nominem igitur Sixto Sixtum quartum, qui seraphicae religionis, ut ipse fuerat, cognomine vero quinto Pium quintum, a quo ipse dignitatibus omnibus auctus erat. Huc accedebat, quod Sixti nome

A contemporary biographer of Sixtus V., relates how the latter, at the moment when the votes of the Cardinals fell upon him, filled with a holy fear, and with tears in his eyes, recognized in his election the hand of Providence.¹

It is easy to understand this moment of abasement when one recalls the lowly circumstances from which this man, on whose head was now placed the triple crown, once borne by Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had sprung.²

The native place of Sixtus V. was in the fertile March of Ancona, his family living in the little village of Montalto, situated on the steep heights between Ascoli and Fermo.³

Pontificibus, qui eo usi sunt, felix faustumque fuit" (Sixtus I. and II. were martyrs, Sixtus III. was a holy man who had a special devotion to Mary: S. Maria Maggiore). Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

¹ See *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164 and *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae of April 25, 1585, Papal Secret Archives, LII., 18.

² A number of important and trustworthy particulars of Sixtus V.'s former life are to be found, in the form of a diary, in his notebook which is preserved in the Chigi Library, Rome. These particulars have been published by CUGNONI in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 15-32 and 210-304. Cf. also the contemporary biographies quoted in the Appendix, No. 38, of which the most important are the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. and the voluminous work entitled *Sixtus V. P.M. (both in the Papal Secret Archives). For more recent works see TEMPESTI I., 3 *seq.*, RANKE, Pápste, I. (8), 285 *seq.*, HÜBNER, I., 214 *seq.* and G. DELLA SANTA, Un documento inedito per la storia di Sisto V, Venezia, 1896.

³ Cf. the important work by PISTOLESI, Sisto V e Montalto da documenti inediti, Montalto Marche, 1921, which is based on the results of researches made in the Notarial Archives at Montalto. The controversy as to whether Sixtus V. was born in Montalto or in Grottammare has been decided by Tempesti in favour of Grottammare and against the opinion of Galli (Vita di Sisto V., Ripatransone, 1754). Tempesti is wrong, however, in ascribing to his hero slavonic origin (I., 4); and this mistake of his has been

The Pope's ancestors were poor people. His father was commonly known by the surname of Peretto, which afterwards became the family name.¹ He lost all that he possessed in the unhappy war between Leo X. and the Duke of Urbino.² His belongings were confiscated and he himself was sent into banishment.³ In 1518 Peretto and his wife Marianna,⁴ who came from the neighbourhood of Camerino, moved to the ancient little town of Grottammare, ten miles away.⁵ A road cut through the rock leads from the sea to this pictur-

repeated by all the more recent authorities up to the time of RANKE (*Päpste*, I. (8), 285), HÜBNER (I., 218), and CHLEDOWSKI (*Rome II.*, Munich, 1912, 62). From the time of Piazza onwards, the authority for this statement has been the Bull of Sixtus V. for the rebuilding of the church of S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni which mentions the Dalmatian origin of his family. But up to the present, this Bull has not come to light, so that the distinguished antiquary, Fr. Pistolesi, rightly rejects the current belief that the ancestors of Sixtus V. had fled from the Turks out of Dalmatia to the Marches (see his article in the periodical *Picenum*, X. (1913), 207 *seq.* and also his work *Sisto V.* pp. 13 *seqq.*). Not only the **Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.*, but also countless other sources expressly mention Grottammare as the place of his birth. HÜBNER (I., 218, note 1), writing as early as 1870, rightly says that the evidence brought forward by Tempesti has proved beyond all doubt that Sixtus V. was born at Grottammare, and this is confirmed by Priuli (in MUTINELLI, I., 163). In spite of this, however, PASINI-FRASSONI (*Essai d'Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906, 29-40) and F. DI BROILO (in the *Riv. d. Collegio Arald.*, III. (1905), 390 *seq.*) still maintain the old and false opinion that the Pope was born at Montalto.

¹ See Appendix No. 38.

² See Vol. VII., p. 147 *seq.* of this work.

³ According to the testimony of his son Felix in the document quoted by Della Santa (6).

⁴ See **Sixtus V. P.M. c. 1*, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ Cf. (B. MASCARETTI), *Memorie stor. di Grottammare*, Ripatransone, 1841; MORONI, LXVII., 79 *seq.*; PISTOLESI, *Sisto V.*, 64; SPARACIO, 17 *seqq.*

esquely situated place. Close by are the ruins of a celebrated temple of antiquity, dedicated to the Sabine Goddess Cupra, which was later on restored by the Emperor Hadrian.¹

Grottammare enjoys a very mild climate. Besides vines and olives, almonds and lemons, and other southern fruits, especially flourish there. Peretto leased a small farm from a citizen of Fermo named Lodovico de' Vecchi; his wife entered the service of the daughter-in-law of the proprietor.² In spite of all his efforts Peretto could hardly bring up his family, which increased quickly.³ Before the birth of their fourth son his parents dreamed that they would have a son who would one day bear the tiara, and when, on December 13th, 1521, the feast of St. Lucy, Marianna gave birth to a baby boy, in the joyful hope that he would make his family happy, they gave him the name of Felice.

It is interesting to see how much the family clung to the hope which was based upon the dream of his parents. They were confirmed in their expectations by the fact that it seemed as though a visible protection of God was watching over the life of the little Felice. One day his bed caught fire from a spark from a lamp, but when the terrified mother ran to it she found her loved child unharmed and smiling.⁴ A few years later Felice was nearly drowned in a pond.⁵ He also

¹ Cf. GAMURRINI in the *Notizie degli scavi*, 1888, 559 seq.; 1895, 18 seq.; PAULY'S *Realencyklopädie des klass. Altertums*, new edition IV., 1760 seq.

² *Hic (in Grottammare) natus perhibetur anno 1521 Idibus Decembris veneris die, qui festus est divae Luciae, hora circiter decima sexta cum pater Ludovici Vechii Firmani hortum exerceret, mater Dianae nurui eius perhonestae matronae domesticis ministeriis operam praestaret. Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives; see Appendix No. 38.

⁴ See (in the Appendix No. 41) particulars taken from *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See GALESINUS, *Annales, Vatican Library; Cf. Appendix No. 38.

remained unharmed by the plague which carried off his brother, although he had been in close contact with the clothing of the dead boy.¹

Peretto was so firmly convinced of the great future that lay before his little son, that he invited the neighbours to kiss his feet. Although they laughed at him he remained convinced that his son would be the future Pope.² He assured his acquaintances and friends who did him any kindness, that one day Felice would reward them generously.³ When his little sister Camilla asked the passers by for a small alms she never failed to tell them that one day her brother would repay the kindness.⁴

Felice was treated by his parents with much strictness. He soon had to assist his father in his work in the garden and fields. Sixtus V. loved, when he was Pope, to tell of the humble circumstances in which he had grown up. It was not only with his intimates that he did this, but even once in consistory spoke of the great poverty of his family.⁵

Sixtus V. was wont to describe quite frankly and without any reserve how when he was a boy he had gathered chicory in the meadows, cut logs in the woods, dug in the garden, broken up the clods, and even tended his father's pigs.⁶ This

¹ See *Sixtus V. P.M. *loc. cit.*

² See *Ibid.*

³ The Franciscan Julianus Matthäus informed the Pope of this later. Cf. *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives; See Appendix No. 41. Cf. PRIULI, 310.

⁴ See PRIULI, 310. According to the report of the envoy of Lucca in the *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194, Sixtus V. was also a beggar in his youth. His father, "contadino di Montalto," is here described as "ortolano" in Grottammare.

⁵ See Acta consist., 869.

⁶ See (in the Appendix No. 1) the *Avviso of April 27, 1585, Vatican Library. When the margrave Edward Fortunat of Baden was staying in Rome in April, 1585 (cf. the *Avviso of May 1st, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 191: "To-day the margrave of Baden took his departure"), Sixtus V. promised him financial support, "hora che di povero hortolano era diventato ricco giardiniero." *Avviso of May 4, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 192, Vatican Library.

does not mean, however, that the future Pope, as legend related later on, had been a swineherd by profession. Anyone who knows Italy knows that in the country districts every family owns some of these useful domestic animals, the herding of which is entrusted to the children.¹

According to all probability Felice, like his father, would have become a country labourer, if he had not met with a patron in his maternal uncle, Fra Salvatore. The latter, a worthy and strict priest,² lived at S. Francesco, the convent of the Franciscan Conventuals at Montalto. He developed a great fondness for the clever and lively boy, who had learned the letters of the alphabet from the spelling-books of other children. He gladly paid for him the education fees which his father could not afford, in the bad conditions of those times, when, like the rest of Italy, the March was afflicted by war, pestilence and famine.³ Felice did little services for his uncle, and often took him the linen which his mother had washed.⁴

Fra Salvatore at last took the boy who was so desirous of learning to live with him altogether in the convent. Felice assisted him in serving at table. His uncle treated him with great strictness, and even when he was Pope, Sixtus V. used to relate how he had received beatings because he had not laid the tables well, a thing which must have been very difficult for him as he was still very small. Twice a day Felice went to the convent of the Franciscans at Montalto to learn Latin from a master who was as strict as Fra Salvatore. In the meantime he had found so much happiness in the life of the cloister that he expressed a wish to be clothed in the

¹ Cf. HÜBNER, I., 221. It was the assertion that he had been a swineherd that Sixtus crossed out of the *Vita when it was submitted to him (cf. Appendix No. 41), and which Leti afterwards utilised in such a disgraceful manner.

² "Senex antiqui moris ac spectatae probitatis" says the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. GALESINUS, *Annales, Vatican Library.

⁴ Sixtus V. himself related this to his friends; see *Capilupi's memorandum of May 11, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

habit of St. Francis. Although he was but twelve years old his wish was granted.¹ A pious citizen of Montalto, Rosato Rosati, bought his habit for him. As the decrees of Trent were not yet in existence, the boy was able at the end of the following year (1534) to take his vows. By his father's wish he retained his baptismal name of happy augury, Felice.²

The young Franciscan devoted himself to study with unflagging ardour. He was often to be seen absorbed in his books near the lantern in the cloister, or if this had gone out, in the church near the lamp before the Blessed Sacrament.³ His great ambition at that time was to become a celebrated preacher.⁴ For his further education Fra Salvatore sent his nephew first to Fermo, in 1540 to Ferrara, in 1543 to Bologna, in 1544 to Rimini, and in 1546 to Siena. Fra Felice ended his course of philosophy and theology, which had extended over several years, brilliantly, by obtaining the degree of doctor of theology at Fermo on July 26th, 1548.⁵ In his disputation he treated of very difficult theological questions with equal clearness and acumen.⁶

¹ *Sacra veste ab ipso avunculo Salvatore induitur duodennis puer anno eius saeculi 1533.* *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 4, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41. According to other sources, followed by TEMPESTI (I., 27), his entry into religion took place as early as 1532. For the monastery of S. Francesco see PISTOLESI, *Altodunensia, Montalto, 1920, 26 seq., 100.*

² See *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Out of gratitude Sixtus V. appointed one of the Rosati to be a Papal Chamberlain; see CICCONI, 28.

³ See *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41.

⁴ See Capilupi's *report on May 11, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See the note book of the Chigi Library in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 299. The letter published in the *Arch. Francisc.*, I., 470 refers to the sojourn at Ferrara.

⁶ *Post propugnatas publice in Franciscanorum templo utraque ex facultate sententias et numero et gravitate insignes theologiae magister magno cum suorum aliorumque, qui frequentes aderant, plausu omnibus rite suffragiis renunciatur* (Sixtus V. P.M. c. 4,

At the disputations which were held at Assisi in 1549, during the sessions of the general chapter, the young Fra Felice again distinguished himself by the acumen and dexterity with which he defended his theses against Antonio Persico, a follower of the philosopher Telesius. It was then that he for the first time attracted the attention of Cardinal Carpi, the Protector of the Franciscans. In 1551 his superiors placed him in charge of the theological studies at the Franciscan convent at Siena.¹

Even during his student days, and before he had received priest's orders, Fra Felice had preached on many occasions: first in 1540, when he was nineteen, at Monte Pagano in the Abruzzi, and in the following years in the neighbourhood of Ferrara and Bologna. He continued these activities afterwards. In his diary he has noted that he preached at Rimini in 1545, at Macerata in 1546, at S. Gimignano in 1547, at S. Miniato al Tedesco in 1548, at Ascoli in 1549, at Fano in 1550, and at Camerino in 1551.²

Cardinal Carpi did not lose sight of this Franciscan who promised so well, and in 1552 caused him to be summoned to Rome for the Lent. Fra Felice was in the full vigour of his manhood when, certainly on foot, he first came to the Eternal City, where he formed friendships that were to have a great influence upon his life and character. Cardinal Carpi had the happiness of seeing the discourses which his protégé delivered at the SS. Apostoli meet with the liveliest appreciation. High and low came thither, attracted by the burning eloquence of Fra Felice, so that often the great church was not large enough for the number of his hearers.

Papal Secret Archives). *Eos brevi in doctrinarum studiis progressus fecit, ut sexto post anno Firmi in Franciscanorum templo . . . cum propositas difficillimas quaestiones dilucide ac subtiliter explicasset, magna omnium approbatione magister theologiae sit creatus (Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives).

¹ See *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 5, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.

² See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 300 seq.

Half of Lent was passed, and Fra Felice was preparing himself for his sermon, when a fellow religious brought him a sealed letter which he had found in the pulpit of the church of SS. Apostoli. Both of them thought that it was a case of some request which it is customary to recommend to the hearers in the course of a sermon, and Fra Felice told his companion to place it with other letters of the same kind. When, during the interval which as usual was made after the first part of the sermon, he opened it, he found that it was very far from being a request for prayers. On the contrary, on the sheet were written all the doctrines of the Catholic faith which Fra Felice had so far dealt with in his sermons, and against each was written in large letters the words: Thou liest. In spite of his amazement, Fra Felice kept quite calm as he read it; it was only when he sought to hide the letter in his habit that many persons thought they detected certain signs of embarrassment. He hastened to end his sermon, and then sent the letter to the commissary-general of the Roman Inquisition, Michele Ghislieri. In his burning zeal, the latter at once went to see Fra Felice. When he was Pope, Sixtus V. often used to speak of the terror which he experienced, although he knew himself to be perfectly innocent, when this man entered his cell, with his severe countenance, his frowning expression and his deep set eyes. Ghislieri at once questioned him in short and grave words. But what appeared was not only the innocence of Felice but also his zeal for the Catholic faith. Ghislieri's severe look vanished, and his whole appearance was changed, so that he seemed to have become quite another man. With tears of joy in his eyes he embraced the good Franciscan.¹ Thenceforward the two men were closely associated, and were often to be seen at the house of Carpi. Many of the Cardinals too interested themselves in Fra Felice. The result was that Julius III, kept the celebrated preacher in Rome throughout the year.

¹ See *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 6, Papal Secret Archives; *cf.* Appendix No. 41. CICARELLA (*Vita Sixti V.*) gives a different account of what happened.

where three times a week he commented on the Epistle to the Romans.¹

The zealous religious also laboured indefatigably in other ways during his stay in the Eternal City. The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament owed its origin to him, and it was owing to him that this association was united with another charitable confraternity established by Ignatius of Loyola, whence it received the name of the Twelve Apostles.² The Palazzo Colonna was close by the convent of the Franciscans in Rome, and Fra Felice soon became a welcome guest there. He gave lectures in philosophy to a son of the family, Marcantonio Colonna, Archbishop of Taranto.³

When Fra Felice took part in the general chapter of his Order held at Genoa in 1553, he also preached there. Having become, in the same year, Regent of the convent of the Order at Naples, he commented in the church of S. Lorenzo on the Gospel of St. John. In 1555 at the request of Cardinal Carpi he preached in the cathedral at Perugia.⁴ Several of his sermons were printed.⁵ In these he treated of the necessity of the Sacred Scriptures for the conversion of mankind, of the labourers in the vineyard, of the instruction of the Christian

¹ Cf. (Appendix n. 40) the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives. The "tre ill^{mi} cardinali" that Fra Felice mentions in his note book as his protectors (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V, 301) must have been Carpi, Dandino, Protector of the Arch-confraternity of the Holy Apostles, and Fulvio della Corgna, nephew of Julius III.

² See TACCHI-VENTURI, I., 675.

³ He expounded to the above-named "philosophica aliquot e Scoti disciplina acumina, formalitates dicunt" it says in *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 7, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 301. For his visit to Montalto at that time and his care for his family, see PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 45 *seqq.*

⁵ A copy of this very rare "Prediche," printed, Napoli, 1554, in the Barberini Library, Pamphlets, XXXV., B., 87. Cf. NARDUCCI, *Intorno ad alcune prediche stampate di Sisto V*, Roma, 1870. See also ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 40

disciple, of the coming of the Messiah, and of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The sermons differ very little from those in use at that time; the impression that they made were for the most part the effect of the energetic personality of the speaker, and of the force, certainty and uncompromising frankness with which the young Franciscan was able to set forth the doctrines of the faith, which he had studied so deeply. This was the secret of his success in the pulpit. Whoever sat at his feet felt the power of his ardent mind, which gave compelling reality to his words, made an indelible impression, and changed men's hearts.

As Fra Felice, during his stay in Rome, had been brought within the circle of the leading figures in the Catholic reform—besides Ignatius of Loyola he had made the acquaintance of Philip Neri, the Capuchin Felice da Cantalice,¹ and Cardinal Carafa—the elevation of the last named to the throne of St. Peter, which took place on May 23rd, 1555, was bound to be of great importance to him. Indeed, the new Pope summoned him at the end of January 1556 to the meetings of the congregation which was to discuss the reform of the Roman Curia.²

A year later, Felice, whom his superiors had appointed in 1556 to the direction of the studies in the convent of Venice, was nominated by Paul IV. as Inquisitor for the whole of the territory of the republic. Although he was very fully occupied by the office, he nevertheless still found time to preach several

¹ RANKE (Päpste, I. (8), 288) calls him "Saint Felino"—a saint otherwise unknown!

² "L'a^o 1556 fu chiamato a Roma al concilio generale che gia principiò la St^a di P. Paolo IV" it says in Felice's note book (Arch. d. Soc. Rom. V., 301). According to RANKE (I. (8), 288), Fra Felice had already been employed under Paul IV. "as theologian in the Congregation for the Council of Trent." As a matter of fact, "consiglio generale" refers to the Reform Commission which was enlarged at the end of 1556 (see Vol. XIV., pp. 195 *seqq.* of this work). This is clearly seen from the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives; see Appendix No. 40.

times a week. He also caused the Index of Paul IV. to be printed in the city of the lagoons.¹ This success, however, did not fail to raise opposition to him, which to some extent found its origin in the convent of the friars itself. It was objected to him that he was not only not a Venetian, and therefore a foreigner, but he was also condemned for his excessive severity.² It is not surprising that he should have had a reputation of that kind, since his superiors had already on many occasions charged him with the reform of the convents of the Conventual Franciscans,³ in which his ecclesiastical zeal had found many things that called for improvement. By nature very brusque and violent, his intervention repeatedly led to much discontent. The adversaries of Fra Felice grew in number, but all the less did he suffer himself to be deterred from his holy zeal by any personal considerations. It was also objected against him in Venice that he had published the Index of Paul IV. prematurely, and had thus injured the republic. The hostility was so great that Fra Felice, whose health had suffered from his labours and anxieties, retired to Montalto at the death of Paul IV.⁴ His former patron, Cardinal Carpi, learned with much indignation of this opposition to which his protégé had been exposed in Venice. After the election of Pius IV. he brought it about that Fra Felice should again, in February, 1560, be sent to

¹ See the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 300 *seq.* The biography *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 7 (Papal Secret Archives) lays special emphasis on the efforts made to have the Index printed (*cf.* REUSCH, I., 260). A document of 1557, giving particulars of Felice's activities as Inquisitor in Venice, in MUTINELLI, I., 260. *Cf.* also DE LEVA, *Degli eretici di Cittadella, Venezia*, 1873, 62.

² See the detailed story in *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 7, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also CECCHETTI, I., 19 *seq.* For the handbook which Fra Felice used as Inquisitor, and which is preserved in the Chigi Library, see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 10 *seq.*

³ *Cf.* the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 302.

⁴ *Cf.* PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 62 *seq.* for the position of Fra Felice which was, at that time, very precarious.

Venice with still wider powers, both as Inquisitor and as director of studies in the convent.¹

Fra Felice's adversaries, headed by the superior of the Franciscan convent, were extremely angry at this. They accused him before the Council of Ten, and the latter, always jealous to uphold the claims of the state, was easily won over. In the meantime the matter had been referred to the Congregation of the Inquisition in Rome. This decided upon the recall of Fra Felice, but at the same time took away the Inquisition in Venice from the Franciscans and gave it to the Dominicans. In the end the members of the Franciscan convent, with the exception of the fanatical superior, came to their senses, but it was too late to undo the harm which had been done to the whole Order. At the end of June 1560 Fra Felice left Venice, and by July 16th in the same year the Roman Inquisition had appointed him its consultor.² If this honour was due to Ghislieri, his appointment as procurator-general of the Franciscans which quickly followed was owing to the intervention of Cardinal Carpi. Carpi also defended him against the difficulties which at first awaited him in the Franciscan convent in Rome,³ and brought about his participation in the meetings of the congregation concerning the Council of Trent.⁴

Very characteristic of the energy which Montalto displayed as procurator-general is a letter to his fellow citizens at Montalto, which is still preserved there. "Leave me to manage the affairs of my Order" he says

¹ See the note book in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 302.

² See *Sixtus V. P.M. c. 8, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 56 seq.

³ Cf. *Sixtus V. P.M. *loc. cit.* The events of that time found their echo later on when Sixtus V. was Pope, in friction with his religious brethren; see *Avviso of May 3, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 156, Vatican Library.

⁴ See the statements in *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives; cf. Appendix No. 41.

in this, "just as I do not interfere with the affairs of your township."¹

In November, 1564, Fra Felice obeyed the decree of the Council of Trent that religious must not, even with the leave of their superiors, possess any earthly property, by a new and express renunciation made to the vicar-general of his Order. From this document it appears² that he had already made over his paternal inheritance to his nephew. The most precious things which the learned friar, who was collaborating in Posio's edition of Aristotle,³ possessed at that time, with the permission of his superiors, were his books. How dear these were to him is clear from the fact that in his note-book he made three careful indexes to them.⁴

This note-book, which now forms one of the most precious treasures of the Chigi Library in Rome, is for other reasons as well of no small value: it not only shows the fascination of the personality of its author, but faithfully mirrors the character of Fra Felice, and the conditions under which his life was spent until the time of his transference to Rome. The whole little book is written in his strong and clear hand. It begins with the holy name of Jesus and the beautiful prayer "Prevent, we beseech Thee, O Lord, our actions by Thy inspiration and further them with Thy continual help; that every prayer and work of ours may always begin from Thee, and through Thee be likewise ended."⁵

¹ This letter, dated March 13, 1563, has been published by HÜBNER (II., 397). Other letters on the same subject in F. PISTOLESI, I. Peretti ai Montalesi (1907) and Sisto V., 67 *seqq.*, Appendix XVII. *seqq.*

² This *document is preserved in the Querini-Stampalia Library, Venice, cl. IX., n. 12. Cf. DELLA SANTA (*supra* p. 23, note 2), 4 *seq.* and PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 69 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the passage from Gualterius' Vita given by RANKE (Päpste, III. (8), 74) and also H. SBARALEA, Suppl. ad script. trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo descriptos, Romae, 1806, 88, 664.

⁴ See CUGNONI in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 4 *seq.*, 210-262, 263-290, 290-299.

⁵ Facsimile in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 15.

This prayer imploring the divine assistance with which he set out upon his daily undertakings betrays a glimpse of very evil conditions. The great love for his Order, which he here shows, is clearly to be seen in the three indexes of his books written in alphabetical order as well as in the biographical notices which follow them. They cover the years 1540-1560, and show us in detail the course of the studies of Fra Felice, the offices he held, the various special duties that were laid upon him by his superiors, and lastly the many sermons which he delivered in almost every part of Italy. It ends with a list of the modest store of linen which he possessed. In every part is to be seen the most scrupulous exactness and the most strict order. From the catalogue of his books it appears that the library of Fra Felice, which was increased during his stay in Naples by the collection of books left to him by his friend Marmilio da Monte Lupone, underwent many changes. From his act of renunciation it is clear that in 1564 it included 742 works, among which were not a few in several volumes, as for example the works of St. Augustine in eleven folio volumes. As far as their matter is concerned the Fathers and other works on theology are the most fully represented, with 230 works, philosophy with 140, canon and civil law with 105, history and geography with 106, cosmography and astronomy with 30, and literature with 100, the whole making a truly imposing collection for those days. Among the theological works are some that were but little known, such as the works of Paulinus of Nola, St. Zeno, St. Martial and St. Polycarp. Polemical works are well represented since Felice was much concerned with heresy as an Inquisitor. Among the classics there are also to be found some Greek authors.¹

¹ See DELLA SANTA, *loc. cit.* 20-30. Here are printed, marked with the letters D, O, P and R, the books noted in the renunciation of 1564. From a comparison of the catalogue of the books of Fra Felice, published by Cugnoli in 1882 in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, Vol. 5, and unknown to Della Santa, it is evident that the register of the renunciation is in close accordance with the inventory printed in CUGNOLI (p. 263 *seqq.*).

The important position which Fra Felice held in Rome, as procurator-general of the Franciscans, consultor of the Inquisition, and member of the commission for the new edition of the *Decretum Gratiani*,¹ exposed him to much jealous hostility on the part of his fellow religious. But Carpi, who, however, died in May 1564, and Ghislieri protected him.² In order to withdraw the austere friar, who had vainly tried to disarm his enemies by his generous treatment of them, from further attacks, in the autumn of 1565 Ghislieri obtained the appointment of Fra Felice as theologian to the legate Boncompagni when he was sent to Spain in connexion with the affair of Carranza.³ On his return he was met with the joyful news that his patron Ghislieri had ascended the Papal throne under the name of Pius V. Henceforward his career was assured. The new Pope, who had come to know Fra Felice intimately at the Inquisition, and had formed a great esteem for him, appointed him vicar-general of the Conventual Franciscans, and on November 15th, 1566, gave him the diocese of St. Agatha of the Goths in south Italy.⁴ In both these positions Fra Felice displayed both energy and prudence. His short period of government of the Conventuals (1566-1568) was especially marked by his efforts to improve discipline.

¹ See TEMPESTI, I., 97.

² See the accounts in *Sixtus V., P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. also CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.; EHSSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xvii. seq.

³ " *Alexandrinus, ubi omnibus tentatis nihil profici obstructis per inimicorum artes omnium auribus animadvertit, subtrahendam invidiae materiam prudenter ratus egit cum Pontifice, ut ad contentiones quae nullum reperient exitum praecendendas Montaltum aliqua honoris causa ablegaret. Sixtus V., P.M. c. 9, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 109; SPARACIO, Sisto V., 40 seq. A short time before his death Sixtus V. once more spoke of his activity at the Inquisition as the reason for the favour he found with Pius V, and the thing which had led to his promotion; see the report of Cardinal d'Aragona of August 21, 1590, in HÜBNER, I., 227, n. 1.

As a bishop, too, when he was generally known as Monsignor Montalto,¹ he worked with the greatest zeal on behalf of Catholic reform.² Pius V. was very pleased with his work, and recognized more and more in him a kindred spirit.

The Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths, who since 1555 had called himself by his father's name of Peretti,³ enjoyed the ever increasing favour of the Pope. This fact, however, did not deter his enemies in the Curia, with whom at that time Cardinal Bonelli secretly associated himself. Peretti was first found fault with for his arbitrary and wrongful use of the money of his Order, but it was easy for him to justify himself to the Pope on this score, for Pius V. at once recognized the source and emptiness of the accusation.⁴ Another accusation that was made seemed likely to be more dangerous to Montalto; he had, it was said, completely forgotten his vow of religious poverty, decorated his house sumptuously, and thus given great scandal. These reports became so serious that Pius V. resolved to satisfy himself in person as to the truth of the accusation. He appeared quite unexpectedly at the convent of the Friars Minor at SS. Apostoli and went straight to the apartments of Peretti. The sight of the bare walls convinced him that it was a case of wicked calumny. "What is in those large cases?" he asked Peretti. "The books," the latter replied, "which I wish to take to my diocese," and he opened one of the cases. "I hope," the Pope said, "that you have got there the new edition of St. Thomas which I have prepared," and without waiting

¹ See PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 70.

² Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 70 *seqq.*, HOLZAPFEL, 590. The chalice used by Sixtus V. when he was Bishop of Sant'Agata is now in the church of S. Lucia at Grottammare. Cf. *infra* p. 112, n. 2.

³ Cf. PISTOLESI in *Picen. Seraphic.*, 1915, 837 *seq.*, SPARACIO, Sisto V., 12, 40 *seq.* In his previous letters he only calls himself "Fra Felice de Montalto"; see TEMPESTI, I., 25; PASTOR in *Mitteil. des österr. Instituts*, III., 636 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. the *Relazione of 1574, Corsini Library, Rome.

for a reply graciously took his leave. A few days later he told Peretti the object of his visit.¹

The envious opponents of the Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths were destined to experience an even greater disappointment. On May 17th, 1570, Pius V. conferred the purple on this victim of so much calumny; he was only forty-eight years of age. He at once gave him 500 scudi for his necessary expenses, and assigned to him the pension of 1200 scudi made to poor Cardinals.² As had been the case with all his previous offices Montalto distinguished himself as Cardinal by his virtue and ability.³ On account of the great knowledge of books possessed by the learned Franciscan, Pius V. appointed him to the Congregation of the Index. Cardinal Montalto, as the former Fra Felice was now called, was also appointed a member of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and of the Congregation appointed for the affair of Carranza.⁴ So as to increase his revenues the Pope transferred him on December 17th, 1571, from St. Agatha to Fermo, which, however, he resigned in the summer of 1577.⁵

This was connected with the strained relations that existed between him and Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V.

¹ Cf. in App. n. 41 *Sixtus V., P.M., Papal Secret Archives. The calumnies which Fra Felice's enemies allowed themselves to spread may be seen from an *Avviso of May 12, 1568 (State Archives, Vienna), according to which he had fallen into disgrace with Pius V. because the Pope had learned that he had two daughters in a Tuscan convent! A certain Cipriano Saracinello had already put it about in a *report to Cardinal Farnese, dated Rome, "il primo di quaresima, 1568," that the Bishop of Sant'Agata had fallen into disgrace with Pius V. because of his ambition. State Archives, Naples, Farnes., 763.

² See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 350.

³ See L. PRIULI, 309.

⁴ See *Sixtus V., P.M., c. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 213. For the beneficial action of Peretti at Fermo, where he founded a seminary, see MORONI, XXIV., 36, and the monograph of G. CICONI, p. 21 *seq.*, 43, cited *infra* p. 48 n.

The first disagreements between Cardinal Boncompagni and Montalto could be traced back to the time of their journey to Spain. It was said in Rome that Montalto had been very hurt by the want of respect that was shown him, and that sometimes, if there was a lack of horses on the journey, he was obliged to find a place on the baggage waggon.¹ The difference, which at that time was tacitly growing, showed itself much more sharply after the election of Boncompagni as Pope, if not immediately, at any rate after a time. The energetic and brusque character of Montalto could hardly be sympathetic towards Gregory XIII., who was rather pedantic. To this had to be added the fact that the Pope was of opinion that religious were best in their own monasteries, a view that found expression in the fact that of the thirty-four Cardinals he created, not one belonged to a religious Order.² In spite of this Gregory appreciated the theological knowledge of Cardinal Montalto, and made full use of it, as we learn from a report of 1574 concerning the affair of Carranza ;³ in other matters, however, he never consulted him. Cardinal Montalto felt this neglect all the more as he was conscious of his own powers, and could not but be sensible of the contrast with the time of Pius V.

Montalto was in close relations with Alessandro Farnese, as with the learned Sirleto. He lived very simply and managed his revenues well.⁴ With the assistance of many

¹ See in App. n. 41 *Sixtus V., P.M., Papal Secret Archives.

² See *ibid.*

³ *" Con il Papa ha autorità nelle materie teologiche et per la causa di Toledo S.S^{ta} l'ascolta " is stated in the report of 1574 (Corsini Library). This quotation destroys the hypothesis of GNOLI (V. Accoramboni, 10 n. 1) that the affair of Carranza led to their first quarrel. On the contrary it was said in Rome as to this that Montalto was to be sent to Spain for the trial of Carranza and other matters ; see the letter of Gabriele Salvago in the *Atti Ligure*, XIII., 870 *seq.*

⁴ See the *Relazione of 1574, Corsini Library. RATTI rightly points out (II., 348, 357) that Montalto did not belong to the number of the rich Cardinals, but that he was not poor.

scholars he laboured assiduously at the new edition of the works of St. Ambrose, which had been entrusted to him by Pius IV. and Pius V., and when the first volume was printed in Rome in 1580, he dedicated it to Gregory XIII.¹ But the Pope still remained unfavourable to him at that time. Gregory XIII. was obviously influenced by Montalto's old adversaries, who were still busy in describing him as astute, despotic and tyrannical.² It is said that Gregory XIII., on his way back from a religious function at St. Mary Major's, remarked, when passing the beautiful villa of Montalto: "Poor Cardinals do not build palaces." He was not content with this remark, but at the beginning of 1581 he took away from Cardinal Montalto the annual pension assigned to him by Pius V.³ The Cardinal thus found himself in the position of one who has fallen into disgrace, and he withdrew as far as he could.⁴ Thus he was only known to a few people, and

¹ The dedication is dated: Romae. Cal. December, 1580. For the merits and errors of the edition *cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 200.

² "E dotto in theologia et astuto" it is stated in the Relazione of 1574, Corsini Library. That he passed for malicious, as RANKE (I²., 289) states, is said neither here nor in the *Discorso sopra i soggetti papabili which Ranke quotes (*ibid*), without giving his authority. All that is said is: "La natura sua tenuta terribile, imperiosa et arrogante non li può conciliare punto gratia ne di Medici ne d'Altemps." The *Discorso is to be found in Inform. polit., VII. of the Berlin Library. Another copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see MARSAND, I., 325), and a third in Cod. 6333, p. 302 *seq.* of the State Library, Vienna. According to Lelio Maretti, Montalto's principal enemy was no other than Cardinal Galli: "Da Como si tenne offeso Sisto più volte nel pontificato di Gregorio XIII attribuendo a lui la provisione levatagli da Gregorio come a cardinale povero et le persecuzioni che hebbe all' hora nella religione sua di S. Francesco." Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Cod. 1b, 55, p. 27. Servite Library, Innsbruck.

³ See in App. n. 41 *Sixtus V., P.M. (Papal Secret Archives), and the *Avvisi of February 22 and March 18, 1581 (Urb. 1049, pp. 82 and 129. Vatican Library).

⁴ See *Avviso of March 18, 1581, *loc. cit.* 128. *Ibid.* 137 an *Avviso of March 22, according to which Cardinal Montalto

popular opinion very often formed quite false judgments of him, though the importance of his personality did not escape the notice of thinking men. As early as 1575 he was numbered among the Cardinals who might aspire to the tiara,¹ but he was only among those of the second rank, having against him the facts that since the time of Paul IV. no one was anxious to have a religious, and that the French were opposed to him.²

Montalto, wrote the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Tiepolo, in 1579, is a man of strong spirit and will be very active ;³ but I could not assert for certain that he is favourable to us. In July, 1581, Francisco de Vera, who was in charge of the Spanish embassy, called the attention of Philip II. to this Cardinal who had good expectations of the tiara. All the Cardinals of Pius V., de Vera stated, are for Montalto. Borromeo is very well disposed towards him on account of his piety and virtue, and he himself shows all deference towards the Catholic King.⁴

Cardinal Montalto knew how to put the period of rest that had been imposed upon him to good use. He plunged more than ever into his books, which were always his greatest joy. Above all, he laboured to complete his new edition of the works of St. Ambrose, and for this purpose kept up an active intended to place " sopra la porta della sua fabrica " the arms of Pius V. instead of Gregory XIII. The Venetian ambassador relates expressions of blame on the part of Peretti concerning the government of the Papal States by Gregory XIII. ; see MUTINELLI, I., 165.

¹ See the letter of Gabriele Salvago of 1575 in the *Atti Ligure*, XIII., 890 (*cf.* 893) and the *Relazione* of Paolo Tiepolo of 1576, in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 225.

² See the report of O. Scozia of January 17, 1579, in the Appendix to Vol. XIX. of this work, n. 14, p 586. Montalto is also spoken of as " papabile " by Matteo Zane in 1584 ; see ALBÈRI, I., 5, 369.

³ A. TIEPOLO, 252 *seq.*

⁴ See *Documentos del archivo de Alba*, 281. *Cf.* HERRE, 306. On the strength of this the opinion of the *Discorso, cited p. 41, n. 2, may be corrected. *Cf.* also for this MAFFEI, Hist. 2.

correspondence with Charles Borromeo at Milan, who helped him in every possible way.¹ Though very sparing for himself he was generous to others. In 1578 he gave 1370 scudi to his native place Montalto for the foundation of a grammar school, and a year later 2000 scudi for the appointment of a doctor.²

Naturally, too, the Cardinal's family enjoyed his liberality. His sister Camilla, a very pious woman, had married Giovan Battista Mignucci, a simple countryman of Montalto. After the death of her husband he made her come to Rome with her two children, Francesco and Maria Felice.³ At first, while he was still a simple Franciscan, he could only help them by what he deprived himself of, but afterwards, when he was a Cardinal, it was very different. In 1572 Maria Felice Mignucci married a small merchant in Rome, named Fabio Damasceni,⁴ and had two sons, Alessandro and Michele, and two daughters, Flavia and Orsina. After the death of Maria Felice Mignucci, Cardinal Montalto adopted her children, who then took the name of Peretti,⁵ and were brought up in the house of Lucrezia Salviati, the wife of Latino Orsini.⁶ On June 21st,

¹ See the letters in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 551 *seq.*

² See GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 30. Montalto's strong love for his country is shown by the letters published by FR. PISTOLESI (I. Peretti ai Montaltesi, Montalto, 1907), and by his care for the city of Tolentino, which had chosen him as its protector: see BENADUCCI, Dodici lettere inedite di Sisto V., Tolentino, 1888 (*Nozze* publication). The Cardinal's letters, which are here drawn from the communal archives of Tolentino, cover the period from 1574 to 1584. For Montalto's efforts, which were crowned with success, to free Tolentino from the bandits, see MARANGONI, Storia di Civitanova, Rome, 1743, 365.

³ See PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 36 *seqq.*, 75 *seq.*; SPARACIO, 43.

⁴ "Mercadantello" is what he is called by the *Avviso of April 24, 1585. Urb. 1053, p. 179. Vatican Library. The report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194, says that he was on bad terms with the Pope, and adds that he at first called himself Tomasini.

⁵ See the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. (Papal Secret Archives). Cf. PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 76.

⁶ See the *Avviso of April 27, 1572, Urb. 1043, Vatican Library.

1573, Francesco Peretti also married, and the Cardinal assigned him a sum of 5000 scudi. Francesco married Vittoria Accoramboni, who was beautiful, intelligent, and cultivated, the daughter of a gentleman of Gubbio, and of Tarquinia Albertoni. In spite of this the marriage had a very unhappy issue, as the young wife was devoted to amusement and dissipation. Victoria surrounded herself with admirers and led her husband into such heavy expenditure that he was soon deeply in debt. His old uncle had again and again to come to his assistance. For two years he made over to the young couple his beloved vigna near St. Mary Major's.¹ As was the case with other houses which the Cardinal bought out of his savings, this property, perhaps in order to escape the hostile attention of members of the Curia, had been acquired by him in 1576 in the name of his sister Camilla.²

The Vigna Montalto³ stood upon classic soil, upon the slopes of the Esquiline. It was situated upon quite uncultivated land, plunged in the deepest silence, which was only broken at midday and in the evening by the sound of the bells in the neighbouring churches of S. Maria degli Angeli and St. Mary Major's. A solitude such as this, which brought home the transitory nature of earthly things, and the work of divine providence in nature, was eminently to the liking of a man who, after a life filled with toil and fatigue, found there the opportunity for interior recollection, and calm meditation upon the past and future. Although the district where the vigna was situated was considered unhealthy, the Cardinal nevertheless preferred to live there, rather than at his house in the Rione di Parione, in the Vicolo Leutari,⁴ near Pasquino.

¹ See GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 9 *seq.*, 24 *seqq.*, 34 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 27.

³ Cf. the fine work of Prince Vittorio Camillo Massimo; *Notizie stor. della villa Massima alle Terme Diocleziane*, Rome, 1836. See also Vol. XXII. of this work, chapter V., pp. 203 *seqq.*

⁴ Cf. CUGNONI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 7 *seq.*, 546 *seq.*; and the periodical *Roma*, I. (1923), 387. The statement of BELLI (*Delle case abitate in Roma da parecchi uomini illustri*, 81) that

The Cardinal had caused a young architect, Domenico Fontana, from Mili, on the Lake of Como, who had built the latter house, to construct for him a pleasant villa on his new property, which in accordance with the taste of the time, was adorned with paintings and antique statues. When the withdrawal of his pension put an end for the moment to its completion, Fontana declared his readiness to continue its construction at his own expense out of his own savings. The Cardinal had vines, olives, and other fruit-bearing trees planted all over the vigna.

When Montalto was thus interesting himself in the plantation of his vigna, he must have recalled the days when he had helped his father in the fields at Grottammare. The prediction which his parents, long since dead, had made on the strength of their dream, had not been fulfilled, but the possibility of it had by no means disappeared, since Fra Felice was now a member of the supreme senate of the Church. In any case he had every reason for gratitude to divine Providence, which had brought him, the son of a poor countryman, to such great heights. The financial difficulties which threatened him as the result of the suspension of his pension were easily overcome, as the Grand Duke of Tuscany made up the deficiency.¹ Since the Cardinal had need of very little for his own use, and knew how to economize, he was able, although his annual revenues did not exceed 8000 ducats,² to beautify his beloved villa, to add to his library, to erect a beautiful monument in St. Mary Major's to Nicholas IV., who also had belonged to the Franciscan Order and had come from a poor family, and to begin the erection of a splendid chapel intended for his own burial, and to which the holy relics of the cradle of the Saviour were to be translated.³

During the last years of Gregory XIII. very little was heard the Cardinal had lived in the well known house of Crivelli (see PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss, 4-6, 38 *seq.*) is incorrect. Cf. MORONI, LXVII., 88.

¹ HÜBNER, I., 234, n. 1, II., 453 *seq.*

² See L. PRIULI, 306.

³ More fully Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 285 *seqq.*

of Cardinal Montalto, who lived in great retirement. It was only on the occasion of the murder of his beloved nephew Francesco, during the night between April 16th and 17th, 1581,¹ that his name was once again heard throughout the city. The resignation with which he put up with the great weakness of the aged Gregory XIII., with regard to the powerful instigator of the assassination, the Duke of Bracciano, surprised everyone. He bore this new and painful blow with dignity and Christian generosity, but not without some slight hopes of better times to come.²

This mastery of himself on the part of Montalto was worthy of all the more admiration in that the Cardinal had a very violent and impetuous temperament. With all the force of a stream that has long been dammed, after his enforced inactivity in the days of Gregory XIII., this broke out afresh when his election as Pope afforded the widest and fullest possible outlet for the enormous energies which had been lying dormant in him. Those of the Cardinals who, like Bonelli, thought they had elected a poor old man, and now hoped to become his masters,³ were destined to suffer a great disappointment. Legend later on lent colour to the old story that Cardinal Montalto, as soon as his election was over, threw away the stick upon which he had leant during the conclave, and stood erect in majestic dignity. Nothing could be less true to the facts than this story. Cardinal Montalto was no impostor or actor, deceiving his electors with feigned feebleness. Rather was he like the eagle, as his most recent biographer well puts it, which, as soon as it is freed from its cage, spreads its wings, and directs its flight towards the sun.⁴

The son of the poor countryfolk of Grottammare was in his sixty-fifth year when he was summoned to the highest dignity that mortal man can hold.⁵ His outward appearance

¹ Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 536.

² See HÜBNER, I., 243.

³ See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164.

⁴ HÜBNER, I., 250.

⁵ For the coronation (May 1, 1583) see P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 394 seq.; *ibid.* 395 seq.; for the possesso (May 5). Cf. CANCELLIERI, 121 seqq.

showed a man of strong will and action, but at the same time betrayed his rural upbringing. Of middle height, he was strongly built, and far from handsome. His large head, slightly bent forward, was adorned with a thick, dark chestnut beard, tinged with grey. His cheek-bones were prominent, his nose large and heavy, many wrinkles furrowed his high forehead, his arched and extraordinarily thick eyebrows concealed his small and piercing eyes. The Pope's look was so penetrating that a single glance from him in consistory was enough to enable him to assert himself. His compressed lips showed his energy and inflexible will, and his high colour his good health.¹

¹ For the appearance of Sixtus V. see GRITTI, 340. Cf. also the report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194. Among the portraits of Sixtus V. the outstanding ones are those already eulogized by TEMPESTI (I., 223) in the Vatican Library (copy in ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome) and at the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome. The first, probably by Pietro Facchetti (cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 299) was long considered the work of Padovanino; the other, according to A. BACCHINI (*Dei retratti di P. Sisto V.*, in *L'Amatore d'arte*, II., Rome, 1921, n. 2) is by Ottavio Leoni. A third portrait, which may be numbered with these, by a Venetian artist, and published in *Roma, Rassegna illustrata dell'Esposizione del 1911*, p. 18, is preserved in the storehouse of the Vatican Pinacoteca: this shows the Pope seated, with the Vatican obelisk in the background. There is a similar portrait in the Lateran Palace (reproduction in CHLEDOWSKI, *Rom.*, II., Munich, 1912, 60). For the portrait of Sixtus V. at Grottammare see *Picenum*, X. (1913), 166. The portrait which was in his villa is now in the Istituto Massimo alle Terme, Rome. The Pope in the much discussed picture in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck (n. 137) executed in the style of the Rosary picture by Dürer, and attributed by the catalogue to Martin Theophilus Polak, is supposed to be Sixtus V., which may, however, be an error. There is no doubt that the portrait of a Cardinal in the Vatican Library, which Balzani also includes in his monograph, and which is attributed to Sassaferrato, does not represent Sixtus V. Cf. PISTOLESI, I. ritratti di Sisto V., in *II IV. Cenenario di Sisto V.* (Montalto, 1922) fasc. 5, p. 65 seqq. Much more characteristic are the statues and busts of the Pope recently

All historians agree as to the facility with which Sixtus V. flew into a passion, and how impetuous he was in his anger, but add that he calmed himself with equal facility. In other

treated of by RICCI in the periodical *L'Arte*, XIX. (1916), 163; in this Ricci refers to the school of Recanati (*cf.* G. PAURI, I. Lombardi-Solari e la scuola Recanatese di scoltura, Milan, 1925). The bust of Sixtus V. which stands out for its strong realism, which is mentioned by Baglione and came from the Villa Montalto in Rome, came by the gift of Cardinal Grimaldi to the cathedral of Treia (province of Macerata); there is a cast of this beautiful work in the Instituto Massimo in Rome (see the work by DIEGO ANGELI, Sisto V., on the occasion of the Jubilee) and a reproduction of 1922 in the great hall of the Vatican Library. SOBOTKA (*Jahrbuch der preuss Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIII., 267 *seq.*) has published for the first time the bust at Treia, and shown that it is the model of the beautiful bronze bust of Sixtus V. in the ancient castle of Berlin; he deems it the work of Bastiano Torrigiani. There is also, *loc. cit.* a phototype of the Berlin bust. RICCI (*op. cit.*) attributes the Treia bust to Tiburzio Vergelli. Of the statues of Sixtus V., since the disappearance of that of Landini in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, there is one at Grottammare with the inscription "Sixto V. P. O. M. civi munificentissimo" (see G. SPERANZA, Guida di Grottammare, Ripatransone, 1889). The bronze statue of Sixtus V. in the piazza at Camerino is certainly the work of Tiburzio Vergelli (see M. SANTONI, Sisto V. e la sua statua a Camerino, 1904, 1905); this is reproduced in RICCI, *op. cit.* 164. *Ibid.* the bronze statue of Sixtus V. in front of the sanctuary at Loreto, executed in 1589 by Ant. Bernardino Calcagni (see PAURI, *op. cit.*, 46; *cf.* MÜNTZ, III., 244). The character of Sixtus V. is best expressed in a fourth bronze statue which is to be found at Fermo, on the façade of the Palazzo Communale over the entrance, and is the work of Accursio Baldi (*cf.* GAETANO DE MINCIS, Statua di Sisto V. nel prospetto del Palazzo com. di Fermo, in *L'Album*, VII., Rome, 1841, 167 *seq.*, 171, and G. CICONI, Sisto V. e Fermo, 49 *seq.* with illustration); another in PISTOLESI, Album 85. The bronze statue at the Capitol the erection of which was resolved upon in 1585 (VI. Cal. Dec. and 3 Non. Dec.; see *Cod. G. III., 78, p.239 of the Chigi Library) is the work of Taddeo Landini (see RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 112); a design for this is in the possession

ways too his character united the most contrary qualities. Extraordinarily severe in all things, especially in the administration of justice, he was nevertheless easily moved to tears. Extremely parsimonious, he yet showed himself charitable and often very generous. Of more than common prudence, he knew how to be kindly and encouraging or extraordinarily harsh and brusque in his dealings with others, as circumstances demanded.¹

of Paolo Gassuri at Bergamo (see RICCI, *op. cit.* 172; *cf.* also PISTOLESI, *op. cit.* and especially STEINMANN, *Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol*, Rome, 1924, 12 *seq.*). Inscription in FORCELLA, I., n. 64. The statue was gilt; it was destroyed during the French Revolution. There is thus only one contemporary statue of the great Pope in Rome, that on his monument in the Capella Sistina in S. Maria Maggiore, which is proved by documents to be the work of Valsoldo (*cf.* BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 222, SOBOTKA, *loc. cit.* 265), which, however, is much surpassed by the statue at Fermo. In RICCI, *loc. cit.* there is no mention of the statue erected to the Pope at Perugia in 1591 by Cardinal D. Pinelli, the work of the Perugian, Vincenzo Martelli, as this too was destroyed in 1798 (see A. ROSSI, *La piazza del Sopramure in Perugia*, Perugia, 1887, 37). Of the portraits in copper-engraving of Sixtus V. (*cf.* DRUGULIN, *Allgem. Porträt-Katalog*, Leipzig, 1860, n. 19650 *seq.*, and *Portrait Index*, ed. by W. COOLIDGE-LANE and NINÁ E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1348; see also C. LANG'S catalogue of *Ritratti ital. d. Raccolta Cicognara-Morbio*, 186) the best are those by Ambrogio Brambilla (see THIEME, IV., 520) and by Nikolaus van Aelst (Rome, 1590). These also show the principal buildings of the Pope. For the privilege granted by Sixtus V. to the engraver N. van Aelst see HENSEN, *Medeelingen van hat Nederl. Instit.*, Rome, 1922. For the medals of Sixtus V. many of which show his features greatly idealized, see, besides the work of Bonnani, ARMAND, I., 169, II., 268, 332, III., 333; MARTINORI, 38, and F. PISTOLESI in *Arte e Storia*, XXX., 4. (1911).

¹ *Cf.* L. PRIULI, 304 *seq.*, GRITTI, 340, and the remarks in HÜBNER, I., 224. Gualterius, **Ephemerides*, 121 *seq.* (Vatican Library) dwells in particular upon the munificence and liberality of Sixtus V. That the suspension of the alms of Gregory XIII. to the colleges was annulled after a short time is stated by C.

The great vehemence of character, which gave so much individuality to his personality, was closely bound up with many good qualities, tenacious will power, fascinating eloquence, indefatigable activity, and easily roused enthusiasm.

In many ways Sixtus V. recalled Julius II. Like the latter he was supremely arbitrary, and regardless of consequences in carrying out his purpose ; he was a strong man, so that his contemporaries might well apply to him the epithets, terrible, powerful, magnificent. The essential characteristic, and that which stood out above everything else in Sixtus V. was the power of his mind and the strength of his will.

It is easy to understand that to keep on good terms with a man who was so impulsive, and so easily angered, was not

Capilupi in his *Report of July 27, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *ibid.* the *Report of August 19, 1585, according to which the alms of Gregory XIII., especially to "Ultramontane" and "donne Cipriote" were renewed. The large donations of Sixtus V. are also reported in the *Avviso of July 16, 1588 (Urb. 1056, p. 294, Vatican Library). Cf. also *Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae, Papal Secret Archives, LII., 18. For the Pope's care in providing marriage dowries for poor girls, see Galesinus, *Annales, I., 1126 *seq.* (Vatican Library); cf. App. n. 38. How generous Sixtus V. was in setting free prisoners detained for debt is shown by the *Avviso of January 7, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 4, Vatican Library. Cf. also Bull., IX., 104 *seq.*, and the bull of April 5, 1589, Arm. 44 t. 29, p. 126b *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. According to the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. (Papal Secret Archives, cf. App. n. 40) the Pope personally gave 6000 gold scudi for the ransom of slaves. Cf. MORONI, LXII., 142. See also *Fondo di P. Sisto, XXX., taken from the archives of the Castle of St. Angelo to the Papal Secret Archives ; there are to be found (1) Lista di pregioni liberato d'ordine di N.S. nel natale 1587, also Pasqua 1587 and 1588 ; (2) Elemosine alli loghi pii d'ordine di Sisto V. a Pasqua 1589 and 1590, in all 2040 scudi di moneta. Of the last consistory of the Pope, August 13, 1590, the Acta consist. record : *"Proposuit et fecit legi bullam super dotibus pauperum puellarum et pauperum carceratorum." Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, Vatican Library.

easy. Above all things it was necessary never to lose sight of his dignity, of which he was most tenacious. Anyone who failed in this respect might easily ruin his prospects. The Venetian ambassador, Lorenzo Priuli, said as to this that it had been difficult to confer with the late Pope on account of his tendency to refuse requests, but that now things were much more difficult with the present one, as he had to be handled as carefully as a piece of glass.¹ Filled with the idea of his own dignity, and his own powers, Sixtus V. did not easily take advice. Yet flattery was as ineffectual with him as open opposition. The above mentioned diplomatist therefore advised a middle course ; it was necessary to avoid excess in either direction. Anyone who knew how to deal wisely with Sixtus V., and did not overwhelm him with requests, might count upon success in his negotiations. He granted favours with the greatest facility, if they were not asked for. In general he showed himself well disposed towards those in whom he had confidence, but harsh and severe to all who opposed him in his designs.²

The orator who at one time had filled Italy with the fame of his sermons, now indulged his inclination for long speeches. Few Popes have spoken at such length as he. At consistories and congregations, and at private audiences, his words flowed from his lips like a torrent, accompanied by lively and expressive gestures, and keen looks. His allocutions at the consistories were majestic, emphatic and solemn, while in private conversation he could be spirited and facetious ; all his discourses, however, were generally too long.

¹ " Siccome del papa passato potevamo dire di avere un papa negativo, così del presente si può affermare che abbiamo un papa vitreo per dire così, col quale bisogna soprattutto guardarsi di non urtare." PRIULI, 306 *seq.*

² See L. PRIULI, 304 *seq.* C. Capilupi reports on August 13, 1585 : * " Conobbi nel papa ardire et vigore et mostra di confidar in Dio et verso V. A. mostra grandissima buona volontà, ma è persona sensitiva ne bisogna toccarla nell'humore ne contender seco quando si oppone ud alcuna cosa." Cf. also the *Letter of Capilupi of October 25, 1585, both in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

He loved to gather information and conduct conferences for long hours with his own diplomatists, as well as with foreign ambassadors. He willingly entered into discussions with men of learning ; in this he was helped by his extraordinarily good memory. What he had once read or heard, he remembered with the greatest ease.¹ Thus the medical knowledge which he had acquired at Siena enabled him to discuss such questions with his physicians.² His discourses contained in rapid succession quotations from the Holy Scriptures, historical examples and recollections from his own experiences. In these it was always possible to recognize the preacher who had travelled through the greater part of Italy during many years.³ As he had always worked very hard, he was well informed about all ecclesiastical questions, and just as his predecessor had been distinguished as a canonist, so did he stand out as a theologian.

Audiences with Sixtus V. were by no means things to be treated lightly, even by men of experience ; they had to be well prepared for them, as the Pope was better informed than most people imagined. If in spite of this anyone succeeded now and then in putting him in a difficulty, he never lost his mastery of the situation. He always proved himself ready in reply, as well as clear, logical and prudent.

His remarkable personality is brought before the reader with great vividness in the many letters of the diplomatists, especially the representatives of Venice, who all strove to reproduce as faithfully as possible the speeches, views and sentiments of Sixtus V. We can almost see and hear him, as, walking up and down, he receives the reports of the ambassadors, talks to them, blames them, scolds them, but at the same time allows them to enjoy a confidential insight into his own policy.

¹ See GRITTI, 340.

² Cf. the *report of the Venetian ambassador Badoer, of May 19, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

³ See G. ABATE, Un'omelia ined. di Sisto V., in *Miscell. Francesc.*, XXIII. (1922), 3 seq.

We are brought into confidential relations with his decided, energetic and authoritative nature, and are afforded a knowledge of details which reveal how this Pope, who was often so terrible, could also be kindly, and how he still retained much of the honest nature of the man who had sprung from the people, and by his own energies climbed to the supreme position on earth.¹ But we also come to realize his weaknesses ; as for example when, with ingenuous self-satisfaction, he praises his own achievements, or frequently criticizes the imaginary or real mistakes of his predecessor, from whom he felt himself more at variance than he really was ;² or when he gives free rein to his natural wit,³ or allows himself to be led into violent outbursts of anger over trifles.⁴ A man of extraordinary vivacity, and highly sensitive and incapable of restraining himself, he would very often on the spur of the moment express himself in a way that was absolutely imprudent and precipitate.⁵ It is often difficult to decide from his violent discourses how far they were capricious

¹ See CHLEDOWSKI, Rom., II., 62, who refers to the reports of Reszka.

² Sixtus V. especially complained of the great expenditure of Gregory XIII. ; he blamed him for having used his money without discrimination and for having exhausted the treasury ; see *Avviso of May 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 217, Vatican Library, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 167. The harsh judgment which he passed on Gregory XIII. (*cf.* as to this the *report of the Venetian ambassador of October 12, 1585, State Archives, Venice) even made him go to the length of attacking the reform of the Calendar (see SANTORI, *loc. cit.*, 194 ; HÜBNER, II., 187). Sixtus V. also spoke very bitterly of others of his predecessors, e.g. of Clement VII. ; see SANTORI, *loc. cit.* 175.

³ See SANTORI, *loc. cit.* 172.

⁴ See the report of the envoy of Este of May 4, 1588, in RICCI, Silingardi, I., 45.

⁵ With regard to the Pope's precipitancy *cf.* SANTORI, *loc. cit.*, 186 *seq.* and the *Avviso of November 26, 1585 (promises of favours, which he had to withdraw after further consideration) Urb. 1053, p. 503, Vatican Library.

outbursts, or how far they were devices intended to confuse and frighten his opponents.¹

The state of excitement which often took possession of Sixtus V. burst out with such passion that his hearer was almost paralysed ; vehemently and without any consideration, he pushed forward to his end, and laid bare the truth without the least sense of delicacy. It was this which caused him to be held in such fear by many people. Often he unfolded ideas and plans which filled people with amazement, but prolific though he was in plans, he always carefully weighed the means at his disposal before he embarked upon any project.² Whatever he had once decided upon after mature reflection, he carried into effect energetically and resolutely.³ His training and career had led to his remaining a stranger to questions of high policy. He thus had at first to accustom himself to such things, and he succeeded in doing so in an extraordinarily short time. Before long he was so completely a master in such matters that it was said that the political wisdom of this Pope who had grown up in the cloister was greater than that of any of his predecessors who had spent their whole lives in the midst of public affairs.⁴

Anyone who wishes to understand Sixtus V. fully must also take into consideration another characteristic, which does much to smooth over the harshnesses of his violent temperament ; this was his deep piety. This was quite simple and was part of the inheritance of his humble origin. On this solid foundation the indefatigable preacher, the zealous Inquisitor, the bishop devoted to the interests of his flock, had developed into the Cardinal who might well become Pope. Once he had ascended the throne of St. Peter he gave the faithful a shining example by the stately bearing and recollec-

¹ Cf. PRIULI, 307 and HÜBNER, II., 188 *seq.*, where it is justly pointed out that the deeply offended Olivares was quite wrong in describing the Pope as voluble and deceitful.

² See L. PRIULI, 304.

³ See the opinion of the Tuscan envoy Vinta in his report of April 24, 1585, in GALUZZI, IV., 18. Cf. FUSAI, B, Vinta, 35 *seq.*

⁴ See REUMONT, III., 2, 580.

tion with which he assisted at divine worship.¹ He took part regularly in all the religious functions. Much though he might suffer from the oppressive heat of August, he was punctual in his assistance at the festivals of the Church, and demanded the same thing from the Cardinals.² At the procession of Corpus Christi, he went on foot with head uncovered, carrying the Blessed Sacrament with his own hands, and with the greatest reverence.³ Often he made the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches of the Eternal City, during which he remained in prolonged meditation in the holy places.⁴ The relics and pictures of the martyrs moved him to tears.⁵ During the time of Carnival he retired to his villa.⁶ Very

¹ The *Avvisi repeatedly bring this out. The Pope, we read in one of these of April 5, 1586, assisted at all the offices "con grandissima devotione, silentio et ordine" (Urb. 1054, p. 118, Vatican Library). Cf. *ibid.* 1053, p. 545b, December 25, 1585: The solemnity of the functions lasted so long on account of the Pope, "che va in essi considerato et devoto."

² On Sunday, says an *Avviso of August 13, 1586, "Capella in S. Lorenzo" in conformity with the Papal bull, in the presence of Sixtus V. and all the Cardinals, "benche assediati dal caldo et coperti della polvere" (Urb. 1054, p. 345, Vatican Library).

³ See *Avviso of June 7, 1586 (The Pope "con incredibile devotione, sodisfattione et agevolezza"), Urb. 1054, p. 204. Cf. *ibid.* 1056, p. 244, June 18, 1588: The Pope "a piedi con la testa scoperta et con grandissima devotione et spirito," Vatican Library.

⁴ See Gualterius *Ephemerides for December 27, 1585, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Cf. *Avviso of October 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 467, Vatican Library. See also Galesinus, *Annales I., 107, Vatican Library (cf. App. nn. 38, 39).

⁵ See *Avviso of June 21, 1589 (On Sunday at S. Stefano Rotondo, the Pope wept while looking at the pictures; see ORBAAN, Avvisi, 310), and the *Avviso of July 21, 1589 (he gives orders for the suitable burial of the bones of the martyrs at S. Adriano: "non si potè di tenerezza contenere dalle lacrime et così nel fare oratione alla immagine della glor. vergine") Urb. 1057, p. 364, 433, Vatican Library.

⁶ See the *Report of Attilio Malegnani of February 4, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

great was his veneration for the Poverello of Assisi, and in 1586 on the feast of the saint (October 4th) he preached a sermon to his intimates, at which his vigour of mind and body caused general wonder.¹ After the autumn of 1587 he had a passage from the rule and life of St. Francis read to him every Friday.²

Sixtus V. assisted in great state at religious festivals and the solemn offices,³ but in his own palace on the other hand he observed the greatest simplicity; in this respect he remained a strict Franciscan. In June, 1585, Camillo Capilupi estimated that the expenses of the maintenance of the court had been reduced to a minimum,⁴ but a further reduction was made during the following months; nineteen *parafrenieri* and a number of chamberlains were dismissed, and the salary of those who remained was reduced.⁵ In January 1586 the Pope looked into the accounts and found that the expenses were still too high. Further reductions were ordered, and others projected,⁶ which were carried out

¹ See the *Avviso of October 8, 1586, Urb. 1055, p. 379, Vatican Library.

² Avviso of September 5, 1587, *ed.* ORBAAN, 300.

³ Este was wrong in blaming him for this (see HÜBNER, I., 415) because in this too Sixtus V. showed his economical spirit, as had already been seen at his coronation; see SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 165.

⁴ See the *letter of Capilupi of June 19, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. An *Avviso of May 1, 1585, announces that all the Pope's famiglia were to wear cassocks, and that the camerieri were only to receive 300 scudi for their expenses instead of 700. Urb. 1053, p. 190, Vatican Library.

⁵ Cf. the *Avvisi of July 3, 10 and 13, and August 10, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 278, 280b, 294, 302, 303, 359, Vatican Library.

⁶ See the *Avvisi of January 29, February 1 and 22, 1586, Urb. 1054, 386, 41b, 69, Vatican Library. Cf. EHSSES-MEISTER, Nuntiatürberichte, I., lxiv. n. s, according to which the major-domo, Giov. Batt. Santonio, had at first received 5000 scudi a month for his duties, which was reduced in 1586 to 4000, then to 3000, and lastly to 2200 scudi.

in July and September.¹ In April 1587 a yet further reduction of the expenditure on service and meals was planned.² The Pope himself led the way by his own example. If he had to give banquets to visitors of distinction these were as simple as possible. He banished all signs of luxury from his own apartments. The carpets, which were a necessity in the winter, were to be of quite a common quality.³ In January 1588, Sixtus V. suppressed the usual holidays for his employés, and justified this decree by the fact that he allowed himself no days of rest.⁴

A sketch of his manner of life shows how true this was.

Sixtus V. was accustomed to rise very early. After mass, he liked to deal with the more important business, walking about in the Belvedere for two hours. He dined at half past

¹ *A cent'altre bocche è stata levata la spesa a Palazzo (Avviso of July 9, 1586). An *Avviso of September 20, 1586, states: Non cura il Papa, che vigilat super gregem quanto può fedelmente d'impovertire la sua persona di tante commodità et grandezze, che govedevano gli altri suoi predecessori per arricchire la sede apost. et metterla in tremendo stato per freno de suoi nemici . . . riducendo tuttavia per potere ciò fare con le riforme palatine le tante prodigalità in poche spese et togliendo di nuovo a se, alla nipoti et li suoi intimi, molte commodità et spese et riducendo a 240 quello che a tempo di Gregorio XIII. costava alla Camera 800. Urb. 1054, p. 272, 419, Vatican Library.

² See the *letter of Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand, April 25, 1587, Departmental Archives, Innsbruck. Other economies mentioned in the *Avviso of March 4, 1587: *Avviso of March 4, 1587: Le provisioni e stipendii, che la Camera sborsava in Campidoglio a certi di questo popolo destinati alla guardia della colonna Traiana, alla custodia de muri di Roma, intorno alla fontana di Trevi, alla lettura di Tito Livio et sopra il carico d'altre cose simili sono stati levati indifferentemente tutti. Urb. 1055, p. 77, Vatican Library.

³ See *Galesinus 42 *seq.*; De temperantia parsimonia et frugalitate Sixti V.

⁴ See Avviso of Jan 27, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 35, Vatican Library.

twelve, and supped by himself late.¹ Very little was allowed to be spent upon his table, not more than five giulii a day.² As for his choice of dishes, he would only have simple food served, and few courses. He made an exception in having good wine, wishing by this to keep up his strength, but he ate and drank very quickly.³ When in 1587 the physicians forbade him the rest that he was wont to take after dinner, he remained longer with his friends at table, engaged in lively conversation ; he also had documents and books read at this time.⁴ The whole of the rest of his time until the evening was given over to serious business. He was indefatigable in this, and it seemed to give him real pleasure ; he devoted himself entirely to it, and went into everything down to the smallest detail.⁵ He was never to be seen unoccupied. He was always active, and even during his walks in the garden gave audiences or issued his instructions.⁶ His favourite time for audiences was during the afternoon.⁷ The Pope still

¹ **"Ella lieva a buon hora et dopo la messa passeggia due hore in Belvedere negoziando et alle 12 1-2 hora desina et alle 22 ai più cena. Mangia con gusto et beve benissimo."* L. Oliva, on July 16, 1586. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See *Avviso of March 15, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 94, Vatican Library. Cf. ORBAAN, Documenti, 425. Thus beyond doubt GRITTI, 340, must be emended. Cf. L. OLIGER, Sixtus V., et eius coquus Ferrariensis, in *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, I., 496 seq.

³ See CICARELLA, Vita Sixti V.

⁴ See Avviso of July 22, 1587, ed. ORBAAN, Avvisi, 299.

⁵ **"N.S. è così diligente nel suo carico pastorale che vuole intendere, dispenere et ordinare fine alle minutie."* Avviso of October 12, 1588 (Urb. 1056, p. 467, Vatican Library).

⁶ See *Avviso of June 11, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 213. In an *Avviso of October 14, 1587 (Urb. 1055, p. 389b), it is stated : *"Il Pontefice sollecito super gregem non solo si rende indefesso in tutte le fationi ordinarie, ma anco dispensa quel poco di tempo, che dovria pigliare di recreatione, quando esce fuori in audienze et. negotii continui."* Vatican Library.

⁷ See the *report of Capilupi of February 8, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

worked for a long time in the evening, for he allowed himself but little rest.¹

His restless activity and the ardour of his temperament made many fear that he would wear himself out before his time. The Pope himself did not think that he would have a long pontificate.² All the more did he think it his duty to use the time that he had, and it was characteristic of the little consideration that he showed for himself that he made so great demands upon his robust health. It was not enough for him that he had worked uninterruptedly throughout the day, and limited his hours of repose to the fewest possible, but even in the evening he walked about the corridors of the Vatican, caring nothing if he exposed himself to the risk of fever.³ He only made one concession to his health ; in the summer he went regularly to his villa or to the new palace on the Quirinal ; this was due to the fact that he could ill endure the fierce heat of the Roman summer, and that his sensitive nature suffered much from insomnia at that season of the year.⁴ Apart from that his health throughout his pontificate was in every way excellent. For his physicians he chose some of his fellow countrymen from the Marches. One of these, Durante, wrote a book about his health, which he dedicated to Camilla, the Pope's sister.⁵ An attack of

¹ See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*

² See L. PRIULI, 311 *seq.*

³ See Avviso of May 22, 1585, ed. ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 283. Cf. the *Avviso of June 8, 1585 : The Pope goes every evening " alla fontana di Giulio III.," although they were " stanza et sito cativissimi " (Urb. 1053, p. 243b, Vatican Library).

⁴ See *report of Sporeno of July 26, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Cf. the *letter of Oliva of July 23, 1586, and *that of A. Malegnani of August 5, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. App. n. 17. An *Avviso of May 8, 1585, reports : " Da Palazzo si sono allontanati e galli e cani et i tamburri della guardia per non interrompere con stridi et strepidi tali quella poca quiete del sonno, che piglia il Papa con molta difficoltà " (Urb. 1053, p. 200, Vatican Library).

⁵ Durante makes mention of the first tobacco, which Santa Croce brought from Portugal to Rome ; see ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 111 *seq.*

fever from which he suffered in November, 1586, soon passed.¹ The ambassadors could never find words adequately to describe the Pope's health and strength ; he was accustomed to walk so quickly that the old Cardinals could not keep up with him.²

His strong constitution allowed Sixtus V. to keep all important business in his own hands, as indeed his autocratic character demanded. As he himself once said, he did not intend to be a mere figurehead, but to decide everything

¹ See the *report of A. Malegnani (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *report of the Venetian ambassador (State Archives, Venice), translated in HÜBNER, II., 492 *seq.*, and the *Avviso of November 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 481, Vatican Library. Cf. Sporeno, *report of November 16, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

² For 1585 see the *reports of Sporeno of August 17, 24 and 28, September 7 and 14, October 5, November 30, and December 21, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Cf. the *Avvisi of April 24 and June 22, Urb. 1053, p. 178b, 259, Vatican Library. For 1586 see the *reports of Sporeno of January 2, 4 and 18, February 1, March 15, May 3, 17 and 31, June 21, July 26, September 27 and November 29, *loc. cit.*, the *Avvisi of May 28 and October 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 198, 1055, p. 379b, Vatican Library, and the *letter of Oliva of June 16, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For 1587 see the *reports of Sporeno of March 14 and 21, April 18 and 25, June 27, July 4, 11 and 25, *loc. cit.* Cf. in App. n. 14, the *report of Malegnani of June 20, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of October 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. For 1588 see the *Avvisi of April 20 and June 18, Urb. 1056, p. 149, 244, *loc. cit.* (Cf. App. n. 19), and the *letter of Sporeno of May 14, *loc. cit.* At Easter, 1589, Sixtus V. sang the High Mass in a strong voice, and in September joined in the procession to S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli ; see *Avviso of April 6, Urb. 1057, p. 178, Vatican Library ; cf. *ibid.* 235 the *Avviso of April 29. In the autumn he visited the works at the Pontine Marshes (see more fully *infra* pp. 102-106). MORONI denies that he contracted the fever there (LXVII., 107) ; REUMONT (III., 2, 588) erroneously considers this probable, for so long a period of incubation is impossible.

himself.¹ Although he was expansive by nature, he admitted no one to his secrets.² He arrived at his decisions quite unexpectedly and was inexorable in having them carried out.³ With him, said Giovanni Gritti, hardly anyone had a consultative vote, and no one a decisive one.⁴

Immediately after his election Sixtus V. entrusted the management of public business to Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci, who had previously held that office under Pius V. and had been in disgrace under Gregory XIII., Pius V.'s nephew, Cardinal Bonelli, was at the head of the Consulta, which managed the affairs of the Papal States.⁵

The work of Rusticucci was rather nominal than real,⁶ as Sixtus V. personally conducted all the more important business himself. Of all the greater importance therefore was the office of *segretario intimo*, which the Pope entrusted to a man who had been his private secretary during the period of his cardinalate, and of whose service he had long experience.

¹ See the *Avviso of August 10, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 364, Vatican Library. Cf. the report of Vinta of April 24, 1585, in FUSAI, B. Vinta, 35 *seq.*

² See the *Avviso of June 7, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 332, Vatican Library. Cf. the opinion of Sporeno as to the person of the legate destined for Poland in his *report of May 14, 1588, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

³ See the report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194. With regard to the nomination of Allen as Cardinal A. Malegnani says: *"et queste fu talmente all'improvviso che nessuno lo seppe se non il card. Carafa." Report of August 8, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See RANKE, I^o., 301.

⁵ Cf. the *Avvisi of April 24, May 8, and June 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 178b, 199, 259. *"Ha destinato subito le stanze di S. Sisto al cardinale Alessandrino," we read in the first of these Avvisi, "dipoi dato il luogo di Como a Rusticucci," Vatican Library. Cf. EHSSES-MEISTER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 79.

⁶ Cf. HINOJOSA, 333. According to the *Avviso of February 18, 1587, Rusticucci from that time onwards asked to be allowed to resign, but in vain. Urb. 1055, p. 56, Vatican Library.

This was Decio Azzolini, who also came from the Marches. Sixtus V. loved this loyal servant very much,¹ and in December 1585 he admitted him to the Sacred College.² As Cardinal, Azzolini retained his previous office, but the work of the chancery was made over to Antonio Maria Graziani, Bishop of Amelia. The latter had received his diplomatic training in the service of the distinguished Cardinal Commendone, whose secretary he had been and whose biographer he afterwards became.³

The appointment of Rusticucci and Bonelli was prompted by the Pope's feeling of gratitude to his former benefactor, Pius V. To this motive was added the impossibility of entrusting the direction of affairs to his nephew, Alessandro Peretti [Damasceni], at that time scarcely fifteen years of age.⁴ His youth, however, did not prevent the Pope from conferring the purple upon him on May 13th, 1585, and at the same time

¹ See *Avviso of June 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 257, Vatican Library.

² See the characteristic deed of appointment in CIACONIUS, IV., 158 *seq.*

³ See RICHARD in the *Revue d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 528; EHSSES, II., 523. Azzolini was on bad terms with the family of Sixtus V.; *cf.* GROTANELLI, *Fra Geremia*, 84 *seq.* *Acta of the Azzolini heritage in the Egerton MSS. 1079, 1080, 1081, British Museum, London. The papers of Graziani are in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello; *cf.* the catalogue of P. BERTI (Florence, 1863) and MAZZATINTI, *Gli Archivi d'Italia*, IV., Rocca di Casciano, 1904, 6-31.

⁴ See CIACONIUS, IV., 147; HÜBNER, I., 264. That his intention of governing with his nephew was at once taken into consideration is clear from the fact that Sixtus V. anxiously inquired of Farnese "come egli giovinetto si governava a tempo di Paolo III. su zio circa alli speditioni et dispositioni di tante et tante altre cose." *Avviso of June 22, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 257, Vatican Library. *Cf.* as to this the *report of C. Capilupi of June 25, 1585, as to the reply of Farnese, who said that his masters had been Marcello Cervini, Sadoletto and Maffei. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

his own name and armorial bearings.¹ It is said that it was Cardinal Farnese who, mindful of his own elevation by Paul III., proposed this nomination.² It is, however, certain that opposition was not lacking to a proceeding which must have seemed very hazardous. Cardinal Santori says in his notes that though the evil custom had long existed of Popes nominating their nephews as Cardinals, even when they were boys, yet such a thing was not to be expected of a Pope who had lived as a Franciscan; for this reason Cardinal Carafa did not attend the consistory.³

Fortunately Alessandro Peretti, who was thenceforward generally known as Cardinal Montalto, in every way corresponded to the hopes which his uncle placed in him. Under the direction of Angelo Papio, he developed in the most satisfactory way.⁴ In July 1585 he began to study public affairs at the Consulta.⁵ He soon showed himself both hardworking and capable, and in 1586 Priuli said of him: the nephew speaks little but has a good head, and every day becomes more pleasing to the Pope.⁶ In course of time Peretti was to become one of the most distinguished Cardinals in the Sacred College.⁷

¹ See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55 *seq.*; RATTI, II., 359 *seq.* A fine portrait of Cardinal Montalto, painted by Scip. Pulzone, 1588, is in the Corsini Gallery, Rome. For the bust by Algardi see *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV. (1923), 120 *seq.*

² See *Avviso of May 15, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 207, Vatican Library.

³ SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 165.

⁴ Cf. *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ *Avviso of July 10, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 294b, Vatican Library. The brief to Cardinal Montalto with "facoltà di intromettersi ne negotii" is mentioned by C. L. CAPILUPI in his *report of July 1, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ PRIULI, 312. Cf. TEMPESTI, II., 373.

⁷ Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 147 *seq.*; BAROZZI-BERCHET, Relazione d. Amb. Veneti, III., 1, Venice, 1877, 121; SIRI, Memorie, V., 507 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 86 *seq.* The "Instructions" of Sixtus V. to his nephew are apocryphal, as has been shown by REUMONT (*Bonner Lit.-Blatt*, 1869, 618 note) and MAUREN-

Whereas the retiring and accommodating Rusticucci remained in favour with the Pope, Bonelli, who was too sure of himself, and thought to manage Sixtus V., who had been made Cardinal by his uncle, had by the end of 1585¹ fallen completely into disgrace.² In spite of his impetuosity, Sixtus V., who did not wish to offend against the memory of Pius V., whom he had so greatly venerated, kept up appearances in this case ; in January 1586 Cardinal Bonelli was given leave of absence on the ground of ill-health, and Alessandro Peretti was ordered to represent him at the Consulta.³ The business was then divided up between Peretti, Rusticucci and Azzolini.⁴

This temporary state of affairs did not last long, and at the beginning of 1587 Sixtus V. put forward an entirely new arrangement. Rusticucci, who from the first had been very

BRECHER (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXVIII., 184) against HÜBNER (II., 74). It is remarkable that both GIOBBIO (Dipl. pontif., 252) and HERRE (369) persist in maintaining their authenticity. The first mention of these "Avvertimenti" is in the *Avviso of February 6, 1588 ("Va in volta una scrittura intitolata, etc."), Urb. 1056, p. 50, Vatican Library. They have often been copied (Berlin Lib., Inform. polit., XII., 29 *seq.*; University Library, Bologna, Cod. 2324; State Archives, Florence, Carte Strozze, II., 765; Karlsruhe Library, see HOLDER, III., 13; Ambrosiana, Milan, S. 91; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. ital. 196 [St. Germain]; Archives of S. Croce, Rome) as well as being printed (in PH. HONORII, *Thesaurus polit.*, I., 351 *seq.*).

¹Not immediately, as Herre thinks (367). On August 17, 1585, C. Capilupi *reports that Bonelli enjoyed the same favour as of old. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 192.

²This lasted throughout the pontificate of Sixtus V.; see SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 178, 192.

³Cf. *Avviso of January 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 8, Vatican Library, and PRIULI, 313.

⁴See *Avviso of January 29, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 38, Vatican Library.

unacceptable to the Spaniards, as Bonelli was to the French,¹ retired, and the Consulta was suspended.² The Pope governed entirely alone, assisted by Cardinals Montalto and Azzolini. To the great sorrow of Sixtus V., however, the latter died on October 9th, 1587.³ His secretary, Antonio Maria Graziani, then entered the service of Montalto in a similar capacity. At the end of 1587 the Cardinal summoned to the secretariate of state a disciple of Commendone, Gian Andrea Caligari, Bishop of Bertinoro, who had held the nunciature of Poland under Gregory XIII.⁴ Sixtus V. rewarded Rusticucci by

¹ Already on June 25, 1585, *C. Capilupi had foretold that the affairs of state would be entrusted to Peretti, "tanto più che veggendo ella [Sixtus V.] che signori Spagnuoli mal volentieri commettono li secreti loro al card. Rusticucci et signori Francesi al card. Alessandrino, pare che S. St^à sia in necessità di trovar persone che habbino sola dipendenza da lei et che siano confidenti a tutte le parti volendo ella essere più universale di tutti." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See in App. nn. 12, 13, the *reports of A. Malegnani of January 17 and 24, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also GRITTI, 240 and SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 184.

³ Gualterius (*Ephemerides 148b) writes concerning the death of Azzolini that this had occurred: "incredibili Pontificis dolore qui non solum ab ipso auctus cardinalisque creatus erat, sed eiu, prestantissimis dotibus tamquam filius diligebatur. Id quods ex eo potissimum intellectum est, quod eius audita morte lacrimas continere non potuit, atque adeo eius cadaver ad S. Mariam Mai. honorificentissime afferri sua impensa voluit. Urbs universa cardinalis et iuvenis et prudentissimi et humanissimi et summe expectationis immeturam mortem summo dolore miserata est."

⁴ See the letter of Montalto to Caligari of December 9, 1587, in *Scelta di curios. lett.*, CXCVIII., 232 seq. Cf. RICHARD, *loc. cit.*; EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., ix, 523; SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 184; REICHENBERGER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 458; *Monum. Poloniae Vatic.*, IV, Cracow, 1915, xxxvi. The secretary for the letters to the princes from 1585 to 1588 was Ant. Boccapaduli, and from 1589 onwards Marcellus Vestrius Barbianus (Arm. 44, t. 29, and 30, Papal Secret Archives). For both these secretaries cf. BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 95, 116. The names of the other secretaries according to the Rotulo of

giving him, after the death of the distinguished and zealous Savelli in December 1587, the vicariate-general of Rome.¹ Sixtus V. also showed his gratitude towards loyal servants on other occasions, and, though he laid himself open to severe reproaches, even honoured several of them with the purple.²

Of the new Cardinals, two besides Montalto and Azzolini enjoyed the special confidence of the Holy Father: Pinelli and Aldobrandini. These were given apartments at the Vatican, so that Sixtus V. might conveniently discuss current business with them.³ For his dealings with the diplomatists the Pope sometimes made use of the services of Cardinals Santori, Gesualdo and Aragona, as his nephew was still too young for this. Such a thing, however, did not happen very frequently, as, all through his pontificate, Sixtus V. dealt personally with the ambassadors. The representatives of the principal powers were received by him once a week, and their audiences often lasted for several hours, as the Pope loved to indulge in long and detailed discussions. His young nephew was taciturn in a corresponding degree, but devoted himself to his task with an assiduity rare in one of his years,

1587 in the *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XIV., 586. For the briefs of Sixtus V. see WIRZ, xxiv. The bull for the "reformatio officii secretarii domestici" of April 1, 1586, in Bull., VIII., 685 seq. That after the time of Sixtus V. the office of the *bollatori* was in charge of a prelate, who caused the sealing of the bulls to be performed by a deputy, is clear from BAUMGARTEN, *Aus Kanzlei und Kammer, Freiburg*, 1907, 104, 150. *"Lettere scritte a nome di Sisto V. per il cardinale Peretti di Montalto dal suo segretario Msgr. G. A. Caligari, 1588-1590" in Borghese, II., 495, Papal Secret Archives. For the secretary of cyphers, Giov. Battista Argenti, see MEISTER, *Geheimschrift*, 51, 55 seq.

¹ See MORONI, CIX., 94.

² See the 2nd part of *Sixtus V. P.M., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. also more fully *infra*, Chapter III.

³ See PRIULI 313 seq. Cf. MORONI, XIX., 135. At first it was thought that Cardinal Albani had the greatest influence with Sixtus V.; see the *letter of C. Capilupi of May 1, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

and by his prudent reserve showed himself worthy of the affection which his uncle felt for him.¹

With the appointment of Alessandro Peretti it might have been supposed that a new and unbecoming reign of nepotism had been inaugurated, but fortunately this was not the case. In spite of the fact that Sixtus V. was so devoted to Cardinal Montalto,² the latter had no decisive influence in affairs of state.³ The many distant relatives of the Pope who at once came to Rome were received kindly and treated with hospitality, but things went no further.⁴ It was only for his sister Camilla, who was two years older than himself, and for the sons of her daughter, Maria Damasceni, that Sixtus V. as Pope provided, at first to a limited extent, and afterwards generously, but not at the expense of the state.⁵ Camilla was given the palace adjoining SS. Apostoli as her residence.⁶

Sixtus V. loved his sister with all his heart, and especially admired her great piety, which he compared to that of St. Monica ; he attributed his election as Pope to her prayers. Camilla was given a small court, but in assigning it to her Sixtus exhorted her always to keep in mind her humble birth, never to give scandal by extravagant expenditure, and never to mix herself up in any way in affairs of state. Camilla, to whom the Pope afterwards gave extensive property and his

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 69 *seq.* Cf. RATTI, II., 351.

² Cf. the *report of Sporeno of June 11, 1587, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. The annual revenue of Montalto amounted, according to Cicarella (*Vita Sixti V.*) to 100,000 scudi in round figures.

³ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 90.

⁴ See the *Avvisi of May 18 and November 23, 1587, Urb. 1053, p. 211b, 500b, Vatican Library. For the distant relatives the best information is given by the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 194 *seq.*

⁵ See PRIULLI, 305, 312.

⁶ She went to live there at the beginning of July, 1585 ; see *Avviso of July 3, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 200 (*cf.* 1055, p. 120), Vatican Library.

own vigna,¹ carried out his advice as long as her brother lived. The property which he bestowed upon her so generously was well administered.² As she often saw the Pope, the diplomats sought her friendship,³ but they were soon made to realize that Sixtus allowed his sister no influence in matters of importance,⁴ and that with her he did not discuss such matters, but only family questions.

¹ See RATTI, II., 351 *seq.*; MASSIMO, Villa Montalto, 150 *seq.*, 253 *seq.* For the purchase of "casali" with money given her by the Pope, see the *reports of A. Malegnani of June 24 and July 25, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See HÜBNER, II., 144. For the piety of Camilla see PRIULI, 312, and the Relazioni degli amb. Lucchesi, in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 192. She founded the chapel of S. Lorenzo on the left hand side of S. Susanna in Rome; *cf.* MORONI, LXVII., 110; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232. G. de Mincis speaks in his *Monumenti di Fermo* (op. ined.) of a medal of Camilla Peretti.

³ See HÜBNER, II., 145. Venice created the two nephews nobles; see the *letter of thanks from Cardinal Montalto to the Doge, November 16, and *that of Camilla of November 15, 1585. Camilla's signature in her own hand: "humill. serva Camilla Peretti," shows a writing that was still uneducated. Original in State Archives, Venice. Sixtus V. too thanked the Doge; see *Brevia, XXX., 113. Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ She might only ask for favours and benefices; see PRIULI, 340. When C. Capilupi interested himself for the nomination of Scipione Gonzaga as Cardinal, he expressed in his *letter of January 4, 1586, the opinion that the first thing was to convince the Pope of his worthiness, and then win over Montalto and Camilla: "bisogna passar per questa porta." Camilla strove in vain, as Capilupi had to report on December 13, 1586 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). A letter of Camilla in FR. PISTOLESI, Sisto V., xxiii. Another original letter from her to Sixtus V. dated from Narni, September 15, supports the petition of the inhabitants of Narni for the importation of grain. Princ. 49, p. 363. Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid* 48, pp. 15 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 277 *seq.*, 467, 567, 589, original *letter of the niece of Sixtus V. who was a nun at Fermo to the Pope; the letters are of no general importance.

How tenderly Sixtus loved his great-nephews¹ was shown not only by the promotion of Alessandro to the cardinalate, and the benefices which he gave him,² but also by his showing great favour to the Cardinal's brother, Michele, upon whom depended the carrying on of the family. Although Michele was only eight years old, in 1585 he was given the title of Captain-General of the Papal bodyguard and Governor of the Borgo ; later on he received other honours and many possessions. Camilla made him her heir. When he was eleven he married Margherita della Somaglia, a wealthy Milanese lady.³

Sixtus V. also witnessed the marriages of his two great-nieces, Flavia and Orsina. Both were very beautiful, and like their grandmother easily took their place in the aristocratic world.⁴ His design was to marry one of them to Ranuccio Farnese, the hereditary prince of Parma, and this would

¹ See the *report of Capilupi of June 1, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *ibid.* the *letter of Oliva of July 15, 1586. An *Avviso of April 27, 1585, says that Michele Peretti is " l'anima istessa di S.B^{no}." Urb. 1053, p. 186, Vatican Library.

² Alessandro received as a gift in 1587 the Villa Bagnaia near Viterbo ; see ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 300 *seq.* After the death of Farnese in March, 1589, he was also given the office of vice-chancellor, but only a part of the revenues ; see *Avviso of March 4, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library. On March 12, 1589, Montalto received *faculties to possess other prebends in addition to the cardinalate and the office of vice-chancellor. Graziani Archives, Città di Castello.

³ See RATTI, II., 353 ; MORONI, LXVII., 94, 103 *seq.* ; HÜBNER, II., 149. Cf. *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, VI., 109 *seq.* *" Dopo tanti si et non finalmente è concluso in si il matrimonio del s. Don Michele colla figlia della contessa della Somaia," wrote Matteo Brumani on March 19, 1588. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The marriage was first proposed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany ; all the Cardinals and ambassadors congratulated the Pope. *Report of July 30, 1588, *ibid.* For busts of Michele Peretti see *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV., 122 *seq.*

⁴ See the *letter of Luigi Oliva of July 15, 1586, in which he describes a visit to Camilla. Of Don Michele he says : " è puttiero garbato." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

probably have succeeded if Philip II. had not stood in its way.¹ The negotiations which were then entered into with the two principal Roman families were brought to a successful conclusion at the beginning of 1589. Flavia Peretti married by proxy Virginio Orsini of Bracciano, the son of Paolo Giordano,² and Orsina Peretti Marcantonio Colonna, Grand Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, and nephew of the celebrated victor of Lepanto of the same name. The marriage of the two sisters took place on March 20th, 1589. They received a dowry of 80,000 scudi, 20,000 scudi as pin-money, and precious gifts. Colonna was given the title of Duke of Paliano.³

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 146. For the efforts of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the marriage of Flavia to Virg. Orsini, who was his cousin, see FUSAI, B. Vinta, 43. Sporeno also remarks in his *letter of January 2, 1588, that Farnese hoped to obtain the tiara by means of this marriage, but that Sixtus V. was more robust than Farnese. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

² Cf. the *Avvisi of February 1 and 4, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 49, 52. Vatican Library. According to the *report of Brumani of February 11, 1589, Flavia received a ring with a diamond worth 1200 scudi. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On April 8, 1589, the *Diarium Alaleonis states: "Ingressus urbem Virginus Ursinus, dux Brachiani, novellus sponsus Flavie Perette." Barb. 2814. Vatican Library. Scipione Tadolini is about to write concerning the palace of the married couple, Virginio Orsini and Flavia Peretti, in the Via Parione, No. 7 in the *Bullettino d'arte del Minist. di pubbl. istruzione*.

³ See the *report of Brumani of January 4, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of February 15, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 71, Vatican Library. Cf. RATTI, Sforza, II., 359. On March 20, 1589, the *Diarium Alaleonis (*loc. cit.*) states: "Sponsalia inter M. A. Columnam contestab. et Ursinam de Perettis." For the marriage of Orsina Peretti see the rare *nozze* publication, *Tre pranzi nel secolo XVI*, Bologna, 1838. See also G. M. GUICCIARDI DA BAGNACAVALLO, *Rime nelle nozze del sig. Marcant. Colonna e dell'ecc. sig. Orsina Peretti*, Rome, 1589. A *brief of thanks to the Doge for his congratulations on the marriages of his nieces, dated March 10, 1589, in State Archives, Venice, Bolle. At the consistory of December 15, 1589 (Acta consist.

When he received them, the Pope expressed his great joy at having by means of these marriages united the two most important families of Rome,¹ and when he appointed the husbands of his two great-nieces as assistants at the pontifical throne Sixtus V. ordered that the long disputed precedence was to belong to the elder of the two.² This position of honour, the highest that the Pope ever gives to a layman, has remained to this day in the families of the Colonna and Orsini. Sixtus V. also showed himself very well disposed towards the other barons of the Papal States, so long as they were obedient to the laws. In the first year of his pontificate, in grateful recollection of bye-gone days, he appointed Alessandro Sforza Duke of Segni, Giuliano Cesarini Duke of Civita Castellana, and Roberto Altemps Duke of Gallese.³ These, however, were merely titles, which did not affect the sovereignty of the Pope, nor the status of the cities of the Papal States, which remained unchanged under Sixtus V.⁴

869) there was read the *Bulla confirmationis instrumenti 400,000 Sc. a Camera Marco Antonio duci Paliani et Philippo eius fratri mutuo datorum : see the document in Arm. 44, 6. 29, p. 253 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

¹ See *Avviso of February 18, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 87, Vatican Library.

² See *Avviso of July 20, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 319, Vatican Library. Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 256.

³ See RATTI, Sforza, II., 325. Cf. MORONI, LV., 233 *seq.*, LXVII., 104.

⁴ See BROSCHE, I., 288 *seq.*, where it is especially brought out how, in addition to Rome, other cities of the Papal States had lost their character of independent communes.

CHAPTER II.

MEASURES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF BRIGANDAGE. THE POPE'S CARE FOR THE WELFARE OF HIS SUBJECTS. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE.

ONE of the first cares of Sixtus V. was to put an end to the intolerable state of affairs in Rome and the Papal States, as far as public safety was concerned, which had grown up under the aged Gregory XIII.¹ It was soon realized how determined the Pope was to effect a radical change. When, on the day after the election, the Conservatori presented themselves before Sixtus V. and begged him to take thought for the administration of justice and for the adequate supply of provisions, he replied that he would himself provide against the scarcity which had made itself felt under another Pope, but that the administration of justice was their affair; if they neglected it he would himself intervene ruthlessly, and would not hesitate even to apply the penalty of death.² The barons and Cardinals were spoken to in like terms; the Pope addressed to them the gravest threats should they take it upon themselves to protect criminals on the pretext of the right of sanctuary; the barons were threatened with the death penalty, and the Cardinals with imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo.³

One of the principal reasons why the efforts of Gregory XIII. to suppress brigandage had failed lay in the want of discipline and loyalty in the troops he employed. Sixtus V.,

¹ Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 526 *seqq.*

² See the *report of Babbi of April 26, 1585, State Archives, Florence, used by HÜBNER, I., 226.

³ See in App. n. 1 the *Avviso of April 27, 1585, Vatican Library.

although the Cardinals tried to dissuade him,¹ dismissed them on May 3rd, 1585, leaving only the 300 men who formed his guard. If the Romans, in spite of this, still trembled, it was because they realized, behind the curt and peremptory manner of the Pope, his inflexible determination to eradicate the disorders. The Pope also showed himself firm and resolute with Paolo Giordano Orsini, when the latter had the effrontery to present himself before him. This powerful baron, who had been guilty of complicity in the murder of Francesco Peretti, had celebrated his marriage with Vittoria Accoramboni on the day of the Pope's election ; to his solemn declaration of allegiance he now received the reply : what he had done against Cardinal Montalto was forgiven, but not what he had dared to do against Pope Sixtus ; let him return to his estates and purge them from criminals and brigands. The duke was so impressed by this, that he went the very same night to his strong castle of Bracciano and dismissed all his bandits.²

The Romans were filled with a salutary terror when, on April 30th, 1585, there appeared a renewal of an edict forbidding the carrying of prohibited arms under pain of death.³ It was soon seen that this enactment was not to remain a dead letter, as had been the case with others during the latter years of Gregory XIII. On the same day the police arrested four youths from Cori outside the Porta S. Giovanni for carrying prohibited arms, and they were condemned to death. The pardon of the culprits was asked for from many quarters. Some Cardinals were prepared to pay 4000 scudi if these youths' lives were spared and they were condemned to the galleys. It was also insisted that the death sentence could not be carried out as the Pope's coronation was to take place on May 1st. But Sixtus V. remained firm on the point ; the law that had been issued must be carried into effect ; so

¹ See Gualterius *Ephemerides, Vittori Emanuele Library, Rome. Cf. the report of Gritti in BROSCH, I., 275, n. 1.

² See GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 241 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*, 445.

³ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Cf. *Sixtus V. P. M., Papal Secret Archives.

long as he lived, he said, every assassin must die. On the morning of the following day the sentence was carried out.¹

However harsh such a course of action might seem, yet most people approved this action of the government, partly because the condemned men were notorious assassins. We shall have, said Camillo Capilupi, a just sovereign, and one who is made to cope with the difficult times and the weakness of the civil government ; henceforward we shall see the strict edicts exactly enforced.² Most of the Romans praised the firm tone to the edict of the Pope. At the foot of Pasquino was written the words : " Pius V. has risen again Alleluia ! Alleluia ! " ³

The hope of better times was also guaranteed by the fact that together with the Consulta, a special congregation was formed for the Papal States, composed of Cardinals Albani, Salviati and Carafa, who received orders to take energetic proceedings against the bandits and all other disturbers of the peace. This congregation was also to devote its attention to the revision of the processes held by the predecessors of Sixtus V. with regard to the juridical titles of the feudatories of the Holy See,⁴ as the harshness that had been employed

¹ See besides Gualterius, *Ephemerides (*loc. cit.*) and *Sixtus V. P. M. (*loc. cit.*) the *letter of Capilupi of May 1, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, *letter of Priuli of May 4 in MUTINELLI, I., 165, *Avviso of May 1, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 189, Vatican Library. and the GNOLI (*loc. cit.*, 255) rightly observes that the permission which had been given to the four children of Mario Sforza, representing the Duke of Sora, had been annulled by the new edict. BROSC (I., 269) is silent as to this important circumstance, and at the same time makes M. Sforza a Cardinal.

² See in App. n. 2 the *report of Capilupi of May 1, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See *Avviso of May 1, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 189, Vatican Library.

⁴ See, besides the *letter " ex urbe " May 15, 1585, the Archives of Wittingau Hist. n. 5311, the *reports of Capilupi of May 1, June 29, and October 9, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. App. n. 2.

had driven a number of the nobles, either to penury, or to take part in the depredations of the bandits.¹

When on May 5th, 1585, Sixtus V. went in solemn procession from the Aracoeli to the Lateran to take possession of his episcopal cathedral, the population of Rome flocked from all quarters of the city to see the new sovereign who in a few days had made himself so feared. Like the Cardinals, prelates, ambassadors, and the envoys from Japan, the Pope as well rode on horseback in this splendid pageant, which was afterwards immortalized in the fresco in the Vatican Library. Sixtus V. rode along unmoved, and with a stern look. When he raised his hand no one quite knew whether it was by way of menace or benediction. The Pope had forbidden the throwing of money among the crowd, which was customary on this occasion, and which enriched the strong rather than the needy. In its place he had alms distributed to the poor. Moreover, the usual setting up of triumphal arches was not allowed on this occasion, and the banquet at the Lateran was suppressed on account of the miserable state of the population.²

On May 10th, 1585, Sixtus V. held his first consistory. He wished, he said, to devote his attention as sovereign to two things: the rigorous enforcement of justice, and the plentiful provision of his subjects with food. He put his trust in the assistance of God, for the carrying out of his wishes, though human means must also be employed. At the same time he once more urged the Cardinals not to abuse their right of sanctuary for the protection of criminals.³

¹ See Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 524 *seqq.* Later on indeed Sixtus V. found himself obliged to revert to the methods of devolution which had caused so much irritation under his predecessors; see besides the report of Gritti of May 11, 1589, in BROSCH, I., 293, n. 2, the *Avviso of May 17, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 283, Vatican Library.

² Cf. P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 395 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, Possessi, 121 *seq.*; BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Amb. dei Giapponesi, 23 *seq.* *Ibid.* 22 *seq.* the report of Alaleone of the coronation of Sixtus V.

³ See the report of Priuli of May 11, 1585 in RANKE, I.⁸, 292, n. 1 and the *Avviso of May 11, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 202b, Vatican Library.

Especially characteristic of the great impression which was made by the severity of Sixtus V. was the fact that Paolo Giordano Orsini no longer felt himself safe in his strong fortress of Bracciano, but left the Papal States of his own accord. He took refuge in the territory of the Republic of Venice, with which he had long been on close terms of friendship. But on November 13th, 1585, he died unexpectedly at Salò, on the Lake of Garda. His wife Vittoria only survived him a short time ; on December 22nd she was cruelly murdered together with her brother Flaminio at Padua, at the instigation of Lodovico Orsini, while a body of hired bravos surrounded the house.¹

Such an event clearly showed that public safety was in a very sorry plight, even in so well ordered a state as that of Venice. As was generally true of all the states of Italy, brigandage had taken root there no less than in the Papal States.² Sixtus V. fully realized that for an efficacious attack upon this national pest the common action of the various governments was necessary. To that end he had, on May 10th, 1585, written to the King of Spain and begged him to give orders to his representatives in Italy to support his efforts for the stamping out of brigandage.³ He had recourse in like manner to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, though from him he did not meet with the goodwill which he had hoped for ; it was therefore all the more pleasing to him when Philip II., as well as the Dukes of Urbino and Ferrara, promised him their co-operation in combatting the bandits. The Pope also succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory understanding with Venice, which, in its jealousy of its rights of sanctuary, had at first placed obstacles in the way of the extradition of the bandits.⁴

¹ See GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 257 *seq.*, 280 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*

² Cf. MOLMENTI, I banditi della Repubblica Veneta, in *N. Antologia*, XLVI. (1893), 145 *seq.*, 325 *seq.* For Tuscany see LEO, V., 574.

³ See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 563.

⁴ See HÜBNER, I., 301 *seq.* Cf. MUTINELLI, I., 166 *seq.* The *report of the envoy of Mantua of May 17, 1588, tells of the differences with Ferrara over the handing over of those condemned to death. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

While their places of refuge abroad were thus being cut off, the Pope set himself to remove the bandits from Rome and from the whole of the States of the Church by measures of the greatest severity. On May 24th, 1585, the head of a murderer, with a gilt crown, was exposed at the entrance to the Bridge of St. Angelo. This was the head of the priest Guercino,¹ who called himself the "King of the Campagna" and who in the time of Gregory XIII. had struck terror into the neighbourhood of Rome by his murders.² On the following day were commenced the celebrations of the Jubilee ordered for the purpose of imploring a happy reign, in which the Pope took part in person.³

Sixtus V. had repeatedly declared to the Conservatori that the Papal States must be cleared of bandits at all costs.⁴ A confirmation of this declaration was embodied in an edict which the Governor of Rome, San Giorgio, issued on June 1st, 1585. This promised to every bandit who handed over one of his companions, dead or alive, not only a pardon for himself, but also that of some of his friends, as well as a payment in money.⁵ This promise worked wonders; it broke up the strong bands of robbers, whose members no longer trusted each other, and began to fight among themselves.⁶ Very soon after this the heads of many bandits

¹ See the *Avviso of May 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 220, Vatican Library; Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Capilupi tells the whole story of Guercino in his *report of May 25, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. REBASCHI CAROTTI, 32 *seq.*; P. PAOLI, Sisto V e i banditi, Sassari, 1902.

² Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 539.

³ See the *Avviso of May 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 221, Vatican Library; *report of Sporeno of May 25, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck; *report of Capilupi of May 29, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. lat. 2814, Vatican Library.

⁴ See the *report of Capilupi of May 25, 1585, *loc. cit.*

⁵ For the full text of this bando see TEMPESTI, I., 265 *seq.*

⁶ See the report of Priuli of June 29, 1585, in RANKE, I.⁸, 294, n. 2. Cf. the Istorìa di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, Script., I., 1092.

who had terrorized the state with their robberies and murders could be seen exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo.¹

In the meantime a far-reaching pontifical constitution concerning the assassins, robbers and bandits had been prepared, which was signed by the Pope and all the Cardinals on July 1st, 1585. This document first renewed all the similar enactments which the Popes had issued from Pius II. onwards, and forbade all the barons, cities and communes in the Papal States to give shelter to criminals of this kind. In cases of disobedience the communes were to pay a fine of 2000 ducats and the barons 500. The moment robbers or bandits were discovered the tocsin was to be sounded, and a pursuit commenced, in which the neighbouring communes must lend their aid. Any that proved negligent in this, was not only to suffer the ordinary penalties, but was also to pay an indemnity for the robberies committed within its territory. Anyone who assisted, or gave refuge to, or in any way prevented the arrest of a bandit, even though he were his near relative, was to forfeit his property and go into banishment. The carrying out of these edicts was entrusted to the Cardinal Camerlengo, the Governor of Rome, the Auditor of the Camera, and all the legates and other officials in the provinces, under threat of the most severe penalties.²

In Rome itself, San Giorgio, the Governor of the city, adopted a procedure which was even more severe than the Pope intended. On July 7th, 1585, a young Florentine who had forcibly prevented the police from taking away an ass belonging to his father, was forthwith condemned to

¹ See the *report of Capilupi of June 22, 1585, who adds: "Il bando fatto et le taglie che si pagano fanno il loro frutto." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See Bull., VIII., 585 *seq.* Cf. Acta consist., 842, and the *report of Capilupi, July 3, 1585. On July 24 Capilupi *wrote of the difficulties that the carrying out of the bull was meeting with from the barons. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

death.¹ The case excited much stir and general sympathy, and at the next consistory Sixtus V. severely condemned this action of San Giorgio. A report of July 18th, 1585, states that he was very nearly removed from his office, because he had acted contrary to the intentions of the Pope.² A few weeks later San Giorgio was actually succeeded by Mariano Pierbenedetti, an old friend of the Pope.³

It was with special satisfaction that the Romans saw that the Pope in his energetic measures for peace and order did not spare the great. Birth, high office, or important connexions were no longer any protection.⁴ On the occasion of the punishment of a German, who belonged to the mission sent by Rudolph II. for the *obedientia*, Sixtus V. said that if the Emperor himself were to come to Rome, he would have to obey the laws.⁵

By the end of July, 1585, an agent of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol was able to report from Rome that,

¹ See the *Avviso of July 13, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 303b, Vatican Library. Cf. GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 267. RANKE (Päpste, I., 8, 293) writes: "The youth of the condemned man was put before the Pope. I will add some of my years to his, he is said to have replied." The source of this is the biography *Sixtus V. P. M., where what is said is: "Addidere nonnulli strictiorem Pontificis vocem, qua triennium suis ex annis eum reo donare ut legitimum sit supplicium auditum sit, sed severitatis iis temporibus necessaria odio ea conficta esse certo comperi." Papal Secret Archives.

² See *Avviso of July 18, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 311, Vatican Library. Cf. the report of Priuli in BROSCH, I., 269.

³ See besides the report in HÜBNER, I., 289 *seq.*, the *Avviso of August 21, 1585, according to which the Pope admonished the new governor when he took over his new office, "che voglia attendere alla giustitia senza rispetto alcuno et che particolarmente le siano raccomandate le cause de poveri." Urb. 1053, p. 370, Vatican Library.

⁴ *"Questo principe non ha rispetto ne a cardinali ne a coronati ambasciatori." Avviso of June 26, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 270, Vatican Library. Cf. also the declaration of Sixtus V. in the *Avviso of July 13, 1585, in App. n. 5, Vatican Library.

⁵ See HÜBNER, I., 293. Cf. TEMPESTI, II., 583.

as the result of the strict justice that was being enforced there prevailed so great a fear that the crimes which had once been so common were now of very rare occurrence.¹ The heads of the bandits were constantly being sent in from the neighbourhood, and were exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo. During the summer of 1585 the reports of the time repeatedly speak of this practice, which was poisoning the air.² The Pope had coins struck with the inscription : " Noli me tangere." ³

In the neighbourhood of Rome it was especially the legate of the Campagna, Cardinal Colonna, who was responsible for the suppression of the bandits. By August 10th, 1585, Camillo Capilupi was able to announce their almost complete disappearance from that district, which had before been so insecure. The severity practised, he adds, has had better results than the costly military expeditions of Gregory XIII. The convention concerning extradition with Naples has also had much influence.⁴ A report of August 17th, 1585, announces that Cardinal Colonna had erected twelve gibbets between Frosinone and Anagni, which were laden with the quartered remains of the bandits.⁵ Cardinal Gesualdo, who resided at Perugia, and the aged Farnese, who said that he was not a chief of police, were not so zealous as Cardinal Colonna, who knew very well how to cause the bandits to quarrel amongst themselves.⁶ They, however, as well as the new Governor

¹ See the *reports of Sporeno dated Rome, July 27, 1585 (S.Stas tota est in eo ut pacifice vivant in statu eccl. et annona abunde sit) and of July 30 (Adeo timetur a malis ut nemo audeat committere facinus aliquod). Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

² See also the *Avvisi used by GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 267, and the *reports of Capilupi of August 10 and 17, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See the *letter of Capilupi of August 17, 1585, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See the *report of Capilupi of August 10, 1585, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See the *Avviso of August 17, 1585, in GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 268.

⁶ See the *Avviso of September 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 404, Vatican Library. Cf. the Istorìa di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, Script., I., 1092.

of Rome, were exhorted to greater severity.¹ This was necessary, as the bandits strove in every possible way to deter the small forces of police who were sent against them from further pursuit by their acts of violence. Thus in July, 1585, a band of thirty of these criminals surprised a captain of the Papal police with six officers in the neighbourhood of the Abbey of Farfa, and cut the captain to pieces and hanged the others.² In the following year a plot of the brigand chief Bernardino da Magnano, from Garfagnana, which had for its object the murder of the Pope and Cardinals Cesi and Salviati, was discovered and prevented in time.³

From the first the Pope had declared that in the administration of justice it was necessary to act with the greatest harshness in the case of the great, so as to intimidate the others.⁴ A case of this kind, which caused the greatest excitement throughout Italy, took place at Bologna at the end of August, 1585, where Cardinal Salviati was governing with great strictness.⁵ The culprit belonged to one of the most distinguished families of the city; this was Count Giovanni Pepoli, who was beloved by most people for his generosity and kindness. The minutes of the trial in the criminal archives of Bologna show that in the past Pepoli

¹ See GNOLI, *loc. cit.*; cf. MUTINELLI, I., 168. Sixtus V. was angry with Farnese because the latter opposed the abolition of the military expeditions which had been customary under Gregory XIII.; see the *report of Capilupi of August 13, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See the report of Priuli of July 5, 1585, in BROSCH, I., 275, n.2,

³ See the report of the Spanish collector of 1586, Nunziat. di Spagna, XIX., 27 and 29, in BALAN, VI., 623.

⁴ “* Che bisogna tagliare delle teste grosse per far paura a gli altri perciocchè per appicar ogni dì di questi furfanti non si fa niente venendo tutto il male da capi grossi che sono spalli agli altri.” Report of Capilupi of June 29, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. REBASCHI CAROTTI, 33.

⁵ See BENTIVOGLI, *Memorie*, 70; GOZZADINI, G. Pepoli e Sisto V., Bologna, 1879, 88 *seq.*

had been guilty of numerous crimes, and even of murders.¹ For this reason he had many enemies, especially the notary and fiscal, Giambattista Cappello.² The latter did not allow the opportunity for revenge to escape when Pepoli was arrested by Cardinal Salviati because, relying upon his status as a feudatory of the Empire, he had refused to hand over a brigand chief. Salviati entrusted the charge of the trial to a man so notoriously hostile to the accused man as Cappello. The count's fate was sealed when it was learned that he had written from prison letters to the Duke of Ferrara, and Cardinals Farnese and Este, containing insults to Sixtus V. as a "tyrannical friar." Cappello sent the letters to the Pope as proof of the guilt of the prisoner. In consequence of this, in spite of the fact that many distinguished persons, including Cardinal Este himself, interceded for Pepoli, he was forthwith condemned to death.

The biassed conduct of the trial on the part of Cardinal Salviati cannot be justified, yet the adoption of great severity by the Pope was politically necessary.³ According to the report of the Tuscan envoy, Alberti, he was prepared to pardon Pepoli if the latter had retracted the insults, and recognized the Pope as the immediate lord of his fief. The obstinacy with which he refused to do so, Sixtus V. said to Alberti, led to his execution.⁴ The terror which was caused by this

¹ See O. MAZZONI-TOSELLI, *Processi antichi estratti dall' Archivio criminale di Bologna*, I., 1866, 70 *seq.*

² See GOZZADINI, *loc. cit.*, 158.

³ This is brought out by E. Masi in his article on Pepoli in the *Rassegna settimanale*, 1878, 446 *seq.* Ranke and Hübner have already shown that it is impossible to speak of a legal murder.

⁴ See BALAN, VI., 621 *seq.*, who has put forward the other side of the question against the apologetically biassed and partisan account of Gozzadini in the above mentioned work, p. 63, n. 3. In agreement with the *report of Alberti of September 6, 1585 (State Archives, Florence) used by Balan, there is a *letter of Capilupi of September 7, 1585, according to which the Pope said that Pepoli had written letters to the Duke of Ferrara against the "governo dei preti," and that as he would not repent, he had

act among the Bolognese, who were well known for their insubordination, was so lasting in its effects that thenceforward the city remained entirely tranquil. The Malvezzi, who were devastating the neighbourhood with their bandits, sought safety in flight,¹ and the impression made in the whole of the remainder of the Papal States was very great.² The barons realized that the time was past in which they could make common cause with the bandits. Now that they see, said the ambassador of Venice, how strict the government is, and how little attention is paid to them, as far as they can they take refuge outside the state; but on the other hand it is the general opinion that this great severity is a guarantee of public safety, and everyone feels that henceforward it will be well to live quietly and peaceably, and in obedience to the sovereign.³

In a report from Rome, of September 18th, 1585, it is stated that in that year more bandits' heads had been exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo than melons had been brought to the markets.⁴ That in spite of this the safety of the surroundings of the Eternal City still left a good deal to be desired is shown by the fact that at the beginning of October the courier from Venice was attacked beyond the Ponte Molle.⁵ The Pope thereupon ordered the destruction of the woods in the

been punished with death as "pertinax" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to Galesinus (*Ephemerides 42, Vatican Library) Pepoli had claimed that he was not subject to the Pope, but only to God.

¹ See Galesinus, *Ephemerides, loc. cit.

² Cf. the *report of Malegnani of September 4, 1585, who brings out especially the delusion and annoyance of Cardinal Este. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See MUTINELLI, I., 169.

⁴ See the AVVISO in ORBAAN, 284. Cf. GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 270.

⁵ See the *report of Capilupi of October 9, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Campagna, which served as hiding places for the brigands.¹ On November 5th, 1585, a further severe edict for the public safety was issued.² This was called for by the fact that the brigand chief, Giovanni Valente, demanded a ransom of 10,000 scudi for a merchant he had captured.³ This scoundrel, who had committed numberless murders, had so far escaped all the efforts of Cardinal Colonna to capture him. At last he fell into the hands of the troops of the viceroy of Naples, who destroyed his band. On December 24th, 1585, the head of this "King of Robbers" could be seen exposed on the Bridge of St. Angelo.⁴

Of the bandit leaders there still remained Lamberto Malatesta, whose boldness was only surpassed by his good luck. All the efforts of the Pope to capture this most dangerous man during 1586 proved vain; at first it was impossible to discover his hiding place,⁵ but at the beginning of 1587 it was at length discovered that Malatesta had passed the winter in Tuscan territory, and that there, as had been the case with Alfonso Piccolomini in the time of Gregory XIII., he had been able to equip his band with all that they required,

¹ See the *Avviso of November 5, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 474, Vatican Library. The *Avviso of April 29, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 234, *ibid.* reports the destruction of the woods near Terracina. The question of the effect of the woods on the hygienic condition of Rome, Pinto declares to be not decided (Sisto V e l'igiene in Roma, R. 1880, 23). It may be mentioned that Sixtus V. protected the pine trees near Ravenna; see *Boll. d'arte*, VII., 112.

² *"Bando che nessuno possa andare senza fede di non esser bandito, che li padroni di procoii e masserie diano in nota tutti quelli che tengono nei lor casali che non si facci polvera, archibuggi, etc." Editti V., 57, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *Avvisi of November 5 and 9, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 474, 481b, Vatican Library.

³ See *Avviso of November 9, 1585, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See *Avviso of December 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 545, Vatican Library. Galesinus in TEMPESTI, I., 268 *seq.*; Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

⁵ See REICHENBERGER, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 259, 261, 294.

so as to be able in the better season of the year to harass the Papal territory.

The Pope was extraordinarily alarmed by this discovery. By the beginning of 1586 he had thought that he had overcome brigandage by the severity which he had shown ;¹ whenever he had been able to get possession of such malefactors he had always employed the most rigorous measures of justice.² But now, in March, 1587, he had the experience of finding that, not only in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, but also at Velletri and Corneto, new bands of brigands were making their appearance, who were committing robberies and murders, damaging the aqueducts and laughing at the measures of the government.³ On March 10th, 1587, Sixtus V., whose patience had been put to a severe trial by the Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany, addressed to him an autograph letter in which he said : “ If I have placed reliance upon any

¹ *E gode S.B^{ne}, che con poco rigore usato nel principio del suo imperio habbia abassato l' orgoglio della città et frenate l'insolente delle provincie, Roma con un asino in Trastevere, Bologna con la morte del conte Giovanni, l'Umbria col castigo simile in un solo, la Campagna con la decollatione di due preti con speranza in breve d'introdurre per questa via e pace e tranquillità in tutti gli altri luoghi del suo stato et fatto questo usare con ognun poi gratie, benignità, humanità et clemenza quanto potrà. Avviso, 1 January, 1586, Urb. 1054 p. 1, Vatican Library.

² See the *report of Oliva of August 23, 1586, concerning the execution of nine bandits, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. These were perhaps those bandits who had been carrying on their excesses during the previous month at Marta, near the lake of Vico ; see *Avviso of July 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 264, Vatican Library. Two *Bandi against the bandits, of January 15 and March 26, 1586, in the Editti, V., 57, pp. 55 and 143. Papal Secret Archives.

³ See besides the *Avvisi of March 4, 7 and 11, 1587 (Urb. 1055, pp. 75b, 81, 87, Vatican Library) the *reports of Malegnani of March 11, April 22 and 25, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *Bando contra banditi, complici, et fautori et ordini per la lor destruttione, dated March 1, 1587, in the Editti, V., 57, p. 59, Papal Secret Archives.

mortal man, it has been upon your Highness, and now you are allowing Lamberto Malatesta, who has been excommunicated by the Church, to live in your state, to the great injury of my subjects. You see this and yet keep silence, while I, so as not to fail in the regard which I owe to you, must put up with it, to my own shame, and am laughed at by everyone. I have allowed your Highness to follow the bandits into the territory of the Church. I now ask of your Highness the same facilities. I beg you to reply, and hope that your Highness will not permit this man to continue to augment his forces and that we shall no longer be the object of the public derision.”¹

The Pope attached all the more importance to Malatesta falling alive into his hands as intercepted letters as well as other things led him to suspect an understanding between the bandit and the Huguenots.² When all the remonstrances of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke remained without effect, there arose the danger of a breach between Rome and Florence.³ The words of the Pope became more and more threatening, and at length led the Grand Duke to give way; he had Malatesta arrested and taken in chains to Rome. When he arrived there on June 26th, 1587,⁴ many persons took to flight, a proof how widespread was his system of secret intelligence. The trial was held at once, and ended in his condemnation to death. Out of consideration for the distinguished family of Malatesta, this took the form of simple decapitation, and on August 13th, 1587, the Romans saw the body of this dreaded man exposed at the Bridge of St. Angelo.⁵

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 305 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 307 *seq.*

³ Cf. the *report of Malegnani of March 18, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *report of Sporeno of April 25, 1587, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

⁴ See the *report of Malegnani, and the *letter of Sporeno, both of June 27, 1587, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See the *Avviso of August 15, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 316, Vatican Library, and the *report of Malegnani, same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. HÜBNER, I., 308.

At the approach of autumn, 1587, Sixtus V. was able to announce with great satisfaction that peace and security had been restored in the Papal States.¹ The great, he said to Cardinal Joyeuse, have surrendered, and the bandits have disappeared. This was no exaggeration. By his energetic procedure, in which the neighbouring states had also joined in the end, Sixtus V. had enforced respect for the laws in Rome and in the provinces, and had restored public security. But though a medal which was struck at that time extolls the permanent security enjoyed by the States of the Church,² this was not entirely true. Brigandage, which could not be eradicated in so short a time,³ was not entirely destroyed.

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 310. Gualterius (*Ephemerides, 135b) writes concerning the execution of Malatesta: *Iam sentiant omnes principes quidem longas habere manus, at Sixtum longissimas, quas facinorosus nullus effugere posse sperare audeat. Hic Pontificis constantia maxime cognita est, cum principibus permultis pro Malatesta summe deprecantibus surdas omnino prebuerit aures, quam gravius in eum consulere decreverat, sed ab Ep. Marturano Urbis Prefecto admonitus, fore ut graviori supplicio Malatesta christianam constantiam in anima servanda minime retineret, id quod ex ipso auditum erat, Pontifex non tam iustitie quam misericordie rationem habens, eius anime salutem plurimi faciens, securi tandem percuti iussit. Id quod statim atque Rambertus audivit, Deo gratias egit seque intrepidum ad supplicium paravit, fassusque est se tanta Pontificis pietate omnino indignum supplicioque longe graviori dignum, cum non modo sicarium perduellem grassatoremque se gesserit, sed in Germania et in Gallia cum hereticis commercium habuerit, eosque adversus Apostolicam Sedem ac Pontificem etiam sollicitarit. Antequam ad supplicium iret, litteras ad uxorem scripsit, quibus eam consolabatur, communes commendabat liberos de Pontificis benignitate optime sperare iubebat, sed ad supplicium, quod promeritus erat, equissimo animo ire asseverabat.* Vitt. Em. Library, Rome.

² With regard to this and other medals see BONANNI, I., 382 *seq.*, and ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 484, 495. Cf. *ibid.*, 426 n. 1, for the anagram relating to it.

³ In 1588 Sixtus V. planned to remove one of the principal causes of the system of factions which had especially invaded the

In the summer of 1590 the evil broke out again,¹ and now that the energetic Pope was dead, there reappeared among others Piccolomini,² whose protection by Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara had greatly irritated the Pope a short time before his death.³ The ideas and character of the population, as well as the nature of the territory and the social conditions,

Romagna, and which concealed itself under the names of Guelphs and Ghibellines ; he appointed a special commission to deliberate on the steps to be taken in this matter, the difficulties of which are called attention to by Santori (see his *Autobiografia*, XIII., 180) ; see *Avviso of February 27 and March 2, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 78-85b, Vatican Library. A bull of February 19, 1588, forbade under severe penalties all armed self-defence to anyone in the Papal States. Bull., VIII., 999 *seq.*

¹ Brumani supposed in his *report of February 21, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) that there would henceforward be only a few bandits ; see *Avviso of June 6, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 296. *Ibid.* p. 367, an *Avviso of July 18, 1590 : On Saturday there appeared near Fara (Sabina), eighteen miles from Rome, 600 well armed bandits from Aquila and the Marches ; one of the leaders, Mario Sciarra, called himself " Flagellum Dei et commissarius missus a Deo contra usurarios " ; " pone tagli " took grain from the rich and divided it among the poor ; p. 373 *Avviso of July 21 : 600 bandits near Vetralla, eight miles from Viterbo, and another 400 from Monterotondo joined them ; near Tre Fontani 60 bandits from Velletri ; pp. 385, 387, *Avviso of July 28th. Retirement of the bandits towards Tolfa and Fiano ; everywhere great terror ; the bandits have three " insegne " (bianca, turchina e rossa), and also a " tamburo," the arms of Piccolomini ; p. 397 *Avviso of August 4 : The Pope sent 600 soldiers against the bandits, who were becoming more and more numerous ; p. 407, August 11 : 300 bandits seven miles from Rome outside the Porta S. Sebastiano ; p. 417, August 18 : bandits near the Ponte Salara, half a mile from the Porta Pinciana, and at the Tre Fontane ; p. 429, August 25 : Numerous bandits, who, however, only laid hands on merchandise. Vatican Library.

² Cf. Badoer in MUTINELLI, I., 189 *seq.* ; TOMASSETTI, Campagna, I., 282 *seq.* ; VERNACCI, Storia di Fossombrone, II., Fossombrone, 1914, 368 *seq.*

³ Cf. RICCI, Silingardi, I., 22.

made Central and Lower Italy for centuries to come the classical home of brigandage, which not even the extreme severity of the Napoleonic authorities was able altogether to stamp out.¹ Therefore Sixtus V. cannot reasonably be blamed if he failed to do so.

As far as the employment of the sternest measures against the bandits was concerned, this was altogether justifiable, in that it was a case of dealing with the worst and most dangerous robbers and murderers, to fight against whom by every possible means was necessary for self-defence. Their companies, which during the last years of Gregory XIII. had become a veritable army (it was estimated that they were as many as 20,000) endangered the very existence of the state.² Their union with the Turks or the Huguenots would necessarily have brought incalculable disaster upon Italy.³ Hence it is that contemporaries almost unanimously approve the iron hand of the Pope, and they praise him as the restorer of public security, not only within the Papal States, but also, indirectly, throughout Italy. Anyone who accuses him of too great severity, says Gualterio, does not understand that it is necessary to cut off diseased members, and that a people falls into ruin if justice is not done. The severe punishment, too, of light offences, is commendable in order to inspire fear. Whereas formerly innocent persons were killed, now that fate only falls upon the guilty; formerly robbery and murder were rife, so that the Papal States had a bad name, whereas now they enjoy security and peace. Sixtus V. himself often lamented the fact that he was forced by circumstances to use the iron rather than oil, so as to cure the wounds of the Papal States.⁴

Although the employment of extreme measures in fighting

¹ Cf. HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirchenstaat*, 110 *seq.*

² See HÜBNER, I., 310. Cf. the opinion of FUNK in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, XI., 382. See also CICONI, 9 *seq.*

³ Cf. BALZANI, Sisto V., 28.

⁴ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Cf. in App. n. 4 the *Avviso of July 13, 1585, Vatican Library.

brigandage may find its justification in the fact that in a well-ordered state such a thing was intolerable,¹ yet it cannot be denied that Sixtus V. went too far when he applied the same severity in the case of ordinary criminals, such as panderers, adulterers, fortune-tellers, the sacrilegious and those who spread false reports. The bull issued on January 5th, 1586, against astrology and other forms of superstition² was followed during the two following years by a series of constitutions which especially punished certain games, blasphemy, the setting up of obscene inscriptions and pictures in the taverns or prisons, the publication of false or injurious reports, certain forms of immorality, all betting, and the transgression of Sunday observance with penalties that were almost draconian in character. Blasphemers were to be publicly tied up for a day, and in the case of a repetition of their offence were to have their tongues slit, while for a third offence they were to be condemned to the galleys; the same applied to those who failed to denounce this crime. The death penalty was inflicted not only for incest and the crime of abortion, but also for verbal or written calumny, and this especially applied in the case of the so-called *menanti*, or unscrupulous writers of the daily broad-sheets which went by the name of *Avvisi*.³

¹ Brosch, who finds something to criticize in all the Popes, whether they acted with leniency or severity, is of opinion (I., 270) that the "horrors" of the executions were worse than, and did more to make the population savage than the excesses of those who were punished! Against this a remark of K. A. Hase may be recorded, who wrote in 1829: "Barbarous customs of a people call for barbarous laws to stamp them out." (Erinnerungen an Italien, Leipsic, 1891, 72). With regard to the partisan description of Brosch see the remarks in the *Rev. crit.*, 1880, 325, 327.

² See Bull., VIII., 646 *seq.* Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 175; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 297. See also CATENA, Lettere, 153 *seq.* The revocation of all permits for the game of lotto is mentioned in an *Avviso of January 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 20, Vatican Library.

³ Gualterius (*Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome) mentions on p. 60 the edict of January 6, 1586, against gamblers; *ibid.* one against blasphemers; p. 93b, an edict dated October 3, 1586 "quo gravissimis penis cavetur, ne in cauponis, diversoriis,

The authorities at once proceeded to apply these penalties inexorably. The prisons were crowded,¹ and executions increased in the most alarming way.² Some cases made even contemporaries shudder, accustomed though they were to scenes of terror. Thus one day a father and son were taken to the gibbet on the Capitol, in spite of the fact that both

hospitiis carceribusve obscena et contumeliosa vel scribantur vel depingantur”; (*cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 179); p. 94, edict of October 11, 1586, against the authors of calumnious *Avvisi*; p. 96 Constitution against immorality, of November 3, 1586; p. 121, penalty of death for incest, April 5, 1587, (*see* Bull, VIII., 830 *seq.*; *cf.* SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 177); p. 143, edict of September 18, 1587, which forbids under the gravest penalties all offences “*quae incredibili tumultu non solum cardinalium creandorum causa, verum minima qua de re antea fieri solebant, cum a mercatoribus tum ab opificibus artificibusque, qua quidem in re innumerabiles fraudes, mendacia, detractioes decoctionesque fieri solebant, praesertim a proxenetis, neque interdium solum, sed noctu ab huiusmodi hominum multitudine Bancarum quae vocatur via, ita completur, ut transitus omnium impediretur;* p. 173b, edict of the Vicar against the profaners of festival days, dated March 29, 1588. The constitution “*contra abortum*” of October 29, 1588, in Bull, IX., 39 *seq.* *Cf.* SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 186. For the bad influence of unscrupulous writers see the report of Sega in REICHENBERGER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 306 *seq.* *Cf.* **Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.* Papal Secret Archives; CIAMPI, Innocenzo X., 254. Sixtus V. gave an example by the execution of Annibale Cappello, one of the most notorious panderers. See in App. n. 18 the **Avviso* of November 14, 1587. Vatican Library.

¹ An **Avviso* of December 31, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 540 announces that the prisons were so filled with gamblers that there was no room. *Cf.* the **Avvisi* of July 3 and 6, 1585, and March 12, 1586 (Urb. 1053, p. 280b, 285; 1054, p. 90) for the arrest and condemnation of whole bodies of gamblers. Vatican Library.

² **“Nullus erat dies noxiorum suppliciis vacuus,”* is the exaggerated statement of a biographer of the Pope. “*Capita caeterorum exulum in agris silvisque quotidie publice palis affixa proponebantur, alii laqueo, alii laceratione poenas legibus solvebant,”* Sixtus V. P. M. Papal Secret Archives.

asserted their innocence. Thereupon a woman with a child at her breast appeared with tears and cries before the senator and asked for a short delay, so that she might prove the innocence of her husband and son. As soon as the unhappy woman realized that her plea was useless, she threw herself out of the window, crying: "I will satisfy your thirst for blood." When the condemned men were taken to the gibbet the father refused to witness the death of his son, and the son that of his father; while the heartless hangman chafed at the fruitless delay, the bystanders were filled with compassion at this generous emulation.¹

The execution in June, 1586, of a Roman woman who had sold the honour of her daughter met with general disapproval. The carrying out of the sentence in this case was made more brutal, as the daughter, decked out with the trinkets of her lover, was forced to be present and to remain standing for an hour at the foot of the gallows on which the dead body of her mother was hanging! Seduction, it was stated by way of excuse for this, in a contemporary account, was so common in Rome, that girls were no safer with their own mothers, than if they had been with strangers. The Pope wished, by such an example as this, to strike terror into wrongdoers.² In the same month Sixtus V. had a priest and a boy burned for sodomy, though both had voluntarily admitted their fault.³ On July 5th, 1586, ten thieves were hanged,⁴ and soon afterwards one of the members of the

¹ See *ibid.*

² See *Avviso of June 7, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 205, Vatican Library. Cf. the *report of Gritti of June 7, 1586, State Archives Venice, used by BROSCHE, I., 272. In the same way the condemnation to death of a butcher was made more severe "per haver fatto il ruffiano alla moglie, la quale è stata condotta et legata sotto la forca"; see the report of Malegnani of 1587 in BERTOLOTTI, *Repressioni straord. alla prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI.*, Rome, 1887, 15

³ See *Avviso of June 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 231, Vatican Library.

⁴ See *Avviso of July 5, 1585, p. 265b, *ibid.*

obediencia embassy of Rudolph II. was flogged for carrying prohibited arms. The Pope said on that occasion to Cardinal Madruzzo that he had made laws in Rome so that all might obey them.¹

Horror and excitement were aroused when, on July 29th, 1586, a nephew of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Azzolini, the captain Niccolò Azzolini, was executed for repeated murders.² His much loved chief cup-bearer, Bellocchio, who had made use of the Papal Ring of the Fisherman to forge a brief, so that he might be able to purchase a house, was condemned by Sixtus V. to the galleys. The secretary, Gualterucci, who was suspected of complicity in this, shared the same fate. The condemnation of Gualterucci was displeasing to everyone, because he was an excellent prelate, and his guilt was considered so small that after the death of Sixtus V. he was set at liberty.³ In August, 1586, the execution of a distinguished and wealthy Roman lady with two accomplices aroused wide-spread compassion.⁴ But Sixtus V. suffered himself to be so little disturbed by this that at the beginning of October he ordered Cardinal Santori to prepare a bull threatening the death penalty for adultery. An attempt was made to induce the Pope to change his mind, by pointing out that the innovators would make use of such a document to prove the corruption of morals in the Curia, but all in vain.⁵ On November 3rd, 1586, the bull was

¹ See *Avviso of July 19, 1586, p. 293, *ibid*, and the report in HÜBNER, I., 293.

² See *Avviso of July 30, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 314b, Vatican Library. "Quae res" wrote Gualterius (*Ephemerides, 86) "incredibilem terrorem nobilitati omnibusque intulit," Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

³ See CICARELLA, Vita Sixti, V.

⁴ See *Avviso of August 30, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 381, Vatican Library.

⁵ See the *reports of Gritti of October 4 and November 8, 1586, (State Archives, Venice), used by BROSCI, I., 273, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 176. The Pope had already on June, 1586, concerned himself with the publication of a similar bull; see *Avviso of June 11, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 213, Vatican Library.

published, and ordered that adulterers and adulteresses, as well as parents who allowed the seduction of their daughters, were to be punished with death, and that married couples who separated arbitrarily in accordance with the verdict of the judges, were to be punished in a like manner.¹ So that no one should be able to excuse himself on the score of ignorance, an Italian epitome of the bull was issued. A large number of arrests followed. Many escaped the penalty by leaving Rome. In the case of the majority of the accused the constitution could not be enforced in all its rigour, and the authorities had to content themselves with punishing the culprits by public whippings and the imposition of fines.²

As had been the case with his predecessors, the evil of public prostitutes, which in a great city filled with strangers such as Rome, was always making itself evident, greatly occupied the attention of Sixtus V. He began in May, 1585, by driving these unfortunates out of the Borgo.³ Then, during the course of the summer, regular proceedings were taken against them throughout the city, which again met with the same difficulties as under Pius V.⁴ Special edicts

¹ Bull., VIII., 789 *seq.*

² See *Avvisi of November 15, 19 and 22, and December 24, 1586 (Urb. 1054, pp. 488, 494, 496b, 536), and *those of January 21 and August 22, 1587 (Urb. 1055, pp. 20b, 328), Vatican Library.

³ "Il marchese Altemps ha scacciato di Borgo come governatore tutte le meretrici." Avviso of May 8, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 200, Vatican Library.

⁴ See *Avvisi, 1585, July 13: The Pope ordered Santori to take severe measures against the prostitutes; September 7: "Tutte le parochie di Roma hanno havuto ordine che loro diano in lista tutte le cortegiane che habitano nelle loro parochie et mons. Pertico ne ha havuto il pensiero di farle ridurre tutte sotto una insegna"; December 4: On Monday the Bargello began by shutting up all the "meretrici" in an "ortaccio"; resistance; Savelli wished to remind the Pope of the "progressi cattivi et nefandi" under Pius V.; December 7: Adaptation of the "ortaccio" for the "meretrici"; December 11: The size of the "ortaccio" is not sufficient; many "meretrici" are leaving Rome; December 14: The commission of reformers decide

in the years 1586, 1588 and 1589 aimed at putting a stop to the evil.¹ At the end of 1588 Francesco Tromba bore witness to a visible improvement in the moral state of Rome.²

Sixtus V. also energetically combatted the ever increasing luxury,³ and the customary excesses of the Carnival. As a result of his strictness he had the satisfaction of seeing these amusements pass in absolute quiet in 1586, and on that occasion there was not even any bloodshed, which was an unheard-of thing.⁴ In the following years, too, thanks to the merciless severity which Sixtus V. had shown at the beginning of his reign, there was no noteworthy excess at the Carnival. In 1588 the Pope allowed the company of actors of the Desiosi to perform in public, but their performances were only to take place in the day-time, the women's parts

to remove the "meretrici" only from the principal streets and from the neighbourhood of churches and convents. Urb. 1053, pp. 304, 392, 513, 520, 523, 531b, Vatican Library. Cf. *report of Capilupi of December 7, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¹ With regard to the edict of 1586 see *Avviso of May 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 169, Vatican Library; the *"Editto contro le cortegiane e donne dishoneste che non possino andare in cocchi o carrozze" of October 16, 1588, and the *"Bando delle cortegiane e dell'arme" of May 29, 1589, in Editti, V., 60, p. 212 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Interesting from the point of view of the history of culture are the "Invettive" published by CESARE RAO, Venice, 1587, the fourth of which is directed "contra le meretrice e lor seguaci".

² *Letter to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated "di casa" 1588, December 17, Miscell., XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See Bull., VIII., 819 *seq.*; Riforma del vestire, delle doti et altre spese da osservarsi in Roma, Rome, 1586, Blado. Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 177.

⁴ See the *report of Capilupi, February 22, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Avvisi of January 11 and February 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 12 and 54, Vatican Library, and the *Bando che non si possano tirare ove ne portare linterne di notte [nel carnevale], of February 8, 1586, in Editti, V., 60, p. 68, Papal Secret Archives. See also the *Avviso in ORBAAN, 302, and Galesinus, *Annales, I., 102b, Vatican Library.

were to be taken by men, and the audiences were to be unarmed.¹

It was noted with great sorrow that frequently crimes long since forgotten were recalled and punished,² and among these it made a specially painful impression when Sixtus, yielding to the insistence of his sister Camilla, would not rest until Marcello Accoramboni, who had killed Francesco Peretti in April, 1581, by the orders of Paolo Giordano Orsini, was handed over by Venice. He was taken to Ancona, and although Cardinal Montalto had pardoned him at the time, he was put on his trial, which ended in his execution.³ The condemnation of culprits whose crimes dated back to times long since past, gave occasion for a bitter jest. One morning there was to be seen affixed to the pedestals of the statues of the Princes of the Apostles, at the entrance to the Bridge of St. Angelo, the following dialogue: "Why," asked St. Paul of St. Peter, "have you put your cloak on your shoulders?" "I am taking to my legs," was the reply, "because I am afraid of being put on my trial for the ear which I cut off Malchus."⁴

When, on June 8th, 1588, Sixtus V., after his return from Civitavecchia, informed the Cardinals with justifiable satisfaction that it was now possible to travel anywhere in peace and security, he called attention to another result of his administrative activity.⁵ This concerned the defence of the coasts of the States of the Church, which for a long time past had suffered from an evil of the same kind as brigandage though different in character. The Turkish pirate vessels

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 107; ADEMOLLO in the *N. Antologia*, 2nd Ser., XXVI. (1881), 59; E. RE in the *Giorn. d. lett. ital.*, LXIII., 291. The **Ordini circa la comedia delli Desiosi* in the *Editti*, V., 60, p. 123, Papal Secret Archives.

² See the reports cited by HÜBNER (I., 292) and by BROSCHE (I., 270). Cf. also Gualterius. **Ephemerides*, 86, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

³ See MUFINELLI, I., 172 *seq.*; GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 378 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. HÜBNER, I., 297.

⁵ See the *report of the *Acta consist.* of June 8, 1588, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

not only hampered maritime trade, but every now and then effected landings along the coast, to pillage or carry off the peaceful inhabitants into slavery. Pius IV., Pius V., and Gregory XIII. had attempted to protect the coasts by building strong towers,¹ which, however, were not enough to keep the corsairs away. A short time after his election Sixtus V. announced his intention of providing an efficient remedy.² With his practical outlook he resolved to create a special fleet of ten galleys, which was to have its base at Civitavecchia. In January, 1587, he appointed a special congregation of Cardinals for this purpose.³ As the corsairs became more and more daring,⁴ he could not rest until, at the end of May, 1588, there were ready in the basin at the foot of the Aventine,⁵ six galleys, and four of them fully armed.⁶ He went in person to Civitavecchia on May 27th, 1588, to inspect them.⁷

¹ Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 366, and Vol. XVIII, p. 359. A report of 1589 concerning the state of the coastal fortifications in *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, VI., 111 seq.

² See *Avviso of May 9, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 198, Vatican Library.

³ See Bull., VIII., 990 seq.; *Avviso of January 24, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 26, Vatican Library.

⁴ Cf. in HÜBNER, II., 507, the letter of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

⁵ *In ripa Tiberis ad Aventini radices, quem locum Marmora vocant, navale inchoavit amplissimum et commodissimum, quae res incredibili emolumento ecclesiae ditioni futura censetur . . . ; sollers perspicaxque illis excogitandis, quae Ap. Sedi "and be useful to all Christendom," in eoque ita totus est, ut superiorum Pontificum solertiam longe superare videatur. Gualterius, *Ephemerides 143^b. Cf. *ibid.* 144 for the Pope's visit to the works on September 22, 1587. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

⁶ See the *Avvisi of February 7, September 26, October 28, November 11, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 42, 370, 408b, 423b, Vatican Library (cf. the *report of Malegnani of June 11, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) and the *Avvisi of February 24, March 2 and 9, April 2, 9 and 13, and May 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 74, 86, 96, 125, 134, 136, 187 seq., Vatican Library.

⁷ "27 Maii 1588 discessit ad Centum Cellas, dormivit ad casalettum Pii V"; May 28, continuation of the journey:

The flag-ship bore the name of St. Bonaventura, and was 180 feet in length.¹ The supreme command was given to Cardinal Sauli; his representative was Orazio Lercari, who, in the spring of 1589, with some Florentine galleys, captured twelve corsair ships.²

According to the original plan this fleet was in course of time to be increased to twelve ships.³ In order that subsequent Popes might not be deterred by the great cost of the undertaking, the money necessary for the maintenance of the fleet, to inspect which Sixtus V. again went to Civitavecchia in November, 1588,⁴ was secured by taxes and other levies.⁵ At his last consistory, on August 13th, 1590, the Pope was able to announce that his fleet had succeeded in capturing three Turkish corsair ships, and taken them in triumph to

“ vidit triremes 4 armatas 2 alias non armatas, fuit deinde ad Tolfam et ad lumerias ”; June 2, return to Rome. *Diarium P. Alaleonis*, 388. Vatican Library. Cf. the *report of the Venetian ambassador of May 28, 1588, State Archives, Venice, and Guidi Gualterii S. Genesini *Sixti V. P. M. ad Centum Cellas Iter, Urb. 183, p. 481 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Cf. ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 60 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 35 *seq.*

¹ See *Avviso of November 11, 1587, *loc. cit.*

² See *Avviso of April 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 131, Vatican Library. Cf. *ibid.* the *Avviso of March 9, 1588, according to which the Pope said: “ che si trovano anco tra preti alli tempi nostri prelati di spada et da toga ” (p. 96b), and the *Avvisi* in BALAN, VI., 633.

³ See the *report of Malegnani of November 1, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, 415, Vatican Library. Cf. *Avviso of November 26, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 536, *ibid.*

⁵ See *Acta consist.*, 862 *seq.*; *Bulla Sixti V. impositionis et assignationis subsidii annui pro manutentione classis decem triremium*, Rome, 1589; CICARELLA, *Vita Sixti V.*; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 9, 547 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 23 *seq.* Cf. the report of S. Paruta in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 405, and BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 13.

Genoa.¹ A medal of Sixtus V. shows his galleys with the inscription : " Terra marique securitas."²

Besides the congregation for the Papal fleet, in the time of Sixtus V. various other congregations watched over the material interests of the States of the Church. Two of these, the Segnatura di Grazia and the Consulta, the Pope had found already in existence. The former was the supreme court of appeal for questions of grace and justice in the Church, as well as in her civil territories ; the latter was for the other branches of the civil administration of the territories of the Church, which was every day taking on the forms of a modern state in place of medieval conditions.³ Sixtus V., by his celebrated bull of January 22nd, 1587, created, in addition to that for the fleet, four more new congregations to deal with the interests of the state, to which were assigned the Roman University, the Annona or Abbondanza (to deal with provisions and the price of food), the maintenance of the roads, bridges and aqueducts, and the regulation of taxation.⁴

Even before the formation of the Congregation of the Abbondanza, Sixtus V. had frequently concerned himself with securing a plentiful supply of bread for the Romans.⁵ He wished that this should not only be cheap, but of good quality. The Conservatori were to keep a sharp watch over the markets, and see that bread and flour were not unduly

¹ See Acta consist. 874. Again in March the Pope said that he would build seven more galleys ; see *Avviso of March 10, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 104, Vatican Library.

² BONANNI, I., 400. Another medal bore the legend : Felix praesidium. Cf. ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 492 seq.

³ Cf. MORONI, LXIII., 210 seq. For the Consulta cf. LE BRET, Statistik, II., 222 seq. HINSCHIUS, I., 481.

⁴ See Bull., VIII., 989 seq., 992 seq., 995 seq. Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 702 seq. ; LE BRET, loc. cit., 228, 256 seq.

⁵ Capilupi was able to report on December 14, 1585, *that Sixtus V. had sent to the Marches 14,000 scudi for grain, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The opening of a store of flour for the poor by the Camera is mentioned in an *Avviso of October 12, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 446, Vatican Library. Cf. TEMPESTI, I. 257.

raised in price.¹ It is related that Sixtus V. caused some of the common bread to be shown him, and that seeing that it was black and of poor quality, he at once ordered the issue of a severe edict against unscrupulous bakers.² The Congregation of the Abbondanza had hardly been formed when it was said that the Pope, in addition to the grain store in Rome, was going to build two others, in the Marches and at Ravenna, and was going to take over the monopoly of the grain trade.³ Like many other schemes this was never carried out.

A series of bad harvests,⁴ caused Sixtus V. grave anxiety in providing Rome with corn, and in maintaining a fair price for bread.⁵ Although he had grain brought from abroad at considerable expense, in the spring of 1589 the Eternal City suffered from scarcity and famine.⁶ Sixtus V. sought to provide a remedy in every possible way. He published a bull, by which 200,000 scudi were deposited with the pontifical treasurer, Giovanni Agostino Pinelli, which were to be used exclusively in providing Rome with good bread at a fair

¹ See BROSCHE, I., 289.

² See *Avvisi of January 22 and February 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 23, 46, Vatican Library. Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 356 *seq.*, According to Galesinus (*Annales I. 99b, Vatican Library; cf. App. n. 38) a Roman baker was executed who had adulterated the bread with ashes.

³ See the *report of Malegnani of July 18, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ The bad harvests which affected the whole of south Europe at that date caused the Venetian government to send its secretary, Marco Ottoboni, to Poland to obtain grain there, which led to the formation of commercial ties with Dantzic; see BORATYNSKI, *Przyeznynek do dziejów pierwszych stosunków handlowych*, in the *Sprawozdania* of the Academy of Cracow, 1908, n. 5.

⁵ See the *Avvisi of February 8 and March 24, 1586, September 9, 1587, and May 10, 1589, Urb. 1054, pp. 51, 53b, 107; 1055, p. 352; 1057, p. 267, Vatican Library. Cf. *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend., Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ See *Avviso of April 9, 1589, Urb. 1056, p. 132, Vatican Library.

price, and in making loans to needy peasants who grew corn ; this fund was to be administered by the Congregation of the *Abbondanza*.¹ In this bull Sixtus V. states that one of his principal anxieties was the provisioning of Rome, since in any large population it is the poor who suffer when there is a scarcity of provisions. The decrees of the Congregation of the *Annona* and the edicts of the Pope show how Sixtus V. tried in every way he could to fulfil by other means as well his duty of providing the Romans with good bread. A constitution dated September 10th, 1589, and signed by three *Conservatori*, regulated in minute detail the preparation and sale of bread. The price of bread, after four years of the reign of Sixtus V., was comparatively very low.² What great sacrifices the Pope had made, is clear from the fact that in providing bread and keeping down its price he had spent in all 800,000 scudi.³ Sixtus V. also tried, by means of a severe edict in 1586, to deal with the steady decrease in agriculture, especially in the *Campagna*.⁴ The Pope also tried to encourage agriculture in other places, as for example in the district of *Civitavecchia*, and this was done, not only to provide Rome with more corn, but also to improve the climate by putting more land under cultivation, and to afford opportunities of work to the poor.⁵

The efforts made by Sixtus V. to dry up the marshy districts of the States of the Church are worthy of grateful recognition. With this end in view he turned his attention to the unhealthy

¹ See Bull., VIII., 1019 *seq.* ; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54 ; NICOLAI, II., 44 *seq.* ; BENIGNI, 40 *seq.* ; DE CUPIS, 23. Increase of privileges for the association of the bakers in Bull., VIII., 924 *seq.*

² BENIGNI, 42.

³ BROSCHE, I., 307. Once more at his last consistory, on August 13, 1590, the Pope concerned himself with the importation of grain ; see *Acta consist.*, 874.

⁴ See Galesinus in TEMPESTI, I., 368. Cf. *Avviso of February 26, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 74, Vatican Library.

⁵ Cf. CALISSE in *Zeitschr. f. Sozial-Wirtschaftsgesch.*, VII. (1900), 189.

swamps of the Chiana near Orvieto,¹ those at the mouths of the Tiber,² in the neighbourhood of Ravenna,³ and above all the Pontine Marshes. These marshes, situated to the south of Rome, between the Alban and Volscian hills and the sea, covered a district of about seventy or eighty thousand hectares. The Romans had turned their attention to the problem of drying them up as early as the second century before Christ. Later on Julius Caesar, and the Emperors Augustus and Trajan made an attempt to drain the water from the marshes. Later still the King of the Goths, Theodoric, and several of the Popes, especially Boniface VIII. and Leo X., made serious attempts to reclaim this district for purposes of cultivation.⁴

Earlier failures were not calculated to hold back a man of the energy of Sixtus V. from making a fresh attempt to dry up the marshy Pontine plain, to make it fit for agriculture, and free it from malaria.⁵ In the event of success he would have found a remedy for the scarcity of corn from which Rome often suffered, as well as an important advantage to the Apostolic Camera. When, in the spring of 1586, an engineer from Urbino, named Ascanio Fenizi, presented to the Pope a

¹ See CICARELLA, *Vita Sixti V.*

² See MORONI, LXVII., 106. Cf. *Discorso al card. Sauli, legato dell'armata circa li bonificamenti da farsi alle foci del Tevere, Vat. 6549, p. 228 *seq.* Vatican Library.

³ *Proposals, plans and suggestions for the draining of the marshes near Ravenna, dated July, 1588 (among others, letters from the brothers Domenico and Giovanni Fontana, and a design by Tommaso Spinola) in *Nunziat. di Francia*, 20, pp. 286-292, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ Cf. N. M. NICOLAI, *De bonificamenti delle terre Pontine*, Rome, 1800; T. BERTI, *Paludi Pontine*, Rome, 1884; see DONAT, *Die Pontinischen Sümpfe*, Cassel, 1886, and 1898. For Leo X. see Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 127.

⁵ *"Opus duabus de causis Pontifex aggressus est, tum ut a gravi coelo Terracinam aliaque finitima loca liberaret, cui paludis illius causa plurimum obnoxia sunt, tum ut rei frumentariae consuleret" says Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 79b, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

scheme for draining the marshes, Sixtus V. was enthusiastic about it.¹ The first thing to be done was to remove one of the principal obstacles, with which his predecessors had also been confronted; the opposition of the great landowners who were interested in maintaining the existing state of affairs. This task was entrusted to Fabio Orsini, who very quickly succeeded in dealing with it.²

According to the autograph letter which Sixtus V. addressed to the Apostolic Camera on March 28th, 1586, Ascanio Fenizi had obtained from the Pope all those lands and marshes, lying between Terracina, Piperno and Sezze, which had not been cultivated during the past five years, in order that he might drain them and put them under cultivation. Fenizi and his heirs, as long as the works went on, were to pay every year to the owners whatever the land in question had hitherto produced. Once the draining was accomplished, they were either to go on paying this sum as before, or to hand over land to an equivalent value from the rescued district. Moreover, Fenizi, after the work was finished, was to pay 5½% of the revenues from the land placed under cultivation to the Apostolic Camera, which, at the discretion of the Pope, was to be divided among the interested parties, according to their share in the newly cultivated land. Fenizi was given full powers to widen the already existing water courses, to make new canals and channels to the sea, making a corresponding compensation to the owners. As the undertaking involved large expenditure, and the advantage accruing to all who shared in it was very great, the privileges granted to the promoters were never to be suspended.³

On account of the malaria which prevailed in the Pontine Marshes during the summer, the work could only be commenced on any large scale in the autumn of 1586. About

¹ See in App. n. 7 the *Avviso of April 16, 1586, Vatican Library,

² See the *Avvisi of May 3 and 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 156b., 170, Vatican Library.

³ See NICOLAI, *loc. cit.*, 134 *seq.*; BENIGNI, 42 *seq.*

2000 workmen were then employed.¹ By means of a plan, Fabio Orsini explained to the Pope the scheme of the great undertaking, which in substance consisted in bringing the waters of the mountain streams, which stopped in the so-called Piscinara, in the *Fiume Antico*, and opening for the latter a fresh way to the sea, between Terracina and Cape Circe. In February, 1587, all the proprietors of the Pontine Marshes who were to draw an advantage from the work were invited to contribute to the expense.² It was calculated that by May a district would have been drained which would produce 4000 *rubbi* of corn.³ In January, 1588, we have reports of the good progress of the works,⁴ and in the following year they were practically finished. The great outlet, which now took a great volume of water from the marshes to the sea, into which it emptied itself near the promontory of Circe, was named after the Pope the "Fiume Sisto," while by the side of it another smaller channel was yet to be made.⁵ After

¹ See in App. n. 9 the Avviso of October 18, 1586, Vatican Library.

² See the *Avviso of February 25, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library, and the *Editto of F. Orsini of February 16, 1587, in Editti V., 51, p. 320, Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Si fa conto che a questo Maggio sarà disseccato uno spatio per più di 4000 rubbia di grano essendo hora in opera a questa impresa più di 1400 huomini, i quali hanno purgato quasi tutto quel grandissimo alveo. Avviso of February 25, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 65, Vatican Library.

⁴ An *Avviso of January 27, 1588, reports: In September the Pontine Marshes near Sezza and Piperno are to be drained "acquisto di ca. 14^m rubbia di torreno arativo fertiliss^o, et il letto, che si fà al fiume scolatoio alla marina per disseccare dette paludi largo forse trè canne si chiamarà Sisto, et vi lavorano hora mille persone di continuo a costo di alcuni gentilhuomini; quest' opera con utile della camera Ap^{ca} di 5%. Il lavoro de quali viene aiutato dal beneficio del terreno cresciuto ben otto palmi dal tempo, che si narra essere state disseccate altre volte." Urb. 1056, p. 36^b, Vatican Library.

⁵ See in App. n. 22 the *Avviso of March 15, 1589, Vatican Library. Cf. also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 178, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

three years' work altogether ninety-two square rubbi of land had been reclaimed from the waters, which proved to be quite suitable for agriculture. It was estimated that the new undertaking would yield a revenue of 30 %.¹ On receiving this satisfactory news the Pope resolved in the autumn of 1589 to visit on the spot the great works,² which unfortunately were to be abandoned after his death. On October 11th he went with a large retinue to Terracina. The cities of Marino, Velletri, Sermoneta and Sezze, through which he passed on the way, prepared a splendid welcome for him. Everywhere he was congratulated on having restored security to those districts which had once been so infested by the bandits. Three kilometres to the west of Sezze, at the foot of the hills of Trevi, the summit of which is crowned by the ruins of the castle of Settino, there is a stone which to-day still bears the name of the "stone (or seat) of Sixtus." It was there that the great Pope rested for a long time on his journey, rejoicing at the sight of the improvements which his own energy and the skill of his engineer had carried out. At Terracina the Pope, who was also planning the restoration of the Appian Way, consulted with his architect about the restoration of the ancient Roman harbour.³

Sixtus V. also entertained similar projects for the harbours of Ancona⁴ and Rimini, and especially of Civitavecchia, which had become impracticable for large ships. The Pope also

¹ See BENIGNI, 43.

² See the *Avvisi of September 20 and 23, 1589, Urb. 1057, pp. 575, 579, Vatican Library.

³ See the *Avvisi of October 11 and 21, 1589, Urb. 1057, pp. 612, 624, Vatican Library, the *report of the Venetian ambassador of October 28, 1589, State Archives, Venice, and the report of Sixtus V. in the consistory of October 25, 1589, see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55. For a medal of 1588 relative to the Pontine Marshes, see BONANNI, I., 410 *seq.* and ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 494.

⁴ Cf. *Restauratione del porto di Ancona per Iac. Fontana a Sisto V., Vat. 5463, Vatican Library.

supplied the last named city with plentiful drinking water by building an aqueduct.¹

Besides agriculture, Sixtus V. also sought to encourage industries. This was in connexion with his attempt to suppress mendicity and vagabondage in Rome, for which purpose he established a poor-house, the *Ospizio di Ponte Sisto*, on May 11th, 1587. In the bull of foundation he insists upon the duty of a well-ordered community to provide for the poor who are unable to work, and to prevent the evils inseparable from mendicity.²

¹ See the *reports of Gritti of January 31, 1587, May 28 and June 10, 1588, State Archives, Venice; ALBÈRI, II., 4, 386; FONTANA, I., 90; ANNOVAZZI, 298. For the guarding of the aqueduct, see *Avviso of July 8, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 401, Vatican Library.

² Sixtus V. repeatedly occupied himself during 1586 with the plan for placing all the beggars in a hospice for the poor (see *Avvisi of March 8, May 14, July 2, October 18, November 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 88, 178, 226b, 463b, 473, Vatican Library). These, the constant plague-spot of Rome, were to be placed in a special house under the care of the director of the Hospital of the Trinità. (See the *Avvisi of January 17 and 24; cf. App. II. 11), and February 4, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 18, 26b, 39, *loc. cit.*). The bull concerning the "hospitale ad pontum Sixti" in Bull., VIII., 847 (cf. *Acta consist.*, 859). With regard to the carrying out of the plan and the provision of revenues see *Avviso of April 4, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 115 (cf. 125), *loc. cit.*; the *report of Malegnani of May 13, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Sixti V. confirmatio et applicatio introitum et concessio facult. hospitali pauperum mendic., d. VIII. Id. sept. 1588," in *Editti*, V., 9, p. 209 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. As the beggars numbered thousands, some of them had to be sent away with alms (see *Avviso of June 13, 1587, in ORBAAN, 287). After this the hospice of the poor was enlarged. (See *Avviso of January 16, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 18, Vatican Library). A further *Editto "per i poveri mendicanti" appeared on January 19, 1588, (*Editti*, *loc. cit.*, 291 *seq.*), a second on September 6, 1588 (Bull., IX., 33 *seq.*). Again in 1590 many beggars had to be driven out of Rome (*Avviso of March 14, Urb. 1058, p. 115, *loc. cit.*). Sixtus V. had hardly died when the beggars abandoned their house "amando

Even in the first year of his pontificate we are told of the way in which this energetic and enterprising Pope interested himself in the woollen and silk industries, in order to provide the poor with work and the means of earning a livelihood.¹ Two wool staplers, Alessandro Capacefalo and Fenicio Alfano, received, at the end of 1585, a monopoly in the dyeing of wool and an advance payment of 12,000 scudi to meet the cost of the necessary plant. Cardinal Santa Croce was given the superintendence of this industry.²

Even more interesting were the attempts of Sixtus V. to develop the silk industry, which had been introduced into Rome by the Florentine, Donato Baldesi, in the time of Pius V.³ Sixtus V., who remembered how the silk industry had prospered in the Marches in olden times, granted to a Tuscan named Pietro Valentini,⁴ who had come from Pienza, and obtained the citizenship of Rome, a temporary privilege of planting mulberry trees. Very characteristic of the Pope as sovereign, was the grand manner in which he interested himself in this matter. In his bull of May 28th, 1586, he

la libertà et se ne veggono tanti che ne tengono hormai assediati " (*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 462b, *loc. cit.*). For the hospice of the mendicants see also MORONI, XXIX., 278 *seq.*; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 495; FORCELLA, VI., 507; Galesinus, *Annales, I., 116 *seq.*, Vatican Library, (*cf.* App. n. 38).

¹ An *Avviso of September 17, 1585, reports: To-day " *consulto* " with the Pope, who " *Ha risoluto di trovare modo che le povere genti possino viver delle lor fatigue e però vuole introdurre l'arte della lana et della seta.*" Urb. 1053, p. 404, Vatican Library.

² See the bull of December 18, 1585, which confirms the statutes of the " *Societas mercatorum artis lanae,*" in Bull., VIII., 638 *seq.* *Cf.* the *report of Capilupi of October 9, 1585, (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and an *Avviso of May 21, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 185. See also RODOCANACHI, Corporations, II., 58. *Cf.*, *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 466; C. DE CUPIS, *La lana e la sua industria in Roma*, 1923, 6.

³ See RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.* 35.

⁴ RANKE (Päpste, I^a., 298), although TEMPESTI (I., 260) gives the name and country of Valentini exactly, calls him " a certain Pietro di Valencia " !

ordered that throughout the state, all gardens, farms, meadows, valleys and hills, which were not devoted to the harvest, should be planted with mulberry trees, and that the Apostolic Camera, in order to set a good example, should lead the way. Anyone who had failed to carry out this order within four years, was to be fined. The senate and people of Rome were assigned certain unclaimed lands in the neighbourhood of Rome for the planting of mulberry trees.¹ Attracted by this ordinance, various speculators immediately presented themselves who were prepared to devote themselves to the manufacture of silk, in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Apostolic Camera; such were the Jew, Magino di Gabriele, from Venice, the Neapolitan, Giovanni Battista Corcione, the Genoese, Giovanni Battista Chiavari, and Lorenzo Fabri of Lucca, where the silk industry had flourished since the IXth century.

Unfortunately, their undertakings were not successful, and thus the Pope's great project came to nothing. The Pope's attempt, however, to promote so important a branch of industry in his states, is nevertheless worthy of notice, because the ideas concerning the export of manufactured goods which influenced him in this matter, show him to have been a precursor of modern industrialism.²

The accounts of his reign prove the interest taken by Sixtus V. in the roadways of the States of the Church,³ such

¹ See Bull., VIII., 711 *seq.*

² See the fine dissertation of G. TOMASSETTI, *L'arte della seta sotto Sisto V.* in Roma, in *Studi e docum.*, II., 131-152, which, however, remained unknown to RODOCANACHI (*loc. cit.*, 96). According to an *Avviso of February 5, 1590, Sixtus V. lent 45,000 scudi at that time for the introduction of the silk industry into Rome. Urb. 1058, p. 51, Vatican Library.

³ For the Ponte Felice, on which D. Fontana was employed as engineer, see FONTANA, I., 5, II., 20 *seq.*; A. MARTINELLI, *Stato del Ponte Felice*, Rome, 1682; KEYSSLER, II., 391; MAROCCO, I., 102, 123; MORONI, LXVII., 106; ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 495; BERTOLOTI, B. Cenci, 28; MARINORI, 33 *seq.* For the plan presented to the Pope by Julius Roscius, *cf.* HÜLSEN in *Röm.-german. Korrespondenzblatt*, V. (1912), n. 6, p. 82, n. 3.

as the great bridge over the Tiber near Otricoli, which was begun in the spring of 1589,¹ and was given the name of the Ponte Felice.

Worthy of all praise were the means taken by the Pope to relieve the debts of the municipalities in the Papal States. Sales and alienations were limited and unnecessary expenditure forbidden.² Six clerics of the Camera were charged to examine the financial conditions of each city, and prepare schemes for the extinction of debts.³ In the autumn of 1587 Giovanni Battista Ricci of Loreto was appointed commissary-general for the repair of the roads, bridges and fountains in the Papal States, and armed with ample powers.⁴ By the order of the Pope the Camerlengo Caetani issued a series of ordinances on January 24th, 1589, to prevent abuses and hardships in the imposition of taxes.⁵ All these provisions proved so salutary that an obvious revival of the municipalities followed.⁶ Sixtus V. ordered that notarial documents, which had been retained by the notaries, to the great inconvenience of the parties concerned, should be deposited in certain archives,

¹ See the *Avvisi of April 29 and May 10, 1589, Urb. 1057, pp. 235, 267, Vatican Library; ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 309.

² See the bull of September 30, 1586, in Bull., VIII., 785 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.* IX., 127 *seq.* the ordinances for Bologna. See also A. SARTI, *Bandi emanati dai legati pontif. in Bologna nel sec. XVI.*, Rocca S. Casciano, 1914, 30 *seq.*

³ See Gualterius in RANKE, I⁸., 298, n. 1, and the report of Gritti in BROSCHE, I., 283, for which it appears that Sixtus V. was also aiming by his enactments at the enrichment of the Camera. The *Relazione di Visita dell'Umbria fatta da Monsignore Malvasia chierico di camera per ordine di Sisto V., in Ottob. 987, Vatican Library. Another copy in Cod. 75 of the Valentini Library, sold in Rome in 1911. The *Acta of the visitation of Bologna and its territory in the Arch. S. Angelo, Arm. 15, c. 4, Papal Secret Archives, mentioned by GARAMPI (316).

⁴ See *Avviso of October 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 398, Vatican Library.

⁵ See, *Collezione delle disposiz. su li censimenti del stato pontificio*, I., Rome, 1845, 73 *seq.*

⁶ See this point of the *Memorie* in RANKE, I⁸., 298, n. 1.

where everyone could consult them on payment of a small fee.¹ The Pope also turned his attention to the improvement of the prisons.²

The standard, in accordance with which Sixtus V. wished the administration of the States of the Church to be carried on, is clear from the instructions which he gave to his civil and ecclesiastical officials. They were especially urged to give audience with regularity and courtesy, to give abundant alms, to see to the importation of merchandize, the water supply, and the maintenance of the roads, bridges and fortresses; they must personally acquaint themselves by means of deputies of the needs of those subject to them, and regularly send reports to Rome. They must behave with both dignity and modesty, and lead religious lives, as was fitting for the delegates of the Pope.³ Officials who neglected their duty, even though they were Cardinals like Spinola, the legate at Perugia, were removed from their office without hesitation.⁴ Sixtus V. also on several occasions interested himself in the settlement of disputes between the municipalities.⁵

¹ See Bull., IX., 23 *seq.* Cf. *Avviso of August 21, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 363b, Vatican Library. Rome and Bologna, where such archives were already in existence were excluded from this ordinance. Sixtus V. fixed the number of the notaries in Rome at 30; he established the "Collegium Notariorum curiae Capitolineae" and united to it the notarial archivium set up by Pius IV. at the Capitol; see GREGOROVIVS in *Sitzungsberichte der Münchner Akad. Philos. Kl.*, 1872, 492 *seq.*

² See the bull of September 4, 1589, in Bull., IX., 121 *seq.*

³ *The instructions are to be found among the papers left by Graziani, in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. It is characteristic of Sixtus V. that he controlled the participation of his officials in the procession of Corpus Domini; see the *report of Malegnani of May 30, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ As to this see more fully in *Avvisi of April 16, 19, 23, 26 and 30, and May 14 and 17, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 127b, 133, 136, 141b, 147, 148b, 178b, Vatican Library.

⁵ See Bull. VIII., 691 *seq.*, IX., 109 *seq.*

The Pope devoted quite special attention to those places which were more or less near his own native place, and in which he had already taken a lively interest while he was still a Cardinal.¹ Mindful of his own poverty-stricken youth, he made provision for the establishment of a special college at Bologna for the education of the intelligent youth of the Marches.² He restored some of its ancient rights to the city of Ancona, and established a supreme tribunal for the whole province of the Marches at Macerata.³ Fermo once more was given its university,⁴ and was made an archiepiscopal see.⁵ The town of Montalto became a city and an episcopal see;⁶ the same was done in the case of Sanseverino,⁷ Tolentino⁸ and

¹ On the occasion of his visit to their city in 1574 the citizens of Ascoli made him an honorary citizen; see P. CAPPONI, *Mem. stor. d. Chiesa Ascolana*, Ascoli Piceno, 1898, 146. For the relations of Sixtus V. with Ascoli see also S. ANDREANTONELLI, *Hist. Ascolana*, Ascoli, 1676, 25 *seq.* Cf. Vincenzo Serafino **Trattato dell'acquisto et conservazione della pace univ. et perpetua della città d'Ascoli* (dedicated to Sixtus V.), Vat. 5533, Vatican Library.

² See, Bulla ac privilegia Collegii Montisalti a S.D.N. Sixto V. in civitate Bononiae erecti, Bologna, 1627. Cf. FONTANA, I., 89b.; LE BRET, *Magazin*, IX., 554; GUIDICINI, *Miscell. Bologn.*, 20, 53.

³ See Bull. IX., 81 *seq.*

⁴ See CICONI, 28 *seq.*

⁵ See the **Acta consist.* of May 24, 1589, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Cf. CICONI 30 *seq.*

⁶ See besides the *report of Gritti of November 15, 1585 (State Archives, Venice), and the *report of Malegnani of November 15, 1586 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), Bull. VIII., 800 *seq.* *Ibid.* IX., 254 *seq.* the bull concerning the "erectio praesidiatus Montis Alti." With regard to the college of Montalto see further Vol. XXII. of this work, Chapter V., p. 198. In general cf. PISTOLESI, Sisto V. e Montalto da documenti inediti, Montalto, 1921, 91 *seqq.*, with valuable details from archives.

⁷ See besides the *Brief of October 27, 1586 (Original in Municipal Archives, Sanseverino) the bull in Bull. VIII., 805 *seq.* Cf. also S. *Servanzi-Collio*, *Serie dei vescovi Sanseverino nella Marca, Camerino*, 1874.

⁸ See Bull. VIII., 817 *seq.*

Loreto.¹ At Montalto the Pope established schools and began the building of a large cathedral, to which he gave a precious reliquary, and erected a residence for the bishop, as well as for the canons.² Even more was done for Loreto, which was specially dear to Sixtus V. on account of the sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin. In the church which encloses the Holy House the Pope adorned the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament with stucco work and paintings;³ he also completed the façade begun by Gregory XIII.⁴ and made

¹ See the *report of Priuli of November 9, 1585, and the *report of Gritti of October 17, 1587. State Archives, Venice. Cf. Bull. VIII., 666 *seq.*; VOGEL, *De ecclesia Recanat.*, 308 *seq.*

² Cf. the **Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.*, Papal Secret Archives (see App. n. 40) and the **Avvisi* of May 13 and October 17, 1587, and June 10, 1589, Urb. 1055 and 1057, Vatican Library. The cathedral was built by a pupil of Fontana, Girolamo Rainaldi (see GURLIT, *Barockstil*, 377). Fontana himself relates how he sketched the designs for the enlargement of Montalto and Loreto. The cathedral of Montalto still preserves to-day as a precious treasure the reliquary given by Sixtus V., in which were used precious materials from the time of Cardinal P. Barbo, a lover of the arts, and later Paul II. For the reliquary at Montalto cf. the articles of C. ASTOLFI and GRIGIONI in *Arte e storia*, 1909-10. See also ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 289; PISTOLESI, Sisto V., 16 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*, 91 *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.* With reference to a gift from the Pope, of gold and silver medals expressly coined for Montalto in 1588, see PISTOLESI in *Arte e storia*, XXX. (1911), 117 *seq.*; also his *Altodunensia*, Montalto, 1920, 17 *seq.*, 34 *seq.* Cf. *Boll. ital. d. numismat.*, XIII. (1915). The church at Grottammare possesses the chalice which, according to the inscription, was used by Sixtus V. when he was Bishop of Sant' Agata; see *Picenum*, X. (1913), 168 (with illustration). *Ibid.* 271 a plan of the boundaries of the city.

³ See BEISSEL, *Das hl. Haus zu Loreto*, Freiburg, 1891, 21. Cf. BONANNI, I., 384; A. COLASANTI, *Loreto*, Bergamo, 1910, 62 *seqq.*; FRANC. DAL MONTE CASONI, *Nel IV. Centenario della nascita di Sisto V. Una pagina della sua vita* (*Memorie documentate di storia Recanatese e Loretana*), Loreto, 1921.

⁴ The summit is crowned with the arms of Sixtus V., with the inscription: Sixto V. P. M., A.III, 1587.

the beautiful side entrances.¹ Loreto also owed to Sixtus V. its extension, and new fortifications,² as well as the beautiful Porta Romana.³ The Pope also concerned himself in improving the sanitary conditions of the city,⁴ as well as caring for its material needs by the establishment of a Monte de Pietà.⁵ One of the last bulls of the Pope granted to Loreto a number of privileges.⁶ The grateful inhabitants erected a bronze statue to him on the steps of the cathedral, the work of Antonio Bernardino Calcagni of Recanati,⁷ a fine and characteristic piece of work. At Loreto, as in most of the cities of the Marches, marble inscriptions record the benefits conferred by the Pope.⁸

Sixtus V. showed a quite special love for his own capital.⁹ What he did for its development and its embellishment is of so great importance, as to call for a detailed description.¹⁰

The building undertakings of Sixtus V., as well as the need of the Church, called for the expenditure of large sums, which at first were all the more difficult to obtain, as the finances of the Holy See no longer balanced, owing to the lavish generosity of his predecessor, and his unwillingness to impose new taxes. Immediately after his election, and again in the consistory of May 13th, 1585,¹¹ Sixtus V. bitterly lamented his straitened financial circumstances. Gregory XIII. had used up the

¹ Above the side entrances may be read : Sixtus V.

² See FONTANA, I., 90. See *Avviso of October 21, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 397, Vatican Library.

³ Cf. *Guida di Loreto*, Siena, 1895, 32 ; FR. DAL MONTE CASONI, *Il santuario di Loreto e le sue difese militari*, Recanati, 1919, 88.

⁴ Cf. the *Brief to "Card. Perusinus, protect. Lauret.," of April 20, 1589, Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 119, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ "Ad sublevandam pauperum inopiam" says the inscription of 1590.

⁶ Bull., IX., 230 *seq.*

⁷ Cf. *supra* p. 48.

⁸ See CIACONIUS, IV., 127 *seq.*

⁹ See in App. n. 25 the *Avviso of May 3, 1589, Vatican Library.

¹⁰ See further, Vol. XXII. of this work, Chapters V. and VI.

¹¹ See the *report of Capilupi of May 15, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

revenues of Pius V. as well as those of his own pontificate, he said to Cardinal Santori, when the latter, on April 26th, urged him to subsidize the colleges of the Armenians and the neophytes.¹

The state of affairs, however, was not so bad as Sixtus V. imagined. When the money deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo was counted it was found that there were 326,500 scudi in gold, and 33,500 in silver.² But, as Priuli reported on May 18th, 1585, the public treasury was empty, and the whole of the revenues for the next half year were mortgaged.³ The energy of Sixtus V. was successful in steadily increasing his revenues,⁴ and in spite of his extensive building operations and other undertakings, in depositing in the Castle of St. Angelo a reserve fund which at the time of his death amounted to five and a half million scudi, an achievement which seemed to his contemporaries a prodigy.⁵

The means by which Sixtus V. attained this result were very various and altogether new. If they cannot be unconditionally praised it is necessary in judging them to bear in mind the economic principles and the actual conditions of the time, and the Pope can hardly be blamed for not having been in advance of his times.⁶

¹ SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 167. I have taken the date which is missing (April 26) from the **Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae*. Papal Secret Archives.

² See *Studi e docum.*, XIV., 65; *cf.* XIII., 314.

³ See BROSCH, I., 278.

⁴ According to COPPI (*Finanze*, 5, 10) the revenues increased in 1585 to 1,318,414 and in 1587 to 1,599,303 scudi. Another *estimate of 1587: "Entrate incerte" 383,600, "certe" 1,201,920, total sum: 1,585,520; "uscita" 1,498,540, (*Cod.* 39 B.13, p. 150 *seq.* Corsini Library, Rome).

⁵ See the statements of Cardinal Prospero Santa Croce in the *report of Gritti of May 7, 1588 (State Archives, Venice), used by BROSCH, I., 282.

⁶ Opinion of REUMONT in his review of Hübner in *Theol. Lit.-blatt of Bonn*, 1870, n. 16. TEMPESTI (I., 457 *seqq.*), has nothing but praise for the financial administration of Sixtus V. *Cf.* COPPI, *Finanze*, 5 *seqq.*, RANKE, I⁸., 301 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 341

The reorganization of the finances undertaken by the Pope was based on the one hand upon economies, and on the other upon an extensive use of the sources of revenue, afforded by saleable offices and the so-called Monti.

As far as economies were concerned Sixtus V. commenced with himself. His table and his whole manner of life were as simple as possible.¹ From the autograph diary of Fra Felice preserved in the Chigi Library, one can see the standard which he set before himself at that time. This he continued after he became Pope. It is related of him that even then his economy in providing for his own needs went so far that instead of having new shoes made, he had the old ones mended.² At the court various useless offices were suppressed, and in the case of others the salaries were reduced, while at first even the subsidies to the ecclesiastical colleges were suspended.³ The number of the troops was reduced as far as possible, and in every branch of the administration of the state the rule was made of reducing expenditure to strict necessities.⁴ The most strict control was kept of all these things.⁵

seq., BROSCHE, I., 278 *seq.*, and BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 31 *seq.* See also MARTINORI, 5 *seq.*, 21 *seq.* for the issue of copper money of a lesser value than the official coinage. With regard to the coinage of Sixtus V., see also SERAFINI, II., 71 *seq.* MARTINORI gives (27 *seq.*) a series of coinage ordinances. ARIAUD DE MONTOR (V., 12) gives a good description of the Pope's medals.

¹ See *supra*, p. 57.

² See *Avviso of September 9, 1587, Urb. 1055, 373, Vatican Library

³ See the *report of Capilupi of June 19, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. the *Avvisi of May 29, and June 15, 1585, Urb. 1053, pp. 229, 250b. Vatican Library. Sixtus V. partly repudiated the subsidies to the oriental undertakings of Gregory XIII.; cf. HOFFMANN, Missionsinstitut, 210.

⁴ See BROSCHE, I., 280. Cf. *supra*, p. 56. For the orders for the restriction of the celebrations of the anniversary of the coronation (1586) see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54. The reduction of the "famiglia pontificia" is mentioned by Sporeno in his *report of March 22, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

⁵ Cf. *Avvisi of May 11, 1585, and February 26, 1586, Urb. 1053, p. 202, 1054, p. 73, Vatican Library.

These economies, which were estimated at 150,000 scudi a year,¹ were hardly enough to meet the expenses involved by the Pope's undertakings for the public utility, especially his buildings. The projected formation of a reserve fund was only possible by the opening out of fresh sources of revenue. It was very difficult to find these as Sixtus V. wished to preserve intact the ancient reputation of the Papal States, that its inhabitants were only burdened with small taxes. The most varied suggestions were laid before the Pope, some of which were quite extraordinary.² It is said that he did not even disdain to take the advice of Jewish financiers,³ just as, probably for commercial reasons, he showed himself very well inclined to the Jews, and restored to them the greater part of the rights in the Papal States which had been taken away from them by Paul IV. and Pius V.⁴

The Pope's principal advisers in financial matters were the Treasurers of the Camera. He entrusted this important office first of all to the Genoese, Benedetto Giustiniani, who

¹ Thus the *Avviso of May 29, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library. Later on Sixtus V. valued them at about 146,000 scudi; see HÜBNER, I., 355.

² See the passage from the Memorie in RANKE, Pápste, III⁸., 73. Cf. the *report of Capilupi of September 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *letter of Sixtus V. to the treasurer Giustiniani, dated Montecavallo, 1585, June 23, deals with a certain Vincenzo Badalocchio, who wished to procure money "senza imponere gravezza e senza far torto a nessuno." Orig. in the collection of Pietro Pieri in Rome, now sold by auction.

³ A great part in this was especially taken by the Portuguese, Juan Lopez; see *Avviso of October 9, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 439, Vatican Library. HOFFMANN, Missionsinstitut, 223.

⁴ See Bull. VIII., 786 seq.; DE MAULDE, Les Juifs dans les états du St. Siège (1886), 45; RIEGER-VOGELSTEIN, II., 178 seq.; RODOCANACHI, St. Siège et les Juifs (1891), 64, 187 seq., 231; *Giorn. Ligust.*, 1888, 263 seq.; cf. also the statements of a Jewish chronicler in the *Emek Habacha* of R. JOSEPH HA COHEN, Leipsig, 1858, 127, edited by M. Weiner; the Capitoli e riforma delli Banchieri Hebrei ("ridotta a 18% l'anno"), dat. Prid. Non. Jan. Ann. IV., in Bandi V., 10, p. 111, Papal Secret Archives.

proved himself so able that on December 17th, 1586, the purple was conferred on him. Three years later the same honour was bestowed upon his successor, Guido Pepoli, who was succeeded in 1590 by Bartolomeo Cesi.¹ The office of Treasurer of the Camera was one of the purchasable offices. Under Gregory XIII. Rodolfo Bonfiglioli had bought it for 28,000 Roman scudi, Giustiniani had to pay 50,000, and Pepoli 30,000 gold scudi; Cesi, although the revenues had been reduced by a half (5000), had again to pay 50,000. The office of Camerlengo also became purchasable in 1588, and Cardinal Errico Caetani had to pay 50,000 scudi for it.²

Not only was the price of offices increased, but the sale of them was extended to offices which had hitherto been granted gratuitously. This was the case among others with the office of *solleciatore* of the Camera, as well as many notarial and fiscal offices. Here too very often large sums had to be paid.³ For the office of treasurer of the Dataria, Monsignor Rusticci had to pay 50,000 scudi. The notariates of Fermo, Umbria, Fano, Orvieto, Terni and Narni as well as twenty-one posts as referendary produced 42,000 scudi.⁴

It has been rightly pointed out that the custom of selling offices, then prevalent in most other states as well, was not introduced into the Papal States for the first time by Sixtus V.⁵

¹ See MORONI, LXXIV., 292 *seq.*; GARAMPI, 333; MARTINORI, 28.

² See MORONI, VII., 81, LXXXVII., 91.

³ See the composition in the *Entrate e spese della Sede Apost. sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII., Barb. LV., 51, Vatican Library. This is the manuscript dealing with the Roman finances which RANKE (Päpste, I⁸., 304) quotes without any exact signature and with a printer's error which is also repeated in the more recent editions, "Klemens VII." Correction of a statement of RANKE (I⁸., 304) concerning the redeemable pledges in *Saggiatore*, II., 4, 112. For the dispute of Sixtus V. with the Romans, who blamed him for wishing to make the pledges saleable, see RODOCANACHI, Institutions, 315 *seq.*

⁴ See *Entrate e spese sotto Clemente VIII., *loc. cit.*

⁵ BROSCHE, I., 279.

That he should have continued it cannot therefore be imputed to him by way of blame, though he may certainly be blamed for having extended it, especially when he did so in the case of offices affecting ecclesiastical administration.

How much these *Uffizi vacabili* were multiplied may be seen from a compilation made before December, 1586, which states that the selling price and the value of them, taken all together, amounted to 3,596,225 gold scudi. The long list begins with the great offices, those of the Camerlengo and Treasurer; it also shows how very large prices were also paid for other offices, e.g. 54,000 gold scudi for that of auditor of the Camera, and 36,000 each for those of clerics of the Camera. Smaller sums were brought by means of life annuities, as well as being paid for posts of lesser importance, such as those of the abbreviators, chamberlains, and writers, as well as for knightships; these last, which had been established by Leo X. with the 401 knights of St. Peter, now numbered 1486;¹ Sixtus V. had also added sixty to the 240 knights of Loreto.²

Like the sale of offices, the creation of a public debt, and the increase and reform of the Monti presented many difficult and anxious problems. Here too Sixtus V. did not strike out a new line, but developed or organized existing methods with great sagacity.

The state loans of the Holy See, known as the "Monti," bore different names, either from the Pope who had formed them, or from the use made of the money drawn from them, or from the source from which the interest came. They were divided into *Monti vacabili* and *non vacabili*. Like the saleable offices they came to an end with the death of the holder, or in certain cases with his promotion to the episcopate

¹ COPPI, Finanze, 8. The date may be fixed by the fact that Giustiniani, who became a Cardinal on December 17, is still treasurer. Cf. also the *Avviso of January 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 36b, Vatican Library.

² See Bull. IX., 324 seq. Cf. Acta consist. 846; *Avviso of October 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 436, Vatican Library; *report of Malegnani of October 10, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

or the cardinalate, so that the name *Monti vacabili* meant loans which would be extinguished within a certain period. The *Monti non vacabili*, or *Monti*, formed the state debt proper. The shares, the *Luoghi di Monti*, were true titles yielding revenue, which had their variations like modern state investments.¹ Their returns naturally varied, and at first were as much as 12% or even more, while later on they yielded 4%, or sometimes more according to circumstances.²

The establishment of the *Monti non vacabili*, the consolidated public debt in the strict sense, began in 1526, when Clement VII., in imitation of the Monte which the Republic of Florence had set up in 1345,³ founded the Monte della Fede, so called because the money was to be used for the war against the Turks. The capital was 200,000 scudi, in 2000 bonds of the public debt, each of 100 scudi, with an interest of ten per cent. secured on the customs. In the same year Clement VII. founded the Monte di salo ed oro, of 284,000 scudi with an interest of eight per cent.; in the following year, after the sack of Rome by Bourbon, he established the Monte del Macinato, of 290,000 scudi.⁴

Subsequent Popes continued to act in the same way. Paul III. set up one Monte, Paul IV. as many as four, Pius IV. two, Pius V. four, and Gregory XIII. one,⁵ so that at last the capital involved was five and a half millions, and the annual interest 281,968 scudi.⁶ Sixtus V. increased the number and the capital of the Monti in such a way as to surpass all his predecessors. As soon as he discovered any source of revenue, it was capitalized, and as it was for the most part the Genoese who supplied the capital, the banking business passed almost entirely into their hands. In all Sixtus V. set up

¹ See MORONI, XL., 146 seq., LXXXVII., 70 seq.; BROSCHE, I., 280.

² See Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 96 seq.

³ This was intended to supply the expenses of the war against the Pisans for the possession of Lucca.

⁴ See Vol. X. of this work, p. 328, n. 4.

⁵ See COPPI, Finanze, 42. Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 104, n. 2.

⁶ COPPI, Finanze 5.

eleven Monti, eight of which were *vacabili*.¹ The capital represented by the loans which he thus obtained was as much as two and a half million scudi in gold,² the interest on which could only be raised by increasing the existing taxes, or the imposition of new ones. However unwilling Sixtus V. was to do so at first, no other course lay open to him but to increase the taxation, which, in spite of all his good intentions, paralysed trade and industry. Once he had overcome his initial hesitation, Sixtus V., who never took half measures, proceeded in this with characteristic energy.³ Giovanni Gritti says in his report of 1589, that the Pope had up to that time introduced eighteen new taxes.⁴ One, the heavy tax on wine, which had been decided upon in the spring of 1587, had to be abandoned in the summer of the following year.⁵ According to Cicarella the number of new taxes was more than thirty-five.⁶ Paolo Paruta states that of the ten million

¹ Thus RANKE, *Päpste*, I⁸, 304, probably in accordance with the manuscript in the Vatican Library, cited *supra*, p. 116, n. 4. Statements to some extent in disagreement in COPPI, *Finanze*, 8 *seq.*, and MORONI, XL., 250 *seq.*

² See RANKE, I⁸, 306. Cf. REUMONT, III., 2, 583.

³ See REUMONT, III., 2, 583; BROSCHE, I., 281.

⁴ GRITTI, 337.

⁵ Cf. HÜBNER, I., 354. Gualterius, **Ephemerides* 110 *seq.*, (Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome) tries to justify in detail the tax on wine. Also a duty on goods imported at Ancona, which did much harm, had to be once more abolished; see Badoer, *report of 1589, (Quirini Library, Venice); RANKE, III⁸, 78*.

⁶ CICARELLA, *Vita Sixti V.* According to this MORONI LXVII., 161, must be emended. With regard to the opposition of Cardinals Paleotto and Carafa to the burden of the duties see **Acta consist.* May 11, 1587, Consistorial Archives. In his *report of July 4, 1587, Malegnani mentions a pamphlet against the taxes and hoarding of gold of Sixtus V., who is described as a miser. We are also told that there was a ferment in Rome at that time by the Venetian ambassador in his **Dispatch* of July 27, 1587, State Archives, Venice. A violent death was foretold for Sixtus V. (see the *report of Malegnani of September 5, 1587, *loc. cit.*) but the Pope laughed at the increase of the guard at his palace. See **Avviso* of September 2, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 338, Vatican Library.

scudi which Sixtus V. collected during his five years' pontificate, only one million was drawn from the new taxes, all the rest coming from the sale or increase of offices or from other financial operations.¹ The questionable nature of the means which Sixtus V. employed to obtain further revenues apparently did not enter his mind, so preoccupied was he with the necessity of making the credit and influence of the Papacy and the Church unquestioned before the world, by means of her financial independence and supremacy.² He blamed his predecessors, even Pius V. himself, whom he so venerated³, for not having taken enough care to maintain a reserve of money. Poor princes, and especially a poor Pope, he said, are a laughing-stock even to children, especially in times when everything is accomplished by money; a wise prince ought to follow the example of the ants, who store up provision for the winter during the summer.⁴

The financial policy of Sixtus V. was substantially based on the theory that all the resources of the Papal States were at his disposal; he saw how extraordinarily important and necessary it was for the power and status of the Popes that they should possess a temporal state.⁵

The fact that from the first Sixtus V. spent large sums on beautifying his capital, and on works of public utility, brought it about that the inevitable burden of taxation, combined with the sale of offices, and the raising of new loans, was not so much resented as might have been expected. The great

¹ P. Paruta in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 410.

² See HERRE, *Papsttum*, 374 *seq.*

³ See the *report of Gritti of July 26, 1586, State Archives, Venice.

⁴ See GRITTI, 338.

⁵ See RANKE, *Päpste*, I^{s.}, 270. The bull of Pius V. concerning the inalienability and indivisibility of the "Dominium temporale" (see Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 104) which was so important for the fusion of the Papal States into a solid monarchy, was confirmed on oath by Sixtus V. on May 10, 1585 (GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53) and renewed with additions on July 1; see THEINER, *Cod. dom. temp.*, I., 553 *seq.*

buildings that his energy raised in Rome in the course of a few years, and which made the city of the Popes stand out as the centre of the world even in the eyes of foreigners, to some extent palliated the new burdens in the eyes of most of the population.¹

The zeal which the Pope displayed in accumulating wealth was by no means universally found fault with. When, after the first year of the pontificate, it transpired that, in spite of the expense incurred in provisioning Rome, in the struggle against the bandits, on the needs of the Church, and his building operations (especially the repairs to the aqueducts), he was in a position to deposit the sum of a million gold scudi in the Castle of St. Angelo,² everyone wondered indeed, but at the same time praised the precautions that he had taken to meet cases of real danger and special need.³

At the consistory of April 21st, 1586, a bull was presented to the Cardinals to sign and swear to, concerning the use of this treasure,⁴ in which the Pope expressed himself in the following terms: "Having been called by Providence to steer the ship of Peter at a time of great difficulty, he had turned his attention with watchful care not only to the present storms, but also to future ones. Powerful enemies," he goes on to say, "the heretics, filled with an irreconcilable hatred, and the Turk, that scourge of the wrath of God, are threatening the Catholic religion, and especially its centre, the Holy See. Although the Pope puts his trust before all things in the Pastor of Israel, yet it is He that hath the power to command the waves and the sea, Who teaches that the master of the house must watch even in the night, and that we may not tempt God, asking for a miracle where human prudence and foresight are enough. The sad example of past

¹ See BALZANI, Sisto V., 30.

² See the *reports of Capilupi of November 30, 1585, and January 25, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Avviso of January 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 36b, Vatican Library.

³ See *Avviso of May 21, 1586, *ibid.* p. 186.

⁴ Printed in Bull. VIII., 693 *seqq.* Cf. Acta consist. 845 and GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53.

times teaches that the Holy See must be prepared in all circumstances, and be provided with sufficient means for moments of need. Therefore, following the example of the Fathers of the Old Testament, who stored up sums of money in the Temple, we have resolved for the protection of the Holy See to deposit a million scudi in the Castle of St. Angelo, dedicating them to Christ Our Lord, to Mary, the Blessed Virgin and Mother of God, and to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul."

The bull further laid down the cases in which it would be lawful for the Pope and his successors to make use of this treasure, namely, if a war should be begun for the recovery of the Holy Land, or a general expedition against the Turks: in a case of famine or pestilence: if there should be manifest danger of a Christian nation passing into the hands of the infidels, or of the enemies of the Church: in the case of a hostile invasion of the Papal States: if a city belonging to the Holy See should be threatened, or if one could be recovered by means of an armed expedition. But in these cases care must be taken that not more than one half of the treasure is touched. All these enactments, the bull goes on to state, must be understood literally, and anyone that does not obey them will incur the most severe penalties. The most careful provision was made to ensure the safety of the treasure, which, at the consistory of April 28th, 1586, was carried so far as to enact that every four months the integrity of the treasure was to be checked.¹

The Romans were astonished when they learned that, in spite of the extensive building operations, a second million gold scudi had been accumulated during the following year, 1587,² and a third by April, 1588,³

¹ See Acta consist. 841; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53. For the visit to the treasury in June, 1586, see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54.

² See *Avviso of April 7, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 129, Vatican Library.

³ See the *Avvisi of January 9 and 13, and April 30, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 12, 15b, 170, Vatican Library. See also GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54.

which like the first were protected by special bulls.¹

All, even the Cardinals, were astonished that, in spite of this, sums of money were still being accumulated,² the future collection of which was discussed from every point of view, as the Pope did not wish further to burden the people.³ At the consistory of January 23rd, 1589, Sixtus V. was able to announce that the fourth million would soon have been collected, but that this was not to be tied like the earlier ones, and would be left at the free disposal of his successor. But as soon as it was complete, it was decided in the consistory of April 12th, 1589, that this fourth million was to be kept in the ancient treasury of the Castle of St. Angelo, but separate from the other three, which were in the secret treasury.⁴ This was the round domed chamber in the centre of the Borgia Tower in the Castle of St. Angelo, which had already served as a treasury in the time of Paul III.⁵ To this day the visitor to St. Angelo may see three large coffers, in walnut bound with iron, of different sizes. That in the middle bears the initials of Julius II., the other two being those which, according to the accounts, were made in the time of Sixtus V. The largest of these coffers was made by the celebrated architect, Domenico Fontana ;⁶ at the death of Sixtus V. these chests

¹ The bulls of November 6, 1587, and April 27, 1588, in Bull VIII., 939 *seqq.*, IX., 1 *seqq.* Cf. Acta consist., 853 *seqq.*; GULIK. EUBEL, III., 54. *Avviso of December 2, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 461, Vatican Library.

² *" Congessit usque modo in castellum s. Angeli S.D.N. tres millones auri et quotidie pecuniam aggregat et omnes cardinales admirantur, et nemo illorum novit, quare fiat, licet a multo tempore sciant non fuisse factum " writes Sporeno, April 25, 1588 (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck).

³ See *Avviso of January 21, 1589, according to which the Pope had said " che li 4 milioni d'oro, che S. B. ha in Castello, sono una insalata rispetto al suo urgentissimo bisogno, onde ogniuno resta ammirato " (Urb. 1057, p. 27, Vatican Library).

⁴ Acta consist. 863. Cf. BONANNI, I., 388.

⁵ See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 575.

⁶ See CERASOLI in *Studi e docum.*, XIII., 306, and FR. TOMASETTI in the *N. Antologia*, CXXIX. (1907), 717 *seqq.*, where there is

contained three million gold scudi. Besides this there were 1,159,543 silver scudi, and the total value of the sum deposited amounted to five and a half million silver scudi, as the gold was worth 20 per cent. more than the silver.¹

It is only possible fully to understand the satisfaction felt by Sixtus V. at such a result of his financial policy,² when it is remembered that the Emperor Rudolph II., Henry III. of France, and Philip II. of Spain, were, in spite of their large revenues, in great want of money. With the millions which he had deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo the Pope had become the richest prince in Europe, in so far as it may be said that he is the richest who at any given moment, has at his disposal, rather than any other prince, the sum which he requires to meet the needs of the moment, and carry out the projects which he forms.³

If Sixtus V. willingly spoke to the Cardinals, ambassadors and envoys of the large sums of money which he had at his disposal, this was, besides a certain natural complacency, due to a calculated policy. He wished it to be known, not only that he was rich, but that he intended to remain so. He was therefore very reluctant to make concessions and subsidies, and if he promised any, it was always with the condition that the money was to be paid in certain definite circumstances, namely, only when certain definite results had been obtained. This was the case with Philip II. on the occasion of the expedition against England, with the Duke of Savoy when he was forced by the French government to

also a picture of the “ casse forti ” of Sixtus V. There is a better representation in P. SCHUBRING, *Cassoni. Truhen und Truhenbilder*, Leipzig, 1915, tav. CLXV. Cf. also TELLUCINI in *Riv. ital. di numismat.*, 1910 and 1912.

¹ See COPPI, *Finanze*, 10 *seq.*, and CERACOLI, *loc. cit.*, 304, 314 *seq.*

² Cf. *Acta consist.* 869 *seq.* On February 21, 1590, the Pope visited the treasury at the Castle of St. Angelo; see *Avviso of that date, Urb. 1058, p. 74, Vatican Library.

³ See HÜBNER, I., 342 *seq.*; BALZANI, *Sisto V.* 31. Cf. *Avviso of January 27, 1590, Urb. 1058, Vatican Library.

postpone his attack on Geneva, and with Henry III. during the Huguenot War.¹ If the diplomatic representatives of the princes, who were always in need of money, complained of such a Pope, this was, from their point of view, as intelligible as was their curiosity as to the purpose which he had in view in accumulating such large sums.²

Even contemporaries, and still more recent critics, pointed out the losses due to the withdrawal of such sums from circulation.³ It was not, however, such an exceptional thing as has been maintained⁴ that Sixtus V. should have kept a treasure in the Castle of St. Angelo to meet serious dangers. In reality such a course meant nothing more than the formation of a reserve fund, such as to-day every well-ordered institution must keep in its strong-room.⁵

The celebrated treasure of the Castle of St. Angelo, which was immortalized by medals,⁶ gave Sixtus V. a great confidence in his own power, and an unwonted esteem among the princes. By the help of this he was able to face every urgent need of the Church and of his States, and energetically defend the Catholic faith, whether it were threatened by the Protestants or the Turks.

¹ See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.* Cf. PIERLING, II., 313.

² Cf. the *report of Sporeno of April 22, 1589. Provincial Archives. Innsbruck.

³ An *Avviso of December 11, 1585, remarks that the millions deposited in the Castle of St. Angelo had caused a shortage of money (Urb. 1053, p. 524, Vatican Library).

⁴ RANKE, *Päpste*, I⁸., 306.

⁵ See FR. TOMASSETTI in the *N. Antologia*, CXXIX., 717. See also SEB. BRUNNER, *Italien*, II., 195, and E. PINCHIA, *Una pagina memorabile del papato (Sisto V.)*, Portici, 1903, 14.

⁶ See ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 491, 493.

CHAPTER III.

REFORMS IN THE CHURCH—THE POPE AND THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS—THE JESUITS.

THE same great severity which Sixtus V. showed as ruler of the Papal States, was also displayed by him as supreme head of the Church. When, immediately after his election, Cardinal Santori, speaking of the internal reform of the Church, reminded him of the example of Paul IV. and Pius V.,¹ this was all the more pleasing to the new Pope, as he always held Pius V. in the greatest veneration. The reform party was of the opinion that he would surpass even that saintly Pope, as he was by nature far more energetic.²

From the very beginning of his pontificate Sixtus V. trod completely in the footsteps of Pius V. in ecclesiastical matters, beginning with Rome itself. During the closing years of the aged Gregory XIII. some of the ancient abuses had once more crept in, even among the clergy; these Sixtus V. was determined to eradicate. On July 29th, 1585, two experienced bishops, Filippo Sega of Piacenza, a friend of Charles Borromeo, and Giulio Otinelli of Castro, were ordered to make a visitation of all the churches and colleges of Rome.³ Cesare Speciani, Bishop of Novara, was also summoned to take part in the

¹ See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 164. Cf. the letter of Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi to the Cardinals on the renewal of the Church, August 3, 1586, published by VAUSSARD in *Rev. d'ascétique et de mystique*, V. (1924), 159 seq.

² See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Cf. also the *report of Giulio Masetti of May 15, 1585, State Archives, Modena.

³ See Acta consist. 842 seq. Cf. *Avviso of July 27, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

preliminary consultations.¹ Both he and Sega had carried out the reform of their own dioceses very effectively under Gregory XIII.,² so that they were well fitted for their new task. They at once presented to the Pope a detailed scheme of their suggestions for the reform of the Roman clergy, the Papal court, and the city of Rome,³ and began their work during the summer.⁴

How thoroughly their work was done is shown by the fact that among other things all clerics who held benefices were examined minutely as to their personal affairs.⁵ When, in the spring of 1586, Sega was sent to the Imperial court, Sixtus V. appointed a new reform commission, composed of six persons.⁶ On November 16th, 1587, the Pope was able to announce in the consistory that the Roman clergy of every

¹ *Avviso of June 28, 1585, *ibid.*

² See MORONI, XLVIII., 135, LXIII., 203.

³ "Questi Monsignori Riformatori nuovamente deputati furono hieri l'altro con N.S. a cui portarono una minuta delle cose che per hora pareva che havessero più bisogno di riforma." Report of Capilupi, dat. Rome, July 31, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The views of Sega are preserved in Ottob. 2473, p. 58. *Parere del vescovo di Piacenza intorno al modo di trattare la riforma di Roma (Vatican Library). This proposes to place the matter in the hands of Cardinals Savelli, Santori and Farnese, and to set up congregations to deal with each subject, a method which, to all appearance, seemed to Sixtus V. too slow.

⁴ See *Avviso of August 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library. For the visitation of the German College see STEINHUBER, I., 170 *seq.*, for that to the Anima, SCHMIDLIN, 423. The *Relatio status collegii Graeci de urbe ad Sixtum V., in Vat. 5526; the *Relatio status collegii Maronitici in Vat. 5528, Vatican Library. *Acta concerning the visitation of the Roman Seminary in the archives of that seminary. For the visitation of the Lateran basilica, see Gualterius, *Ephemerides, October 5, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

⁵ See *Avviso of December 14, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

⁶ The *Avviso of August 23, 1586, mentions as members of the commission: S. Severina (Santori), Lancelotti, Caetani, Torres, Celso and Borghese. Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

degree had now been changed for the better, so that the Eternal City could with truth be described as the Holy City.¹ At the consistory on April 12th, 1589, he praised the Cardinals for the piety which they had shown during Lent.²

In 1585 Sixtus V. appointed the Auditor of the Rota, Ippolito Aldobrandini, as Datary, and later on, in September, 1587, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta.³ The fact that, in conferring this important office, the Pope had passed over his nephew, was much praised.⁴ The delegates of the Datary were given serious warning to the effect that Sixtus V. desired them, as his own servants, to be an example to others.⁵ What a severe view the Pope took above all things of anything that savoured of simony, was shown by his instituting an inquiry against the Datary of Gregory XIII., Cardinal Contarelli, who had died on November 28th, 1585, but who had quite undeservedly fallen under suspicion.⁶ By a constitution of January 5th, 1589, the bishops were enjoined, under severe penalties, to avoid any sort of simony or other irregularity in conferring orders.⁷ On November 26th, 1587, and on October 21st, 1588, Sixtus V. renewed and made more strict the canonical constitutions against illegitimacy and other forms of irregularity, nor did he fail in enforcing them.⁸

With regard to the accumulation of benefices, too, Sixtus V.

¹ See Acta consist., 854.

² See *ibid.*, 863.

³ See MORONI, XIX., 135.

⁴ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See *Avviso of January 27, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

⁶ See the *Avvisi of July 16 and August 20, 1786, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. What evidently contributed to the suspicion was the circumstance that Contarelli, as an "oltramontano," as is stated by an Avviso of August 20, 1586, was hated by the Italians, who could not forgive him his rapid promotion. Cf. HERRE, 296.

⁷ Bull. IX., 63 *seq.* Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 179.

⁸ See EHSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 453 n. Cf. SANTORI, *loc. cit.* The constitution was so severe that Gregory XIV. had to mitigate it; see Bull., IX., 392 *seq.*

wished to hold rigorously everywhere to the canonical regulations ; in Germany, however, both in this and in other matters, he as well as his representatives, had to allow relaxations so as to avoid greater evils.¹

In the visitation of Rome the Pope directed his special attention to the reform of the regular clergy.² As early as August, 1585, plans were under discussion as to the best way to deal with the wandering about of religious outside their monasteries.³ It was only in May, 1586, at a meeting held under the presidency of Cardinal Carafa, that a resolution was arrived at which seemed likely to put an end to this abuse.⁴

The visitation of the Roman convents was carried out with equal minuteness and severity.⁵ Above all, the enclosure was made more strict by a severe edict,⁶ the provisions of which were rigorously insisted upon, even when such powerful princes as the Grand Duke of Tuscany intervened.⁷ In October, 1588, a prohibition was issued for Rome against any religious using a carriage in the city.⁷ The ambassador of Venice reports that in the spring of 1590 there was an example in Rome of the terrible severity of Sixtus V. ; a religious who had had guilty relations with a nun, was executed, and the nun, though she belonged to a noble family, shared the same fate.⁹

¹ Cf. HIRN, II., 398 *seq.* and BEZOLD in *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1897, 312.

² Cf. the *Avvisi of July 27, 1585, and August 23, 1586, Urb. 1053 and 1054, Vatican Library.

³ See the *report of Capilupi of August 19, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of August 28, 1595, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library. Cf. Gaulterius, *Ephemerides, August 16, 1585, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

⁴ See *Avviso of May 7, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

⁵ See *Avviso of February 14, 1587, Urb. 1055, *ibid.*

⁶ See *Avviso of October 19, 1588, Urb. 1056, *ibid.*

⁷ See *Avviso of October 21, 1589, Urb. 1057, *ibid.*

⁸ See *Ottob. 2461, p. 454 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

⁹ See the *report of Alb. Badoer, dat. Rome, April 14, 1590. State Archives, Venice.

A similar procedure was followed in other places besides Rome. The Pope made use of a Theatine for the reform of the monasteries of Salerno, suggested by the indefatigable Cardinal Santori.¹ Very characteristic of the reputation for severity borne by Sixtus V. is the story which is told to this day at Terracina, that he pulled down a relaxed monastery on Monte S. Angelo.² How inexorable his procedure was is shown by the acta of the visitation of the Dominican convents in the Kingdom of Naples.³ In the city of Naples,⁴ as elsewhere, e.g. at Ferrara,⁵ it was the convents of nuns that were principally aimed at, where the enclosure was badly observed. The religious of the monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga near Venice were urged by the Pope to a stricter observance of their vow of poverty.⁶ The superior of the Cassinese Benedictine Congregation was charged in 1586 to reform the convents at Ragusa.⁷ In 1589 the Archbishop of Milan was ordered to enforce the enclosure in all the houses of nuns in his diocese.⁸ In the same year the Pope charged the Bishops of Calahorra and Palencia to restore the relaxed discipline by making a visitation of all the monasteries in their dioceses.⁹

Two years earlier he had revoked all the permissions granted

¹ See SANTORI, *Autobiografía*, XIII., 185.

² See CHR. GMEINER in *Hist. pol. Blattern*, CXIX., 332.

³ *Acta visitationis apost. fratrum ord. praedic. in regno Siciliae de mandato Sixti V. Vat. 6546, Vatican Library.

⁴ See SANTORI, *Autobiografía*, XIII., 188 *seq.*

⁵ See Bull., IX., 248 *seq.*

⁶ See Bull., VIII., 651 *seq.* Cf. the reform ordinance of Sixtus V. of March 12, 1586, in *Bull. can. reg. congreg. S. Salvatoris*, Rome, 1733, 170 *seq.*

⁷ See the *brief to the "praeses congreg. Cassinins." of May, 1586, Archives of Briefs, Rome. For the reform of the Basilian monks near Ragusa, 1588, see GUILLAUME, *L'Abbaye de Cava, Cava de' Tirreni*, 1877, 324.

⁸ See Bull., VIII., 337 *seq.*

⁹ See the *briefs to the "episc. Calagurit." and to "Ferdinand. episc. Palentin." April 15, 1589 (sent by order of Sixtus V. on May 16), Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 137b, Papal Secret Archives.

by preceding Popes to enter the enclosure of Spanish nuns.¹ The visitation of the convents of Portuguese nuns was entrusted in 1585 to the bishops of that country.² A constitution of 1589 was directed against the abuses that had crept into Portugal in connexion with the celebration of Holy Week.³ The Pope had already interfered in Rome in the case of similar abuses.⁴ Everywhere, in Spain⁵ as well as in far off Peru, he insisted on the observance of the Tridentine decrees.⁶ His efforts to get them at last accepted in France were unfortunately destined to remain fruitless.⁷

The higher clergy were by no means spared by Sixtus V. ; thus, in 1586, the unworthy Bishop of Catania, Vincenzo de Cultellis, was removed from his office.⁸ The Pope especially insisted on the observance of the Tridentine decree concerning the residence of bishops. The edict on this subject of October, 1585, was expressed in the strongest terms ; no one was to be excepted from this obligation.⁹ A similar ordinance was also

¹ See Bull., VIII., 258 *seq.* For the reform of the convents in Spain 1586-1588, *cf.* also Vita di Msgr. Ces. Speciani, Bergamo, 1786, 112 *seq.*

² See Bull., VIII., 244 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.* 343 *seq.*

⁴ See the edict of March 1, 1588, mentioned by Gualterius in his *Ephemerides. *Cf. ibid.* April 14, 1588. Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

⁵ See Bull., VIII., 275 *seq.*

⁶ See Bull., VIII., 96 *seq.*

⁷ *Cf.* further, *infra*, pp. 302 *seq.* For the ecclesiastical visitation of Avignon see the *briefs of September 13, 1588, to the local authority, the archbishop and the clergy, Arm. 44, t. 29, pp. 53b, 58. Papal Secret Archives.

⁸ See RODOCANACHI, La Réforme en Italie, II., Paris, 1921, 427.

⁹ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, October 25, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. *Cf.* the *reports of Capilupi of October 30 and Nov. 1, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, *Avviso of November 2, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library, and the *letter of Sporeno of November 9, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

urgently pressed on several other occasions,¹ and had very salutary effects. The Pope insisted that even the Cardinals must observe the duty of residence as far as possible.² At the beginning of 1587 he again urgently reminded parish-priests of this duty.³ On August 23rd, 1586, Sixtus V. issued a noble exhortation to the superiors and students of all the seminaries, in which he brought out how the Holy See had always embraced all nations with the same affection.⁴

A decision of great importance concerned the regular visits to be paid by the bishops to Rome. This salutary custom had to a great extent fallen into disuse after the disturbance of the great schism.⁵ Pius V. had sought to reintroduce it, but without success.⁶ Charles Borromeo, the great reformer, had again enjoined this ancient custom in 1582, in the sixth synod of Milan, but his constitution was naturally limited to Milan.

¹ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, loc. cit.; *Avvisi of March 19 and 22, 1586, and November 15, 1589, Urb. 1054 and 1057, Vatican Library. Cf. Lettere di Bernardo Baldi, Parma, 1875, 28. In Castille the clergy protested against a brief of Sixtus V., in that for breaches of the obligation of residence he imposed more severe penalties than those laid down by the Council of Trent, see SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de España, I., Rome, 1915, 52. The Bishop of Como, Fel. Ninguarda, was very active; cf. Atti di visita pastorale diocesana di F. Ninguarda P 1, Como, 1892-1894.

² See the *Avvisi of January 14, 1587, and January 31, 1590, Urb. 1055 and 1058, Vatican Library, and Bull., VIII., 1023 seq.

³ See the *report of Attilio Malegnani of January 17, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, in App. n. 12.

⁴ *Brevia Sixti V. in Arm. 44, t. 30, n. 52, p. 231; "Praefectis et alumnis nostrorum et aliorum cath. seminariorum" (Papal Secret Archives); text in App. n. 8. For the interest taken by Sixtus V. in the colleges of the various nations in Rome see ENSES-MEISTER, I., 104; for the subsidy of Sixtus V. to the seminary of Venice, PIERLING, II., 314.

⁵ See the accurate description of I. PATER, Die bischöfl. Visitatio liminum ss. Apostolorum, Paderborn, 1914, 80 seqq.

⁶ See *ibid.*, 86 seq., 88 seq.

It was reserved for the great organizer, Sixtus V., to extend this reform to the whole Church.

At the end of November, 1585, the news ran through Rome that the Pope intended to renew the *Visitatio liminum SS. apostolorum*, or the regular visits of the bishops to the tomb of the Apostles.¹ About a month later, on December 20th, the bull which prepared the way for this made its appearance.²

Beginning with a statement of the supreme authority of the Pope over all the bishops, and the obvious usefulness of a regular system of information, the Pope, in the introduction to this document, bitterly laments that so salutary and necessary a custom had fallen into disuse, some adducing one pretext and others another, to the great harm of their own souls and of their dioceses. To the abandonment of this salutary custom Sixtus V. directly attributes the origin and spread of the most dangerous heterodox doctrines by which the Church had been disturbed and the garment of Christ torn. Inspired therefore by the heavy responsibilities of his office as supreme pastor, he renews the ordinance that all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and even the Cardinals, before they receive consecration or the pallium, or before they undertake the charge of a new diocese, must personally, and within a definite period, visit the *Limina Apostolorum*. In the case of their being prevented by good reasons, they may send a representative from their chapter, or some other ecclesiastical dignitary, who only in a case of necessity may be replaced by some other priest or religious of the diocese. At the same time the Pope for the first time gives definite though brief instructions as to what was, besides the *obedientia*, undoubtedly the most important part of the visit to the tomb of the Apostles; the bishops must, on this occasion, make a

¹ See the *report of Capilupi, Rome, November 30, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See Bull., VIII., 611, *seq.* The bull has also been printed several times elsewhere e.g. in LUCIDI, *De visitatione s. liminum instructio S. C. Concilii edita iussu Benedicti XIII. exposita et illustrata*, III., Rome, 1883, 1 *seq.*, and in CAPELLO, *De visitatione ss. liminum dioeceseon*. I., Rome, 1912, 9 *seq.*

report as to all their pastoral duties, and as to everything concerning the state of the church entrusted to them, the discipline of clergy and people, and lastly the state of the souls entrusted to their care, and in return receive the apostolic mandate to fulfil their duty as carefully as possible. At the same time Sixtus V. lays down the period of time for these visits to Rome, according to the distance of the dioceses. The bishops of Italy, the neighbouring islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and of Dalmatia and Greece, must undertake this journey every three years; the Germans, French, Spaniards, Belgians, Bohemians, Hungarians, English, Scottish, Irish, and other European bishops of the north and west, and those of the Mediterranean islands, every four years; those of other more distant regions of Europe, of the African coasts, and of the islands on the eastern side of the American continent, every five years; all the others every ten years. Any who failed to fulfil this grave duty were to be at once suspended, and forfeit their revenues until they had obtained absolution.

This regular appearance of all the bishops or their representatives before the Pope, which was brought about by the renewal and restoration of the visits to Rome, was intended to give him exact information as to the religious conditions of all the nations, and at making possible a more practical and well-informed intervention in every religious development. At the same time the new ordinance caused the bishops to keep a closer watch over the spiritual welfare of their subjects, and urged them to a keener sense of duty.¹ It is obvious how important all this was for bringing the bishops into more intimate contact with their supreme head, and for bringing about a deeper and more uniform transformation of religious conditions, in accordance with the spirit of the Tridentine decrees.² Its salutary effects were very quickly seen, especially in Germany, where the great development of the

¹ See SCHMIDLIN, XIX. *seq.*

² See PATER, *loc. cit.*, 6; DENGEL in *Quellen u. Forsch. zur Gesch. Tirols*, IV. (1907), 311.

Church coincides with the putting into force of this decree.¹ Thus this enactment of Sixtus V. forms a turning point and a powerful factor of Catholic reform, the importance of which can never be sufficiently appreciated.²

Sixtus V. was no less firmly convinced of the importance of the nuncios than his predecessor. Among the papers of his secretary there was found the draft of some instructions for the representatives of the Holy See at the foreign courts, which shows the ideas prevalent at that time in the Curia, and the efforts that were made to cope with the needs of the times. The nuncio, these instructions state, must carefully inform himself as to his duties, and study the history of the nation to which he is sent, as well as the correspondence of his predecessor. The representative of the Holy See is also urged to exercise care in the choice of his suite, some of whom should belong to the nation to which he is going, to employ courtesy

¹ Cf. more fully Vol. XXII. of this work, chapter II. Philip II. negotiated with Sixtus V. that the Spanish bishops might not be obliged to make their visit ad Limina in person. The acta concerning this, for the years 1586-1589 in the archives of the Spanish embassy, Rome; see SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de Espana, 1., 52. *Lettera del archvescovo della città dei Re nell' Indie to the Pope, September 8, 1588. Dimanda licenza di visitare limina Apostolorum per procuratore in Roma. Et perche la sua diocesi è grandissima et non gli vuol manco di sette anni a visitarla, supplica che li sia concesso tanto tempo. Ha consecrato il vescovo di Panama con l'assistentia di tre canonici, essendo difficilissimo haver altri vescovi per la grande lontanaza, et questo ha fatto fondato sul privilegio concesso per breve da Pio 4^{to} alle Indie di poter far la consacrazione con l'assistenza di due dignità o di due canonici; anchora che l'eletto di Panama havesse presentato la bolla spedita da Roma nella forma solita, nella quale si diceva che consecrasse con l'assistenza di dui vescovi, nella qual bolla poiche non si faceva mentione del privilegio di Pio 4^{to} ne se gli derogasse, per consiglio de iuristi et di theologi, usò del privilegio del breve. Per l'avvenire desidera dechiaratione come si havrà da governare in simili occasioni per securità di sua coscienza . . . Princ. 46 p. 448, Papal Secret Archives.

² See SCHMIDLIN, XX.

and kindness to all, and to show modesty and prudence in his relations with the court. He must combine dignity with zeal, severity with gentleness; he must be severe with himself, and above all lead a life of piety, often saying mass, and several times a year giving communion to those about him. Besides living in as much retirement as possible, the nuncio is urged to be completely disinterested. He must aim at neither benefices nor honours, he must give his support to good works, and live in accordance with his rank, though without any worldly pomp. Questions of religion must always take the first place in his interests, and he must often and truthfully send reports as to these to Rome.¹

Sixtus V. must be given the credit for having reintroduced the feast of the Presentation of Our Lady (November 21st).² It was he, too, who in 1587, by the granting of an indulgence, gave to the so-called Litanies of Loreto, which are so beautiful, and drawn from the Marian poetry of the Middle Ages, their pre-eminence over other similar prayers.³

At the very beginning of his pontificate he had prohibited all applause in church.⁴ It was an imposture which a hermit allowed himself in connexion with a crucifix, which led the

¹ *The minute in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello. With regard to the use of the faculties, it is stated: *Se ha facultà di collationi et di dispense et di simili gratie come tutti ordinariamente hanno eccetto il Nuntio in Francia la adoperi con carità et gravità et non solo senza avaritia, ma con odio di guadagnare proponendosi per grandissimo honore il ritornar niente più ricco di quello che era quando vi andò. The greediness for money on the part of the nuncios contributed to the beginnings of the religious innovations.

² See BÄUMER, 480.

³ Cf. A. DE SANTI, *Les Litanies de la s. Vierge*, trad. par A. Boudinhon, Paris, 1901, 205. Santi shows that the actual text of the Litany of Loreto appeared for the first time in 1576 in a vademecum for pilgrims to Loreto.

⁴ The date missing in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54 (May 17, 1585) is clear from the *Ephemerides of Gualterius, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

Pope to order its being broken in pieces.¹ An important step towards the revival of religious life in Rome, was the restoration of the ancient custom by which the Pope himself celebrated High Mass in the various principal churches of the Eternal City on the more solemn festivals. A bull of February 13th, 1586, regulated this practice in detail. The custom by which the Pope inaugurated his pontificate by the promulgation of an extraordinary Jubilee to implore the divine assistance was also due to Sixtus V.²

In 1586 the Pope celebrated the canonization of the Dominican, Louis Bertrand,³ and in 1588 that of the Franciscan lay-brother, Diego de Alcalà.⁴ Just as Pius V. had added St. Thomas Aquinas to the four Doctors of the Church, so did Sixtus V. confer the same extraordinary honour on his fellow Franciscan, St. Bonaventure. In the bull of March 14th, 1588, which announced this, he spoke of that great scholastic as one of the greatest and most brilliant doctors who shone in the Church.⁵ To promote the study of the works of Bonaventure the Pope set up at SS. Apostoli in Rome, the college named after that saint, which was to serve as a house of studies for the Franciscan Conventuals.⁶ The Pope felt

¹ From this came the proverb: *Papa Sisto non la perdonó neppure a Cristo.* (BESSO, *Roma nei proverbi*, Rome, 1889, 141).

² See MORONI, VIII., 141, *seq.*, 210.

³ See *Acta consist.* 846. *Cf.* *Avviso of June 25, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

⁴ See besides the **Diarium Alaleonis*, July 2, 1586 (Vatican Library), the **Avvisi* of June 13 and July 2, 1588, Urb. 1056, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RAYNALDUS, 1436, n. 25; Bull., IX., 8 *seq.*; BONNANI, I., 407; BREMOND, 271 *seq.*

⁵ Bull., VIII., 1005 *seq.* *Cf.* **Diarium Alaleonis*, March 14, 1588, Vatican Library. LAMMER, *Melet.*, 232 *seq.*; SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 179. See also KNELLER in *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.*, 1916, 39. The allocation of Sixtus V. at the consistory of October 12, 1587, in *Acta consist.* 853 *seq.*, and in compendium in *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, XI., 853 *seq.*

⁶ See MORONI, XIV., 150 *seq.*, LXXV., 228, LXXXV., 193; HOLZAPFEL, 605. The "Constitutiones collegii S. Bonaven-

his connexion with the Order to which he had belonged so strongly that he would often, in his private apartments, put on once more the habit of St. Francis.¹ He showed his interest in and his zeal for the work of the Poverello of Assisi by numerous favours and concessions to Franciscan institutions, and by preference promoted Franciscans to bishoprics.² But however much inclined he was to that Order, he did not for that reason neglect the others. The Feuillants, who had sprung from the Cistercians, owed their approbation to him, as did the Augustinian Hermits of Centorba, the Hospitallers of St. Hippolytus, the Clerks Regular Minor, and the Fathers of a Good Death.³

To the Feuillants, who were distinguished for their great austerity, the Pope assigned a convent of their own near S. Pudenziana.⁴ He allowed the Fathers of a Good Death to collect alms in the Eternal City. The life of the founder of that congregation, which did so much for both bodies and souls in the hospitals and private houses, is closely bound up with Rome. Its beginnings were very chequered. Born in the year of Jubilee, 1550, at Bucchianico in the Abruzzi, not

turæ" in the *Miscell. Valenti, 846, n. 1, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, and in WADDING, XXII., 190-194. The revenues and the library were seized by the Italian government in 1873.

¹ Cf. *Sixtus V. P. M., Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. *ibid.* See also HOLZAPFEL, 426, 454, 554, 599, 677 and SPARACIO, 95, *seqq.* The bull forbidding the Observants to enter the Order of the Capuchins in Bull. VIII., 657 *seq.* *Ibid.* 931 *seq.* confirmation of the privileges of the Observants. For the favour shown to the Minims see D. TACCONE-GALLUCCI, *Monografia del santuario di S. Francesco di Paola, Reggio di Calabria*, 1901, 25.

³ Cf. Bull. VIII., 700 *seq.*, 945 *seq.*, IX., 5 *seq.*; HEIMBUCHER, I., 241, 453, 496, II., 264, 270. The Theatines, who had hitherto been governed by their chapter, were ordered by Sixtus V. to elect a General. The Pope also showed favour to the Barnabites; see, *Litt. et constit. Summorum Pontificum pro congreg. cler. regul. S. Pauli*, Rome, 1853, 56 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*

⁴ See *Avviso of September 12, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

far from Chieti, Camillus of Lellis,¹ the son of a noble soldier in the service of Charles V., having become an orphan, himself embraced a military career. For seven years he took part in the war against the Turks in the service of the Republic of Venice. Although he remained unharmed by the cruel pillaging and the moral excesses to which the wild soldiery who had been recruited for that purpose gave themselves up, yet during that period he acquired such a passion for the vice of gambling that he lost all he possessed. Having fallen into the greatest poverty he was driven at last to seek a livelihood as a labourer on the building of the Capuchin convent at Manfredonia. This humiliation, added to the example of the Capuchins, made him enter into himself. He entered the Order, but the reopening of a wound in his foot, on account of which he had already been in the hospital of S. Giacomo, obliged his superiors to send him away. He then went for the second time to the same hospital, where, after his cure, he held various offices during four years. During this time he was brought into close contact with Philip Neri, and resolved once more to join the Capuchins, but as his wound again broke out, he had once more to be sent away. He returned to the hospital of S. Giacomo, and there filled the office of house-porter. The heartless treatment of the invalids by the infirmarians, whom it was his duty to assist, led him to form the idea of founding an association of infirmarians, who should take charge of their poor suffering brethren from the love of God alone. So that they might be able to assist the sick, not only corporally but also spiritually, the association

¹ For Camillus of Lellis *cf.* the works of Sanzio Cicutelli (Viterbo, 1615, and Naples, 1627; republished by Pantaleone Dolera 1742, 1837 and 1882 [Engl. transl., London, 1850]), Dom Regi (Naples, 1676), Luis Muñoz (Madrid, 1693), Guardi (Rome, 1846, German translation, Ratisbon, 1858), Trambusti (Rome, 1860), Justin Fèvre (Paris, 1885), Wilh. Baumker (Frankfort a.M., 1887), M. Amici (Mem. stor. intorno S. Camillo de Lellis, Rome, 1913), and the beautiful biography published for the third centenary of the saint's death by the German Fathers of St. Camillus, Freiburg, 1914.

was to be formed of priests and laymen. For that purpose, though he was thirty-two years of age, Camillus resolved to begin his studies, and in 1584 was ordained priest; he was given the office of chaplain in the little church of S. Maria dei Miracoli in the Piazza del Popolo. There he founded, with others of like ideas as himself, an association of infirmarians. Cardinal Cusano, the protector of the hospital of S. Giacomo, as well as Philip Neri, did not approve of this; they wished to retain the valuable services of Camillus for that hospital. When the latter remained firm in his purpose, Philip Neri gave up his spiritual direction, and referred him to another father of the Oratory. Camillus bore this trial with the utmost submission, and went on with his work, though he was once more hampered by an illness. He was given a house in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure by the Lombard, Pompeo Barattelli,¹ which was not exposed to the inundations of the Tiber, as was that where he had hitherto dwelt. In 1585 he removed thither with his company. Camillus now added to the duties imposed upon the members of his society the obligation of giving corporal and above all spiritual assistance in the hour of death to those who were ill in private houses. The ready charity and self-sacrifice with which Camillus and his companions fulfilled this office won for them from the people the honourable title of the "Fathers of a Good Death."

Camillus had carried on his labours for two years when, through the influence of Cardinal Laureo his congregation received the Papal approbation. In the brief issued by Sixtus V. on March 18th, 1586, it is said that among all the works of Christian charity none is more pleasing to the Divine Redeemer than the assistance of the poor and abandoned sick in the hospitals, and that Camillus and his companions had devoted themselves to that task with the zeal and charity that only a mother can show for her children. Since these men wish to lead a common life in poverty, chastity and obedience, without binding themselves by vow, in order to serve God and the sick, the Pope approves and confirms their society under the name of the "Congregation for the assistance

¹ Cf. AMICI, Mem. stor., 14 seq., 16.

of the sick," and permits them to collect alms in Rome, and if they are approved by the Cardinal Vicar, to hear the confessions of the sick in the hospitals.¹ On June 26th of the same year the Pope further authorized the members to bear a red cross upon their mantles.

When Camillus had been chosen head of the congregation by an unanimous vote, he obtained in 1586, through the influence of Felice Colonna, a larger building near the church of the Maddelena,² which has remained the mother house of the congregation. At Naples, where Camillus founded a second house in 1588, his society had at once to pass through the ordeal of fire, for in the same year the plague broke out there.³ The "Fathers of a Good Death" were even more severely taxed in the years that followed the death of Sixtus V., when Rome was visited by the terrible pestilence. It is easy to understand how, later on, Camillus of Lellis, together with Philip Neri, was venerated as the protector of Rome.

Although the attempt made by Sixtus V. to effect a union between the Franciscan Observants and the Capuchins, together with the other reformed branches of the Order, failed,⁴ just as formerly similar attempts made by Pius V. had failed, the Pope nevertheless remained very favourably inclined towards the Capuchins.⁵ Together with the other excellent qualities which distinguished these friends of the people, he openly and in a special way valued the fact that their theologians almost entirely followed the teaching of

¹ See Bull., VIII., 669 *seq.*

² Cf. AMICI, Mem. stor., 213.

³ Cf. F. CEVA-GRIMALDI, Della città di Napoli, Naples, 1857.

⁴ See HOLZAPFEL, 311. An *Avviso of March 1, 1586 reports the fears entertained from this union, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

⁵ For the relations of Sixtus V. with the Capuchins *cf.*, besides BOVERIUS, II., 949 *seq.*, Bull. Capucc., II., 286, 337 *seq.*, 367, III., 117, *seq.* For the great increase of the members of the Capuchin Order *cf.* the letter of May 27, 1587 in *Lettere di B. Baldi*, Parma, 1873, 40.

St. Bonaventure.¹ Among the many holy men who at that time were to be found in the Capuchin Order,² three stood out in particular: Girolamo da Narni, Felice da Cantalice and Giuseppe da Leonessa. Girolamo Mantini da Narni,³ in company with Panigarola the Minorite, and the Jesuit Toledo, was renowned as a preacher. These three on several occasions had the honour of preaching before the Pope and the Cardinals⁴.

Felice da Cantalice,⁵ who came from the mountains of Umbria, and was born in 1515, had until he was thirty years of age led the hard life of a husbandman in that country. Having been happily saved from a grave danger of death from two mad bulls, he made a vow to enter the strict Order of the Capuchins. After he had passed through his year of probation in an exemplary way, he was finally admitted to the Order. His superiors sent him to Rome where he filled the difficult office of a begging brother. For about forty years, every day except Sundays and Festivals, Fra Felice could be met in the streets, with his wallet on his shoulders and the peace of God in his heart, and with only one reply for every little gift as well as for insults and mockery: the words "Deo Gratias," which are so frequently to be found in the Holy Scriptures

¹ See *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, VII², 130. For the "Summa ad mentem s. Bonaventuræ" by the Capuchin, Petrus Trigonus (I., Rome, 1593) see HURTER, *Nomenclator*, I., 46 seq.

² Cf. BOVERIUS, II., seqq.

³ For Girolamo Mantini (died 1632) cf. *Script. ord. Min., Rome*, 1650, 172; RANKE, II⁸, 298. *Predica fatta da Fra Girolamo Mantini da Narni, vicario generale dell'Ord. dei Cappuccini, nel palazzo Apost. nel venerdì della domenica II di quaresima, in Cod. ital. 70 p. 1-10, Munich Library.

⁴ Cf. the *report of Capilupi of December 7, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the Lenten sermons of Panigarola at St. Peter's, and the great crowds that he attracted, see the *report of Attilio Malegnani February 11 and 18, 1587, *ibid.* Cf. also BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 303 seq.

⁵ See MATH. SALO (O.C.), *Vita Felicis*; *Acta Sanct.*, Maii 21. Cf. AUG. DE LOSSI, *Vita*, Rome, 1712; CAPECELATRO, F. Neri, 266 seq.; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, III², 1915 seq.; GOYAU, *Figurines Franciscaines*, Paris, 1921.

and which the Church uses repeatedly at mass, and which were above all in use among the early Christians. Fra Felice was known throughout Rome as "Fra Deo Gratias," and with Philip Neri was the most original and popular figure in the city. The people realized the sanctity of this man, who had the humility and the glad serenity of St. Francis, and recommended themselves to his prayers, attributing to him the gifts of prophecy and of healing the sick. When he died on the Feast of Pentecost in 1587, an enormous crowd of people flocked to see his body, which was venerated as that of a saint.¹ Everyone wished to possess a relic of him. Sixtus V., too, was among the sincere admirers of this man so loved by God, and gave orders for the introduction and hastening of the process of his canonization. After this, he wished to have his mortal remains removed to S. Mary Major's.²

Two years after the death of Fra Felice, another Capuchin came to Rome, who became the object of a like veneration; this was Giuseppe da Leonessa, who had been born in 1556. Even as a novice he had been an example of the perfect religious; in 1587 his superiors sent him to Pera, where, a year before, the Jesuits, who were working there as missionaries, had been carried off by the plague. Together with two other religious, and filled with zeal for the spiritual well-being of the Catholics living there among the Mahometans, and of the Greek schismatics, as well as of the many prisoners, Giuseppe da Leonessa, following the example of St. Francis, conceived the daring idea of converting the sultan. Having fallen into the hands of the guards of the Grand Turk, he was

¹ See the *Avvisi of May 20, 23 and 27, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library (*cf.* ORBAAN, 296; DEJOB, 83), and the *letter of Malegnani of May 20, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See the *report of Malegnani of June 24, 1587, *ibid.* *Cf.* also the *Avviso of August 20, 1588, Urb. 1056, Vatican Library, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 178. The beatification of Felix did not take place until 1625, nor his solemn canonization by Clement XI. till 1712. His body is buried in the church of the Capuchins in Rome, S. Maria della Concezione, in the fourth chapel on the left side.

condemned to a slow and painful death ; for three days he remained hanging to a beam, with his left hand and his right foot fastened to it by chains. Having been miraculously released, he returned home with all the merits of martyrdom, which through no fault of his had not been consummated. Sixtus V. welcomed him with joy as a confessor of the name of Jesus. For another twenty years Giuseppe da Leonessa laboured as a preacher of penance in Umbria with true apostolic zeal, and the gifts of prophecy and healing the sick were attributed to him. Towards the end of his life, having been attacked by a terrible cancer, he had to submit to a double operation. When it was proposed to bind his limbs tightly for the purpose, he said, pointing to the crucifix : " There is the strongest of all bonds ; He will keep me without movement better than a cord." He died, as he had foretold, on February 4th, 1612.¹

The relations of Sixtus V. with the Jesuits call for a fuller account. With him there began for the Society of Jesus a period of disturbance when the ideas of the founder had to be defended against hostility and opposition even from within the Order itself.

The institute of Loyola meant something completely new in the religious life. In drawing up his rule, the actual constitution was never the decisive factor with Ignatius, but always its purpose, that is to say his intention of placing at the disposition of the Church a body of workers fitted for the actual and pressing needs of the pastoral life. Even though certain things had not yet found acceptance among any of the religious Orders, he nevertheless imposed them if they served that purpose. If on the other hand, other things had been accepted as laws by all the existing Orders, he left them out, if they were not adapted to that purpose. In this way he did not hesitate even in face of the accepted ecclesiastical law ;

¹ Giuseppe da Leonessa was beatified in 1737, and canonized by Benedict XIV. in 1746. For him see LECHNER, *Leben der Heiligen aus dem Kapuzinorden*, I., Munich, 1863, 81 *seqq.* ; ILG, *Geist des hl. Franziskus Seraph.*, II., Augsburg, 1879, 175 *seq.* ; *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, VI²., 1869 *seq.*

the Pope, he said, has the power of dispensing for the very purpose of providing a remedy in such cases. Even in the expressions he used may be seen this prudent attitude towards the ecclesiastical laws of the time. The Society of Jesus has no General Chapter, nor convents, nor abbots, nor priors, like the existing Orders, but in their place a General Congregation, colleges and houses, rectors and superiors; in the same way the language and the enactments of Canon Law hitherto in use could not be blindly applied in the case of the new Order. It was the Popes who, with far-sighted vision, welcomed the ideas of Loyola and made their fulfilment possible. Vincent of Paul, Alphonsus Liguori, and the founders of many missionary congregations of later times, followed on the same lines. It was to the great advantage of the Church that the ideas of Loyola met with approval, but it is easy to understand that it was only after a prolonged struggle that they were enabled to become established. The opposition arose above all from the ancient Orders, and it was certainly not chance alone that led all the Popes of the sixteenth century who were members of religious Orders to think that it was their duty to alter the work of Loyola in certain essential points; this was the case with the Theatine Paul IV., the Dominican Pius V., and as will be seen, the Franciscan Sixtus V.

From 1582 onwards it was above all certain Dominicans who, as though of set purpose, revived against the Jesuits the old attacks of their brother in religion, Melchior Cano.¹ Above all the attacks upon the vows of the Society of Jesus are of general importance because of their canonical effects.

From the time of the Middle Ages there had been a general distinction between simple vows, those which are of their very nature solemn and those which are so because of their special juridical effects. The vow of chastity, for example, if it was simple, only rendered marriage unlawful, but if it was solemn, also invalid. By taking a solemn vow of poverty, a man was rendered incapable of possessing anything, whereas if he had taken a simple vow of poverty the possession of property was only unlawful. St. Thomas Aquinas had taught that it was

¹ ASTRÁIN, III., I, 250-346.

essential to the religious state that the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience should be made solemnly ; Ignatius, on the other hand, introduced solemn vows into his Order only in the case of the professed, while for all the others, and especially the students, he only prescribed simple vows, though his institute was nevertheless a religious Order. Papal bulls had approved such an institute.

In 1582 it happened that a young Jesuit at Avila, the son of a distinguished family, after the death of his elder brother, left the Order and married. The fugitive found a defender in Diego Peredo, a professor of theology in the Dominican convent at Avila. Because of their simple vows, he maintained, the Jesuit students did not become religious. In the case of the violation of such vows, the superior of the Order had no right to interfere judicially, since any bishop could dispense from them.¹ Similar opinions were maintained at the University of Salamanca,² and accordingly the General of the Jesuits, Claudio Aquaviva, asked from Gregory XIII. a bull containing the express declaration that the students of the Jesuit Order, once they had taken their simple vows, were religious, and had been so in the past.³

Under the pretext that the Pope had spoken, not as the head of the Church, but as a private doctor, Peredo continued to uphold his view.⁴ Especially so as to prevent its spread in the universities of Spain, the Jesuits again made a complaint in Rome, so that the nuncio in Spain received orders to address a strongly worded warning to Peredo and to issue a brief condemning his thesis in the universities of Salamanca and Alcalà. Aquaviva replied to the complaints of the Dominican provincial, Cuevas,⁵ that if the views of Peredo prevailed, the Society of Jesus could no longer be considered an Order, but only a simple congregation or confraternity,

¹ *Ibid.*, 268 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 270.

³ Bull "Quanto fructuosius," February 1, 1583, Bull. VIII., 406 *seqq.* (the date of the bull there has been arbitrarily changed.)

⁴ ASTRAÍN, 271.

⁵ July 15, 1583, *ibid.* 276 *seq.*

and that nothing but the decision of the Pope could provide a remedy. Prompted by this conviction, Aquaviva obtained from Gregory XIII. the celebrated bull *Ascendente Domino* of May 25th, 1584,¹ which is of great importance, not only for the Jesuit Order, but for all canon law concerning religious. The simple vows of the Jesuits, this bull states, are true religious vows, and constitute true religious. Anyone who attacked the institute of the Society of Jesus, or called into question the decisions of the bull would fall at once under excommunication.

Peredo now maintained that the Papal bull had not been sufficiently promulgated, and with his supporters continued to make covert attacks upon the new Order, even after his Provincial had severely rebuked him for his obstinacy in the chapter. When Sixtus V. ascended the throne his hopes revived, and at the end of 1586 he went to Rome to take up once more the discussion of the controversy. On January 24th, 1590, a decree of the Inquisition laid it down that the theses standing in the name of Peredo which had been condemned had been justly rejected, but Peredo managed to get the condemnation pronounced against himself revoked, as those theses did not find a place in his writings.²

The questions at issue with Peredo were certainly not calculated to reconcile the adversaries of the Jesuits among the Dominicans. It was a bitter blow for the members of the Order of Preachers, the recognized representative of the true faith and of ecclesiastical science, when the theological teaching of one of their number was condemned in both the Spanish universities by a public sentence; this implied, they thought, the clothing of the whole Order with the "Sanbenito" (the dress of those condemned to death for heresy).³ The tension was added to by a dispute with the leading professor of theology at Salamanca, the celebrated theologian and valued

¹ Bull. VIII., 457 *seqq.*

² ASTRÁIN, 281-287.

³ *Ibid.* 275. "Li frati dominicani hanno sentito terribilmente questa bastonata," wrote the nuncio on May 26, 1584, *ibid.*

counsellor of St. Teresa, Domenico Bañes.¹ Aquaviva had warned his followers only to speak of the bull *Ascendente* in case of necessity.² It would appear that Bañes himself had not heard of it, because, at a public disputation on December 13th, 1589, he revived the old thesis that solemn vows were indispensable for the religious state.³ When Bañes in the same year 1589 had very plainly described the Society of Jesus in a work of his as the least perfect Order, because it did not practise exterior austerities, and allowed himself to make an attack upon the Exercises, the Jesuits kept silence ;⁴ but now they sent a courier with all speed to the nuncio, begging him to intervene. During the night before the disputation a brief arrived prohibiting the said thesis, and on the following day the disputation had hardly been begun in the crowded hall when a notary with some legal officials made their appearance and read aloud the nuncio's prohibition of the thesis before the rector, the professors, the scholars of the city, and all the students.⁵

Bañes by no means admitted defeat. He first tried to win over to his side the university, and then the court and the nuncio. But the Jesuits for their part were not inactive, and no one cared to take up the hopeless cause of Bañes.⁶ At last, on February 2nd, 1590, he wrote to Sixtus V., asking to have his doubts cleared up, and claiming that there was no contradiction between his thesis and the bull of Gregory XIII., cleverly appealing in his defence to an expression not quite accurately drawn from a document of Sixtus V. himself. But all was in vain, and on July 14th, 1590, the Inquisition decided against Bañes ; the Pope's death, however, prevented the publication of the sentence until February, 1591.⁷ Before the publication of his thesis in 1589 Bañes had already trans-

¹ *Ibid.* 288-306.

² *Ibid.* 281.

³ *Ibid.* 292.

⁴ *Ibid.* 290 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.* 293 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 295-303.

⁷ *Ibid.* 303-306.

lated the work of his colleague Juan de Orellana, according to which the Jesuits did not observe the seal of confession, made use of the confessional for the exterior direction of the members of the Society, and abused the evangelical precept of fraternal correction.¹

To these matters, which principally concerned scholars, there were added attacks from the pulpit. The Dominican, Alonso de Avendaño, from 1577 onwards preached for seventeen years against the new Order, which, however, he naturally never mentioned by name. He went so far as to assert that since the foundation of the Church, the devil had never found a better instrument with which to combat her; the Jesuits were secret heretics, hypocrites and pharisees.² If he met any Jesuit he made the sign of the Cross,³ while other Dominicans took part in the fight against the Society of Jesus. In a protest to Gregory XIII.⁴ Aquaviva spoke of the disputes that had taken place, and were taking place every day, and asked for the intervention of the Pope against this deep-seated evil. In spite of all the warnings of the Pope, the nuncios, and the superiors of the Dominican Order, the attacks continued until the end of the century.

In spite of this, however, these attacks did not imply any hostility on the part of the Dominicans as such to the new Order.⁵ The Provincial of Castille, de Las Cuevas, was sincerely well-disposed towards the Society of Jesus, and did all he could to put an end to the disputes.⁶ He expressly bore witness to the fact that many distinguished members of his Order were the friends of the Society of Jesus.⁷ A man like Alonso de Avendaño was looked upon as a madman even by his own fellow-religious.⁸ But even though this hostility was

¹ *Ibid.* 328 *seqq.*, 340.

² *Ibid.* 318. SCORRAILLE, I., 264 *seqq.*

³ SCORRAILLE, I., 273.

⁴ *Cf.* August 27, 1582, ASTRÁIN, 254.

⁵ *Ibid.* 252.

⁶ *Ibid.* 255 *seq.*; 265 *seqq.*; 271 *seqq.*

⁷ *Ibid.* 265.

⁸ *Ibid.* 320.

only the work of a few individuals of that distinguished Order, it could not be a matter of indifference to the Jesuits. "The Order of St. Dominic," wrote the nuncio in Spain, Camillo Gaetano, in 1594,¹ "enjoys for the most part the highest reputation, both because it contains men of extraordinary learning in all the universities and convents, and because the confessors of the king and the princes are almost always chosen from that Order, and confessors have much authority in Spain. Therefore these fathers have much influence over the Spanish government in civil as well as religious matters."

Much more dangerous to the institute of Loyola, however, than any external hostility were the differences that arose within the Order itself. There too the ideas of the founder had not been grasped by all. To some of them Ignatius was too severe; these were especially dissatisfied because he had made constitutions, a thing which hampered liberty of spirit; they would have wished for a life modelled upon that of canons.² Others, on the other hand, wished for greater severity in their external manner of life, for the preponderance of prayer over pastoral work, for greater retirement from the world, and in general for a closer approach to the spirit and forms of monachism. Simon Rodriguez was not the only representative of this school of thought. Ignatius had been obliged on many occasions to fight against it, and he opposed it with iron severity.

It is strange to see how the forces which had gained ground against the work of Loyola under the generalate of Mercurian, and still more under that of Aquaviva, combined the principal features of both these tendencies. The ease with which the Jesuits in Portugal and Spain had found access to the court and the upper classes had led in the case of some of them to an approach to the spirit of the court; these wished for more liberty and for greater comfort, and they were discontented with the great powers which Ignatius had given to the General of the Order. It was especially the latter who, well aware of

¹ *Ibid.* 251 *seq.*

² O. MANAREI, *De rebus Societatis Iesu commentarius*, Florence, 1886, III.

conditions in Spain, but by no means led away by Spanish ideas and influence, steadily insisted upon the observance of the constitutions of the Order, and chose the subordinate superiors according to their own judgment, and not according to the wishes of the malcontents. These wished for a special representative of the General for Spain, who should live in Spain, and that the appointment of the subordinate superiors should be made in accordance with the majority of the votes of the subjects. Special discontent was caused by another enactment of Loyola, which called for a greater degree of humility than was possessed by many of them : this was the distinction between the professed and the coadjutors. According to the wishes of the malcontents, in future all were to be admitted to solemn vows as a matter of course after they had spent a certain number of years in religion, and thus it would no longer be in the power of the General to postpone or refuse the profession of anyone.

In putting forward these proposed reforms the malcontents were very far from making any attempt to show that the constitutions of Loyola were unsuited to their purpose or imperfect ; on the contrary they extolled the institute of the Society of Jesus in the highest terms, as being holy and perfect, but rather declared that the present degenerate times were no longer capable of such great heights, and that what was required was that the institute of Loyola should be tempered to human weakness.¹ In truth the advocates of the suggested reform, when they are examined more closely, are all but indifferent examples of religious.²

As a further reason for the adoption of their suggestions, they called attention to the institutions and customs of other

¹ Thus wrote Francisco Abreo, one of the chief defenders of the "reform" : "The institution of the Society, as left by Ignatius of Loyola, its founder, is in itself so lofty, perfect and in conformity with the Gospel, that it needs holy men, of true and deep humility, simplicity, veracity, frankness and fear of God, of angelic and apostolic purity and perfection, and who are detached from themselves and from all earthly things." ASTRÁIN, 419.

² *Ibid.* 352-364.

Orders. Especially with regard to the demand for a separate superior, who should be independent of the General in Rome, a similar suggestion was put forward for all the Orders in Spain in the time of Philip II. The reason for this request for independence lay in the distrust of Rome felt by the Spaniards, and in the idea that they had formed of the purity of their own Catholicism. In their opinion no one understood or felt true Catholicism better than the Spaniard; the King of Spain was the Catholic King, and the arms and influence of Spain the one safe support of the Catholic Church in the world.¹ From contact with the other nations, even indirectly by way of Rome, the Spaniard looked for nothing but injury to the purity of his faith, and a memorial of the time demanded for all the branches of the religious Orders in Spain, Generals who were independent of Rome, because otherwise they would be threatened with the danger of heresy.² As far as dogma was concerned the Spanish theologians undoubtedly defended the privileges of the Vicar of Christ with all zeal, but they had such exaggerated ideas of the corruption of the court of Rome that all the decrees of Rome were received with distrust, and Melchior Cano went so far as to say that anyone who looked for any improvement from Rome knew very little about Rome.³

Similar ideas made their way among the Spanish Jesuits by means of the first Spanish Provincial, Antonio Araoz, who even in the time of Loyola had been dissatisfied with the management of the Order in Rome, and in the time of Lainez had disapproved of the office of General lasting for life, and wished the rectors and provincials in Spain to be appointed by election, besides demanding a chapter-general on Spanish soil.⁴

The first steps to obtain a change in the constitutions of the Order were made at the time when the nuncio Ormaneto was reforming the Spanish Orders by the Pope's command.⁵ Two

¹ *Ibid.* 100.

² *Ibid.* 103; *cf.* 115.

³ *Ibid.* 100.

⁴ *Ibid.* 101.

⁵ *Cf.* Vol. XLX. of this work, p. 127.

memorials were sent to him by unknown Jesuits demanding the abolition of the distinction between the professed and coadjutors, the election of the Provincial by vote, and the making of expulsion from the Order more difficult.¹ After the death of Ormaneto (1577) the Provincial Cordeses learned of these intrigues from his papers,² and a year later the visitor Antonio Ibañez succeeded in gathering the main strings of the conspiracy into his own hands.³ The whole movement had sprung in particular from the ex-rector of the Roman College, Dionisio Vasquez, who, from motives of personal grievance had formed the idea of changing the constitution of the Order, in those points which he disapproved of.⁴ Two long memorials, one of which he intended to send to the king, fell into the hands of the visitor.⁵ In the meantime Vasquez allowed himself to be won over by Ibañez and Ribadeneira, and in 1579 he himself destroyed his plans of reform,⁶ and for several years there was no further talk of any plans subversive of the constitution of the Order.

But this lull was only in appearance. As was shown later on, there were other malcontents besides Vasquez, who sought to induce the Inquisition to interfere by means of secret memorials, and an imaginary slight led Vasquez himself several years later to resume his former schemes.⁷ Under the

¹ ASTRÁIN, 103-106.

² *Ibid.* 103.

³ *Ibid.* 112.

⁴ Aquaviva in 1589 called Vasquez : " hombre que me turbaba todas aquellas provincias " (of Spain). ASTRÁIN, 479. The visitor, Gil Gonzalez Dávila said of him : El autor [of the disturbances] fué Dionisio, que por haver sido sacado de Nápoles, donde él dió mala cuenta de sí, tomó un odio irreconciliable con el gobierno de Roma, y sempre maquinó contra él en Andalucía, en Toledo, en tiempo del Reverendísimo Ormanetto, en la Sede vacante del P. Everardo, con el Rey y Cardenal de Toledo y agora en estos tiempos, amotinando á los que puda etc. *Ibid.* 496.

⁵ ASTRÁIN, 112.

⁶ *Ibid.* 122, 352.

⁷ *Ibid.* 352-354.

influence of these reforming Jesuits and of the Dominicans who were opposed to the Jesuits, the mistrust felt of the new Order by the supreme tribunal of the faith continued to increase. The actual intervention on the part of the Inquisition aroused storms which were not calmed during the whole rule of Aquaviva, which involved wider and wider circles, even including the king and the Pope, and led to the only two extraordinary general congregations in the history of the Jesuits, and threatened its whole existence.

In March, 1586, Antonio Marcén, a short time previously Provincial of Castille, and now Provincial of Toledo, who was, in the course of his official duties, making a visitation of the college at Madrid, received orders on the 18th of that month to present himself within six days before the Inquisition at Valladolid. He obeyed, and had hardly appeared when he was thrown into prison. The same thing happened to two of his colleagues, the former rector of the college at Monterrey, and, a few days later, another Jesuit who belonged to the same college.¹ Once the doors of the Inquisition had closed behind them, it was as though they had disappeared from the world. "We know no more of the prisoners," Villalba, the Provincial of Castille, wrote to Rome, "than if they were in the Indies."² It was not known why they had been arrested, and during the four months that followed all that the world knew was that 21 Jesuits had had to appear for interrogation, and that some of them had been kept under arrest for two or three weeks, in order to answer interminable questions.³

The arrest of the three Jesuits caused immense surprise. The year before, the Japanese mission to Rome had spread the praises of the Society of Jesus throughout the world, and now its name was once again on everybody's lips in Spain, but this time in shame, since the Inquisition had had to turn its attention to the members of that Society. The excitement increased when, on February 26th of the following year, 1587,

¹ *Ibid.* 376 *seq.*

² *Ibid.* 380.

³ *Ibid.*

a fourth Jesuit, Ripalda, the rector of the college at Villagarcia, was sent to share the imprisonment of the other three.¹

The responsibility for all these incidents came from within the Order itself, namely from the Jesuit, Diego Hernandez of Monterrey. Certain women of that city had informed him that another Jesuit, Briviesca, had tried to lead them into sin, had taught false doctrines, had allowed them to receive Holy Communion twice a day, and in so doing had given them several hosts. Hernandez informed the Provincial of Castille, Antonio Marcén, who, under threats of excommunication, demanded an explanation from the accused man. Briviesca denied everything, except the communion with several hosts. As appeared later on, he was almost certainly innocent as to all the rest; his accuser Hernandez, on the other hand, who had to be expelled from the Order soon afterwards, was far from being a trustworthy religious. Briviesca was then sent by Marcén to Italy, where he joined the Capuchins.²

Hernandez now began to feel great scruples, or at least so he said, for not having reported the matter to the Inquisition. In spite of the prohibition of his Provincial, he found the means in the spring of 1584, of repairing his neglect. At one and the same time he denounced the Provincial Marcén, for having sent Briviesca to Italy, and thus withdrawn him from the tribunal of the faith, and another fellow religious, Francesco de Ribera, who, according to his statement, had taught false doctrines at Segovia.³ This denunciation sufficiently explains the arrest of Marcén. He had sent a subordinate to deal with an accusation into which the tribunal of the faith was accustomed to inquire. In the opinion of that tribunal he had thus usurped the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The other three prisoners were accused of having cooperated in this offence. The accusation of heresy and of defection from the Catholic faith was also brought against Ripalda, but the grounds for such an accusation are obviously absurd.⁴

¹ *Ibid.* 377.

² *Ibid.* 372.

³ *Ibid.* 373.

⁴ *Ibid.* 378-380.

These initial accusations, however, soon became of secondary importance with the Inquisition. Out of the trial of the four Jesuits there soon developed a process against the whole Jesuit institute, and as the latter had been approved by the Pope, the private controversy developed into a public one, and a quarrel between the Spanish Inquisition and the Holy See.

In the internal forum of the confessional the Jesuits had jurisdiction from the Pope to give sacramental absolution even in the case of the sin of heresy.¹ The inquisitors had learned of this privilege with much annoyance, and their indignation was the reason for their desire to become acquainted with the other privileges of the Order. They obtained possession of the bulls and constitutions and rules of the Society of Jesus, as well as of a printed copy of the so-called scheme of studies (*Ratio studiorum*), which at that time had not been published as having the force of law, but had been sent by Aquaviva to the various provinces, in order to obtain their opinion before its definite publication. Not only this draft of the programme of studies, but the Pope's bulls as well, were submitted to the same fate of being examined by theologians by order of the Inquisition, and modified to meet the requirements of Spanish orthodoxy.

The censure, which was in other respects restrained, passed by a Franciscan, Nicola Ramos, attached, for example, to Gregory XIII.'s prohibition of any dispute of the institute of the Society of Jesus, or its being seriously called in question, the remark: no one but Mahomet has forbidden the disputing of his laws, and demands instead their defence by force of arms.² Another opinion discovered many dangerous points, and a third even found manifest heresies in the books submitted. The most dangerous to the Jesuits was the judgment in which the king's confessor, the Dominican Diego de Chaves, made a report to the king himself concerning the institute of the Society of Jesus.³ In the end Chaves withdrew his

¹ PASTOR, Dekrete, 42 n.

² ASTRÁIN, 382.

³ *Ibid.* 385-390.

objections; these concerned the obedience of the Jesuits, their teaching as to the duty of denouncing heretics, their supposed contempt for the Latin Vulgate and the teaching of St. Thomas, their support of an unheard-of liberty of opinion in theological questions, their constitution which was so different from that of other Orders, and, above all, their power to absolve from heresy and from the reading of prohibited books: "What else," he exclaimed, "are we to expect from all this but the complete ruin of Christianity!" It would be necessary to seek very carefully for a remedy for so great an evil, and to ponder well how little security there yet remained to the civil power in all those provinces where, because of our sins, divisions in the faith prevailed.

The first result of this judgment was that the Inquisition ordered the Jesuits to hand over to the Holy Office all the printed copies of the Papal bulls, and of their privileges and other books so dangerous to religion and to the state. As in all probability the constitutions were also demanded, the Order was left without any copy of its own laws.¹

In their trouble the Jesuits turned to the one place where they could still look for safety—to Rome. Even before the Papal bulls had been demanded by the Inquisition, Aquaviva went to Sixtus V., told him of the arrest of the four Jesuits, and asked him for a decision as to the main question, whether it was in the power of the superiors of the Order to judge their own subjects with regard to certain faults even when the Inquisition summoned these offences before its own tribunal. The Roman Inquisition made no such claim against this procedure by the superiors of Orders.

Sixtus V. listened to Aquaviva's remonstrances kindly, and reassured him; such difficulties come and go, let the General therefore urge the superiors of the Order to fulfil their duty. He, the Pope, would have a letter written to Spain; Aquaviva might discuss the case of the four Jesuits with the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition. A letter ordering the Spanish Inquisition to proceed no further with the trial of the four Jesuits without further instructions was, however, kept back

¹ *Ibid.* 390 seq.

by Sixtus V. ;¹ on the contrary, Speciani, the nuncio in Spain, was ordered at the beginning of March, 1587, to present a brief to the Grand Inquisitor, Cardinal Quiroga, which probably asked for information concerning the trial. It would appear that this first intervention on the Pope's part did not have the looked-for effect upon Quiroga, and he was filled with fury at the fact that the Jesuits had dared to have recourse to Rome. Since the four Jesuits were in prison, for the time being he paid no attention, but took it for granted that their arrest was justified. Like Quiroga, the other Inquisitors were greatly irritated at the steps taken by Aquaviva with the Pope.²

In the meantime news reached Rome of the sequestration of the Papal bulls. The honour of the Holy See itself was attacked by this, so that Sixtus V. thought the time had come to adopt a more severe attitude. He definitely instructed Rusticucci to order the Grand Inquisitor to restore the books he had taken, and not to proceed with the trial of the four Jesuits.³

While this new letter was still on its way, the anger felt at the action of Aquaviva led the Inquisition to further abuses. The Provincial had drawn up a kind of safe-conduct for two Spanish Jesuits who were to go by way of Rome to Transylvania, where the plague had carried off more than thirty of their number. When the two reached Valladolid, it seemed prudent to the Jesuits there that they should in the first instance only be given passports to Rome, and that there they would probably be furnished with a second one to Transylvania. Jeronimo de Acosta had received from the Provincial several blank sheets bearing his signature, and on one of these he wrote the safe-conduct to Rome, and retained the original. This change would have had no consequences if Valladolid had not happened to be the residence of two of

¹ According to a letter of Aquaviva in ASTRÁIN, 391.

² *Ibid.* 392.

³ La quale [the Papal letter] venendo tanto resoluta, che non si procedesse più oltre qui in questa causa, et che si restituissero li libri che si erano levati alli sudetti Padri, fece gran paura al Cardinale. Speciani to Rusticucci, June 3, 1587, in ASTRÁIN, 393.

the Jesuit reformers, Dionisio Vasquez and Enrico Enriquez. These at once went to the Inquisition and complained of the cruelty of sending young Jesuits among the heretics of Transylvania, and made out that the change of the passports had been done by way of deceit and malice.¹

The Inquisition saw in this an opportunity for making the Jesuits pay the penalty of their action in Rome. On April 29th, 1587, it wrote to the king about the mission to Transylvania, dealing not only with the two Jesuits concerned, but also with four others who had been chosen from a large number who had volunteered for that mission. It further pointed out that very soon some Jesuits would be setting out for Rome for the Congregation of procurators. Was it not an obvious course, in both cases, to forbid the Jesuits to leave Spanish soil! The king replied in the affirmative to this suggestion, but only on the condition of proceeding with great caution, so as not to hurt the susceptibilities of Rome.²

Cardinal Quiroga received the royal decree on May 7th, 1587. He promptly ordered the authorities of the Inquisition on the same day to warn the Provincial of the Jesuits not to allow any of his subjects to pass the frontiers of Spain without first informing the Inquisition of the person of the traveller and the object of his journey. In the case of any violation of this order the guilty parties would at once incur excommunication, and proceedings would be taken against them as against those who interfered with the authority of the Inquisition.³

By this injunction the royal command was certainly exceeded, but the Jesuits had no other course open to them but to keep back the missionaries for Transylvania, and to ask for a passport to Rome for those who were to take part in the Congregation of procurators in Rome. The Inquisition was imprudent enough to give such permission in writing, or in

¹ *Ibid.* 393 *seqq.*

² The autograph decree of Philip II. states : Està bien lo que paresce, y lo serà que se haga con buen modo y de manera que no sea irritarlos, que podria dañar para lo que se pretende de Roma, adonde serà bien avisar de todo y prevenirlo. *Ibid.* 394.

³ *Ibid.* 394.

other words itself to bear witness to the fact that it was interfering with free communication with Rome. The vice-provincial of Toledo, Francisco di Porres, no sooner got this permit into his hands than he had an authentic copy made by a notary and forwarded it immediately to Rome, where Aquaviva took care that it came into the hands of the Pope.¹

Then Sixtus V. lost patience. He at once ordered the nuncio in Spain to deliver a warning to Cardinal Quiroga in the Pope's name that he had exceeded his powers in demanding the Papal bulls from the Jesuits. He must return them at once, and in the event of his disobedience the Pope would depose him and take away from him his Cardinal's hat. The acta of the trial of the four Jesuits must be sent to Rome.²

Quiroga did not dare to offer any resistance; the old man was quite overcome when the nuncio informed him of the orders and the threat of the Pope. After various negotiations their bulls and books were given back to the Jesuits.³ On the other hand, Aquaviva tried for a long time without success to bring about a reconciliation with the Inquisition; the principal obstacle, the power to absolve from heresy, was removed, for Sixtus V., at the suggestion of Aquaviva, had revoked this privilege, in so far as it applied to notorious heretics.⁴ The Inquisition itself, thereupon, at the request of the vice-provincial Porres, limited its prohibition of leaving Spain; all that was now forbidden were journeys to Transylvania or other heretical countries.⁵

Quiroga did not send to Rome the process of the four Jesuits, because the acta were preserved in the room of the three keys, which was to be found in all the Inquisitions of Spain, and from which no one was allowed to remove any document. Between the spring of 1587 and March, 1588, Quiroga wrote a series of letters to the Pope, and to Cardinals Rusticucci,

¹*Ibid.* 396 *seq.*

²*Ibid.* 397 *seq.*

³*Ibid.*

⁴ Decree of February 19, 1587, in ASTRÁIN, 398 n., PASTOR, Dekrete, 41 *seq.*

⁵ ASTRÁIN, 396.

Savelli, Castagna and Deza, in justification of his proceedings and to express his deep reverence for the Holy See. In the meantime the trial went on in secret. The influence of friends, and still more the fear of Sixtus V., at length hastened the affair, so that in April, 1588, a sentence of acquittal was pronounced; the four Jesuits could at least rejoice in having the official declaration that they had been imprisoned for two years without any justification.¹

The trial naturally afforded the adversaries of the Society of Jesus an opportunity for further attacks. As the nuncio in Spain reported to Rome in 1587, a professor of Salamanca had said such disgraceful things about them from his chair, and a preacher at Alcalà from his pulpit, as to call for the fullest compassion and protection of the Pope.²

The reform party within the Order itself also took courage from the trial; once more the Inquisition was bombarded with memorials concerning the reform of the Order, this time by the dozen;³ the tribunal of the faith at Valladolid claimed the right to present these writings, which were to reach the eye of the king by means of Cardinal Quiroga;⁴ the opinions which the Inquisition expressed concerning the institute of the Society of Jesus were to a great extent inspired by the reform party, and reflect their views.⁵ In Rome itself, until 1588 or later, none of these writings were known in their text, but as none but the Pope could change the constitution of the Order, it became necessary in the end to send some of them to Rome, so that they also came to the knowledge of Aquaviva. He expressed his surprise that their authors should have

¹ *Ibid.* 399 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.* 398. Probably Bañes and Avendaño are meant.

³ *Ibid.* 402-420.

⁴ *Ibid.* 409.

⁵ *Ibid.* 382, 386, 407. More recently Ranke has allowed himself to be guided by the writings of the reformers (*Päpste*, II., 186 *seqq.*). Ranke himself in his 3rd Vol., App. n. 150, describes as "satirical and fictitious" the *Consulta in Cod. 1099 of the Corsini Library, Rome, which he quotes from that source, p. 191, n. 2.

adhered so little to the truth in questions of fact. "I have detected from 80 to 90 lies in your work," he wrote to Juan Suarez: "God grant that they may some day be brought to the light, so that men may see the true worth of sons who fight against their mother."¹

What a painful impression was made upon certain Jesuits by the hostility of the powerful tribunal of faith was clearly seen when the provincial congregations of the Order assembled in 1587. At regular intervals of three years all the professed members and the superiors of each province met to elect representatives to go to Rome to discuss and decide as to the necessity for a General Congregation of the whole Order. In a letter addressed to the four Provincials of the Spanish provinces of the Order, Dionisio Vasquez proposed that ten men should be chosen from each province to discuss at a national congregation the grave situation then existing. This suggestion, which was inspired by schismatic views, was unanimously rejected. In Aragon it was looked upon "as though it had come from Martin Luther himself." Aquaviva curtly replied that he did not understand what these forty chosen men could discover better than the two hundred who would in any case be assembling in the Spanish provincial congregations.² The Society of Jesus, Ribadeneira wrote at that time, was not built upon so weak a foundation that it need fall to pieces if the Holy Office arrested four or even forty Jesuits, or even if it condemned them to the stake if they deserved it. Such things had taken place in the history of other Orders.³

Dionisio Vasquez met with better success at the provincial congregation of Castille, which was more directly affected by the recent events. Under the influence of Vasquez this decided by a majority of votes for the necessity for a General Congregation, and by a unanimous vote resolved to ask for a special representative of the General for the four Spanish

¹ ASTRÁIN, 409.

² *Ibid.* 422

³ *Ibid.*, 423 *seq.*

provinces. The reason for these proposals was to be found in a wish for an explanation of the constitutions, which would in practice have amounted to a change in them.¹ If even men of goodwill allowed themselves to be won over to this decision, the principal reason was to be found in the want of resolution of the Provincial, Villalba, who, in view of the combined pressure of the Inquisition, the malcontents and adversaries outside the Order, saw in temporary compliance the only hope of salvation.² In the same spirit of conciliation he rewarded Vasquez after the congregation with the office of rector,³ but by his very yielding in the face of difficulties he frustrated the wishes of the provincial congregations; no common superior for the Spanish provinces living on Spanish soil could provide a remedy for the growing disorder. On the contrary the salvation of the Order lay in having a General outside Spain, who for that very reason would not be exposed to the danger of succumbing to the influence of the Spanish group, or of becoming a tool of the Inquisition. Aquaviva at once reproved the provincial for his timidity,⁴ removed Vasquez and those who thought as he did,⁵ and gave the province of Castille a new superior.⁶ In Rome the congregation of procurators rejected both the requests of the provincial meeting of Castille.⁷

The reform party among the Jesuits by no means looked upon themselves as defeated. They had already won over the Inquisition, and now they obtained the support of the king as well. In June, 1587, Porres, the vice-provincial of Toledo, learned that Philip II. had obtained a brief from Rome, ordering the visitation of the Order by a prelate who did not belong to it.

The fact was that the malcontents had, by means of

¹ *Ibid.*, 425-428.

² *Ibid.*, 428.

³ *Ibid.*, 429.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 430.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 432 *seq.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 431.

Quiroga and the king's confessor, caused their memorial to be laid before the sovereign, who was so busily engaged upon the reform of the Orders.¹ They gradually succeeded in this way in leading the king to suppose that all was not in order in the government of the Society of Jesus, and that a visitation by one of the Inquisitors or by a bishop would be the best way to remedy this. On March 21st, 1587, Philip II. charged his ambassador in Rome, Olivares, to bring pressure to bear upon the Pope to that effect.²

Sixtus V. agreed to the wishes of the king. Out of consideration for the Jesuits, they were not expressly mentioned in the brief, but general faculties were given for the visitation of all the Orders in Spain.³

Naturally the visitation of the Society by a stranger, or directly by the Inquisition, was looked upon as a fresh and severe blow. The good name of the Order would in consequence, as Porres at once pointed out to the king at the Escorial, be gravely prejudiced, and people would be gravely scandalized as soon as news of the Papal brief was made public. Porres therefore asked the king if he should insist upon his idea of a visitation, that it might at least be made by two Cardinals. He made similar remonstrances to Cardinal Quiroga.⁴

Porres did not make much impression upon the king by the reasons he adduced, yet Philip hesitated to put the brief into execution at once. He had in fact suggested to Rome that the choice of the visitors should be left to him, but Sixtus V. would not agree to this, and had referred the whole matter to the nuncio in Spain. The latter was known as the friend of the Society of Jesus, and was therefore not acceptable to the reforming Jesuits. After a vain attempt to obtain four bishops for the visitation of the four Spanish provinces, King Philip II. rejected the brief without opening it, and charged

¹ *Ibid.*, 434 *seq.*

² Extracts from the letter, *ibid.* 435; *Revista de España*, L. (1876), 434 *seq.*; *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX. (1878), 411 *seq.*

³ *ASTRAIN*, 436.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 437 *seq.*

his ambassador to ask for the Bishop of Cartagena, Jerónimo Manrique, as visitor.¹

Sixtus agreed to this suggestion ; and on March 5th, 1588, Quiroga received the necessary brief. The Jesuits vainly tried to induce Manrique to refuse the charge laid upon him, while Porres equally vainly laid further memorials before the king. On June 9th the Papal brief was delivered to the appointed visitor.² A letter from Rusticucci gave him more detailed instructions as to the manner of conducting the visitation, telling him that he was to begin with the Order named by the king. Royal instructions pointed out the matters which Manrique was to try and elucidate in the course of his labours. He was to inquire why the Jesuits differed from the Orders in the matter of dress and exterior ceremonial, why they did not accept any stipends for masses and sermons, why they had no office in choir, what was the purpose of the difference in the vows, what was the reason for expulsion from the Order without trial, why the superiors were not chosen by vote, and why the government of the Order in all things and in the case of everyone was dependent upon Rome. The inquiry therefore was not directed to the members of the Order but to its constitution, and aimed at its destruction.³

On this occasion too the Order owed its salvation to the energy and skill of its General. As the memorials of the malcontents had had so great an influence upon the course of events, Aquaviva ordered the provincials of the four provinces in Spain as well as in Portugal, to draw up corresponding memorials in defence of the constitution of the Order. He then explained to the Pope the dangers involved by the visitation ; all the secret plots of recent years had the one aim of withdrawing the Spanish Jesuits from their dependence on Rome, and at deciding Spanish questions on Spanish soil, and at the will of the king and his ministers. Lastly he pointed out how such a man as Manrique, who was himself illegitimate,

¹ *Ibid.*, 438 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 438-440.

³ *Ibid.*, 440 *seq.*

and who in his youth had had three illegitimate sons, could not be a suitable instrument for the reform of a religious Order.¹

This last consideration especially made a deep impression upon Sixtus V. He had no sooner convinced himself of its truth than he sent orders to the nuncio in Spain not to commence the visitation, or if it had been begun, to suspend it. On September 8th, 1588, Philip II. was informed of this decree of the Pope.²

It was more difficult to make the king change his mind than the Pope, but Aquaviva was at least successful in moderating his enthusiasm for the Jesuits who were advocating reform. A letter from the General of the Order,³ which was presented by Porres on October 15th, pointed out that it would do irreparable harm to the Society of Jesus if it should be made to appear that it had been necessary to invoke the aid of the hand of a stranger to set its affairs in order. The General was prepared to nominate several men who belonged to the Order, from among whom the king could choose the visitors for the Spanish provinces of the Society. At the same time Porres handed in a document in which seventy of the most eminent Jesuits of the province of Toledo described the intervention of a stranger as a disaster for the Order. A few days later similar expressions of opinion arrived from the other three Spanish provinces of the Society and from that of Portugal.⁴

These documents seemed to prove what the greatly venerated provincial of Portugal, Pedro de Fonseca, also laid before the king.⁵ This was to the effect that it was by no means the majority of the Jesuits who desired a visitation or a reform, but only a handful of ambitious men whose weight was negligible in comparison with the numerous approbations of Loyola's constitutions by the Popes and by the Council of Trent. In spite of this Philip II. did not yet change his views.

¹ *Ibid.*, 441 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 442 *seq.*

³ Of September 6, 1588, *ibid.*, 445.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 446.

⁵ November 12, 1588, *ibid.*, 447.

His confessor, Diego de Chaves, had laid it upon him as a matter of conscience to insist upon the reform of the Jesuits. Chaves was also under the influence of his fellow Dominican, Juan de Orellana, who was a declared adversary of the Society of Jesus.¹ Moreover, those Jesuits who favoured a reform tried to convince the king that the many signatures attached to the memorials suggested by the General did not prove, as they were intended to prove, that the great majority of the Jesuits did not wish for a visitation, since no one could refuse to sign without making himself out an enemy of the Order, and the signatures had been asked for on purpose to find out who was desirous of a reform. Besides the superiors, only the professed members had been allowed to sign, and these did not form a majority of the Order.² Aquaviva had only intended to show that the two dozen or so friends of reform were opposed by the overwhelming majority of all the most distinguished Jesuits, but in spite of this the king could still be tricked into thinking that even Dionisio Vasquez and those who shared his views had not been ashamed to sign their names to the memorial against the need of a visitation.³

In the end, however, in spite of all these reasons, Philip did not insist upon a visitation by a stranger. Manrique was compensated by being appointed visitor of the chancery of Valladolid.⁴

Aquaviva, who had been thinking of having a visitation of the Spanish provinces made by a Jesuit since 1586, now took up the idea once more with renewed energy, and sought to win over the king to this. It seemed to him that he had a representative well fitted for this difficult task in José de Acosta, formerly provincial of Peru, who after having been sixteen years beyond the seas, had come to Spain and Rome in 1587 in the interests of the foreign missions.⁵ At the end

¹ *Ibid.*, 448.

² Philip II. to Olivares, December 9, 1588, *ibid.*, 449.

³ *Ibid.*, 450.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 452.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 476 *seq.*

of 1588 Aquaviva sent him to Spain to win over the king and the Inquisition, and to remedy the internal disturbances in the Order by causing it to be visited by one of its own number and not by a stranger.¹ He and, even more, the skill of his colleague, the Englishman Robert Persons, succeeded in winning over the king, and on January 16th, 1589, Philip declared that he would not oppose the wishes of Aquaviva.²

The names of the visitors who had already been chosen were at once published ; Acosta himself was one of them, and he was to visit the provinces of Andalusia and Aragon. He had already been engaged upon his task for some time when news reached Rome that Philip II. had once more obtained a brief of April 16th, 1589, appointing three bishops as visitors of the Jesuits in Spain. The death of the Bishop of Segovia, who had been appointed as the first of the three, caused the brief not to be put into force,³ and it seemed as though Philip II. was once more satisfied. He listened with pleasure to the report which Acosta made to him as to the state of the province of Andalusia.⁴ He gave signs of great pleasure when Gil Gonzales Davila, in his account of the province of Castille, defended one of the points most controverted, the choice of the superiors by the General, since, taught by sad experience, Philip himself had abolished at the Escorial the appointment of superiors by all the members of a religious house.⁵ He gradually became convinced of the biassed prejudice against the Society of Jesus of his confessor, Diego de Chaves.⁶

If it had been a great triumph for the malcontents among the Jesuits to have for a time won over to their side the greatest monarch of that age, they were very soon able to boast of a yet greater success, for it appeared that under their influence the power from which there is no appeal on earth

¹ Aquaviva's instructions to him, *ibid.*, 477-480.

² *Ibid.*, 480-483.

³ *Ibid.*, 484.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 488.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 495 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 498.

had been persuaded to strike its death-blow at the work of Loyola.

From the first no one had expected any special fondness for the Jesuits in Sixtus V., though during his pontificate the results of their labours had been brilliantly manifested on many occasions. The Japanese mission which they had led to his feet from the ends of earth bore witness to their labours for the propagation of the faith;¹ and when, at the end of November, 1585, conducted by the Spanish ambassador and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the eldest son of a princely Italian family, Aloysius Gonzaga, presented himself before him and asked for the Papal blessing upon his resolve to renounce his principality and put on the Jesuit habit,² the aged pontiff must have thought of the day when he himself had put on the habit of St. Francis, and have realized the progress of Christian ideas which had taken place from that time onwards, in no small degree owing to the influence of the Society of Jesus, and was now manifesting itself even in those exalted circles in which the son of an Italian prince moved.

But men had been accustomed for the past ten years to changes of opinion on the part of the Popes as regards the Jesuits. Paul IV. had changed the original enactments of Loyola, Pius IV. had seen fit to restore everything to its original state, while Pius V. had seemed to wish to follow in the footsteps of Paul IV. But Gregory XIII. had entirely restored the original constitution of the Order. It was no

¹ Escorted by the Jesuits, the ambassadors appeared before Sixtus V. on May 24, 1585, to make the *obedientia* for the kings of Arima and Omura (Gualterius, *Ephemerides 24, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome). The ambassadors were knighted on the feast of the Ascension (*ibid.*). Sixtus V. sent the blessed sword and hat, and a relic of the True Cross, with a brief of May 26, 1585, to the princes of Arima and Omura (Synopsis, 143, nn. 5-6).

² *" On Monday (November 25) Aloysius Gonzaga received the habit " nella chiesa di Novitiato de quella setta, nella quale è entrato con principio d'indubitata santità's s'havera vita." Avviso of November 30, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

wonder then that men asked themselves what attitude would be adopted by Gregory's successor.

The common view in Rome, and even more abroad, was that Sixtus V. was not well disposed towards the Jesuits, and that he would change their constitutions.¹ Above all, those who were either the declared opponents of the seminaries, or were unwilling that they should be in the hands of the Jesuits, saw in him one who shared their views ;² on the other hand, among the Cardinals, those who were the friends of the seminaries, especially Galli and Santori, had, during the conclave, for that very reason, inserted in the election capitulation a clause on the preservation of those institutions.³ At first it seemed that these various rumours were not going to be fulfilled. When Aquaviva presented himself before the new Pope for the first time, in order to place the services of the Society at his disposal, Sixtus V. spoke in praise of its deserts,⁴ and promised pecuniary help for the building of the Roman College ;⁵ the 4000 scudi a year given by Gregory XIII. for the Church in Japan and its seminaries, were increased by him to 6000 scudi.⁶ It is true that afterwards Sixtus V. declared that the contributions for the seminaries would no longer be paid,⁷ and for a time they were not paid,⁸ but in deference to the remonstrances of Cardinals Galli and Madruzzo

¹ SACCHINI, P. V. I, 5, n. 25.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* n. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.* n. 14.

⁵ Avviso of April 27, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 188, Vatican Library.

⁶ SACCHINI, n. 17 ; Synopsis, 143, n. 8.

⁷ SACCHINI, n. 25.

⁸ EHSES-MEISTER, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., XIII. seq., 103, n. 2. EHSES, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 245 n. ; FOLEY, 6, 113. For the subsidy to the college at Graz, see REICHENBERGER, I., 467 seq. *S. St^a va tuttavia più tosto demenuenda che accrescendo le spese intanto che ha ridotto le cose della sua casa tanto stretto che non possono essere più, et quelle provisioni che si davano a molti collegii et ad altri non si vede che continuino. It is deduced from this that the Pope has some great undertaking in mind. Capilupi, June 19, 1585. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the Pope changed his mind. On July 9th, 1585, he gave the General of the Jesuits the assurance that not only would the seminaries be maintained, but that they would also be provided with an assured income where this was lacking. During his pontificate the Society of Jesus would have no cause to feel the loss of Gregory XIII. Some of the nuncios had already written to him that the adversaries of the Jesuits thought that with the death of Gregory their time had come, but he intended to act in such a way that all should recognize his goodwill towards the Order, and he had answered the nuncios to that effect.¹

But in spite of all this the hope of being able to obtain a change of the rules of the Jesuits from a Franciscan Pope remained alive in certain quarters. Many claimed to know that pressure was being brought to bear upon the Holy See, not only to carry out the reforms intended by Pius V., but to destroy the constitutions of Loyola and substitute for them one of the rules of the Mendicant Orders.² A visitation of the Roman seminaries directed by the Jesuits, the German and English Colleges, the Roman College, and the College of the Maronites, was actually ordered in 1585; the careful investi-

¹ SACCHINI, n. 26 *seq.* An *Avviso of July 29, 1586 (Urb. 1054, p. 310b, Vatican Library) has heard in the following year of hostile feelings towards the German College: Teme il Papa grandemente, che gli Alemanni, che vengono quà nel Collegio Germanico a studiare, nel ritorno loro al paese non servino per spie di Roma con danno del poco giuditio del suo predecessore in questo che l' eresse, cavando ciò S. B. da un libro venuto di là pieno de biasmi et di qualch' altra cosa più peggiore in pregiuditio di questa corte.

² *Sono intorno i riformatori alli Jesuiti, acciò il Papa comandi loro, che faccino professione, cantino l' hore canoniche et intervenghino alle processioni et a seppellire i morti, et senza mutatione de loro habiti vivino secondo quella regola de Mendicanti, ch' essi s' elegeranno delle quattro, che si trovano, poichè tanto lor piace la mendicaria per non dire forfantaria." Avviso of September 18, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 406, Vatican Library. An unfriendly remark about the Jesuits *ibid.* October 16, 1585, p. 448b. Cf. REICHENBERGER, I., 454 *seq.*

gation, however, turned out in favour of the Jesuits.¹ After the visitation Sixtus V. provided the Maronite College with revenues,² while other similar institutions experienced the generosity of the Pope.³ To the request of Aquaviva, that he would grant the Jubilee indulgence to the Society of Jesus for the year 1586, the Pope thought well to reply with a special brief, so that the rumour of an intended change of the institute of the Jesuits was seen to be false.⁴ When Sixtus V. reserved, in the case of all the Orders, the acceptance of novices to the general and provincial chapters,⁵ he granted the Jesuits an exemption and mitigation,⁶ because with them the provincial chapter was only held every three years, and the general chapter did not take place at regular intervals.

Nevertheless the influence of the reform party among the Jesuits gradually made itself felt in Rome. In 1587 there arrived certain letters of Jesuits who were anxious for a reform, but at first Sixtus V. did not attach much importance to these.⁷ Very soon, however, the recurring disturbances in Spain aroused in him the suspicion that there must be serious faults in the constitutions of the founder. During the summer of 1588, at the very moment when he set free the Jesuits from the general visitation of Manrique, a Papal order was issued that all the memorials of the discontented party in the Society were to be sent to Rome.⁸ Sixtus V. at once set himself to study the constitutions of Loyola. When, about the same time, Aquaviva was discussing with the Pope the

¹ SACCHINI, P. V. I, 5, n. 30 *seqq.*; Report of Cardinal Sega of his visitation of the English College in Rome, in MEYER, 428-454.

² SACCHINI, n. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 17; Synopsis 141, n. 1, 143, n. 8.

⁴ SACCHINI, P. V. I, 6, n. 1.

⁵ November 26, 1587, Bull. VIII., 951 *seqq.*

⁶ Edicts of March 1, 1588 (Synopsis, 152, n. 38, with wrong year 1587) and October 21, 1588 (Bull. VIII., 957, n. 7). Cf. SACCHINI, P. V. I, 8, n. 1 *seqq.*

⁷ ASTRÁIN, 454.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

disturbances in Spain, Sixtus censured indeed the authors of the disturbances, but remarked that he entertained doubts as to several points in the constitutions of the Jesuits, and that he had submitted some observations on the matter to Cardinal Carafa; Aquaviva must talk to the Cardinal about these.¹ Carafa declared that the Pope's objections were of no great importance, but that the questions with which they dealt were by no means so; these concerned obedience in the Society of Jesus, the duty of making a manifestation of conscience to the superior, and the distinction between the professed and the coadjutors. Sixtus V. was especially displeased by the name of Society of Jesus; it seemed to him an act of pride, to wish to be called by the name of the Saviour.²

Aquaviva saw a new storm approaching. In order to prepare for this he exhorted the provincials of the northern nations to ask the princes, nuncios and bishops for letters of recommendation, which should give recognition to the activities of the Order, and express the sorrow of Catholics and the joy of the heretics at the attacks being made upon its constitutions. At the same time he wrote a brief reply to the censures of the Pope upon the institute of Loyola. Carafa, a friend of the Order, thought that a man of the temperament of Sixtus V. would be only further irritated by any sort of contradiction; Aquaviva therefore remained silent for the time being.³

But even without any incitement, Sixtus V. at once went on to take further steps. On November 10th, 1588, he ordered the Roman Inquisition to choose two theologians to examine the constitutions with the assistance of a learned Jesuit and correct its defects.⁴ For a long time nothing was known of the work of this commission, upon which, out of consideration for the Order, the Pope had imposed an oath of silence. At last, in the summer of 1589, Aquaviva learned that the memorials of the Spanish Jesuits who wished for a

¹ *Ibid.*, 455.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 456.

⁴ Text in ASTRÁIN, 456 n., and PASTOR, Dekrete, 45.

reform had been presented to the commission, and that Philip II. had asked for two changes in the constitutions of the Order. These were profession after a period to be fixed by law and the appointment of superiors by election, and it was understood that the Pope was disposed to grant both these demands.¹ The memorial in defence of these two points now seemed to be superfluous.² To a cautious question by Cardinal Colonna, Sixtus V. replied that he did not wish for any electoral chapter among the Jesuits, because otherwise each of them would set their friends and penitents to work, and thus there would be a chapter in every city and family. Such a system would not be suited to the Jesuits. If this reply indicated some sort of withdrawal, the letters recommending the Order, which were soon sent by the Archduke Charles, King Sigismund of Poland, Duke William of Bavaria and several bishops,³ could only serve to further a more lenient decision by the Pope. At first, indeed, Sixtus V. flared up when he read the high praises of the labours of the Jesuits in the letter of the Duke of Bavaria:⁴ he was of opinion that the letter was a forgery of the Jesuits, and the Bavarian ambassador had to prove the authenticity of the

¹ ASTRÁIN, 457. Whether Philip II. asked once more for this change in 1589, or whether it refers to proposals that were already under consideration, is not certain. *Ibid.*

² Extract, *ibid.*, 457-460.

³ SACCHINI, P. V., I. 9, n. 20 *seqq.* Letter of the hereditary Duke, John William of Jülich-Cleves, Dusseldorf, March 22 1589, in EHSES, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 259 *seq.*; the nuncio Frangipani to Cardinal Montalto, Cologne, March 15, 1589, *ibid.*, 253; Bishop Johann of Strasbourg, Zabern, April 14, 1589, in EHSES-MEISTER, Kölner Nuntiatur, I., 312 *seq.*; the Archbishop of Treves, Johann von Schoenenberg, Wittlich, March 14, 1589; all published by EHSES in *Pastor Bonus*, IV. (1892), 523 *seqq.* With regard to William V. and the Archduke Charles, see *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXIV., 150. The Emperor Rudolph II. at length caused some remonstrances to be addressed to the Pope by Cardinal Madruzzo; see HÜBNER, II., 49.

⁴ In SACCHINI, V. I. 9, n. 22. The draft of the letter was made by the provincial of the Jesuits in Austria, Ferdinand Alber.

signature by means of undoubtedly genuine letters from the Duke. Nevertheless the letters made an impression upon Sixtus V. ; he wrote to Germany that it was not his intention to change the constitution of the Society of Jesus, which was so useful to the Church, but that he wished to oppose the errors of certain Jesuits.¹

It seemed too that the discussions of the Roman Inquisition were likely to end in a sense favourable to the Jesuits. Cardinal Carafa, in order to gain time, had tried to protract the discussions as much as possible, and Sixtus V., who was not unaware of this, had to give express orders to the theologians to make their final judgment. This was naturally in accordance with the views of the Pope, and was to some extent based upon his own written observations on the institute of the Society of Jesus. The name of the Society, the absence from the rule of prescribed works of penance, sacerdotal ordination before religious profession, the manifestation of conscience, the delay in profession, the character of fraternal correction in the Order, the simple vows binding the scholastic to the Order and not the Order to him, these were the points which had occasioned difficulty.² But the reply of Aquaviva³ silenced these objections.

Thus the final judgment of the Inquisition was favourable, but with a man like Sixtus V. this went for very little. The Cardinals did not dare to lay their views before him. "You are trying to make the matter drag on," Sixtus V. said one day, "because you are waiting for my death, but we will complete it on our own account."⁴

¹ Cardinal Montalto to the Bishop of Strasbourg, in EHSSES MEISTER, *loc. cit.*, 315 ; to Frangipani in EHSSES, *loc. cit.*, 270 ; to the hereditary Duke of Cleves, April 29, 1589, *ibid.* 276. Cf. ASTRÁIN, 461 *seq.*, who was not acquainted with the text of the letters. The interference in politics on the part of the Jesuits, especially in Transylvania, is suggested as the motive for the Pope's reform plans in the letter of Montalto to Frangipani, *ibid.* 270.

² ASTRÁIN, 462.

³ Extract, *ibid.*, 462-466.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 466.

That some sort of measure against the Jesuits was bound to follow upon such words as these was evident. Unfortunately for the Order, at that moment certain events aroused the anger of the Pope both against individual Jesuits and against the whole Society of Jesus. In Madrid on Ascension Day, 1590, a Jesuit went so far as publicly in the pulpit to describe the attitude of Sixtus V. towards Henry IV. in France as the encouragement of a heretic.¹ About the same time the somewhat imprudent words of a Roman preacher of the Order again annoyed the Pope; during the siege of Paris news had arrived that the nuncio in France was in great danger; at the request of his relatives and at the instance of Aquaviva's assistant, Lorenzo Maggio, the Jesuit Bartolomeo Blondo recommended him to the prayers of the people. The nuncio was in very bad odour with Sixtus V. because of his political ties with Spain. The Pope at once had Blondo imprisoned, and as a punishment had the assistant suspended from saying mass.² At the same time he caused a volume of the great controversial work of Bellarmine to be placed upon the new Index, though the efforts made to defer the publication of this were successful; after the death of the Pope the name of Bellarmine was once again removed.³

In spite of his irritation it appeared that Sixtus V. intended to abide by his promise not to change the constitutions of the Society of Jesus, though on the other hand he looked upon it as a point of honour that the examination of the constitutions which he had already undertaken should not be altogether devoid of result. He therefore resolved for the moment to

¹ Cf. further, *infra*, p. 373 n. 1. At the consistory of August 13th, 1590 the Pope said that the Jesuit had preached "Papam esse Navarristanum et fautorem haereticorum [mendacium hoc impudentissimum ipse commentus est, nam res aliter se habuit] et hoc obtentu invecus est acerrime in Iesuitas et in illum, sed tacite contra regem catholicum appellando eum etiam scelestissimum." Consistorial Acta of Santori, in the *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, XI., (1872), 874.

² ASTRÁIN, 470 *seq.*

³ See HILGERS, Index, 12 *seq.*

insist upon the change of the name of Society of Jesus, which so greatly irritated him ; the change of name did not appear to him to be a substantial change. Cardinals Santori and Castagna were to inform Aquaviva of the Pope's wishes ; if the Order submitted in this respect there was reason to hope that the Pope would give up all idea of further reforms.¹ The change was not to be effected by a Papal bull, but by a decree of the General, as the Pope had promised the northern princes that he himself would make no change in the rule of the Order. The name of Jesuits could continue to be used.²

Aquaviva drafted the decree, which was presented to the Pope by Santori. In order to examine it more closely Sixtus V. placed it on his desk, and there it still remained when his unexpected death ended his activities, and after that no one thought of putting it into effect.³

¹ ASTRÁIN, 471. The **Diarium audientiarum* of Santori states, June 7, 1590 : "Della correttione delle Regole di Giesuiti ; la resolutione presa, che si faccino di nuovo e che vuole vedere lui le confirmationi." Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19.

² ASTRÁIN, 472.

³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN MISSIONS IN THE EAST—BAIANISM—THE INQUISITION AND THE INDEX—THE SIXTINE VULGATE.

SIXTUS V. gave proof of his interest in the foreign missions from the beginning of his pontificate, by the favour which he showed for the Japanese mission which was still in Rome. In spite of his parsimony, he increased as has already been said, the annual subsidy granted by Gregory XIII. to the Jesuit college in Japan from 4000 to 6000 scudi. This increase was to continue until the institution should be provided for in other ways. He made gifts of valuable vestments and relics to the churches in Japan. In order to give the envoys a further mark of his favour he made them Knights of the Golden Spur, and himself presided at the ceremony. At their farewell audience he gave them a Papal brief for the Japanese King, and furnished them with commendatory letters for their journey, assigning them 3000 ducats for their expenses. When the envoys left the Eternal City on June 3rd, 1585, they travelled by way of Spoleto, Perugia, Loreto, Ferrara, Venice, Mantua and Milan, being everywhere received with the greatest honour, to Genoa, where they embarked for Barcelona.¹

The Japanese mission of 1585, which the enemies of the Jesuits vainly sought to discredit,² was hailed throughout

¹ See the report of L. Priuli in *Arch. Veneto*, 1877, II., 165; BARTOLI, *Del Giappone*, I., Turin, 1825, 313 *seq.*; *Synopsis*, 143; BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, *xlix. seq.* and App. p. 17 *seq.*

² Cf. BARTOLI, I., 277. That German Protestant propaganda was not behindhand is clear from a book composed by an adherent of the Confession of Augsburg which Kentenich has treated of in the appendix to the *Alleg. Zeitung*, 1905, n. 212. The author laments that such far-off peoples, coming as it were from a new

the Catholic world as a triumph for the Church. Actually it marked the highest point in the conversion of Japan. When, in June, 1590, the envoys reached their own country after an absence of eight years,¹ they found that the state of affairs was entirely changed.

In the very year when the mission set out for Rome Nobunaga was murdered. He was succeeded by his general, the powerful Taikosama under whose rule, after a preliminary period of favour for the Christians, a persecution was begun. Various reasons are given for this sudden change. In the opinion of some the headstrong monarch was led to this course because Christian women and girls would not become his prostitutes after the pagan fashion. According to the report² made by the distinguished missionary Father Soldi Gnechi Organtino to the General, Aquaviva, the responsibility for the outbreak of the persecution must be attributed to the imprudent behaviour of the superior of the mission at that time, Gaspare Coelho. An edict of July, 1587,

world, should go to Rome instead of going to Germany and Saxony to seek the vicar of Christ and the light of the true Gospel, which had been brought out of concealment by that beloved man of God, Dr. Martin Luther, and kindled and exposed everywhere, rather than with the aged and musty Papacy, now at length shattered ; but he consoles himself by the evangelical mission that was to be begun in that country, no matter how difficult it was to set it on foot with the existing scarcity of wine, meat and money. He adds that " people of the court and of the profession of arms are rarely fervent in faith " but that merchants who live by gain and usury would certainly be attracted to Protestantism, if they were taught that works " are neither necessary nor profitable " for salvation, just as already in France and the Low Countries the merchants had contributed greatly to the propagation of the evangelical faith.

¹ Cf. the letter of King Protasius of Arima to Sixtus V. in *Arch. Veneto*, 1877, II., 181.

² The *report bears the date " Nangasagni " March 10, 1589, and was confirmed by the *report of Valignani to Aquaviva, dated, *ibid.* October 14, 1590, both in Archives of the Society of Jesus.

ordered the Christian missionaries to leave the country within a fixed period. At first they made an appearance of obeying, but managed nevertheless to remain. This was all the more easy for them as Taikosama was occupied with other affairs. Thus the mission, though greatly hampered, was able to be continued, and in some places even made some progress. Two Japanese Christians suffered martyrdom during this first persecution.¹

Pius V. had already tried to give Japan a hierarchy, but the two bishops he appointed never reached that distant land.² Sixtus V. once more took up the project. On February 19th, 1588, he formed a bishopric for Japan, of which Philip II. undertook the patronage and endowment.³ He assigned Funai, the capital of Bungo, as the see, for there Christianity, in consequence of the conversion of the royal family, had the greatest number of adherents, and could count upon protection.⁴ The first bishop was Sebastian Moralez, the Provincial of the Jesuits in Portugal. But in this case too the new pastor never reached his destination, and died on the way at Mozambique.⁵

Sixtus V. felt an extraordinary joy when, in January, 1586, definite news reached Rome that the Jesuits had at last succeeded in setting foot in China, which had hitherto been strictly closed to all foreigners. He conceived the most sanguine hopes of the conversion of that great empire.⁶

¹ See DELPLACE, I., 239 *seqq.*, 254. Cf. *Litterae annuae*, 1590-91, 833.

² Cf. DELPLACE, II., 14.

³ Cf. *Acta consist.* in GULIK-EUBEL, III., and in Synopsis, 193 JANN, *Missionen*, 128 *seq.*

⁴ See the *briefs to the Kings of Bungo and Arima, February 6, 1588, *Brevia Sixti V.*, Papal Secret Archives. For the ambassadors of Gamō Ugisato, feudatory in Aidzu, sent to Rome in 1584, and again in 1586, 1588 and 1590, see the article by VALENZIANI in the *Atti d. Accad. dei Lincei*, V., 4 (1895) 229 *seq.*

⁵ See SACCHINI, P. V, I, 8, II. 184.

⁶ Galesinus reports in his *Annales*, January 17, 1586: *Iis ipsis diebus Iesuitarum litteris et nunciis ad Pontificem perlatum

But it was only possible to count upon the realization of these hopes by following the method hitherto adopted in the east, of spreading the Gospel by way of preaching. Some Spanish Jesuits, especially the zealous Alonso Sanchez, thought, on the contrary, that solid results could only be obtained if the missionaries were accompanied by soldiers, not to effect conversions by force but only so as to free the missionaries by force of arms from all those external obstacles which were put in the way of their preaching, and to secure undisputed freedom for Christianity.¹ The views of Sanchez, however, only met with a lukewarm approval, and even with definite opposition, from his Italian and Portuguese brethren who were working with him in the east. The visitor, Alessandro Valignani, expressed himself frankly in this sense in a letter to the General of the Order.²

Valignani himself had another plan for ensuring the safety of the missions in China. Sixtus V. should be asked to send a mission to the Emperor of China, and to this end Father Ruggieri was sent to Rome. When he arrived there in 1589 he found the Pope so absorbed in the affairs of France that the suggestion produced no results. In the meantime Matteo Ricci had again been driven out from Tschaoking by a new

est, tres illius societatis viros in Synacum, regionem quam Chinam vocant, ingressos esse, quo exteri homines ex antiquo nationis illius instituto ac lege antea ingressi nunquam sunt, presertim ad religionem novam disseminandam; patres autem illos a provinciae praeside, ut reciperentur, facile impetrasse, cuius praesidis diploma ex arborum corticibus amplum ac tenuissimum Pontifici astenderunt, qui ea de re magnum in spem venit fore ut amplissima illa regio brevi tandem depulsis superstitionum tenebris lumen accipiat christianae religionis. Vat. 5438, p. 99, Vatican Library.

¹ Cf. TACCHI VENTURI, Ricci., II., 425 seq.; Labor evangélica, Ministerios apost. de los obreros de la Comp. de Jesús . . . en las Islas Filipinas, por el P. FR. COLIN, nueva edic. por el P. P. PASTELLS, I., Barcelona, 1900, 390 seq.; HUONDER, Die Eroberung Chinas in the *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXXXIX. (1915), 130.

² See TACCHI VENTURI, Ricci, I., 146 n.

viceroy ; he was allowed for the time being to remain at Tschaotschen, where he did not meet with any greater success than on his previous visit. But neither the small results of their labours, nor the many acts of hostility to which they were exposed, could discourage Ricci and his companions. Ricci himself saw, in the almost uninterrupted series of difficulties and disappointments which fell to his lot, a manifest sign that Our Lord was with him ; all the great undertakings of the Church, he wrote to his General in Rome, have met with opposition at their beginnings in the same way.¹

In the Philippines where so great interest had been taken in the missions in China, the labours of the Franciscans had at the same time developed so much that Sixtus V., when new forces had arrived there from Spain, raised the Custody which had been formed there by Gregory XIII., into a Province ; at the same time the provincial received permission to set up new houses in India and China.² The Dominicans, whom the Bishop of Manila had summoned to the Philippines, took a zealous part in the labours of the missions. In 1586 they established the province of the Most Holy Rosary in the island of Luzon,³ which was to play an important part in the history of the missions in east Asia. Sixtus V. learned with satisfaction that a provincial council had been held in Mexico. He addressed a brief of thanks to the archbishop and exhorted him and his suffragans to continue their apostolic labours.⁴ In 1588 Sixtus V. confirmed the decrees of the synod held at Lima in 1583, which had been corrected by the Congregation of the Council.

¹ Letter of November 15, 1592, in *Civiltà Catt.*, 1910, II., 400.

² See Bull., VIII., 802 *seq.* Cf. also *Anal. Bolland.*, XXXVIII. (1920), 467 and SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 261.

³ See *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, VI., 691.

⁴ See in App. n. 8 the *brief of August 23, 1586, Papal Secret Archives. The confirmation of the decrees took place after an exhaustive examination in 1589 ; see Bull., IX., 350 *seq.* ; HARDUIN, X., 1784.

The Pope also energetically furthered the work of the Franciscans in Brazil and in the Indies.¹

Sixtus also turned his attention to the attempts at reunion in the east which had been made by Gregory XIII. After the visitation of all the colleges in Rome, which had been set on foot in the first year of his pontificate, he resolved to provide new revenues for the Maronite College.² The Pope was filled with great grief when he learned that Neemet, the Patriarch of Antioch, who was living in exile in Rome at the expense of the Holy See, was acting in opposition to the Bishop of Sidon, who had been sent by Gregory XIII. to effect the reunion of the eastern churches with Rome.³ When the latter bishop came to Rome in the spring of 1587, he made a detailed report to the Pope. From this it appeared that only the Maronites of Lebanon, the Armenians of the province of Nachitschewan, which belonged to Persia, and the Chaldeans of Diarbekir, Seert and the neighbourhood sincerely wished for a firm and genuine union with the Holy See. In the case of all the others, though they too protested their submission to the Pope, there were to be found errors of various kinds. The Bishop of Sidon was of opinion that in spite of this there was no need to abandon the hope of bringing them back to the unity of the Church, because they had at least good will. He suggested further negotiations and recommended the sending to the east of suitable religious books in Arabic and Chaldean, as well as missionaries.⁴ That the attraction towards the true centre of the Church still remained among them was shown by the attitude of the non-Uniat Nestorians, a mission from whom appeared

¹ STREIT, *Biobliotheca*, I., 508.

² See ARCAISSI, *Bull. Maronit.*, 100 *seq.* The **Relatio status collegii Maronitici ad Sixtum V.* (1585), in *Cod. Vat.* 5528, Vatican Library.

³ "Si dolse che si desse il mangiare a chi ci insidiava," remarked Cardinal Santori on his audience of May 12, 1588, *Arm* 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 166.

⁴ See BALUZE, *Miscell.*, ed. Mansi, IV., 158.

in Rome in 1588.¹ The profession of faith of the Chaldean Patriarch, Elias V. (1559-1591), which was sent by him, was found to be as yet insufficient, though from that time onwards the relations improved so much that they continued under his immediate successors.² The question of the reunion of the Copts of Egypt, where the Jesuit Eliano, who had been sent by Gregory XIII., had to undergo severe persecution from the Turks,³ was again taken up by Sixtus V. On April 20th, 1590, he sent to Gabriel, the new Patriarch of Alexandria, a letter by the Florentine Vecchietti, in which he set forth in eloquent words the doctrine of the primacy and the necessity of union with Rome; at the same time he addressed himself to the vicar-general of the Patriarch, who had studied in Italy.⁴

Special misfortune followed the mission to Constantinople, where a pestilence carried off all the Jesuits who were working there in 1586. The Capuchins bravely threw themselves into the breach, undertaking the pastoral care, not only of the Catholics, but also of the many Christian prisoners, but they in their turn succumbed to the plague. Their leader, Giuseppe da Leonessa, who made an attempt to convert the Sultan, was on the point of undergoing martyrdom, but had to be content to return to Italy in 1589.⁵

It would seem that Sixtus V. also aimed at reunion with the Greek schismatics.⁶ An opportunity for this seemed to

¹ Cf. *Acta consist, March 30, 1588. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

² See LÜBECK, Die chaldäische Kirche, in the *Hist. pol. Bl.*, CLIV., 85.

³ Cf. SACCHINI, V., 175 seq. For Eliano cf. HOFMANN, Mission-institut, 223.

⁴ See the *letter of August 20, 1590, Brevia Sixti V., Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ Cf. besides the works of Lechner and Ilg already cited *supra*, p. 145 n. 1 the monograph of BREMAN: St. Joseph of Leonessa, London, 1912.

⁶ Cf. the *report of Capilupi of January 8, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

be offered by the reports of the resistance made by the Greek bishops to the appointment as Patriarch of the metropolitan of Moscow, Job, which was projected by the Czar Ivan IV., and carried out in 1589 with the help of the Patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremias II.¹

Sixtus V. was as careful to see that the doctrines of the Church in the west should remain pure and unchanged as he was zealous for her spread elsewhere. At the beginning of his pontificate, it was evident that, in spite of all declarations, Baianism was not yet conquered in the Low Countries. Towards the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. fresh and disquieting news had reached Rome of the state of Louvain, and when in 1584 Gregory XIII. had sent the Bishop of Vercelli, Giovan Francesco Bonhomini, as nuncio to Germany, he had charged him to direct his attention to the state of affairs there.

The reports which Bonhomini sent to Rome could not fail to increase the anxiety. The precautions which had so far been taken against Baianism, he wrote at the beginning of June, 1585, to Rusticucci, the Secretary of State of Sixtus V.,² had not been sufficient; in the opinion of Bonhomini the mistake lay in the fact that in the bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. the enumeration of the condemned propositions was only followed by the general judgment that they were to be held as relatively heretical, erroneous, temerarious and scandalous. Thus it was well known that among the theses condemned there were to be found some heretical propositions, but it could not definitely be said of any one thesis that the bull stigmatized it as heretical; there always remained the excuse that it had been rejected only because it might give scandal, and Baius thought that he could sufficiently avoid this scandal so long as he did not publicly defend any of the condemned propositions. Many had become convinced that Baius still privately held as true the condemned propositions, and was of opinion that this was still lawful for him, even after the bull; if a doctrine

¹ Cf. PICHLER, II., 84 *seq.*

² June 5, 1585, in EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 88.

opposed to the condemned propositions was defended at the university, it was noticed that he bore with this very unwillingly. What was worse, his followers had carried their master's doctrines to other places, where they defended and propagated them.¹ Bonhomini made secret inquiries among the eldest and most cultured professors of the university concerning the views of Baius, and became convinced that the aged scholar still adhered to his former opinions, which had not been properly understood in Rome.² After taking counsel with the Archbishop of Malines, it seemed best to the nuncio that the faculty of Louvain itself should draw up and impose upon the university a connected exposition of the Catholic doctrine on the points in question. The Louvain professor, Lensäus, was charged with this task. It was only completed after the death of Gregory XIII., and was signed by all the professors.³ As far as Baius himself was concerned, Bonhomini had from the first advised that this learned man, who was still held in the highest esteem, should be summoned to Rome on some honourable pretext.⁴ But an illness of Baius, who was already seventy-five years old, rendered this plan impossible.⁵ Bonhomini nevertheless advised that formal proceedings should be taken against him, and that he should be obliged to abjure, not only the errors condemned by the Pope, but also his views as to the origin of episcopal jurisdiction; such a step no longer appeared to him so dangerous as he had at first thought and feared.⁶

In Rome the nuncio's proposals were agreed to and Bonhomini himself was furnished with wider powers to enable him to intervene at Louvain. But when the necessary brief

¹ To Rusticucci, November 9, 1585, *ibid.* 184. The questions which he proposed to the witnesses in CLAUDII FLEURII *Historia eccles. continuata*, L., Augsburg-Innsbruck, 1772, 354 *seqq.*

² To Rusticucci, Louvain, October 30, 1585, *loc. cit.*, 180.

³ LE BACHELET in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, II., 56.

⁴ To Rusticucci, Ghent, June 13 and September 4, 1585, in EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 91, 133.

⁵ To the same, Oct. 30, 1585, *ibid.* 180.

⁶ To the same, Antwerp, Nou. 9, 1585, *ibid.* 184.

was issued¹ Bonhomini was no longer alive, while the man whose doctrines had occasioned such great disturbances followed him to the grave in 1589.

Before the death of Baius a fresh theological controversy at Louvain was occupying the whole attention of the new nuncio Frangipani. At the end of 1585 the Jesuits had established a school at Louvain and had come forward as the opponents of Baianism. One of their number, the celebrated theologian Leonard Lessius,² now seemed, by his teaching of grace and the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, to afford Baius an excuse for bringing against his adversaries a counter-charge of doubtful orthodoxy.³

The controversy that thus arose was one of the opening phases of the great dispute concerning the doctrine of grace which led to discussions lasting for many years under Clement VIII. and Paul V. Baius was very possibly aware that in 1581 at Salamanca the Dominican Bañes had declared against the doctrine of grace taught by the Jesuits, and had thereby been encouraged in his own proceedings;⁴ in any case, the

¹ February 27, 1587. There it is stated: "ad aures nostros pervenit quod ille tantum abest ut ab istis opinionibus, sententiis et dogmatibus sic damnatis abduci potuerit, ut etiam de illis publice disputare et contrariam partem tenentes calumniarum defensores appellere ausus fuerit." *Ibid.*

² Cf. R. VAN SULL, L. Lessius, Wetteren., 1923.

³ The acta concerning the controversy in LIVINUS DE MEYER, *Historiae controversorum de divinae gratiae auxiliis*, Antwerp-Brussels, 1715. Cf. G. SCHNEEMANN, *Die Entstehung der thomistisch-molinistischen Kontroverse*, Freiburg, 1879.

⁴ That the controversy was to be attributed to the influence of Baius is stated by Bellarmine, Lessius, Strien and others (SCHNEEMANN, 123, n. 1, 124). The nuncio Frangipani was of opinion: "Con tutto si crede, che non tanto il zelo di carità et il sospetto di scisma habbia dato occasione alla Facoltà di censurare la dottrina delli teologi del Giesù . . . quanto l' haver voluto i detti teologi del Giesù nelle loro lettioni reprendere et dannare con poco modestia la Facoltà sopra quelli articoli dannati dalle fel. me. di Pio V. et Gregorio XIII., che fe muovere la Facoltà a render la pariglia alla Società, divulgando fuora et dentro della Fiandra, li padri del Giesù accostarrose al Pelagianismo per la

Jesuits at Louvain discovered during Easter week, 1587, that an attack upon them was in preparation; when they asked to be informed exactly as to the points in their teaching which had been found distasteful, the faculty presented them with a list of 34 propositions which were held to be scandalous. The Jesuits then asked to be allowed to explain more fully and to defend their opinions in friendly conferences with representatives of the faculty. But the theologians of the university would not hear of this. They condemned the 34 propositions of Lessius, published their censure by means of copies, and sought to obtain the approval of the other faculties and of the bishops of the Netherlands.¹

These proceedings aroused the greatest excitement. More than a hundred priests of Malines and Brussels declared that the doctrine of the Jesuits was Pelagian; in the streets of Louvain the students who adopted the rival views came to blows, while among the people it was said that the Jesuits had apostatized from the Church.² The faculty of Douai associated itself with the censure pronounced by Louvain, but the university of Paris refused to do so as it was in sympathy with the Jesuit teaching on grace.³ Among the Flemish bishops, the Archbishop of Malines and the Bishops of Roermond and Ypres, though they were at first opposed to Lessius,⁴ soon changed their views; this was because the Bishop of Middelburg, Johann Strien, who himself came from the university of Louvain, and was president of the

dottrina ch' insegnano alle lor scole." Frangipani to Santori, July 4, 1588, in EHSSES, II., 164; *cf. ibid.* 166: "procedendo questa discordia da un emulatione et da un mal affecto d' animi delle parti."

¹ SCHNEEMANN, 125 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 127.

³ *Ibid.*, 126 *seq.*, 131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 127. Joannes Hauchinus, Archbishop of Malines to Sixtus V., December 15, 1588, in EHSSES, Frangipani, II., 207. Petrus Simonius of Ypres had signed the censure of Louvain (*ibid.* 166, and his letter of May 10, 1588, in LIV. DE MEYER, I., 16). Gulielmus Lindanus of Roermond seems at first to have spoken bitterly against the Jesuits (EHSSES, *loc. cit.*, 207, n. 2).

royal college there, took up the cause of the Jesuits energetically, and in eloquent letters to the bishops he called attention to the fact that the adversaries of Lessius were all followers of Baius, and that what they had condemned in the Jesuits was the teaching of the ancient university of Louvain and of its most distinguished representatives.¹ The dean of Courtrai, who had received his theological training at the university of Louvain, also declared that 36 years before the teaching on grace in the university had been quite different from what it had been since the time of Baius and Hessels. The Bishop of Antwerp and the Bishop-elect of Tournai also pronounced in favour of the Louvain Jesuits.²

In the meantime the Jesuits themselves were by no means inactive. They obtained from the Roman theologians of their Order an approval of the attacked propositions; above all, Bellarmine upheld the cause of Lessius in a written thesis.³ Lessius himself set forth in a short work the teaching of his own party and the opposite doctrine of the Louvain professors, obtaining for his work the approbation of the theological faculties of Trêves, Mayence and Ingolstadt.⁴

The controversy had lasted for about a year when the nuncio Frangipani intervened. The Louvain professors, he reported to Rome, were trying to obtain the approbation of the Flemish bishops, and wanted the matter to be decided by the Archbishop of Malines; he had written to the faculty that they must be on their guard lest such disputes introduced discord into the Church of God: to the archbishop, that the decision of the matter belonged to the Holy See alone: to the Jesuits that they must not irritate the faculty. He was going himself to Louvain to restore peace, and in the

¹ SCHNEEMANN, 128 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 128.

³ Printed in XAVIER-MARIE LE BACHELET, S. J., *Auctarium Bellarminiarum*, Paris, 1913, 94-100; LIV. DE MEYER, I., 780-784.

⁴ SCHNEEMANN, 129.

meantime sent to Rome the controverted propositions.¹ Until the arrival of a Papal decision, Frangipani imposed silence upon both parties.²

Sixtus V. took the matter very seriously. The greatest possible danger, he wrote to the nuncio, might come to the Church from such controversies as this ;³ Frangipani must seek in every possible way, and if possible by his personal presence at Louvain, to bring about peace ; silence must be imposed upon both parties in the name of the Pope, and they must consign their works to the nuncio to be sent on to Rome.⁴ As far as the Jesuits were concerned, this letter contained the favourable expression that the dispute was concerned "with certain points of sound doctrine" ;⁵ which implied that the university had unjustly stigmatized the doctrine of the Jesuits as uncatholic. At the same time, however, Sixtus V. was careful not to offend the faculty of Louvain. In a brief addressed to the dean and the professors,⁶ in which he warmly recommended the same things as in the letter to Frangipani, the Pope highly praised their zeal for and their services to the Catholic religion. But when Frangipani arrived in Louvain he did not deliver the brief, because the faculty had not so far complied, as they had been asked to do, with the Pope's request that they would supply material for the new edition of the Index of prohibited books.⁷

¹ To Montalto, Cologne, March 17, 1588, in EHSSES, Frangipani II., 111.

² Montalto to Frangipani, Rome, April 9, 1588, *ibid.* 129.

³ *Cum autem eiusmodi contentiones . . . ecclesiarum scissuras parere consueverint, verendum maximopere est, ne damnum exitiale ecclesiae catholicae afferant." To Frangipani, April 15, 1588 ; *ibid.*, 131.

⁴ *Ibid.* These documents were sent by Frangipani on April 28, 1588, *ibid.*, 166.

⁵ "Controversias . . . in quibusdam sanae doctrinae (2 Tim. 4, 3) articulis ortas fuisse." *Ibid.*, 131.

⁶ Of April 15, 1588, *ibid.*, 132 *seq.*

⁷ Frangipani to Cardinal Santori, Louvain, July 4, 1588, *ibid.*, 164 *seq.* The nuncio had arrived at Louvain on June 22. (*ibid.*, 163).

Frangipani tried in vain, by his personal influence, to bring about an agreement between the two parties.¹ The question, he was of opinion, was far from being a matter of indifference; it contained the germs from which ruin might come to the Church.² If the Holy See should see fit to condemn one of the opposing doctrines, or even both of them, this would have to be done out of consideration for the Church in those parts, and in such a way as not to injure the reputation of either of the two bodies concerned.³ On July 10th, 1588, Frangipani issued an edict forbidding both the parties, under pain of excommunication, to censure the other. Thus the censure passed by Louvain on Lessius was disallowed, and it was expressly reaffirmed that the difference of opinion was concerned with matters of sound doctrine. This brought the controversy at Louvain to an end.⁴

It was only to be expected that Sixtus V. would display the same zeal in supporting the Roman Inquisition in every way as he had himself shown as an Inquisitor.⁵ In spite of this the zealous Cardinal Santori thought it his duty to urge the new Pope to show favour to the Inquisition.⁶ Santori's anxiety must have been satisfied when, in August, 1585, Sixtus V. ordered the erection of new tribunals of the Inquisition at Ascoli, Fermo and Camerino. In October, he confirmed by bull the death penalty inflicted by Paul IV. on those who said mass without having been ordained.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, 163-166.

² "Questa causa è da stimarse ál mio parere, perchè ha seco un male che può crescere giornalmente col seme di questa diversa dottrina." *Ibid.*, 166.

³ EHSSES, Frangipani, II., 166.

⁴ Under Innocent XI. the faculty tried once more to obtain an approbation of its censure of Lessius; under Innocent XII. it strove to obtain the express permission of the Pope to take its stand upon the doctrine contained in that censure. But not even this was granted to it. *Ibid.*, 132.

⁵ Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 314, 472 *seqq.*

⁶ SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 164.

⁷ See PASTOR, Dekete, 40.

In 1586 he established the feast of the Inquisitor, St. Peter Martyr, who had been killed in carrying out his duties.¹ In the same year he enlarged the palace of the Inquisition in Rome by building a new prison.² At Naples the Pope induced the viceroy Ossuna to allow the presence of a commissary of the Roman Inquisition at the trials of heretics.³ On August 13th, 1587, a Papal order was issued to all the bishops and Inquisitors to allow appeal from a sentence pronounced by the ordinary or by an inquisitor in a matter of faith, only to the Holy See. In 1588 a tribunal of the Inquisition was also set up at Aosta.⁴

In view of the ruthless severity with which Sixtus V. acted as a civil ruler, it was to be expected that under his rule the number of death sentences pronounced by the Roman Inquisition would be very large. This, however, was not the case. During his five years' pontificate only five sentences of death were carried out, two of which were for crimes which had nothing to do with heresy. After a Carmelite had been executed in February, 1586, for heterodox doctrines,⁵ an autodafè took place on August 2nd, 1587, in front of the Minerva.⁶ The concourse of people on this occasion was

¹ This was to be kept as a "duplex"; see *Avviso of April 23, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. Cf. BÄUMER, 480, where there are also other similar prescriptions concerning the feasts of the saints.

² See *Avviso of August 9, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

³ Cf. LEA, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, New York, 1908.

⁴ See PASTOR, *Dekrete*, 43, 44.

⁵ *Quel frate Carmelitano, che dal S. Officio fu mandato a Torre di Nona per abbruggiarlo l'altro giorno in Ponte per errori degni di segretezza, fu per manco scandalo strangolato in prigione et portato alla fossa a mezza notte d'ordine del Papa. Avviso of February 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

⁶ Cf. for the following the *reports of Malegnani of August 1 and 5, 1587 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), the *letter of G. Gritti of August 1, 1587 (State Archives, Venice), the *Diarium Alaleonis (Vatican Library), and the *Avviso of August 5, 1587. According to the *Avviso of August 8, the execution of the four condemned

especially great, as nothing of the sort had happened for five years.¹ Twelve of the accused abjured their errors, and received minor punishments; four were condemned to death: the Portuguese Gaspare Eliseo and a priest from Montecchio for heresy, a priest from Aquila for the violation of the seal of confession and the celebration of mass without a consecration, and a Franciscan for having posed as Patriarch of Jerusalem by means of forged bulls. Three of the above died repentant. A sentence of death was also pronounced on the Genoese Orazio Pallavicini, who was in England, for having encouraged heresy. The Franciscan, Christopher Cheffontaines, who held dangerous views as to the moment of transubstantiation at mass, was brought to Rome from the Low Countries, but received a lenient sentence on account of his great former merits.² On many other occasions the

men took place on August 5 (Urb. 1055, Vatican Library). This agrees with a note in the *Diario delle giustizie fatte in Roma di persone eretiche e religiose, which states: "A di 5 Agosto 1587 Gasparo Runchi, che mori impenitente e rilassato, D. Pomponio Rustici eretico e infedele, D. Antonio Nuntio eretico pernicioso, fra Giovanni Bellinello negromante (cf. as to this the dissertation of BERTOLOTTI on the Streghe nel sec. XVI. in Roma in the *Riv. Europ.*, A. XIV., Florence, 1883, XXXII., 634 seq., and RODOCANACHI, *Le Réforme en Italie*, II., Paris, 1921, 418 seq.) et idolatro furono in Campo di Fiore appiccati e poi brugiati. Morirono li 3 ultimi con buoni sentimenti." Papal Secret Archives, III., 8, p. 365. Cf. *ibid.* the *Annotations of a volume without signature, from the Archivium of the Dataria: "Index anni, mensis et disi expedit, causarum in S. Officio per card. general. Inquisit. "beginning May 13, 1587, "in qua die deputatus assessor ego Iulius Caesar Salicetus." For the executions ordered in Bologna by the Inquisition in the years 1587 and 1588 see BATTISTELLA 106 seq. Those executed in Bologna in October, 1588, were described as "luterani e sodomiti."

¹ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

² Cf. FHSSES-MEISTER, *Nuntiatuerichte*, I., lxxviii. The statement of Döllinger-Reusch (*Bellarmins Selbstbiogr.*, 235) that B. Bartoccio was executed under Sixtus V. is incorrect. For Bartoccio cf. Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 306.

Inquisition asked for and obtained the extradition of persons suspected of heretical opinions.¹

The tribunal also summoned before itself cases of divination and witchcraft,² on the strength of a constitution of Sixtus V. of January 5th, 1586, which ordered the bishops and inquisitors to take severe proceedings against astrologers and other soothsayers, as well as sorcerers, and renewed the penalties pronounced against them by earlier Popes.³ On several occasions the Roman Inquisition was asked for its

¹ Thus Sporeno *reports on July 8, 1589, the desire of the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition for the handing over of a Venetian heretic, who had escaped from the prisons of the Inquisition at Vicenza to the Tyrol, and was in the prison of Count Wolkenstein at Castel Thun (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). Among the papers of Cardinal Santori in Cod. lat. 8994, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there is a *Process against "Franciscus Moriscus de civitate Cales Normandiae," who was arrested in Naples and taken thence to Rome, and a *Process against "Bertrandus de Sautre" of Lorraine, who was arrested in Novara in 1590. Cf. also *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, XXIX. (1902), 122, and *Scelta di curios. lett.*, CXCVIII., Bologna, 1883, 192 seq. The nuncio at Prague, Visconti, on October 2, 1589, called the attention of Cardinal Montaltó to the sectary, Francesco Pucci, and advised his arrest, see SCHWEIZER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 65, where no mention is made of the statements of Friedrich concerning Pucci in the *Sitzungsber. der Münchner Akad.*, 1880, III seq. On February 11, 1589, the Inquisition at Bologna received orders to arrest as a heretic: "Alberto Schenk barone di Limburg e con lui il figliolo del duca di Sassonia": see BATTISTELLA, 145. Other examples in AMABILE, I., 334 seqq., and RODOCANACHI, *La Réforme en Italie*, II., 421 seq., 428.

² See the letter of G. Gritti of October 18, 1586, in MUTINELLI, I., 179. The Augustinian who is not named here was Giov. Maria Pevezelli, theologian of Cardinal Este; see *Avviso of October 11, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. Cf. also PASTOR, *Dekrete*, 44. M. ROSI, *Le streghe di Triora in Liguria*, Rome, 1898.

³ See Bull., VIII., 646 seq. Cf. HINSCHIUS, V., 695.

opinion, as for example with regard to the reunion of the Hussites.¹

At the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Jacopo Savelli acted as dean of the Cardinals of the Roman Inquisition. When he fell ill in 1586, the Pope caused the principal documents to be referred to Cardinal Santori, who was very zealous in all that concerned the Inquisition, though the latter insisted upon the observance of the usual procedure, according to which such documents were sent to the senior member of the commission.² Savelli died at the beginning of December, 1587;³ by a bull of January 22nd, which was published on March 15th, 1588, and dealt with the erection of fifteen congregations, the Roman Inquisition underwent no change, as has generally been thought;⁴ all that the Pope did was to define more exactly the offences that fell under the jurisdiction of the tribunal of the faith.⁵

In the same way the constitution of January 22nd, 1588,

¹ See SCHWEIZER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 119. The question of the Patriarch Grimani of Aquileia (*cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 341 n. 2) was once more entrusted by Sixtus V. to the Inquisition (SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 167), which definitely refused him the pallium and the purple; see CARCERERI, G. Grimani, Rome, 1907, 87.

² See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 174. For Santori's zeal *cf.* also the report in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 191 *seq.* Numerous *original letters of Italian local Inquisitors to Cardinal Santori and others, in **Acta in Cod. lat.* 8994, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. For the local Inquisitors *cf.* FRA CIPRIANO UBERTI, O. PR., *Tavola delli Inquisitori Novara*, 1586. A copy of this rare work, which is lacking in the Guicciardini collection, was in the Manzoni Library, which was sold in Rome in 1892.

³ See **Avviso* of December 5, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

⁴ Thus BANGEN, *Kurie*, 95, and more recently HENNER, *Beiträge zur Organisation der päpstlichen Ketzergerichte*, Leipzig, 1890, 370. Henner wrongly gives the date of this ordinance of Sixtus V. as 1587 instead of 1588.

⁵ *Cf. infra*, p. 249. The assertion of MIRBT in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXIX., 333 is only justified in so far that Sixtus V. gave the Inquisition its definite form.

did not introduce any substantial change into the Congregation of the Index.¹ In the previous year the Pope, who had once been a member of that congregation, and who held very strict views with regard to prohibited books,² had ordered it to prepare a new edition of the Index of prohibited books. To this end great preparatory labours had been begun. In a brief of June 20th, 1587, Sixtus V. had recourse to the universities, such as Paris, Salamanca, Alcalà, Coimbra and Louvain, in order to obtain their co-operation. The introductory bull to the new Index bore the date, March 9th, 1590; although this was printed, it was not yet so entirely completed as to be fit for publication; the Pope at once had it taken in hand, but never saw its completion.³

¹ See HILGERS, II.

² Cf. the *report of Capilupi of March 19, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See HILGERS, II *seq.*, who in several places corrects the account of REUSCH (I., 501 *seqq.*). For the preparatory work see the *report of Gritti of February 7, 1587 (State Archives, Venice), and EHSER, II., 2 *seq.*, 7 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*, 34. Sixtus V. did not go too far only in the case of Bellarmine, by putting on his Index his work "Disputationes de controversiis christ. fidei," on account of the expressions it contained concerning the indirect power of the Popes in temporal matters (*cf.* HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 623; COUDERC, I., 130 *seq.* Urban VII. caused the book to be removed from the Index) but also in prohibiting all the writings of the Franciscan Joh. Wild; *cf.* PAULUS I. Wild, Cologne, 1893, App. 2. Supplements to Hilgers in BAUMGARTEN, Vulgata Sixtina, 14 *seq.*, and Neue Kunde, 212. The revision of the Jewish books begun under Gregory XIII. was continued under Sixtus V., see SANTIORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 183; also his *Audientiae, *cod. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives; LE BACHELET, Auct. Bellarm., 658 *seq.* On June 22, 1590, Sixtus V. in accordance with the petition presented by the Mantuan Benedetto da Segni in the name of the Jews, ordered that the correction of the Talmud should be undertaken by the members of the Congregation of the Index who knew Hebrew, without its being necessary to make a translation of the whole Talmud; see STERN, Urkundl. Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden, I., Kiel, 1893, 156.

A stranger fate than that of his Index befell the Vulgate of Sixtus V. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, new versions of the Holy Scriptures in Latin and other languages were very plentiful. Among other abuses connected with the book of books the Council of Trent called attention to the great variety of these versions, and the difficulty that they occasioned; thus it was complained that there was a danger of uncertainty arising as to the sense and meaning of important passages of Scripture; the way was opened to heresy so long as anyone was free, on his own authority, to treat the translation of Valla or of Erasmus as authentic. The Council saw that the remedy for abuse was to declare the ancient Latin translation from the Hebrew and the Greek to be the only authentic one. This did not imply that the ancient Latin Bible reproduced the original text in every case with absolute correctness, or that it was to be preferred to the original; the Council aimed at nothing further than at setting forth the ancient Latin version as an authentic source for dogmatic and moral teaching. For the Council the guarantee of its dogmatic safety lay in the Church's use of that version, for the accusation of doctrinal error had never been brought against it through all the centuries. There was no prohibition of consulting other ancient or modern Catholic versions in order to elucidate its meaning.¹

¹ Chi avesse pretermesso nel decreto l' approbatione di questa editione vulgata . . . saria ancora stato causa, che in breve tempo non si fusse saputo, qual era la vera bibia, tante se ne sono tradutte da venti anni in qua et traducevasene tutto il giorno, et tante se ne sono stampate et stampavasene tutto il giorno, varie l' una dall' altra in molti et importatissimi lochi, et attissimi non solo a fomentare et nutrire le presenti heresie, ma a far nascere dell' altre, dove la editione vecchia et vulgata non fu mai sospetta di heresia, la qual parte è la potissima n' i libri sacri (the legates of the Council to Cardinal Farnese on June 8-9, 1546, in BUSCH-BELL, 519). Non ducimus pro abusu diversas et varias esse bibliorum translationes . . . , sed dicimus abusum esse plures haberi translationes ut authenticas (the Bishop of Faou at the

The Council's declaration only referred in general to the Latin Bible which had been in use in the Church from ancient times, and not to any definite edition of that Bible. But since the manuscripts and printed editions differed a good deal from each other, the Council of Trent decreed "that the Holy Scriptures, and especially this ancient and widespread version, must be published as far as possible without any mistakes." Naturally, reliance was placed upon the help of the Pope and of the treasures in the libraries of Rome for the carrying out of this decree.

Scientific criticism of texts was still in its initial stages at that time, and the decrees of the Council led to its being greatly developed. Erasmus had made the best manuscripts the basis of his edition of the Greek New Testament, and had been guided by the principle that a manuscript was the more to be relied upon the more it differed from the Latin Vulgate.¹ Cardinal Marcello Cervini, to whose zeal the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate was due, thought that an emended edition of the Latin Bible could be promised within a short time.²

In these circumstances it was fortunate that the Popes did not hasten overmuch in carrying out the charge

Council of Trent, in MERKLE, I., 42). In like manner the Archbishop of Acerenza (in EHSSES, Acta, II., 59, 40) and Cardinal Pole (*ibid.*, 65), who adds: "Neque latina tantum est approbanda, sed graeca et hebraica, quia debemus pro omnibus ecclesiis providere." The original text, as such, does not call for any approbation. With regard to the sense of *authenticus* at the Council, and the subsequent exaggerations of certain ultra-zealous Spaniards, *cf.* the works on the Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, e.g. R. CORNELY, *Introductio generalis*, Paris, 1894, 460 *seqq.* HÖPFL, 1-43. In like manner the English Protestants too have their quasi-official Authorized Version, the Dutch their "Staatenbibel". HERZOG-HAUCK, *Realenzy-klopädie*, II³., 99, 123.

¹ BLUDAU, 15; HÖPFL, *Sirlet*, 30 *seq.*

² Letter of April 24, 1546, in BUSCHBELL, 468; HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 44.

committed to them by the Council; and it was a further piece of good fortune that Rome possessed the man who, above all others, was fitted to prepare the way for it; this was Guglielmo Sirleto, who was in every sense a model of a learned ecclesiastic. Sirleto was second to none of his contemporaries in his knowledge of the classical and Hebrew languages: he was able to point out to Erasmus himself errors in his Greek grammar which to-day would be hardly excusable in a beginner.¹ His extraordinary learning was united to great disinterestedness and piety, and he steadily refused the splendid positions that were offered to him.² In quiet retirement, first in the house of Cardinal Cervini, and then with the Theatines,³ without any thoughts of honour or esteem, he was content to work for the Church and devote himself to her service with a diligence and perseverance that never relaxed during his forty years of labour on the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church.⁴ From an exaggerated sense of modesty he refused to print the fruits of his uninterrupted researches among the works of the Fathers of the Church, but he shared in almost all the undertakings in the field of ecclesiastical learning, so that the traces of his influence are to be found almost everywhere.

During the years 1545-1547 and 1551-1552 Sirleto contributed, through his patron, Cardinal Marcello Cervini, a number of passages and evidences from the Fathers for the use of the sessions at Trent, and again in the years 1561-1563, through Cardinal Seripando;⁵ he also took part in the reform of the breviary, the missal and the calendar.⁶

¹ Examples in HÖPFL, Sirlet, 76.

² *Ibid.*, 2.

³ *Ibid.* and HÖPFL, Vulgata, 65 n. 2.

⁴ As the object of his scientific work he kept in view the glory of God and the salvation of his neighbour. HÖPFL, 26, n. 1.

⁵ BUSCHBELL, 929-955; HÖPFL, Sirlet, 17, 118. Sirleto, so writes Seripando in 1562, was of more use to the Council in Rome than fifty prelates in Trent could be. HÖPFL, Vulgata, 72, n. 1.

⁶ HÖPFL, Sirlet, 3. Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 287 *seqq.*

At the same time he disinterestedly assisted the researches of other scholars, as for example for the great Antwerp polyglot of Arias Montanus.¹ But it was in quite a special way that he rendered great service in establishing a better text of the Latin Vulgate, and of the old Greek version of the Old Testament. Sirleto was marvellously equipped with the learning necessary for such a work. Inspired by the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate, Cervini wished for a scientific appreciation and defence of the ancient Latin Bible against the attacks of Valla and Erasmus, for which purpose he first enlisted the services of the Franciscan, Riccardus Cenomanus, and when the latter had to give up the task, of Sirleto. From 1549 to 1555 Sirleto devoted all his free time with rigid perseverance to this work, which gradually developed into a textual and critical objective commentary on the Gospels in thirteen quarto volumes.² The Vatican Library could give him for his purpose one of the most precious Greek manuscripts, the antiquity of which, however, he post-dated by almost five hundred years;³ he was also able to make use of at any rate the variants of another no less celebrated manuscript at Lyons.⁴ In this way the foundations were laid for the proposed corrected edition of the Latin Bible.

But the Council of Trent had also given an impulse towards a better edition of the original Greek and Hebrew texts of

¹ Montanus says in his preface, June 23, 1571, that by Sirleto "theologorum labor in perquirendis s. voluminum variis lectionibus magna ex parte sit sublevatus: tanta enim industria et iudicio eas collegit et quas sequi et quas reicere oporteat ita docte admonuit, ut merito tanti beneficii immortales gratias amplissimo huic viro debeas" (in NESTLE, Septuagintastudien, I., 3; HÖPFL, Sirlet, 3, n. 1). Sirleto's critical notes on the text of the Psalms were published in the polyglot (HÖPFL, Vulgata, 103). For similar notes on Ecclesiasticus *ibid.*, 103 *seq.*

² HÖPFL, Sirlet, 22.

³ Erasmus too was in error, to about a thousand years, in his opinion as to the age of the Codex B. HÖPFL, Sirlet, 36 *seqq.*

⁴ Codex D. or *Bezae*, *ibid.*, 40 *seq.*

the Holy Scriptures.¹ In this matter too it was Cardinal Cervini who sought to give effect to this desire of the Council. As before, he placed the matter of the Greek New Testament in the experienced hands of Sirleto,² while the Greek version of the Old Testament, the so-called Septuagint, was to be restored to its original purity by another of his learned friends, Nicolò Maggiorano.³ On January 14th, 1554, Sirleto received from Julius III. a reward for having during six years devoted himself to the correction of the New Testament "in conformity with the injunctions of the Council of Trent."⁴ In 1554 it was hoped that the labours of Maggiorano would shortly be published in the form of a collection of variants of the text.⁵ But however important the works of the two scholars were, neither the one nor the other made their appearance. Sirleto put off the publication of his Greek New Testament because he could never feel quite satisfied with it ;⁶ in the case of the work of Maggiorano a number of difficulties arose, so that it was useless to expect its publication during the pontificate of Paul IV.⁷

Cardinal Cervini, who had been raised to the Papal throne under the name of Marcellus II., went to his grave without seeing anything more than the preparatory labours for the desired fulfilment of the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate. The city of the Popes had been surpassed by none in the solidity and variety of these preparatory labours ; yet one

¹ HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 49. The legates of the Council wrote on April 26, 1546, to Cardinal Farnese, that by the order of the Council he was to ask the Pope to be pleased with all speed to correct in the first place our Latin version, and *supra* p. 199. then the Greek and Hebrew. BUSCHBELL, 471 (*cf.* 446) : see *supra* p. 199.

² HÖPFL, *Vulgata* 49.

³ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴ *Ibid.* 51 ; HÖPFL, Sirlet, 25 ; MERCATI in *Théol. Rev.*, VIII. (1909), 60 *seq.*

⁵ Masius to Latinius, February 25, 1554, in LOSSEN, 153 ; HÖPFL, Sirlet, 37. *Cf.* NESTLE, *Septuagintastudien*, I., 14.

⁶ HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 51.

⁷ *Ibid.* 55. *Cf.* NESTLE, *loc. cit.* 14-17.

work, which could be considered as a real carrying into effect of the Tridentine decree, had appeared, not in Rome but in the Low Countries. As various Latin, French and Flemish Bibles had been involved in the prohibition of books made by Charles V., the University of Louvain attempted to provide a substitute, all the more so as it had already published in 1546, by the work of one of its members, the Dominican Johannes Henten, an emended Latin Bible, which had been several times reprinted. Henten had collated thirty manuscripts in preparing his work.¹

Whereas edition after edition of the Louvain Bible appeared, the Eternal City was still in want of the preliminary requirement for the publication of important works, namely a press capable of producing them. Already Paul IV. had attempted to remedy this defect, and in the time of Pius IV. Paulus Manutius, the son of the celebrated Venetian printer, Aldus Manutius the elder, had been recalled to Rome in 1561. A commission of four Cardinals, the most active of whom was Cardinal Mula, was to superintend the publication of ecclesiastical works in the Latin and Greek languages, but in the setting up of the new press what was principally aimed at was the publication of a Latin Bible.²

The summons to Manutius had been suggested by Cardinal Seripando, who had succeeded Cervini, not only as legate to the Council, but also as the principal promoter of the so greatly desired new edition of the Vulgate. To his no small sorrow the work not only made slow progress,³ but Seripando himself was forced to admit after mature consideration and discussion with the other Cardinals, that for the time being it was wiser not to undertake the printing of the Latin Bible ;⁴ in spite of this, however, the interest in the undertaking did not diminish.

Sirleto worked so hard that he fell ill for a long time from

¹ HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 56.

² Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 35 *seq.*

³ Letter of November 23, 1561, in HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

overwork.¹ Foreign scholars gladly offered their assistance. Thus in the time of Pius IV. Lavinus Torrentius offered to collate the Netherland manuscripts for the Roman scholars ; the monks of Avellana and the Benedictines of St. Paul's placed at their disposal valuable manuscripts of the text of the Bible.² In the time of Pius V. it was above all the Benedictines of Florence and Monte Cassino, and the Abbot of S. Benigno at Genoa who laboured zealously upon the critical emendation of the Latin text ; in the time of Gregory XIII. Arias Montanus with the help of his friends, collated more than thirty Netherland codices to the same end.³ In Rome too, especially in the time of Pius V., men were hard at work. Sirleto, who had been a Cardinal since 1565, devoted all his energies to the great undertaking with wonderful diligence, until the time of his death.⁴ In 1569 Pius V. set up a special commission for the correction of the Vulgate ; this was composed of Cardinals Colonna, Sirleto, Madruzzo, Souchier, Antonio Carafa and Morone, who were assisted by twelve consultors. The duty of the latter was to point out to the Cardinals those passages where the reading was doubtful and the text was thereupon decided by vote at the general meetings.⁵ This method of procedure however, was very slow. Arias Montanus, who was at the same time working on the Antwerp polyglot, boasted that more was done there in a month than was done in a year in Rome,⁶ and Cardinal Carafa complained in June, 1569, that only fourteen chapters had been completed ; the reason for this lay in the fact that the commission was composed of too heterogeneous elements, some of whom wished to change everything out of hand, while others would have retained everything as authentic.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, 120 n.

² *Ibid.*, 71-73 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 82 seq., 105.

⁴ For his full collection of variants, *ibid.*, 114 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77 seq., 96 seq.

⁶ To Philip II., October 9, 1570, *ibid.*, 101.

⁷ To Salmeron, June 17, 1569, *ibid.*, 100.

To this was added the fact that the want of a press on any large scale was painfully obvious. Paulus Manutius had found himself exposed in Rome to a certain hostility, so he had made over his workshops to the Roman people and had left the Eternal City. It was then once more suggested to Gregory XIII. that he should summon capable craftsmen from Germany, France and Italy, and start the printing of the Latin Bible.¹ These plans were not carried out, and during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the world still had to wait for the Latin Bible which was so urgently demanded. The fairly good editions of Plantin at Antwerp afforded for the moment some sort of compensation.²

But even though Paulus Manutius did not have any successor in Rome at first, yet another press was set up in the time of Gregory XIII. which was of importance for the spread of the Holy Scriptures. In his zeal for the missions in the east the Pope conceived the idea of having polemical and doctrinal works printed in the languages of those peoples, and of having them secretly introduced among those nations where the missionaries were excluded. Cardinal Medici provided the cost of carrying this plan into execution, so that in 1584 the "Medici press for the oriental languages" was set up in Rome.³ The first book printed there was an

¹ Memorial of Giovanni Carga to Cardinal Lomellini, 1576, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 141-150; HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 116.

² HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 106.

³ Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 219. TIRABOSCHI, *Storia d. lett. ital.*, VII., 1, Rome, 1784, 195; GUGL. ENR. SALTINI in the *Giorn. stor. degli archivi Toscani*, IV. (1860), 257-308. As early as 1581, Zanetti, the printer of Gregory XIII. boasted that by his efforts type for printing Ethiopian, Syrian, Armenian and Georgian had been made. (HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 119, n. 1). "Il Gran Duca ha dimandato lizenza a N.S. di possere fare stampare qua nella stampa di Sua Altezza la biblia in lingua siriaca, caldea arabica, persiana et ethiopica per mandarne in quelle regioni a quei popoli che la desiderano per catechizzazione loro." (Avviso of January 17, 1590, in ORBAAN, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII. [1910], 311). Information concerning the obtaining of Arabic, Armenian and other characters in BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 105.

Arabic version of the four Gospels. By the wish of Gregory XIII. 18,000 copies were to be printed, which were to be introduced by merchants into the countries using the Arabic language.¹ Without taking smaller publications into account,² a great polyglot Bible was projected, which was to be published in no less than eleven languages and as many volumes.³

The polyglot, it is true, remained only a project, but at least one of the texts in a foreign language, which was to have been included in it was finally published.⁴ Cardinal Montalto, in his work on the writings of St. Ambrose noticed that especially the biblical quotations from the Old Testament made by the Doctor of the Church frequently did not agree with the Latin version then in use;⁵ the edition of the Old Testament used by St. Ambrose was certainly not the translation of St. Jerome, but a version from the Greek, taken from the earliest pre-Christian version of the Hebrew text, known as the Septuagint. It was looked upon as being of great importance for the projected edition of the Vulgate that the text of that version should be known as exactly as possible, as it represented a witness that was older than any Hebrew texts that had been preserved. Therefore, at the instigation of Montalto, a commission was formed in 1578, under the presidency of

¹ SALTINI, *loc. cit.* 259. In 1610 Raimondi offered the King of Spain 3000 copies of these Gospels (*ibid.*, 260). Cf. ZENKER, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, n. 1545. According to Zenker (n. 1570) an Arabic breviary had been published by the Medici press in 1584. The first printed Arabic works in Italy are a breviary, Fano, 1514, and a translation of the Tridentine profession of faith "iussu Pii V. in collegio soc. Jesu, 1566" (ZENKER, n. 1566, 1569).

² These only appeared in the time of Clement VIII. ; cf. SALTINI *loc. cit.*, 272.

³ SALTINI in the *Boll. ital. degli studii orient.*, N.S. n. 22.

⁴ HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 119-125.

⁵ *Ibid.* 126; KELLNER in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, XLVI. (1922), 325 seq.

Cardinal Antonio Carafa, to prepare an edition of the Septuagint.¹

Such an undertaking was alike in accordance with the wishes of the Council of Trent, and with the aspiration of Gregory XIII. to prepare editions of the Bible for the use of the missions in the east ;² moreover, Rome possessed one of the best manuscripts of the Septuagint. After eight years of work, in which the Benedictines of the Cassinese Congregation as well as other foreign scholars took part, a splendid work was produced, which has been reprinted down to modern times.³ The Greek text in the Sixtine edition is confronted with the Hebrew, and with various Oriental translations, as well as with quotations from the Fathers of the Church, while at the end of each chapter are collected the fragments of other ancient Greek versions.⁴ The work

¹ For its members see HÖPFL, *loc. cit.* 121. According to the printing privilege granted by Sixtus V. in "Epistolae decretales 1591" of Carafa, the Septuagint was printed "suasu nostro, cura ac diligentia" of Carafa (BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 241). Montalto does not seem to have had any special knowledge of Greek, for his library only contained Greek works in a translation ; see CUGNONI in *Arch. Rom.*, V. (1882), 5 ; cf. HÖPFL, 152, n. 2. Ghislieri (in F. VEZZOSI, *I scrittori de' cherici regolari detti Teatini*, I., Rome, 1780, 14), wrote it is true in connexion with the correction of the Vulgate : "Ceterum ipse Sixtus P.M., cum per eam emendationem sibi, ut homini in scholastica theologia, *magisque* in linguarum peritia versato, haud satisfactum esset . . ." ; but probably instead of *magisque* should be read *magis quam*.

² That this consideration also contributed to the publication of the Septuagint was wrongly called in question by NESTLE (*Septuagintastudien*, I., 4). Cf. HÖPFL, *Vulgata*, 120, n. 2.

³ The commission took as the basis of its work the Aldine edition of the Septuagint of 1518. The freely corrected copy of the Aldine, which was used for the press, is still in the Vatican Library. A. RAHLFS in the *Zeitschrift f. Alttest. Wissensch.*, XXXIII. (1913), 30.

⁴ HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 123 seq.

was ready for printing in 1586,¹ but did not appear until 1587. In the following year (1588) there appeared as a supplement a Latin version of the text of the Septuagint.² Sirleto, who had rendered great services in preparing this edition of the Septuagint, did not live to see its publication, for he died on October 8th, 1585.

Now that the work of printing the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint had been so successful, the idea of a Sixtine Vulgate took possession of the Pope with renewed force. With the magnificence that was so characteristic of him he at once conceived the idea of accomplishing something extraordinary in this matter as well. In the first place his scholars had to finish the preparatory work with all speed, and then he resolved to take the matter in hand himself, and with the special assistance of heaven, which, as head of the Church, he thought he could count upon even in matters of literary criticism, settle the readings in every case of doubt. After the completion of this unique work, he intended to present it solemnly to the Church with a special bull, and strictly forbid all other Latin versions. In November, 1586,³ Sixtus V. appointed a commission to undertake the preparatory work under the presidency of Cardinal Carafa, and what had not been accomplished in forty years was actually done in only four. It is true that the collation of manuscripts of the Old Testament which would have taken so much time, had already been done for the most part by Sirleto; the commission only had to revise his work, and followed in his footsteps "down to the smallest detail."⁴ A folio edition of the Antwerp Bible of 1583, in the margin of which the commission wrote its proposed changes, does not, in the

¹ Probably in October. AMANN, 31, n. 5.

² HÖPFL, *loc. cit.*, 126-127. For the reprint of the Roman edition of the Septuagint which is supposed to have been projected in Frankfort in 1587 *cf.* EHSES, *Kölnner Nuntiatur*, II., 1934, 45.

³ AMANN, 29, n. 3. First session of the commission on, November 28, 1586, *ibid.*, 31. For the members, *ibid.*, 29.

⁴ HÖPFL, 134; *cf.* the tables, *ibid.* 135, 240-277.

case of the Old Testament, generally make mention of the manuscripts which it was following, but these had already been indicated by Sirleto.¹ The manuscript generally followed, as had been done by Sirleto, was that of Monte Amiato, which is still considered the best to-day. As far as other good ancient texts were concerned, the commission had at any rate an elenchus of the various readings.²

All these advantages made it possible for Carafa and his collaborators to produce "an excellent work." Its text, in the opinion of an expert, "is on the whole so good that even to-day, in spite of a greater wealth of material, and the perfecting of textual criticism, it would be difficult to produce a better."³

The Sixtine edition of the Septuagint was published by the Roman printer, Zanetti. But in 1587 the Pope set up his own Vatican Press, which was directed by the Venetian, Domenico Basa.⁴ In the bull which entrusted the charge of this press to a special commission of Cardinals, Sixtus V. had ordained that all important questions which arose in connection with the publication of the Bible, or other ecclesiastical works, were to be laid before himself, so that, in virtue of the special privilege granted by God to the Holy See, he might decide what corresponded best to the truths of the faith.⁵ In accordance with this pronouncement, Sixtus V. now actually took a personal part in the progress of the work. What he now learned concerning this did not please him, and in a conversation with Carafa on November 16th, 1588, there was a violent discussion. On the following day he demanded, through Santori, to see the work accomplished by the congregation as he wished personally to devote his energies to the Bible, and to "bring a matter so worthy of his attention to completion."⁶ Then Sixtus V. himself

¹ *Ibid.* 134 *seq.*,

² AMANN, 32-37; HÖPFL., 129.

³ HÖPFL., 138.

⁴ *Cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 199 *seqq.*

⁵ Bull., VIII., 996.

⁶ SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 183; Diarium audientiarum in LE BACHELET, 28; AMANN, 45 *seq.*



set to work to read everything, and personally to decide upon the text that was to be printed. The matter went forward with all the energy and decision that characterized him, and at the beginning of June, 1589, he had reached the last book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse of St. John.¹

But this direct intervention of the Pope was shown to be very disastrous. While he was still Cardinal Montalto, Sixtus V. had devoted himself to a work of textual criticism as editor of the works of St. Ambrose.² and in this he had given definite proofs that his ruthless temperament, accustomed to act without any consideration, was not suited to the patient, painfully detailed and exact work of deciphering a text. He was much more inclined to dominate the manuscript than to let himself be dominated by it; what he could not at once explain must be discarded, and thus his St. Ambrose was found to be very faulty by later editors,³ and afforded an opportunity to the Protestants of early times to throw suspicion in general upon the whole of Catholic editorship.⁴

¹ Badoer on June 3, 1589, in HÜBNER, III., 301 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 136. The date, July 3 in Baumgarten (*ibid.* 22, 28) is wrong.

² Some letters of Charles Borromeo to Cardinal Montalto 1571-1581 concerning this edition in CUGNONI, *Arch. Rom.*, V. (1882), 551-562. Cf. HÖPFL, 126 n.

³ The Maurists attribute the blame to the collaborators of Montalto (preface to their edition in MIGNE, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, 1st Ser., XIV., 18); in like manner R. CEILLER O.S.B. (*Hist. générale des Auteurs sacrés*, V., Paris 1865, 584). The most recent editor of St. Ambrose, Karl Schenkl, passes a severe judgment: Cardinal Montalto "non dubitavit ea (Ambrosii opera) plane ad arbitrium suum refingere suisque commentis insertis deturpare" (*Corpus Scriptorum eccles. lat.*, XXXII., 1, lxxviii.). Schenkl further adds: "Neque tamen silentio praetermittendum est, in hac editione non paucas scripturae corruptelas egregiis emendationibus sublatas esse" (*ibid.*). Cf. also HURTER, 108.

⁴ E.g. Joh. Dalläus: "Haec est illa officina ex qua miser ille Ambrosius tam foede interpolatus prodiit (*De usu Patrum*, Geneva, 1686, 84).

Montalto changed the text of the Doctor of the Church, suppressed additions, and substituted other things at will, without having any guarantee from the manuscripts.¹

Such an arbitrary attitude was obviously not the best preparation for an examination of the text of Holy Scripture, where more than in anything else the greatest respect for tradition must be predominant. In fact Sixtus V. to a great extent destroyed the laborious work of his biblical commission. The corrections which it had made in the Antwerp Bible of 1583, in the light of the oldest manuscripts, were to a great extent removed by the Pope, and the Antwerp text restored.² The reason for this procedure may have lain in the fact that Sixtus V. was accustomed to that text, which was that of the Louvain Bible; perhaps too he feared lest too many changes would give the Protestants an excuse for finding fault with the Catholic Church for having hitherto used a false Bible.³ He certainly only rarely arrived at a decision without taking the manuscripts into account,⁴ but he once more accepted additions which had crept into the text from marginal notes, or in some other way, and which had already been removed by the biblical commission and what was worse, and almost incomprehensible, he removed certain things which undoubtedly formed part of the authentic text of the Holy Scriptures.⁵ The Pope's collaborators

¹ Cf. Kneller in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Théol.*, XLVI. (1922), 313-317.

² In the 1st book of Samuel, e.g. the commission had changed the Louvain text in about 358 cases. Sixtus V. removed these changes in 316 cases and only left 18 of the corrections of the commission. AMANN, 55.

³ AMANN, 47 *seqq.*

⁴ HÖPFL, 149, n. 1.

⁵ Cf. the accurate collation of the Sixtine Vulgate in HETZENAUER, 108*-148*. Bellarmine's list of the principal changes in LE BACHELET, 130-134; NISIUS in the *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Théol.*, XXXVI. (1912), 220 *seqq.* In the comparatively few hours which Sixtus V. was able to devote to the bible, his study of the state of the manuscript was naturally not included. We must concur in the opinion of Amann (56) that in several cases Sixtus arbitrarily altered the text. HÖPFL, 150.

were certain learned Augustinians, such as Angelo Rocca ;¹ in cases of doubt he also consulted the Jesuit Toledo, without, however, telling him whether he would follow his advice.² Sixtus wished to make it perfectly clear that the new Vulgate was his own work.

Even before the revision of the text was quite finished, the Bible was sent to the press. At the beginning of June, 1589, when the Pope was settling the text of the Apocalypse, the printing had got as far as the Book of Wisdom, that is half the whole Bible.³ Sixtus himself had the proofs laid before him, and himself took part in the correction of printer's errors.⁴ On November 1st, 1589, the whole of the Old Testament was in type, and by May 2nd, 1590, the whole Bible was finished.⁵ and could be bought by anyone for four gold ducats.⁶ On May 31st twenty-five copies were sent out to the princes together with a brief of May 29th.⁷ A bull, in which the Vulgate was solemnly presented, and declared to be the only authoritative Latin version, was prepared very soon afterwards.⁸

¹ Badoer, June 3, 1589, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 130.

² Olivares to Philip II., May 7, 1590, in LE BACHELET, 189.

³ Badoer, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 22 *seqq.*

⁶ Olivares, May 14, 1590, in HÖPFL, 322. Copies on large paper were more expensive ; *cf.* Badoer, August 25, 1590, in AMANN, 150. Bibliographical descriptions of the Bible, *ibid.* 133 and BAUMGARTEN in the *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1922, 167 *seqq.*

⁷ Avviso of June 3, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 24 ; *letter of Brumani of June 2, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. BAUMGARTEN, 110, enumerates twelve of these briefs. The brief to Philip II. printed in HÖPFL, 322 *seqq.*, that to Sigismund of Poland in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., n. 126, p. 170 *seq.* ; the brief to the Emperor in part in BAUMGARTEN, 110 *seq.*

⁸ BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 64. *Ibid.* 28-65 for the details of the bull, the true solution of the date (March 1 in the year of the Incarnation 1589, that is 1590 of our era) and an exact diplomatic copy from the original discovered by Baumgarten. The

Long before the new Bible made its appearance, the news of the arbitrary action of the supreme editor had spread anxiety far and wide. "From the first," wrote the canonist Peña, "there had been public regret that in certain passages sufficient reverence had not been shown for the Word of God, as to which no mortal man has any authority."¹ Olivares, according to the reports of Toledo, informed his sovereign² that besides other important changes, the Pope had in one instance omitted five whole lines; Toledo feared that by such mutilation he was laying himself open to the attacks of the heretics, and was giving more serious scandal to the faithful than anything else the Pope could do; this alone seemed to make it necessary to summon a General Council.³ Bellarmine spoke in similar terms in the time of Gregory XIV.: there is reason to fear, he said, that the Protestants will avail themselves of the changes made by Sixtus V. to prove that the Pope has falsified the Holy Scriptures with his own hand. A more effective means of disturbing Catholics and consolidating the heretics could hardly be imagined than this work; they would now have a strong and manifest proof of their old contention that the Pope made himself the equal of God, if they could show that the Pope had assumed authority over the word of God, and thus attempted to correct the Holy Spirit Himself.⁴ Cardinal Antonio Carafa had the courage to express the general disapproval to Sixtus V. himself, telling him frankly that, as far as the text of the Holy Scriptures were concerned, even the Pope must not allow himself to add, omit or change anything.⁵

bull was not included in the Bullarium. Printed in R. CORNELY, *Hist. et crit. Introductio in V. T. libros sacros, I.*, Paris, 1894, 486-495, and in HETZENAUER, 149*-155*.

¹ In LE BACHELET, 191 *seq.*

² May 7, 1590, *ibid.* 189.

³ "Por muy ocasionada à provocarse un concilio general quando no huviera otra cosa." *Ibid.*

⁴ Memorial in LE BACHELET, 137.

⁵ Olivares, May 7, 1590, *ibid.*, 189.

Naturally Sixtus V. broke out into lively indignation at such words, and threatened the courageous Cardinal with the Inquisition.¹ But in his calmer moments he could not conceal from himself that Carafa was right. The members of the biblical commission, whose work Sixtus V. had to a great extent destroyed, would certainly take the part of Carafa; the Cardinals of the Index, to whom the new Bible was presented,² did not trouble to conceal their opinion, and by their orders Cardinal Ascanio Colonna made oral and written remonstrances to the Pope.³ Sixtus V. could not be unaware of the views of scholars in Rome. Moreover, a number of printer's errors were discovered, and once the search for these was begun, more and more came to light. As a copy of the Bible had been presented to the Spanish ambassador, Rocca went to him one day and asked permission to be allowed to correct a number of printer's errors.⁴ An attempt was made to repair this defect by means of attaching loose sheets, covered with notes, cancellations, and corrections in writing or in print,⁵ but such disfigurements in an edition de luxe were not calculated to increase the satisfaction of the Pope with his work.

Sixtus V. was obviously a man of inflexible obstinacy when he felt himself to be in the right, but this did not imply that he was inaccessible to advice. In connection with this very question of the Bible, Cardinals Montalto and Rovere expressed the view that at first he would remain immovable in his decisions, but after a time would suffer people to speak to him on the subject.⁶ In the matter of the Bible, in view of the strong opposition and the serious objections raised to it

¹ *Ibid.* From the beginning of May until August Carafa was at the baths of Lucca. AMANN, 58, n. 1.

² Avviso of November 25, 1589, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 22.

³ Badoer, August 25, 1590, in AMANN, 151; Olivares, May 14, 1590, in LE BACHELET, 190.

⁴ Olivares, June 30, 1590, *ibid.*

⁵ Summary of the corrections in AMANN, 138-141; BAUMGARTEN in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1922, 265.

⁶ Badoer, *loc. cit.* 150 seq.

he could not shut his eyes or fail to see that his work could not be imposed under the gravest penalties of the Church as the one and only approved text of the Vulgate. He therefore abandoned his original plan at least so far as not to publish the bull which had long been prepared, with its grave enactments concerning the exclusive authenticity of the Sixtine text, with those formalities which were necessary to give it the force of law.

In the bull itself it was expressly laid down that it was to be promulgated by being affixed at the Lateran, St. Peter's and the Cancellaria, and that its obligatory force as far as Italy was concerned would begin within four months of its publication, and within eight months beyond the Alps. Thus its being publicly set up at the places named was absolutely essential to the bull on the Vulgate. But as far as contemporary notices of the Sixtine Vulgate are concerned, neither the reports of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors, nor the weekly Roman *Avvisi* contain a word as to the publication of the bull, and the same is true of the consistorial reports.¹ The still preserved original of the Vulgate bull, bears, it is true, at the end the testimony of the *cursori*, that the prescribed promulgation had been made,² and the same attestation is to be found on a printed copy of the bull, published in August, 1590.³ But at the time when

¹ Cf. HOPFL, 191 *seq.*

² Of April 10, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 64.

³ NISIUS in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, XXXVIII. (1914), 233. BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 259 *seqq.* Just as the title bears the addition: "ad quorum [Bibliorum] normam Missalia et Breviaria necnon omnes ecclesiastici libri reformari debent," so in all probability the printed copy was meant for the Venetian printers (see *infra* p. 219). If it had been intended to communicate the bull officially to the whole Church, this addition would have been incomprehensible. After the publication of the original bull, the printed edition could only acquire legal force when it had been officially signed and sealed, and of this nothing is said. Cardinal Giustiniani, prefect of the cardinalitial congregation of the Vatican press, of which the Venetian printers complained, had ordered twelve copies from the printer Basa. BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 162.

this printed copy became known in Rome, the theologian Gabriel Vasquez was a professor at the Roman College, and he attests that sometimes this note by the *cursori* was placed on certain documents in the first instance, before they were promulgated, even though for some reason this never took place.¹ Another contemporary authority on canon law, the moral theologian Azor, who was also a professor at the Roman College, expressly states that this occurred in the case of the Sixtine Vulgate bull.² This note as to publication would have been placed in advance on the bull, for the very reason that it was to be printed in the Sixtine Bible. In 1610, at the suggestion of the professor of theology, Adam Tanner of Ingolstadt, an inquiry into the question of its publication was set on foot by the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva. The result of this was that the bull on the Vulgate could not be considered as a bull published with canonical validity, since no mention of its publication could be found in the registers. Bellarmine afterwards Cardinal, was not in Rome when Sixtus V. published his Bible, and on his return in November, 1590, he learned from many Cardinals that the promulgation had certainly not taken place. Paul V. confirmed this to the Jesuit Alber in 1610, when the latter informed him of the result of the Roman inquiry.³

¹ "Accidit interdum, ut in legibus et in bullis impressis dicatur : 'Publicatae tali die,' et tamen nunquam solemniter fuerint promulgatae, nec tunc vim legis habebunt" (In I, 2, S. THOMAE, tom. II., disp. 155, c. 2, n. 15, Antwerp, 1621, 62).

² See the following note.

³ Reply of the German assistant of the General of the Order, F. Alber. to Tanner: "Circa Biblia Sixtina *post diligentem inquisitionem et discussionem* hanc denique responsionem dederunt ii, qui huic rei incumbabant . . . : Certum est, Bullam de iis Bibliis non fuisse promulgatam, cuius rei certissimum indicium est, in Registro [the Apostolic chancery] huiusmodi promulgationem non reperiri; et Ill. Card. Bellarminus testatur se, cum ex Gallia rediisset [November 1590] a pluribus Cardinalibus audivisse, Bullam illam non fuisse promulgatam et id quidem illi *se certissime* scire affirmabant . . . Sciat praeterea R. V.

Although Sixtus V. abandoned the publication of the bull on the Vulgate, and therewith the presentation of the work as perfect of its kind, and exclusively authentic, this by no means implied the withdrawal of the printed Bibles. As is officially stated in the introduction to the subsequent Clementine edition, Sixtus V. thought of "sending back his work to the forge,"¹ and then preparing a second and emended edition. But this did not involve the condemnation and cancellation of the first edition; this could still continue in common use, though Sixtus no longer vested it with that solemnity which the formal and solemn publication of the bull would have given it. His loyal collaborator in the

haec eadem ex SS. Domino Nostro [Paul V.] habita fuisse . . . Respondit publice P. Azor Bullam ipsam non fuisse publicatam, *quamvis in impressione* [a special print of the Bull] *lezeretur subscriptio cursorum*: nam hoc factum fuisse per anticipationem typographi, ita iubente Pontifice, ne impressio tardaretur. Huius rei testis est P. Andreas Eudaemon Ioannes, qui tunc aderat disputationi" (TANNER, *Theol. schol.*, tom. III., disp. I, q. 4, dub. 6, n. 265). As the words of Tanner show, extracts from the bull with the publication note were known to the earlier theologians, and had been taken into account in their examination of the question. Cf. NISIUS in *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1912, 20 seqq.; 1914, 213 seqq. With regard to the expression "Constitutione iam edita" in the dedicatory briefs to the princes, see NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1913, 706 seqq.; 1914, 206 seqq.; KNELLER, *ibid.* 1923, 604. With regard to the printed copy of the bull in volume 22 of the "Lettere ai Principi," which *cannot* be understood as making up for the missing note of registration of the original bull, see NISIUS, 1914, 224 seq.; KNELLER, *ibid.*, 1923, 601.

¹ "Animadvertens non pauca in s. Biblia praeli vitio irrepsisse, quae iterata diligentia indigere viderentur, totum opus sub incudem revocandum censuit atque decrevit." The preface is written by Bellarmine (autobiography in LE BACHELET, *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, Paris, 1911, 458). But since the Clementine Vulgate is an official edition, so the preface is an official utterance at the end of which, evidently by official orders, the directions of the Holy See concerning the new Vulgate are stated. It is not therefore permissible to take the preface as a private utterance on the part of Bellarmine.

Sistine Bible, Angelo Rocca, expressed the situation when he said that the Pope was prevented by death from completing the corrected edition which he had in view, but he nevertheless issued the first edition as a kind of proof, to obtain the judgment of the world of scholars on his work.¹ This statement shows once more that at any rate Sixtus V. did not intend to give the first edition of the Bible to the Christian world by means of a solemnly promulgated bull, but it also seems to show that until the time of his death the Pope held firm to his intention of imposing his work upon the world once it had been brought to a conclusion.²

The Sixtine bull on the Vulgate naturally shared the fate of the Sixtine Bible itself. Its being printed at the beginning of the new Vulgate made it to a great extent public; but the note concerning its promulgation which is to be found in the original of the bull was omitted, as evident proof that this solemn promulgation never took place.³ The enactments contained in the bull concerning the printing and sale of the Vulgate would naturally involve a strict obligation only when the solemn promulgation took place, but even as it was they still expressed the will of the Pope, and were thus of importance. In the briefs which Sixtus sent with his Bible on May 29th, he did not indeed order, but exhorted the princes to enforce the enactments of the bull. That a formal Papal injunction, even without the solemn promulga-

¹ In LE BACHELET, *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clem.*, 97. From Vercellone onwards it has become customary to treat this statement as quite unworthy of belief; on the contrary, it coincides too well with the historical events to make it possible to ignore it, and since the handwriting of Rocca has been recognized in the single copy, one must hesitate before suspecting it to be an invention.

² See more fully *infra*, p. 220. On August 22, 1590, Sixtus V. still cherished the hope of seeing the liturgical books corrected in accordance with the text of his Bible, and granting a printing privilege accordingly. BAUMGARTEN in the *Theol. Revue*, 1924, 121.

³ KNELLER, *loc. cit.*, 1924, 138.

tion of the document, can confer upon its enactments a full and living force, is self evident.

It is clear, however, from the interchange of letters between the Venetian ambassador in Rome and the Signoria, that Sixtus V. never issued any such injunction. In Venice men learned of the bull for the first time from its inclusion in the Bible itself, or from some extract, but even this knowledge was enough to terrify all the Venetian printers, when the rumour spread that the Inquisitor had issued orders to them to discontinue the sale of the Bibles they had printed.¹ They laid their complaints before the senate: their shops, they said, were filled with Bibles, missals and breviaries, according to the old text, and hundreds of thousands of ducats would be lost if they could no longer sell these; the bull on the Bible would be their ruin. Naturally they would be allowed to correct these books in accordance with the new Vulgate, but this would be an impossible task, and in the end would be useless, as no one would buy such mutilated books from them.²

By command of the senate, the ambassador Badoer spoke to the Pope about it. Sixtus replied that he had issued no other bull than that which was printed at the beginning of his Bible, that he had issued no order to anyone as to its being put into force, and that the Inquisitor had acted too precipitately.³ When the ambassador again made remonstrances to the Pope, Sixtus again tried to calm him by saying that there was no need to be so anxious about the bull, that the Inquisitor need not enforce it, and that all that it expressed was a "kind of wish."⁴ But Badoer was still

¹ That such an intimation was not actually made is clear from two letters of the nuncio and the Inquisitor in Venice, both of August 4, 1590, see NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1914, 213.

² The Senate to Badoer, June 30, 1590, in NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1913, 878 *seq.* the petition of the printers, *ibid.*, 881.

³ "Che lei non ha fatto altra Bolla che la posta nel principio della Bibbia stessa." Badoer, July 7, 1590, in AMANN, 142. For the date see NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 681.

⁴ BADOER, July 21, 1590, in AMANN, 143.

not satisfied. The bull, he said, is there ; fear of incurring its censures will frighten all purchasers, and moreover, it infringes the rights of the Republic.¹ But Sixtus could not be induced to recall the bull ; the document had been spread throughout the world, and he could not withdraw ; he would rather lose his life.² There was fresh excitement in Venice a short time before the death of Sixtus V., when news came of the separate printing of the bull, that of August 22nd, 1592, which bore at the end of it the notification of its publication, and in its title stated that all Bibles, missals and breviaries that did not contain the corrected text of the Vulgate were forbidden.³ On the strength of the contents of this bull, the senate again addressed its complaints to Rome ; the four months after which it was to become obligatory had already elapsed, and now it made no difference if the Inquisitor did overlook the previous intimation, as the bull itself contained a far more definite one, and the period of grace was already passed. In other cities, the protest of the printers went on to state, immediately after the appearance of the " new bull " the Inquisitors had called attention to it. As Sixtus had in the meantime been struck down by his mortal illness, Badoer was only able to speak to the nephew, Montalto, and to Cardinals Colonna and Rovere.⁴ They were of opinion that there would be a modification of the bull, as it was quite impossible to put it into force, and protests from the princes would not be long in arriving.

Indeed, it was only to be expected that the Sixtine bull would meet with opposition, especially in Spain. In the

¹ *Ibid.*

² Badoer, July 28, 1590, *ibid.*, 145. It is clear from the whole proceeding that the bull, apart from the fact that it was never published, never had the force of law. HÖPFL, 193 ; NISIUS, *loc. cit.*, 1914, 217 *seqq.*

³ The Senate to Badoer, August 25, 1590, in NISIUS, *loc. cit.* 886 ; Complaints of the printers at the " new bull," *ibid.*, 887 *seqq.*

⁴ Badoer, August 25, 1590, in AMANN, 149 *seqq.*

judgment already mentioned, Peña thought¹ that the King of Spain would be obliged, on account of the arbitrary character of the text, to have the matter examined by four or six competent theologians, and if the examination disclosed difficulties or doubts, to make a protest to the Pope.² Olivares sent this opinion on May 21st. That Philip was likely to follow this suggestion was all the more to be expected, in that he looked at the bull on the Vulgate, with its privileges to the Roman booksellers, as a threat to the Spanish and Flemish printers. Whether the new Bible passed the test or not, he was resolved in any case only to admit copies of the Roman edition which were printed by his own subjects into his kingdom.³

The exalted aims which Sixtus V. had in view in producing his Bible were thus not fulfilled, and the task which he had set out upon with such noble sentiments and such magnificence threatened to become a serious embarrassment for the Holy See. He was obliged to witness his ideal text meeting with anything but approval from the Cardinals, the biblical commission and that of the Index, as well as from scholars, and if afterwards he partially abandoned his text as well as his bull of introduction to the new Vulgate, he could not fail to foresee the pitfalls which are the lot of all half-measures.

¹ See *supra*, p. 213.

² In LE BACHELET, 191 *seqq.*

³ Philip to Olivares, October 5, 1590, in HÖPFL, 324. When the nuncio Cesare Speciani spoke for the first time to the king of the privileges of the Vatican Press, the latter appeared to receive the matter favourably: *"Diedi al segretario di S. M. come si suole la lettera del sig. conte d' Olivares per il privilegio dell' impressione della Bibbia et Concilii, e poi ne parlai io medesimo al Re, il quale mi intese volentieri, et laudó il santo pensiero di N.S. etc." Speciani to Carafa, December 19, 1587, Casanatense Library, Rome X., VI., 22, n. 26. Bishop Torrentius of Antwerp speaks of the intention of printing a copy at Antwerp in a letter to Frangipani as early as August 2, 1590, in EHSSES, Kölner Nuntiatur, II., 500; the same to Baronius in LAEMMER, De Caesaris Baronii literarum commercio diatriba, Freib. in Brisg., 1903, 100; HÖPFL, 177.

Death saved him from having to extricate himself from these pitfalls. A few days after his death the Cardinals suspended the sale of the new Vulgate, as well as the printed copies of the bull of introduction.¹ The immediate successor of Sixtus V. confirmed this ordinance.²

In association with the efforts made by Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. turned his attention to the correction of the Roman Martyrology. The man entrusted with this work was Baronius, who dedicated his work to Sixtus V.³ Again following in the footsteps of his predecessor, the Pope planned a new edition of the Decretals. This was entrusted to a commission, composed of Cardinals Pinelli, Aldobrandini, and Mattei, and later on of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, Bishop Lucio Sasso, and the Auditors of the Rota, Lorenzo Bianchetti, Francesco Peña, Pompeo Arrigoni and Serafino Olivario. In spite of the many meetings they held under the presidency of Pinelli, at his palace, the work was not completed during the lifetime of Sixtus V.⁴ This was to some

¹ Avviso of September 5, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata*, 96; Olivares, September 8, in LE BACHELET, 196.; cf. HÖPFL, 157. Olivares already advises the withdrawal of all the copies that had reached Spain, and the prohibition of discussion by the Universities of the Sixtine Vulgate.

² Avviso of September 26, 1590, in BAUMGARTEN, 19. Anonymous contemporary annals of Sixtus V. maintain that the Bible was suppressed "ex doctrina sapientium et sacrae Inquisitionis iussu" (in HÖPFL, 157, n. 2). We have no knowledge from any other source of any decision on the part of the Inquisition.

³ Cf. I. VEITH in *Hist.-pol. Bl.*, CXVII., 474 seq., where there are also particulars concerning the fact that Baronius later on worked on further improvements and corrections, and PASCHINI, *La Riforma Gregoriana del Martirologio Rom.*, Monza, 1923, 24 seqq.

⁴ Besides the remark of SENTIS, p. ix., and LÄMMER, *Zur Kodifikation des Kan. Rechts*, 8 seq., cf. the researches of H. SINGER in *Zeitschr. der Savigny-stiftung f. Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVIII., Kan. Abt. VI., 110 seq., and BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 248. According to the *Avviso of July 15, 1589, the first session of the commission was to take place on July 17 (Urb. 1057, Vatican Library). Following the example of Gregory XIII. Sixtus V.

extent compensated for by a collection of the pontifical constitutions from Leo I. down to his own time, which was published by the initiative of Sixtus V. by the Roman lawyer Laerzio Cherubini, under the title of " Bullarium," and published in Rome in 1586.¹

on May 1, 1585, confirmed the " Congregazione di S. Cecilia fra i musici di Roma " ; see *Civ. Catt.*, 1918, IV., 482 *seqq.*, and *Le Conforenze al Laterano*, March-April, 1923, 94.

¹ See PHILLIPS, IV., 482 *seq.* Cf. GRISAR, *Analecta*, I., 27 ; STREIF, I., 67, 161.

CHAPTER V.

SIXTUS V. AND THE SACRED COLLEGE.—THE CARDINALITAL CONGREGATIONS.

THE ecclesiastical aims of Sixtus V. were shown especially clearly in his nominations of Cardinals. His first great creation took place before the end of the first year of his pontificate, on December 18th, 1585.¹ It was a pleasant surprise when the Pope returned to a custom that had been observed before the time of Gregory XIII., by announcing eight days previously his intention of adding to the numbers of the Sacred College,² in which, owing to many deaths, there were vacancies. This gave the Cardinals as well as the ambassadors an opportunity of expressing their wishes, and also of raising objections, which the Pope listened to with

¹ See Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 56.

² There had died in 1585, on May 1, Nicc. Gaetano; May 16, Guido Ferreri; May 23, Alb. Bolognetti; June 5, Georges d' Armagnac; July 18, Aless. Riario; October 16, G. Sirleto; November 28, M. Contarelli (see PETRAMELLARIUS, 282 *seq.*). The tomb of Sirleto in S. Lorenzo in Panisperna is adorned with a fine marble bust of the Cardinal; the inscription calls him the patron of scholars and of the poor (*cf.* ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 126 *seq.*). “*Iste cardinalis,” writes Alaleone in his Diarium, “erat pater pauperum et quod habebat pro elemosina distribuebat et erat litteratissimus vir, homo integer et devotus” (Barb. 2814, Vatican Library). “*Il card, Sirleto, che se n' andò in cielo domenica mentre era a tavola, ha lasciato di se una santissima memoria et un' infinità di poveri che il piangono, ch' erano da lui spesso sovenuti senza g'ordinarii che spesava ch' erano più di cento venti bocche ne di questi 30 il servivano perciocchè la maggior parte erano poveri giovani studenti ovvero poveri derelitti o altre persone simili,” reports Capilupi, October 9, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

great patience.¹ But he made the final decision entirely alone, and on the day before gave to Cardinals Rusticucci and Montalto the list, which he kept changing until the last moment.² This contained the names of eight prelates. They were all Italians, with the exception of the Hungarian, George Draskovich, Archbishop of Kalocsa, who had done good service at the Council of Trent, and whose elevation had already been promised to the Emperor by Gregory XIII., as well as by Sixtus V. himself.³ The other candidates who had been nominated by the princes did not seem to the Pope to be reliable or suitable, so none of them were taken into consideration.⁴

The list of those raised to the purple on December 18th shows how seriously and with what a sense of responsibility Sixtus V. had acted.⁵ All were men of a blameless past, and of great merit.⁶ Most of them were still in the vigour of their age, and they were all well known to the Pope. Thus Ippolito Aldobrandini and Errico Caetani had distinguished themselves in offices of great responsibility at the Curia. As Bishop of Padua, the Venetian Federico Cornaro had done good service in carrying out the decrees of Trent and in the establishment of a seminary. He was one of those who had

¹ See *Avviso of December 21, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

² This is *reported by Capilupi on December 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See the *report of Capilupi of December 20, 1585, *ibid.* Giov. Federico Madruzzo *reports from Rome on July 13, 1585, to Rudolph II. : The Pope promises to create at the first promotion the Archbishop of Kalocsa (Draskovich), "verum nullo unquam tempore se extra ieiunii tempora cardinales creare velle, asserens praedecessores suos in hoc nec laudare neque imitari posse, qui multoties aliis . . . diebus cardinales creaverunt" (State Archives, Vienna).

⁴ See the *report of Capilupi of December 20, 1585, *loc. cit.* and the *letter of Sporeno of December 21, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

⁵ Opinion of HERRE (370).

⁶ Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 151 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 228 *seq.*; TEMPESTI, I., 314 *seq.*

taken part in the four provincial councils held by Charles Borromeo. The Bishop of Pavia, too, Ippolito de' Rossi, who was a native of Parma, had been praised by the apostolic visitors as labouring in accordance with the spirit of the great Archbishop of Milan.¹ The Genoese, Domenico Pinelli, was also an old friend of the Pope, who had formerly made over to him his own bishopric of Fermo. How well Pinelli had laboured there in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform was shown by the fact that he had established there houses of the Oratorians and Jesuits. Pinelli was also a scholar of distinction, and was looked upon as an authority on Canon Law. By the elevation of Decio Azzolini and Giambattista Castrucci the Pope intended above all to reward the services of two tried fellow labourers. They were close friends, and were distinguished for those qualities which the Pope especially valued in his servants, loyalty and devotedness.²

When discontent was expressed with the nominations,³ Sixtus V. said quite frankly that it was enough for him if the Cardinals whom he had appointed were men worthy of esteem, even though they were not brilliantly gifted.⁴ It was supposed however that very soon others of his servants, such as his

¹ Capilupi brings out this circumstance in his *report of December 18, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *A letter of thanks from Cardinal Rossi to Aldus Manutius for his congratulations, dated Rome, January 18, 1586, in MS. 272 of the Library at Montpellier.

² See the *report of Capilupi of December 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. HERRE, 370, whose statement that Pinelli was a Jesuit was untrue. According to the *Relatione al card. Este in Cod. 6619 of the State Library, Vienna, at the end of 1599 a great influence on behalf of the appointment of Pinelli was exercised by his brother Giov. Agostino " banchiere in Roma, con cui Sisto avanti il papato in materia pecuniaria hebbe qualche obbligo."

³ Cf. *Avviso of January 4, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 7, Vatican Library.

⁴ See PRIULI, Relazione, 312 *seq.*

steward, Antonio Maria Galli, and his chaplain, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, who was skilled in drawing up memorials, would receive the purple.¹ When this actually occurred later on, sharp criticism was not wanting. Among those who expressed themselves to this effect was the learned Jesuit Toledo, who in a sermon at the Vatican frankly raised his voice against the autocratic conduct of Sixtus V.² But the Pope did not suffer himself to be deterred by this, for Galli and Pallotta were excellent priests, and Pallotta, whose charitable acts had won for him general praise, led a truly saintly life.³

A short time before the second promotion of Cardinals, Sixtus V. signed, on December 3rd, 1586, his celebrated bull which gave the College of Cardinals its definite form.⁴ In the introduction to this bull, which was composed by Cardinal Santori,⁵ Sixtus V. compared the Cardinals to the Apostles who surrounded Our Lord. He expressed their close relations with the holder of the Primacy, by saying that they were so to speak the most noble and the most important members of his body. As the Pope's advisers and assistants, he continues, the Cardinals must be prepared, if necessary, to shed their blood for the Catholic religion, for the Catholic people and the Holy See. In order that they may be, as their name implies, the "hinges" of the Church, the main pillars and columns of the Temple of God, the Pope must appoint

¹ See *ibid.*

² "Habitus," it is stated in *Sixtus V., P.M., "eam ob rem profusior quam deceret privatorum in se obsequiorum remunerator auditusque aliquando eo audiente concionator [Toledo] in Vaticano est adversus indignorum honores libere declamitans eo argumento non licere ob fidelem quovis in ministerio operam quovis honore domesticos remunerari neque enim ob cibos recte conditos consentaneum esse, ut quis ad purpuram vocaretur." Papal Secret Archives.

³ See HERRE, 389.

⁴ Bull., VIII., 808 *seq.* the text of the bull "Postquam verus" which was discussed in consistory on November 5 (GULIX-EUBEL, III., 54); is was published on December 9, 1586.

⁵ See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 176.

to that dignity only the most eminent men, all the more so, as to the Sacred College belongs the election of the successor of St. Peter. The constitution especially recommends, as Leo X. and the Council of Trent had already done, that those who are raised to the cardinalate should possess the qualities necessary for the episcopal office, and that therefore, among other things, they should be thirty years of age. The only exception to this should be in the case of the Cardinal Deacons, in whose case it will be sufficient to have reached the age of twenty-two, but anyone who is appointed at that age must, under the penalty of forfeiting their active and passive vote, be ordained within the course of a year. Besides exemplary conduct, sincere piety, ardent zeal, blameless purity of faith, and great prudence with regard to learning, it is especially recommended that besides doctors of canon law, or of both branches of law, there should be among the members of the Sacred College eminent masters in theology, preferably from the Mendicant Orders, and that there should be at least four of these. All impediments which prevent the reception of orders, and especially irregularity, are also to be impediments to the cardinalate. Comparing this dignity to the royal dignity, Sixtus V. lays down the principle that illegitimate sons are to be absolutely excluded, and that in their case neither legitimization, nor dispensation, nor rehabilitation may be applied. In order that the cardinalial dignity may not be attained by persons incapable of ecclesiastical functions, it is only to be conferred on these who are already clerics, and have received the four minor orders, and who at the same time have not for a year previously renounced the tonsure or ecclesiastical dress. Those too are to be excluded who have children, especially living ones, whether they are legitimate or are illegitimate. The decree of Julius III. that under no circumstances, even for the most pressing reasons, must anyone be raised to the cardinalate who already has a brother in the Sacred College, was extended by Sixtus V. in such a way that the Cardinal's hat was to be conferred on nobody who had a cousin, or uncle, or nephew, or in general any collateral relative in the first or second degree already invested

with that dignity. If, despite this, such a nomination were to be made, the constitution declares it to be invalid *a priori*. Since the Cardinals, together with the Pope, have to rule the whole Church, it is decreed in conformity with the Council of Trent, that in filling the Sacred College,¹ care must always be taken that, as far as is possible and desirable, it shall be composed of men of different nationalities. If anyone is appointed who is not resident in the Curia, he must take an oath on receiving the hat, to go to Rome within the year, to have his title conferred upon him; the failure to comply with this oath is threatened with the penalty of disability and the forfeiture of the cardinalate.

With regard to the number of the Cardinals, which hitherto had been very uncertain, Sixtus V. started with the principle that, taking into consideration the state of affairs at the time, the inclusion of all the nations, and the fact that some would be prevented by age or illness from the exercise of their office, a considerable number of Cardinals was necessary, but not, however, so large that the dignity of the cardinalate suffered, as had been the case in his own time. Therefore, in imitation of the seventy ancients of the Old Testament, who assisted Moses, he enacted that in future the number of the Cardinals was not to be greater than seventy, namely six Bishops, fifty Priests, and fourteen Deacons. Any appointment over and above this number was to be void. Finally he regulated in greater detail the right of "option."²

A special constitution of April 13th, 1587,³ was devoted

¹ This was only to take place in Advent.

² Cf. HINSCHIUS, I., 345 *seq.*

³ The constitution "Religiosa sanctorum" (Bull., VIII., 833 *seq.*) was discussed at the consistories of April 6 and 13 (GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54) and published on May 13, 1587. Cf. as to this PHILLIPS VI., 228 *seq.* An *Avviso of February 8, 1587, mentions a congregation for the reform of the titular churches; according to the *Avviso of March 4, 1587, the national churches could not be made into titular churches, as had been at first intended, because they were dependent on their own sovereigns. Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 177, who also deals with the second bull.

to the external form of the Sacred College. This laid it down that it rested upon a tradition handed down from the earliest times that the priests of the Holy Roman Church should have certain churches assigned to them, which were called their titles,¹ and which were so to say their dioceses, while the deacons had the various regions of the city assigned to them for the purpose of the preservation and spread of the Christian religion: thus they, like the six Bishops who presided over the neighbouring Cathedral churches, were to possess their titles and deaconries with the clergy and people belonging to them, and which were to be made over to their quasi-episcopal authority in both material and spiritual matters. Since, however, some of the ancient titles and deaconries had disappeared owing to the vicissitudes of the times, and others of the more recent ones were inconveniently situated, it was laid down as follows: first, that every effort was to be made that the old ones should be preserved as far as possible, so that they might continue to be conferred in the future, and secondly, that in the place of such modern titles, ancient churches or certain outstanding new ones should be made into titular churches.

In conformity with this, the six ancient cardinalitial episcopal sees remained: Ostia, Porto (S. Rufina), Sabina, Tusculum (Frascati), Albano and Praeneste (Palestrina), while the number of Cardinal Priest's titles was raised to fifty. Of these twenty-six were ancient titles,² namely S. Croce in Gerusalemme, SS. Quattro Coronati, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Anastasia, S. Sabina, S. Stefano in Monte Celio, S. Clemente, SS. Nereo e Achilleo, S. Susanna, S. Pudenziana, S. Sisto, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Martino ai Monti, S. Eusebio, S. Prisca, S. Vitale, S. Marco, S. Marcello, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, SS. Apostoli, S. Lorenzo in Damaso, S. Balbina, S. Cecilia, S. Crisogono, S. Prassede and S. Maria in Trastevere. Fourteen of the new titular churches were to remain: SS. Quirico e Giulitta, S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, S. Agnese

¹ The origin of the name is still uncertain.

² I.e. 25; see GRISAR, *Gesch. Roms.*, I., 151.

in Agone, S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, S. Tommaso in Parione, S. Silvestro in Campo Marzo, S. Pancrazio, S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, S. Matteo in Merulana, S. Maria in Aracoeli, S. Maria in Via, S. Maria sopra Minerva, S. Maria degli Angeli, and S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni. The deaconry of S. Onofrio was made a presbyteral title, and the following nine titles were erected: S. Agostino, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Alessio, S. Biagio dell'Anello (ai Catinari), S. Maria della Pace, S. Salvatore in Lauro, S. Pietro in Montorio, S. Trinità de' Monti, and S. Maria in Transpontina. Only fourteen deacon's titles remained: S. Maria in Aquiro, S. Maria in Cosmedin, SS. Cosma e Damiano, S. Maria Nova (S. Francesca Romana), S. Adriano, S. Maria in Via Lata, S. Maria in Portico (S. Galla), S. Angelo in Pescheria, S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano, S. Maria in Domnica, S. Eustachio, S. Vito in Macello, S. Agata and S. Giorgio in Velabro. These deacon's titles were to be strictly separated from the priest's titles, so that confusion might be avoided in future, as had occurred through conferring deacon's titles as priest's, and vice versa. It was further specially enacted that the title of S. Lorenzo in Damaso was always to be conferred on the Cardinal holding the office of vice-chancellor. The right of option was recognized in the constitution, as well as the quasi-episcopal rights of the Cardinal Priests and Deacons in their titles. The Bishop of Ostia was to be the Dean.

A few days after the publication of the first constitution, on December 17th, 1586, Sixtus V. made his second great appointment of Cardinals. As early as January, 1586, both ambassadors and Cardinals had begun to work on behalf of their candidates, but neither the wishes of the Emperor, nor of Duke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Dukes of Bavaria, Mantua and Ferrara, nor of the senate of Milan were satisfied.¹ In November it was learned that the creation was imminent, and the names of

¹ See *Avviso of January 22, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library, and the *report of Sporeno of December 20, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

many and various candidates were mentioned.¹ The Cardinals of the reform commission were discussing at that moment the bull in which the Pope intended to lay down in the strictest manner the qualities of those who were to receive the red hat.² Sixtus V. summoned the commission to discuss the appointments, and their reply was that the Sacred College had no need for the son of any prince, of any lawyer or canonist, nor of any statesman, but only of theologians.³ Immediately before a decision was come to, however, Cardinals Santori, Medici, Farnese, Gonzaga and Este presented petitions on behalf of their candidates,⁴ but in the end the Pope acted upon his own judgment alone. This caused much dissatisfaction,⁵ but when Sixtus V. announced his choice at the consistory of December 17th, 1586, the Sacred College did not dare to make any serious opposition.⁶

¹ See *Avviso of November 8, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vat. Lib. (App. n. 10). See also *Rom. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 143, and the *report of Malegnani of November 12, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the strenuous efforts of the Duke of Mantua on behalf of Scipione Gonzaga *cf.* also the *report of Capilupi of December 17, 1587, *ibid.*

² *Cf.* *Avvisi of November 8 and 15, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

³ See *Avviso of November 29, 1586, *ibid.*

⁴ See *Avvisi of December 10, 13 and 20, 1586, *ibid.* The candidate of Este was his own "gentilhuomo Ercole Tassoni."

⁵ The annoyance of Santori comes out in his *Autobiografia* (XIII., 176). According to the *Avviso of December 17, 1586, Santori concealed his anger at the consistory "con scherzi sopra la bolla." Vatican Library.

⁶ See *Acta consist.* 848 and GULIK-EUBEL, III., 56 *seq.* (wrong date); *Avviso of December 17, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library; *report of Malegnani of December 17, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua: Gualterius, *Ephemerides (with description of most of the newly appointed Cardinals), Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. Biographies of the new Cardinals in CIACONIUS, IV., 161 *seq.* *Cf.* CARDELLA, V., 247 *seq.* The incident with Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto recorded by TEMPESTI (I., 448 *seq.*) following

On this occasion, too, only one foreigner, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Bishop of Auxerre, the zealous supporter of Henry III. of France,¹ received the red hat, together with seven Italians. Two of these, the Dominican, Girolamo Bernerio from Correggio, and the Franciscan, Costanzo Boccafuoco of Sarnano, in the March of Ancona, fulfilled the requirements of the constitution of December 3rd, 1586, by their theological learning. In the case of Bernerio Sixtus V. was also rewarding his blameless life, in that of Antonio Maria Galli his good and faithful service, and in those of Girolamo Mattei and the Genoese, Benedetto Giustiniani, their knowledge of law. The Archbishop of Turin, Girolamo della Rovere, for whom the Duke of Savoy had interceded,² was

the "Anonimo Capitolino" I have not been able to find in the above-named authors. With regard to the life and good qualities of G. Mattei see GARAMPI, 316. For the complications with the Duke of Savoy in consequence of the appointment of Boccafuoco as Bishop of Vercelli see MORONI, LXII., 29.

¹ By a *letter of February 25, 1586, Sixtus V. informed King Henry III. that he had given way in the matter of the promotion of Lenoncourt, which had at first been refused, by a special act of good-will (Nunziat. di Francia, XIX., 175, Papal Secret Archives). Henry III. thanked him in a *letter of June 11, 1586, *ibid.* and again pressed for the appointment of Gondi (*cf.* BREMOND, 257 *seq.*). A *letter of Henry III. to Sixtus V., dated November 26, 1586, asked for the red hat for Alessandro Pico della Mirandola (Nunziat. di Francia, XIX., 336, *loc. cit.*).

² In the *brief to the Doge of December 17, 1586, Sixtus V. describes the new Cardinals. He characterizes "Hieronymum de Ruvere archiep. Taurin." as a "virum et generis nobilitate et ex ea familia Romanorum Pontificum splendore et propria virtute illustrem." *Cf.* Ph. Lenoncourt, he says: "cuius magna semper fuerunt in rempublicam christianam merita." H. Bernerius, episc. Ascul., Ord., *praed.*, is described as "theologus et vitae integritate et doctrina commendatione insignis; Constantinus frater ord. min. as a "theologus eximius inque optimis sacrorum doctorum libris versatissimus"; H. Matheus and B. Iustinianus as "viri in iuris tum civilis tum canonici doctrina exercitatissimi inque omnibus negotiis magna semper cum integritate et laude

recommended by his learning, his knowledge of the state of affairs in France, and his relationship to two Popes. Ascanio Colonna was another scholar, by whose appointment the Pope was meeting the wishes of Philip II., while at the same time he gave outward expression to his reconciliation with the family of the Orsini.¹ As had been the case with the promotion of the previous year, so now Sixtus V. kept no other object before his eyes than the safeguarding of the interests of the Church; all political considerations, or personal and selfish aims, were excluded, unless we interpret in the latter sense the efforts of the Pope to appoint men of like views with himself.² In the oath which the new Cardinals took on December 20th, 1586, the new constitution issued by Sixtus V. was expressly accepted.³

versati"; Asc. Colonna as "vir nobilitate et doctrina excellenti laudatissimus." of A.M.Gallus, episc. Perusin., it is said "familiaris noster nobis probatus atque ob multas virtutes inprimis carus." Original in State Archives, Venice, Bolle. Of similar tenor is the description in the *brief to Philip II., also of December 17, 1586, in which Sixtus V. remarks that he had been unable to grant the request of the king on behalf of Allen, whose zeal, learning and purity of morals were well known to him, because the number was already complete when Philip's letter arrived; he would grant his request in due time. Epist Sixti V. in Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 370, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* of the same date, *briefs to the Dukes of Bavaria and Ferrara, the King of Poland and the Bishop of Paris. In the latter it is stated that the Pope had been unable to grant the request of Henry III., to promote the bishop, although he esteemed him highly; it was not the will but the possibility that was lacking. A *panegyric in verse of Robardus on Cardinal Lenoncourt in the extracts from the *Contelorio*, Arm. 11, t. 49, Papal Secret Archives. I. CASTALIONIS, Carmen ad Hier. de Ruvere cardinal. a S. D. N. Sixto V. creatum, and printed Rome, 1586.

¹ See letter to Philip II. in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 569; BENTIVOGLI, *Memorie*, 88; HERRE, 386 *seq.* For the magnificent library of A. Colonna see *Anecd. litt.*, I., Rome, 1773, 75 *seq.*

² See HERRE, *loc. cit.*

³ See **Diarium Alaleonis*, Vatican Library. Cf. the form of oath in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 228.

Although the Sacred College lost six of its members in 1586, and seven in 1587,¹ nevertheless Sixtus V., who had conferred the purple on the Englishman, Allen, on August 7th,² did not, at the creation of December 18th, 1587, exceed the number of eight, which he had adopted in the two previous years. On this occasion, however, there were three foreigners and only five Italians raised to the purple.³ Lively discussions had preceded the nomination, especially with Cardinal Farnese, who in his latter years besieged the Pope on behalf of his candidate, Carlo Conti, Bishop of Ancona, but without success.⁴ Sixtus V. held firm to his principle that, after taking

¹ There died in 1586: on February 19, Michele della Torre; June 7, Filippo Boncompagni; September 21, Granvelle; September 29, Pietro Donato Cesi, December 18, George Draskovich; December 30, Luigi d'Este; in 1587: March 23, Charles Rambouillet; May 5, Franc. Gambarà; August 17, Filippo Guastavillani; September 5, Decio Azzolini; October 30, Vaudemont; December 5, Jacopo Savelli (see PETRAMELLARIUS, 303 *seq.*). The *Oratio habita in templo SS. XII. Apostolorum in funere Phil. Guastavillani card. Camerarii, 1587 in Cod. D. 8, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

² Acta consist. in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 57. Particulars as to this *infra*, chapter VIII. and Vol. XXII., chapter I.

³ See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 57 *seq.*; CIACONIUS, IV., 176 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 273 *seq.*; TEMPESTI, I., 707 *seq.*

⁴ According to the *Avvisi of November 25 and 28, 1587, Gondi, Mendoza, Gonzaga, Sauli and Pallotta were looked upon as safe candidates, though the Pope preserved an absolute silence. An *Avviso of December 2 reports that the Pope would not allow betting as to the candidates; by that time, besides Gonzaga, Lelio Orsini and the Archbishop of Naples, Annibale di Capua, were looked upon as certain (Urb. 1055, Vatican Library). Of the Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Madruzzo *reported on December 18 to Vienna that Sixtus V. had promised that if the state of affairs in Poland gave an opportunity he would effect his promotion separately and out of the proper time, but otherwise not, in spite of the request of the Emperor (State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp., 9). According to the *Avviso of December 12, Farnese had at first urged the Pope to abstain from any

into account the just desires of the princes, nothing but ecclesiastical considerations must be taken into account in filling the Sacred College.¹ The new appointments show how truly this was the case.²

The most distinguished was the friend and protector of Tasso, Scipione Gonzaga, who was the cousin of St. Aloysius and the friend of Charles Borromeo and Philip Neri.³ He had entered the ecclesiastical state at a mature age, and would have become a Cardinal under Gregory XIII., if the latter had not had a quarrel with the Duke of Mantua. After Sixtus V. had healed this dispute, Scipione was at first threatened with the loss of his revenues,⁴ and then at the last moment it seemed that his promotion was imperilled by the fact that the Gonzaga family was already represented in the Sacred College by Cardinal Vincenzo Gonzaga;⁵ but this obstacle, too, was happily overcome. In Rome the appointment of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the title borne by Scipione

promotion, as the Sacred College was already large enough, and especially was this true of those who had no means, whose position should in the first place be improved. According to the *Avviso of December 19 Farnese also made a request on Wednesday on behalf of C. Conti, but was not listened to, so that he left the audience very dissatisfied. Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

¹ Cf. HERRE, 389. The intercession of the Archduke Ernest on behalf of G. Fr. Biglia was without result (*letter of July 18, 1587, Graziani Archives, Città di Castello) as well as that of the Emperor for Lelio Orsini (*letter of November 26, 1587).

² In his *brief to the Doge, December 20, 1587, Sixtus V. boasts of them as being distinguished for their "fede, prudentia, pietate spectatissima." Original in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

³ Cf. besides CIACONIUS, IV., 176 *seq.*, I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, II., 39 *seq.*, 204; BAUMGARTEN, Weltliteratur, VI., 373; SORDI, Appendice alle biografie de' Canonici Mantovani, Mantua, 1864, II *seq.*

⁴ Cf. LUZIO, L' Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova, II., Verona, 1912, 175. *Ibid.*, 147 a very characteristic letter of Sixtus V. to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of July 19, 1586.

⁵ See the *Avviso of December 16, 1587, which brings out the complete integrity of Gonzaga, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

Gonzaga, was hailed with sincere joy.¹ The same was the case with the elevation of the Archbishop of Genoa, Antonio Maria Sauli, and of Federico Borromeo.² The appointment of Sauli, for whom, as for Gonzaga, the Grand Duke of Tuscany had interceded,³ was not a happy one, as later on he developed worldly tendencies.⁴ All the more happy was that of Federico, who was hardly twenty-three years old, and, brought up in the school of Philip Neri, was following in the footsteps of his uncle Charles; the future founder of the Ambrosian Library was already distinguished for his love of learning, as well as for his ecclesiastical spirit.⁵ Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, Archbishop of Cosenza, owed the hat to the faithful services he had rendered to Sixtus V. The latter was wont to say of him that he was a hidden jewel.⁶ The same praise could be bestowed upon another old friend of the Pope, who received the purple at the same time: this was the Servite, Stefano Bonucci, Bishop of his native city, Arezzo.⁷

¹ See Gualterius, *Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

² See *ibid.*

³ Cf. autograph *letter of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, December 5, 1586. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3715.

⁴ "E poco ecclesiastico, ha bell'ingegno, gran memoria" says the *Discurso de cardinali viventi of 1618, in Cod. C. 20, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

⁵ A good biography of this distinguished man is unfortunately wanting, as the monograph of QUESNEL (Lille, 1890) is not sufficient. Of great value are the remarks of MAZZUCHELLI (II., 3, 1800 *seq.*) and the article by REUMONT in the *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, II., 1125 *seq.* We shall speak in a subsequent volume of the foundation by F. Borromeo of the Ambrosian Library; for the Cardinal as a patron of art see SCHLOSSER, *Quellenkunde f. Kunstgeschichte*, VI., Vienna, 1919, 54.

⁶ See TEMPESTI, I., 709. Gualterius says of Pallotta, *loc. cit.*: *"fide integritate, sollertia in rebus agendis, admirabili ingentique morum sanctitate praeditus est."

⁷ Gualterius (*loc. cit.*) gives a *biography of this distinguished man, who unfortunately died as early as January 1, 1589. *"Et

Men of strict ecclesiastical views were also Juan Mendoza, who was promoted at the wish of Philip II.,¹ and the Bishop of Paris, Pierre Gondi, whose appointment however was not pleasing to Henry III., who wished for that of Candale, Bishop of Aire.² Sixtus V. was led to the nomination of the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, Hugh de Loubenx de Verdala, who had come to Rome a short time before,³ in the hope of obtaining help in the struggle against the Turks.⁴

In the spring of 1588 Philip II. and Henry III. of France pressed for the appointment of more Cardinals.⁵ The King

expiravit dicens illa verba S. Stephani, cuius sancti ipse erat devotissimus: Video caelos apertos; coepit in festo S. Stephani aegrotare de pleuritide et obiit eius octava." Darium of P. Alaleone, Vatican Library.

¹ Sixtus V. wrote on March 20, 1587, that in the promotion he intended to take into consideration the wishes of Philip II.; see *Arch. Rom.*, V., 570 *seq.* PRIULI (Relazione, 327) claims to have learned from the Spanish ambassador himself that Philip II. desired that only Spaniards proposed by himself should receive the purple, and that otherwise he preferred that there should be no promotion of any Spaniard.

² Cf. BREMOND, 260 *seq.* Sixtus V. informed Henry III. on January 6, 1588, of the elevation of Gondi; on the same day he sent the red hat to him and to Mendoza; see *Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 88 *seq.*, 90b, Papal Secret Archives.

³ For his entry and reception by the Pope on December 8, 1587, see the *Avviso of December 9, 1589. The Grand Master had lodgings in the Vatican in the apartments of Innocent VIII. The appointment of a Grand Master was exceptional (see Gualterius, *Ephemerides, *loc. cit.*); Verdala had to give a promise that he would retain his office; see *Avviso of December 19, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. For the intervention of Sixtus V. in the disputes of the Maltese, in the summer of 1586, see C. FEDELI, *Canteggio dei Gran Maestri coi duchi d' Urbino*, Pisa, 1912, 59 *seq.*

⁴ See TEMPESTI, I., 711.

⁵ Cf. the *report of Sporeno from Rome, March 16, 1588, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. For the intercession of Bavaria for its candidates see *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 143.

of France wished for support against the Spanish party of the League, and therefore recommended that the purple should be conferred upon the nuncio Gian Francesco Morosini. Sixtus V. consented to this on July 15th, 1588, out of consideration for the state of affairs in France, though Cardinal Santori was opposed to this step.¹ In the autumn the Emperor renewed his demands for the purple on behalf of the nuncio in Poland, Annibale di Capua.² The College of Cardinals did not wish for any further increase of their numbers, but it was believed in the Curia that the Pope would not for that reason abstain from doing what he thought necessary.³ Actually, the appointment of two more Cardinals was made on December 14th, 1588; this was obviously connected with the relations with Florence.

On October 19th, 1587, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco, had died, and had been succeeded by his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando. The Pope was determined to continue and develop the friendly relations with the government of Florence which had hitherto existed.⁴ Although it vexed him very much that Ferdinando should resign the purple, he nevertheless gave his consent, and at a consistory on November 28th, 1588, he declared that he accepted Ferdinando's resignation of the cardinalate.⁵ On December

¹ See the *Acta consist. of July 15, 1588, Barb. XXXVI., 5 P. II, Vatican Library.

² See SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 320 *seq.*

³ An *Avviso of November 21, 1588, reports that it is believed that three new Cardinals will be created at Christmas; bets were made on the candidate of Tuscany at 90 per cent., of Cusano at 60 per cent., and of the treasurer Pepoli at 40 per cent. "Quando il Papa vidde giovedì la lista delle scommesse, che si fa portare ogni sera per spasso et che trovó il No a cinque, disse: o povero No a che sei condotto . . ., et soggiunse il mondo osserva sopra ciò le nostre parole, ma noi faremmo quello che ci illuminerà il Spirito Santo." Vatican Library.

⁴ See HÜBNER, II., 98 *seq.* (German edition). For the relations of Ferdinand with Sixtus V. see REUMONT, Toskana, I., 380.

⁵ With regard to this see the *Documents in Cod. Barb. lat. 2814, p. 415b-421, Vatican Library. The *letter of Ferdinand

14th Ferdinando's confidant, Francesco Maria del Monte, who had been working for a long time in Rome in the interests of Florence, received the purple.¹

An intermediary between Rome and Florence was all the more necessary in that dissensions between the violent characters of Ferdinando and Sixtus V. were inevitable,² while their removal was all the more desirable in that the two rulers had to rely upon each other in their common interest. In order still further to promote the interests of the Church the Pope added to Francesco Maria del Monte the Milanese Agostino Cusano, who belonged to the school of Borromeo, and was living in Rome as the associate of the younger disciples of the Archbishop of Milan, and was the friend of Philip Neri.³ It was characteristic of the temper of the Sacred College that even this small creation aroused such a storm of discontent that at first the Pope could hardly make himself heard at the consistory.⁴ Naturally he had

to Sixtus V., November 22, 1588 (X Cal. Decemb.), also in Cod. Celsiusus 54 of the Library at Upsala. The statement of Guido Sommi Picenardi, that the resignation only took place in 1589 (*Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., XLVII., 106) is wrong.

¹ See *Acta consist.* in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 58; with regard to Monte and Cusano the remarks in CIACONIUS, IV., 192 *seq.* Cf. CARDELLA, V., 299 *seq.*

² Cf. HÜBNER, II., 305 *seq.* The necessary dispensation for the marriage of Ferdinand, who was in minor orders, was granted by the Pope without delay, but reluctantly, because as Hübner rightly remarks, the fact that an ex-prince of the Church should contract marriage was repugnant to him. The Pope's indignation was justified by the fact that Ferdinand was still wearing the purple when the preparations for the entry of his bride were begun in Florence.

³ See HERRE, 395.

⁴ See the *Avviso of December 14, 1588. The *vote of Santori against the promotion because "s. hoc collegium referitssimum esset viris eminentissimis et omni virtutum et scientiarum genere praestantissimis ornatissimisque" in *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae*, in Barb. XXXVI., 5 P, II., p. 273, Vatican Library. Brumani *reports on December 15, 1588, that Gondi had un-

no idea of giving way. In his biting way he rejected the protest of Paleotto with the pertinent remark that they were not dealing with Pius IV., who on one single occasion had appointed twenty-five Cardinals, among others the one who was now so indignant.¹

Although the views of the Sacred College remained unchanged, Sixtus V. again in December 1589 appointed four Cardinals. A decisive reason for this was probably the death of those Cardinals who for ten years past had been chiefly responsible for the grouping of parties in the Sacred College.² When, on December 30th, 1586, the celebrated Cardinal Luigi d'Este died unexpectedly, the Mantuan envoy remarked that the aged and greatly suffering Cardinal Farnese could not expect to live much longer.³ After the election of Sixtus V. the "great Cardinal" as Farnese was called, had retired to his magnificent castle of Caprarola, which remains his splendid monument. Although Farnese did not even now neglect literature and art, which owed so much to him,⁴ yet he lived more and more in the practice of spiritual things, having long changed from being a man of the world into a zealous promoter of the Catholic restoration. Above all he loved the Jesuits. He had built for them in Rome, not only their professed house, but also the magnificent church of the Gesù, on the façade of which his name may still be read. It was the Jesuits too under whose guidance he prepared himself for death.⁵ This he did not only with fervent

successfully made in the name of Henry III. requests for the appointment of a French Cardinal. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

¹ See the report of Gritti in HÜBNER, II., 6 *seq.*

² See HERRE, 395.

³ *Report of Malegnani of December 31, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Leonardo Salviati published an Orazione delle lodi di Don Luigi card. d'Este fatta nella morte di quel Signore, Florence, 1587, which is dedicated to King Henry III.

⁴ Cf. Navenne, Palais Farnese, Rome, 1915, 615 *seq.*

⁵ *"E verissimo, che 'l card. Farnese in tutto et per tutto s'è dato allo spirito, et che ha di continuo al fianco i Jesuiti, non

prayer, but also by a yet greater distribution of alms. When, at the beginning of December, 1587, the Cardinal returned to Rome, there was great joy.¹ Sixtus V. welcomed him very affectionately: certainly Farnese did not obtain any great influence, but the Pope never failed to show him every attention.² On March 4th, 1589, a series of strokes brought about the death of this Cardinal, who had worn the purple for fifty-five years. Immediately after the first attack Farnese had the sacrament of Extreme Unction administered. Assisted by a Jesuit, he passed his last hours in uninterrupted exercises of piety and penance. "Thus he encouraged all his people" wrote the Venetian ambassador Badoer, "by the holiness of his death." Rome, Badoer continued, lost in him a Cardinal who, for experience, discernment, generosity and munificence to the poor, and Christian charity to all, had no equal.³ It was further stated that the dead man had spent 450,000 scudi annually on good works since 1586, a third part of his whole income.⁴ He also made large gifts during his illness. When the discalced friars had asked him for a small alms, the Cardinal promised to give them a sack of grain, but on the following day sent them a sack full of gold

trattando S. S. ill^{ma} d'altro, che di volersi spogliare di queste grandezze mondane, facendo elemosine regie di cento rubbia di grano alla volta a luoghi pii." Avviso of September 10, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

¹ See *Avviso of December 5, 1587, according to which the Grand Duke of Tuscany said of Farnese that he was "unico splendore e grandezza della corte." Urb. 1055, Vatican Library.

² When the Pope received Farnese on the Sunday, reports the *Avviso December 7, 1588, he embraced him and kissed him and made sit down in intimate conversation beside him, granted him all the favours he asked for, and also spoke of promotion. Urb. 1056, Vatican Library.

³ See HÜBNER, II., 8. Cf. in App. n. 21 the *Avviso of March 4, 1589, Vatican Library. Farnese had made his will in 1587; see LANCIANI, II., 168.

⁴ See *Avviso of 1586, s.d., Urb. 1054, and in App. n. 21 *that of March 4, 1589, Vatican Library.

pieces.¹ The body of Farnese was exposed in the great hall of the Cancelleria, and thence was taken to the Gesù where it was buried in front of the altar. Forty-two Cardinals assisted at the obsequies.² In many places the merchants and craftsmen draped their shop-windows with mourning, and the whole city mourned his loss,³ especially the poor and the superiors of ecclesiastical institutions; at the end of March the envoy of Urbino wrote that Rome was still showing its grief and its respect for Cardinal Farnese.⁴

In November Rome was eagerly discussing a coming creation of Cardinals, and hazarding every sort of name.⁵ The Spanish ambassador was making every effort to obtain the nomination of Odoardo Farnese, Henry III. of the Archbishop of Lyons, Pierre d'Épinac, and Rudolph II. of the nuncio Antonio Puteo,⁶ while the agent of the Duke of Bavaria was resisting the promotion of Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, the Archbishop of Salzburg, which was being recommended by Madruzzo and Mark Sittich.⁷

¹ See *Avviso of March 8, 1589, which contains an attack on the parsimony of Sixtus V., Urb. 1057, Vatican Library.

² Cf. *Avviso of March 22, 1589, Vatican Library; *Diarium di P. Alaleone, *ibid.*; FRANC. FERRETTI, *Relatione della morte e funerale del card. Farnese*, Ancona, 1589; FRANC. COATTINI, *Raccolta d'orazioni e rime di diversi col discorso e descrizione dell'esequie e del catafalco in morte del sig. card. Farnese*, Romae, 1589; PETRI MAGNI, *Oratio in funere card. A. Farnesii*, Romae, 1589; GIOV. BATT. LEONI, *Oratione nell'esequie del card. Farnese*, Roma, 1589; also: *Funeris pompa Alex. card. Farnesio S.R.E. vicecam. episc. Ost. ex archiconfraternitatis confalonis decreto*, 28, IV., 1589 (Engraving, H. RAYNALDUS, inv.).

³ "Multi artifices ornarunt suas apothecas pannis nigris significantes luctum et in rei veritate tota civitas contristata est propter amissionem huiusmodi viri." *Diarium of P. Alaleone*, Vatican Library.

⁴ Urb. 1057, p. 154, Vatican Library.

⁵ See the *Avvisi of November 9, 18 and 29, 1589, Urb. 1057 Vatican Library.

⁶ See Rudolphi II., *Epistolae*, Vienna, 1771, 71 seq.

⁷ Cf. the *report of Giulio Cassano of November 29, 1589, State Archives, Modena.

On this occasion too Sixtus V. followed his own opinions.¹ Besides the Bishop of Metz, Charles of Lorraine, who was to take the place of his uncle, who had been killed in the previous year, on December 20th, 1589, he appointed two good theologians, who were at the same time his fellow-countrymen; the governor-general of Rome, Mariano Pierbenedetti of Camerino, and the General of the Augustinians, Gregorio Petrochino of Montelapare in the Marches; to these he added his treasurer, Count Guido Pepoli.²

During his thirteen years' pontificate Gregory XIII. had created thirty-four Cardinals; the number raised to the purple by Sixtus V. in four was thirty-three. Of these twenty-eight were at any moment liable to be called upon

¹ See the *Avvisi of December 9, 20 and 23, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library, and the *report of Brumani of December 9, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the Archbishop of Salzburg see WIDMANN, III., 212 *seq.*, and SCHWEIZER, III., 118. To the request of Henry III. for the Archbishop of Lyons, the Pope *replied on December 31, 1589, that he esteemed the archbishop and would promote him later on, but that now it was impossible. "Consuevimus binis consistoriis totum cardinalium creandorum negotium conficere; primo numerum ac personas declaramus, de quibus cogitamus, altero rem totam obsolvimus." The arrival of Gondi occurred between the two consistories. *Brevia Sixti V.*, Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 59b, Papal Secret Archives.

² Sixtus V. explained the reasons for the nomination at the consistory; see *Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5 P. II., Vatican Library. For those appointed see CIACONIUS, IV., 194 *seq.*; CARDELLA, V., 303 *seq.* The Pope sent the hat to Charles of Lorraine with a *brief of January 6, 1590. On January 22, 1590, he *wrote to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany about Petrochino, who was united with him in close friendship. (*Cf.* as to him I. NICII ERYTHRAEI *Pinacotheca*, I., 232). *Brevia Sixti V.*, Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives. According to the *Relatione al card. Este of 1599 Petrochino had also been recommended to the Pope by Philip II. This helped on the nomination "alla quale Sisto inclinava da se dopo che senza conoscerlo per relatione del cardinale Azzolini lo prese in gratia." Cod. 6619 of the State Library, Vienna.

to take part in a conclave,¹ but not content with having thus made provision for the carrying on of the tradition of his pontificate, Sixtus V. further planned a reform in the election of the Pope. This took the form of enacting that instead of two-thirds, half the votes cast should be sufficient to secure a decision, while nothing but the secret ballot was to be allowed.² This did away with the election by adoration, which undoubtedly involved a restriction of liberty. But Sixtus V. died before his plan was carried through, though on the other hand he lived to see the completion of another important work; this was the reorganization of the whole system of administration.

Even during the first half of the seventeenth century a continually increasing difficulty had been found in the customary way of discharging the multifold and varied business which the Holy See had to undertake and decide, by means of the consistory of Cardinals assembled in the presence of the Pope. In course of time this was found to be more and more unsatisfactory, not to say impossible. Sixtus V. saw the way to provide a remedy already pointed out in the cardinalitial congregations instituted by his predecessors, to which certain definite ecclesiastical business was entrusted for decision. Only four of these, however, the Congregations of the Index, the Inquisition, the Council, and of Bishops, had a permanent character, whereas the many others only functioned temporarily. This arrangement provided a remedy for the delays in the discharge of business of which even in the fifteenth century many reports complained. It also resulted in a more settled procedure and gave a guarantee of an equitable decision, while it also reduced the expense, as to which even more complaints had been made than those concerning the delays of procedure. Sixtus V. clearly saw what an opportunity for a complete, logical, and speedy dispatch of business was afforded by its being entrusted to the cardinalitial congregations. He therefore showed a manifest preference for this way of dividing up the

¹ See HERRE, 409.

² See HÜBNER, II., 24 *seq.*

work from the beginning of his pontificate.¹ On May 17th, 1586, he set up a new permanent congregation to deal with the affairs of the Regulars.² A year and a half afterwards he proceeded with characteristic energy to a complete elaboration and a systematic organization of the congregations, which was to have a profound importance for the whole system of the government of the Church and the Papal States. At the consistory of January 22nd, 1588, he communicated his decision to the College of Cardinals, having first explained his plans in a long allocution.³ On February 19th, the bull was read in consistory. Cardinal Pellevé wished for various alterations, while Cardinals Santa Croce, Madruzzo and Paleotto (who was almost always in opposition) expressed themselves against the Pope's plan, but without meeting with any support. All the other Cardinals approved the document,⁴ which was published on March 23rd by being set up in the customary places, and at the consistory of May 11th was further elaborated by certain details concerning some of the points involved.⁵ The most important of the

1 * " S.Stà si vede che defeisce quasi in tutte le cose a questi congregazioni (di cardinali) per scaricar se stessa et per fare le deliberationi con più maturità." Report of Capilupi of March 21, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

2 In confirming the faculties of this congregation on June 13, 1586, Sixtus V. added that it must also settle the differences between the bishops and the regulars. The constitution, unfortunately missing in the Bullarium, is printed in the *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., 1, 1372 seqq.; I., 2, 2260 seq.

3 Acta consist. 855. Cf. LAMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 74.

4 Acta consist. in Barb., XXXVI., 5 P., II., p. 261, Vatican Library.

5 The bull " Immensa Dei " dated " Anno Incarnat. 1587, XI. Cal. Febr. Pontif. nostri anno tertio " (i.e. 1588, not 1587, as so frequently and quite recently stated in the otherwise excellent work of HILLING, Die rom. Kurie, Paderborn, 1906, 47 seq.), in Bull., VIII., 985 seq., where are also the " Declarationes " of May 11, 1588. The best commentary, which we have used in this work, is by PHILLIPS (VI., 561 seqq.). Cf. also MORONI, XVI., 140 seq.; BANGEN, 92 seqq.; *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., 2 (1857)

statements then made was that the decision of a congregation was only to be valid when it had received the assent of at least three Cardinals.¹

The bull dated January 22nd, 1588, which established the new organization of the congregations was undoubtedly drawn up by the Pope himself;² it magnificently expresses the ideas and motives which had inspired him. In the introduction Sixtus begins with a reference to the wonderful harmony which the infinite wisdom of the eternal God has set up in His creation. The Architect of all things, he continues, has united His creatures together in such a way, sweetly assigning to each its special purpose, that all serve and complete each other. In the heavenly Jerusalem He has divided the spirits of the Blessed into different orders, of which the higher illuminate the lower as to the designs of Divine Providence. He has also divided the body of the Church militant, which is an image of the Church triumphant, into its various members, which, united to their head and joined together by the bond of charity, help each other reciprocally, in such a way that the health and preservation of the whole body depends upon this.

Therefore, with good reason, the bull continues, the Roman Pontiff, whom Jesus Christ has appointed as the visible head of His body, which is the Church, and Who wills that he should guide and rule all the churches, surrounds himself by many

2230 *seq.*, 2362 *seq.*; HINSCHIUS, I., 448 *seq.*; P. GRAZIANI, Sixte-Quint et la réorganisation du St. Siège, Paris, 1906 (Ital. trans. Rome, 1910); B. OJETTI, De curia Rom., Rome, 1910 J. SIMIER, La curie Rom., Paris, 1909; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 106, 108. Of the archives of the various congregations BROM (Archivalia, III., lii. *seq.*) gives a good account. Cf. also *infra* p. 251, n. 2, for the archives of the Congregation of the Council.

¹ This annulled the constitution of Pius V. that the decisions of the Roman Inquisition, although decreed by only two Cardinals, were to have full validity; see PHILLIPS, VI., 589.

² See HÜBNER, II., 8; E. PINCHIA, Una pagina memorabile del Papato (Sisto V.), Portici, 1903, 13.

assistants for so immense a burden, and sets them by his side, whether they be the venerable bishops whom he sends throughout the world to care for the scattered flocks, or the exalted body of Cardinals who, as the most noble members in immediate relation with the head, the Supreme Pontiff, as were the Apostles with Jesus Christ, are ever by his side, and are his first associates and fellow labourers in work and counsel, to the end that he himself, by sharing with them and the other officers of the Roman Curia the gigantic burden of anxiety and business, may not, with the assistance of divine grace, succumb. Moved, therefore, by the example of the great Moses, who, though he spoke with God, did not despise the counsel of his brother-in-law Jethro, and by the order of God set up the senate of the seventy elders, that they might with him bear the burden of the people, and that he alone might not be troubled by them. We have decided to share the pontifical burden, which would be formidable for the shoulders of the angels themselves, among the senators of the world, our brethren the Cardinals, in the manner most salutary and adapted to the need of the times, and to the amount and diversity of the affairs, being well aware of the advantages to be gained thereby. We have allowed ourselves to be led to this course principally by the wish that all those men of every nation who seek refuge in such great numbers with this Apostolic See, the mother, mistress and refuge of all believers, with Us, in their piety and their desire of salvation, or for the protection of their rights, or in order to obtain favours, or for any other reason, may come to Rome in peace and security (in so far as it lies within our power in our States); and, in order that they may more easily and speedily discharge their business, that they may find various assemblies and congregations of Cardinals, ready to deal with definite questions and business, and in order that the Cardinals themselves may more easily fulfil the task assigned to them, administer their charge more diligently, and counsel us more suitably, and finally, in order that there may never be a lack of men in high position, well versed in public affairs. We have therefore set up fifteen congregations, drawn from

the Sacred College, and to each we have assigned definite business, in such a way that in more important and difficult questions they may have recourse to us, while to each we have given the necessary faculties and authority.

Of the fifteen congregations, six were to be concerned with the administration of the Papal States,¹ and all the rest with spiritual matters. The sphere of action of these new authorities in the Curia was definitely fixed.

Since the maintenance of the purity and integrity of the Catholic faith, which has been entrusted in quite a special manner by God to the successor of St. Peter, forms the foundation of the Church, Sixtus V. placed the Roman Inquisition at the head of his congregations, as being the most important bulwark of the faith. This court, of which, on account of the importance of the questions dealt with by it, the Pope himself held the presidency, was continued unchanged by Sixtus V., as founded by Paul III., and completed by Pius IV. and Pius V.,² and was confirmed in all its far-reaching jurisdiction. By this it retained, for all parts of the world where the Christian religion was practised, the right to take judicial proceedings against the crimes of heresy, schism, apostasy, magic, chiromancy, divination, and the abuse of the holy sacraments, as well as against anything that might arouse the suspicion of heresy.

The Cardinals hitherto belonging to the Inquisition, Lodovico Madruzzo, Giulio Antonio Santori, Pietro Deza, Gian Antonio Facchinetti, Giambattista Castagna, Girolamo Bernerio and Costanzo Sarnano, were confirmed in their office, while the privileges of the officials of the Inquisition were expressly renewed, and the Catholic powers were called upon to support the Inquisition with the secular arm.³

¹ Cf. *supra* pp. 99 *seq.*

² Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 505; Vol. XVI., p. 305; Vol. XVII., p. 228.

³ The warning given to the congregation to change nothing in the constitution of the Spanish Inquisition without the permission of the Pope, safeguarded the principle of the jurisdiction of the Pope over that institution. Cf. HINSCHIUS, VI., 362.

The Congregation of the Index, too, was merely confirmed, for that end and purpose, so closely united to that of the Inquisition, for which it had been established by Pius V.,¹ namely, to enable the Church to pronounce for all her subjects the prohibition of those books which she deemed dangerous to faith and morals. To this Congregation, as to all the others, only five Cardinals were appointed, namely, Marcantonio Colonna, Girolamo della Rovere, Philippe de Lenoncourt, William Allen and Ascanio Colonna. They were exhorted to complete from time to time the Index of prohibited books, and thus maintain the purity of the Catholic faith; they were also to seek the co-operation of the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Salamanca and Louvain, and other approved educational institutions. The Pope also gave the Congregation authority to summon to its aid theologians, canonists, and other learned men, and to permit them to read prohibited books for the purpose of their work.

The Congregation for the enforcing and interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, established by Pius IV., and promoted by Pius V.,² was composed of Cardinals Tolomeo Galli, Girolamo Rusticucci, Antonio Carafa, Stefano Bonucci and Girolamo Mattei. Sixtus V. insisted on the fact that only the Pope has the right to summon councils, to confirm their decrees, to interpret them and enforce them. He therefore reserved to himself the declaration of all the dogmatic decrees of the Council, but granted to these Cardinals the right to interpret any doubts or difficulties concerning the enactments of the Council on the reform of morals, discipline, juridical changes, ecclesiastical tribunals, and other similar matters, with the condition, however, that here too the Papal sanction was necessary. Sixtus V. further ordered the above-mentioned Congregation to see that the decrees of Trent were everywhere enforced, that provincial councils were held every three years, and diocesan synods every year,

¹ Cf. Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 203.

² Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 11; Vol. XVII., p. 203.

as well as to examine the decrees of the provincial councils.¹ Further the Congregation was to receive the patriarchs, primates, archbishops and bishops who came to Rome to give an account of their pastoral duties, and equitably and justly to decide those matters which fell within its competence, referring the more difficult matters to the Pope. The Congregation was also to ask the bishops concerning the moral state of their clergy and people, the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees, especially as to the duty of residence, what pious customs were in use in their dioceses, and in general what progress all were making in the way of the Lord, after which they were to give to the bishop the official attestation that he had paid his visit to Rome.

Lastly Sixtus V., in order to promote the reform of clergy and people, gave the Congregation of the Council the power, not only in Rome and the Papal States, but throughout the Christian world, to watch over everything that was necessary for the revival of public worship, the renewal of piety and the bringing of public morality into conformity with the decrees of the Council of Trent and the conditions of those difficult and stormy times.²

¹ For the wrong explanation of this decree given by HINSCHIUS (III., 504), see PH. SCHNEIDER in the *Freib. Kirchenlexicon*, X., 544.

² To the many services rendered by Pius X. to historical study belongs the opening of the Archives of the Congregation of the Council, to which Clement XIII. had assigned a special place in 1767, overlooking the garden della Pigna. The Archives, for the gaps in which see the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI. (1910), 127, contain (1) The "Relationes" of the bishops of the "Orbi christianus" in more than 1200 strong-boxes, alphabetically arranged, and chronologically for each diocese; (2) "Positiones per ordinem chronologicum"; (3) Collection of diocesan synods and apostolic visitations; (4) "Acta S. Congregationis Immunitatis." At my request, one of the most distinguished members of the Austrian Historical Institute, Dr. Dengel, was enabled for the first time to penetrate these archives, and published with a preface of great value the reports of certain Austrian dioceses in the *Forsch. und Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols u. Vorarlbergs*, IV. (1907),

Sixtus V. conferred very wide powers on the Congregation for the affairs of the Bishops, set up by Pius V.,¹ to which he appointed Cardinals Nicolas Pellevé, Girolamo Simoncelli, Giambattista Castagna, Giulio Canani and Scipione Gonzaga. This Congregation was to receive all the requests made by those enjoying ordinary jurisdiction, beginning with the patriarchs, down to the ordinaries of every degree, so long as they did not belong to any religious Order. They were to reply in writing to the difficulties, questions and

307-372. In an exhaustive manner, also owing to me, in 1908 Prof. Dr. Schmidlin has made use in Vol. VII. of the *Erläuterungen u. Ergänzungen zu Ianssens Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, of all the diocesan reports of Austria, Bavaria, East and West Germany down to the time of the Thirty Years' War, and has shown in a valuable dissertation as interesting as it is valuable, the ecclesiastical conditions of Germany, and by so doing has shown how much there is to be obtained from this new source in the way of information as to the epoch of Catholic restoration. Reports from the Archbishops of Prague to the Congregation of the Council have been published by A. PODLAHA in the *Quellensamml. f. böhm. Kirchen gesch. des 16-18 Jahrh.*, II. (1908). A similar study of the reports for Italy, Spain, and the countries outside Europe would be a very welcome work. Reports of the French bishops (Toulouse, Mirepoix, Pamiers) were recently published in the rare work: *Vocations sacerdotales du diocèse du Toulouse, Toul, 1912*. The report of the Bishop of Antwerp, Torrentius, for 1590, in the *Anal. p. l' hist. ecclés. des Pays-Bas*, XV. (1878), 369 *seqq.* Cf. *Bull. de la Commission Roy. d' hist.*, LXXXIII. (1920), 352 *seqq.* *Ibid.* 375 report of the diocese of Bruges (1590), 438 *seqq.* the diocese of Cambrai (1589), 460 *seqq.* the diocese of Tournai (1590). The report of the diocese of Antwerp for Gregory XIV. (1591) in BROM-HENSEN, *Romeinsche Bronnen*, The Hague, 1920, 410 *seqq.* In the *Carte Strozzi* of the State Archives, Florence, Cod. CCCLVII., there is (n. 28) a **Relazione della chiesa e diocesi di Bertinoro fatta dal suo vescovo al Papa*; n. 29, a **Relatio status ecclesiae archiepisc. Bononiens. facta S. Congreg. card. de rebus concilii*, dated February, 1590, and signed by Cardinal Paleotto as Archbishop of Bologna.

¹ See Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 204.

disputes presented to the Congregation, and were to decide summarily on all doubts, juridical conditions and forms, concerning the maintenance of the churches, their dignity, jurisdiction, exemptions, immunities, rights and privileges, and praiseworthy customs, and bring all these matters to a happy issue, either at the request of the parties, or of the official concerned, as seemed simplest and most advantageous. In the case of legal disputes arising between prelates on a matter of jurisdiction, or something else, or between chapters and dignitaries, or between individuals, or corporate bodies, or secular landowners, they were to examine the question thoroughly and settle it in a friendly way, and for this purpose they should invite the assistance of other persons, namely those who did not belong to the dioceses in question. All these cases supposed that it was not a matter for a regular trial, for such must always be referred to a proper judge, nor of the interpretation of the Council of Trent, which was to be referred to the Congregation of the Council. The Congregation had the right, in the case of all places where the Christian religion was practised, to suggest to the Pope suitable men to act as visitors, and to give the latter their instructions when they set out upon their task. They might also, where such a course was necessary, suggest suitable persons, distinguished for their learning, for the office of vicars-apostolic, to whom the government of definite churches could then be entrusted by Papal authority. Lastly, the Congregation was also established for the protection of ecclesiastical immunities, as well as for that of the persons of the prelates and of the property of the Church, against all oppression at the hands of anyone, no matter how exalted his dignity and authority.

The duties of the Congregation of Regulars, which was established in 1586,¹ and to which belonged Cardinals Michele Bonelli, Giulio Antonio Santori, Gian Antonio Facchinetti, Filippo Spinola and Costanzo Sarnano, were laid down in greater detail, it being enacted that it was to answer all the

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 246.

questions of the Orders, and itself to settle the difficulties arising between the Orders, it being once more made clear that the questions were not such as to call for a regular trial, nor involve an interpretation of the Council of Trent. The Congregation was, however, to decide upon a transfer from a less severe to a more severe Order, to deal with those who apostatized from an Order, or were expelled from one, or were allowed to live outside their monastery. Lastly, the Congregation was to concern itself with the internal visitation of religious houses.

Of the four new Congregations set up by the bull of January 22nd, 1588, the most important was the Consistorial Congregation. To this was assigned the preliminary inquiries as to the formation of new dioceses, and changes in those already in existence. The members were the vice-chancellor, Alessandro Farnese, Gabriele Paleotto, Lodovico Madruzzo, Pietro Deza and François Joyeuse.

In the case of the Congregation of the *Segnatura di Grazia*, which was to examine petitions for favours and graces, in so far as they did not come under the heading of ordinary justice, Sixtus V. enacted that it was to be composed of the Grand Penitentiary, the Prefects of the *Segnatura di Grazia*, the *Segnatura di Giustizia*, the *Segnatura dei Brevi*, and the Datary, offices at that time held respectively by Cardinals Ippolito Aldobrandini, Antonio Carafa, Giambattista Castrucci, Scipione Lancellotti and Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta.

The establishment of a special Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, in which Sixtus V. was greatly interested,¹ was explained by him as follows: Since the sacred ceremonies and customs of which the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and in accordance with apostolic traditions and ordinances, makes use in the administration of the sacraments, in her public offices, and in all acts of the worship of God and the Saints, contain valuable lessons for Christian people and

¹ * "N.Stà s'ha fatto portare molti libri in camera della libreria Vaticana che contengono la nota di tutti i riti ecclesiastici per cavarne una nuova asservanza da essi." Avviso of March 19, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

a profession of the true faith, bring out the magnificence of divine things, raise the thoughts of the faithful to the contemplation of the sublime mysteries, and enkindle the fire of devotion, we welcome the desire to increase the piety of the children of the Church and of her worship, by the maintenance and restoration of these sacred ceremonies and usages.

The Cardinals appointed to the Congregation of Rites, Alfonso Gesualdo, Niccolò Sfondrato, Agostino Valiero, Vincenzo Laureo and Federigo Borromeo, were, in conformity with the words of the bull of Sixtus V., to take care that ancient ecclesiastical customs were everywhere observed with all diligence, in all the churches of Rome and throughout the world, even in the Papal chapels, at mass and the divine office, in the administration of the sacraments, and everything else pertaining to divine worship, restored where they had fallen into disuse, and emended where they had become corrupt. In accordance with this it was the duty of the Congregation to correct, where necessary, the books concerned, especially the Pontifical, Ritual and Ceremonial, and then to examine the Offices of Patron Saints, and after taking counsel with the Pope, to bring them into use. The Congregation was also to devote its attention to the canonization of the saints and the sanctification of feast days, so that in this matter everything might be strictly carried out in conformity with the traditions of the Fathers. The Congregation was also to see to it that if kings or princes or their ambassadors, or other distinguished personages, ecclesiastical or civil, came to Rome or to the Roman court, they were received with honour, and in accordance with their dignity, rank and official position by the Apostolic See, as had been customary with their predecessors. Lastly the Congregation was to decide all disputes as to precedence which might arise at processions or elsewhere, as well as any difficulties which might occur in connexion with the sacred ceremonies and customs.¹

¹ The Archives of the Congregation of Rites are at present in the palace of the Cancelleria. I obtained permission to use them for a member of the Austrian Historical Institute, Prof. I. Brzezinski, in 1901.

As early as the spring of 1588 the president of the Congregation of Rites, Cardinal Gesualdo, was ordered to obtain information in all parts of Christendom as to the need for correction of the liturgical books which had been issued in an improved form by Pius V., especially the breviary and missal. Gesualdo had recourse to the nuncios in Venice, Savoy, France, Germany and Poland,¹ and also to learned religious, such as the Theatines at Naples,² and the Oratorians in Rome, asking them to obtain the opinions of learned theologians, as well as suggestions and desires for the reform of the above-mentioned liturgical books. It is clear with what wisdom the Holy See wished to take into account the just requirements and desires of the various countries according to the mind of Gregory the Great and Pius V. In course of time many suggestions for improvements arrived from the various countries; some of these went too far, but most of them fell within the limits of fair criticism.³ Among other things attention was called to inexactitudes and contradictions in the historical lections, and in the case of certain lections written by the command of Sixtus V., as for example, those of St. Francis of Paula, their excessive length was frankly criticized.⁴ Some of the nuncios made a point of calling

¹ Before this hardly anything was known of the reform of the Breviary by Sixtus V. BÄUMER (485 *seq.*) was the first to publish the Acta contained in Cod. G. 79 and 83 of the Vallicella Library, but this by no means exhausts the manuscript material. Of the material in the Nunziat. di Savoia 22, p. 243 *seq.*, 475 *seq.*, 509 *seq.*, 513 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives) I have before me the copies made by my friend, the parish-priest Agostino Sauer, who died in 1914, who devoted much work to them. Bäumer has entirely overlooked the important *Fragment of the protocol of the sessions of the Congregations cited *infra*, p. 257, n. 2.

² The *letter of Don Giacomo of the Neapolitan Congregatio cleric. regul., dated September 2, 1588, to his fellow-religious P. Benedetti in Rome, in Cod. G. 83, of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

³ See BÄUMER, 487.

⁴ First *Addition to the letter of the nuncio in Venice mentioned in the following note.

attention to the difficulties that were to be expected ; thus the nuncio in Venice pointed out the obstacles that had been raised by the printers and publishers in the time of Pius V. and that they had no intention of renouncing the liberties that had been granted to them.¹

The Congregation of Rites began its labours even before the opinions arrived. Unfortunately only a part of their discussions, that dealing with the months of August, September and October, 1588, has been preserved.² This was written by the hand of Cesare Baronius.³ The discussions reached no conclusion in the time of Sixtus V., but the results were of great use to the commission set up by his successor, in which the above-mentioned great historian of the Church took a leading part.⁴

¹ *Letter of the nuncio in Venice, dated August 27, 1588, in Cod. G. 83, p. 39 of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

² *August 27, 1588, it was decided : that since the Breviary has three kinds of lections, it would be well to quote its chapters, gospels, homilies and sermons (i.e. to indicate the sources) and also in the case of lections taken from the Holy Scriptures to note the place from which they are taken in the margin of the Breviary. In the case of the histories of the saints it is necessary, for the use of those who are employed on the reform of the Breviary, to note the authors from whom they are taken. In the "Commune Sanctorum" as many lections must be added as will be sufficient for use during the whole of the octaves. Certain things could be added and others removed in the case of the responsories and versicles, which can be used for those saints whose feasts are to be celebrated. *September 10, 1588, it was decided that a number of passages in the vita S. Andreae, S. Nicolai and S. Ambrosii must be examined by each of the consultors, and decided upon later on. At the end the protocol states that there is no intention of changing the lections of the Immaculata conceptio beatae Virginis. *October 25, 1588 : Decided to examine once more the points already enumerated, at the next session. Cod. G. 83, Vallicella Library, Rome.

³ A. Sauer, too, who had made a detailed study of the correspondence of Baronius, recognized his hand in this.

⁴ See BÄUMER, 487.

The fourth of the new Congregations established at this time was given by Sixtus V. the superintendence of the official Vatican Press. It was to devote itself to the correct publication of important religious books, such as the Bible, the Decretals, and the Fathers of the Church, together with the proper use of the manuscript material in the libraries of Rome, especially the Vatican Library. To this Congregation, which formed at the same time a complement to that of the Index, there belonged Cardinals Antonio Carafa, François Joyeuse, Costanzo Sarnano, Scipione Gonzaga and Benedetto Giustiniani.

From this time forward the centre of gravity of the government of the Church lay in these Congregations, through whose hands there passed the greater part of the business hitherto discharged in consistory.

The view that Sixtus V., was guided in setting up the Congregations, not by any considerations of necessity, but by another motive altogether, namely his wish to overcome the powerful and unmanageable resistance he met with in the general assemblies in consistory, and thus to do away with the proper influence of the Cardinals, is without foundation.¹ The step he took rested upon the changed conditions of the times, and represented an administrative change that had become necessary.² Although it was an arrangement which at the same time enhanced the Pope's authority, and helped to consolidate it, yet on the other hand it had the effect of employing the Cardinals more directly than before in the actual government of the Church and State.³ However autocratic Sixtus V. again and again showed

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 4 *seq.*

² LULVES, too, admits this in *Mitteil. des Osterr. Instit.*, XXXV. 482.

³ See HERRE, 373, whose calm judgment forms a welcome contrast to the bias shown by Brosch in the matter (I., 285). The view which the latter holds, that in the time of Sixtus V. the information given to the consistories, and the decisions which they were called upon to make, steadily decreased, both in number

himself towards the Cardinals,¹ he never attempted to prevent or limit free discussion in the consistory ;² on the contrary, he welcomed it, and sought to encourage it ; all he insisted upon, and rightly, was the systematic discharge of business. For that reason, at his consistory of November 5th, 1586, he put an end to the abuse by which, at the beginning of the consistory, the Cardinals gathered round the Pope to express their wishes and make their petitions. Such things, he rightly said, were for the private audiences, which he granted so liberally. At the same time he ordered that there should be a consistory every week, and added the exhortation that the matters for discussion should be better prepared, that they should be set forth without prolixity or useless repetition, but not so briefly, either then or in the discussions, as not to observe the appointed order.³ Even after the new arrangement came into force, which naturally limited the number of subjects to be dealt with in consistory, Sixtus V. ordered that consistories should still be held every Wednesday, even though there was no important business to be done, and at the same time ordered the Congregations to meet every week.⁴

In like manner, the complaints made of Sixtus V., that he did not pay sufficient attention to the opinions expressed by the Cardinals, are not just. It is, on the contrary, clear that, in keeping with his great opinion of the dignity of the members of the Sacred College, he took counsel with them,

and importance, is disproved by the Consistorial Acta, which Brosch neglected to consult, although they were easily accessible to him in the libraries of Rome, and even to some extent printed in the *Anal. iuris Pontif.* of 1872.

¹ Cf. Acta consist. 842, 843, 846.

² See HÜBNER, II., 4 seq.

³ See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, in Barb. XXXVI., 5, P. II., p. 218 seq., Vatican Library.

⁴ See *ibid.* P. III., p. 48, and GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55. It is incomprehensible how K. Wenk in his essay on the development of the College of Cardinals can maintain that Sixtus V. " may be said no longer to have had the Cardinals assembled in consistory." (*Preuss. Jahrb.*, LIII., 449).

often adapted his own views to theirs, and in important questions, attached the greatest weight to the consent of the consistory.¹ The Cardinals, on their part, did not allow themselves to be intimidated by the often violent methods of the Pope, and made free use of their right of opposition.²

One undoubtedly very great advantage that followed upon the bull of January 22nd, 1588, was that it prevented an evil that had often made itself felt. In the College of Cardinals there were members of reigning families, who naturally could not forget the interests of their own house, as well as the Protectors of the Emperor, and of the Kings of Spain, France and Poland, who were almost bound by their office to protect the interests of those committed to them; lastly, there was a large number of vassals, subjects or beneficiaries of foreign princes, whose favour they did not wish to forfeit. With all such, other than religious interests naturally weighed, whether dynastic, political or personal, but in any case extraneous to the matters under discussion in consistory. By the division of the work among the various cardinalitial congregations, these more or less dependent Cardinals obtained a greater independence and freedom of action for the protection of ecclesiastical interests.³ It is quite certain that henceforward questions taken to Rome were treated with a greater understanding and more mature judgment, and also with greater speed and secrecy than before, and at the same time at much less cost.⁴ The criticisms of the Cardinals and ambassadors which found expression after the bull of January 22nd, 1588, are rather concerned with the personnel of the Congregations than with their nature.⁵

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 5.

² Santori expressed himself very frankly; see his *Autobiografia*, XIII., 179 *seq.*

³ See HÜBNER, II., 4.

⁴ See *Anal. iuris Pontif.*, I., 2, 2276 *seq.*; PHILLIPS, VI., 575; BALZANI, 53. The secrecy of consistorial decisions had to be strictly insisted upon by Sixtus V. on November 16 and 27, 1587. *Acta consist.* 855; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54.

⁵ See the report of Gritti of January 30, 1588, in HÜBNER, II., 13.

The Congregations afterwards fully proved their value as the immediate instruments in the hands of the Pope for the government of the Church ; they were maintained, and substantially contributed to the systematic carrying out of the work of Catholic reform. In the main they have been continued down to the present day.

By his formation and establishment of the Congregations, undertaken on traditional Roman lines, Sixtus V. earned great fame ; it bore splendid witness to his energy, to his far-seeing vision, and to his brilliant gifts as an administrator.¹ Very fittingly did Pius X.² recall his name with honour when in 1908 he undertook a reorganization of the Papal Curia.

¹ Cf. BROM, *Guide des Arch. Vatic.*², Rome, 1911, 18.

² See the constitution " *Sapienti consilio* " of June 29, 1908. Sixtus V. rendered signal service, in the first place to the administration, but also to learning, by his edicts concerning ecclesiastical archives, which like all his ordinances bear a strong personal impress. Following in the footsteps of Pius IV. and Pius V. he promoted in 1586 and 1587 the preservation and recovery of the Acta of the Apostolic Camera. The vast scheme for a central ecclesiastical archivium for the whole of Italy which Sixtus V. formed, in advance of his times (cf. SERRANO, *Arch. de la Embajada de España I.*, Rome, 1915, 100), was found to be impracticable. Sixtus V. therefore limited himself to what was attainable in the then conditions, ordering in the case of all the ecclesiastical institutions of Italy the compiling of inventories of their Acta, which were to be preserved in a safe place. The Pope also set on foot reforms in the case of the civil archives. Cf. LOEVINSON in *Gli Archivi ital.*, III. (1916), 167 seq. See *ibid.*, IV. (1917), 64 seq. the " *Motu proprio di soppressione dei piombatori Cisterciensi e di erezione del Presidentato del Piombo, ufficio vacabile,*" of Sixtus V.

CHAPTER VI.

DISPUTES WITH PHILIP II.—SIXTUS V. AND THE PARTIES IN FRANCE.

ALTHOUGH in 1581 a Spanish diplomatist had praised the friendly dispositions of Cardinal Montalto towards Philip II.,¹ the king was not altogether pleased with the result of the conclave; he would much more gladly have seen Cardinal Serbelloni raised to the Papal throne.² But with prudent self-control, he concealed his displeasure, for he had in many respects absolutely to depend upon the man who filled the Apostolic See.

The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Count Olivares, was told, in special instructions dated May 14th, 1585, how to conduct himself so as to work in harmony with the new Pope.³ In this document may be clearly seen the conviction that Spain, on account of the vastness of its dominions, and the internal peace prevailing at home, was, under the absolute and strong government of its king, the first power in the world. The Pope must be brought to understand this by Olivares as clearly as the weakness of the Papal States.

Having thus shown how indispensable a secular protector was, the ambassador was to insist upon the good will of his sovereign, and his readiness to place the whole power of Spain at the disposal of the Pope for the defence of the Church and the Holy See. This of course would strengthen the

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 42.

² See HÜBNER, II., 467. BREMOND, 166.

³ "Instrucion del Rey al conde de Olivares," dated Barcelona, May 14, 1585, not used by Hübner, but taken for the first time by HERRE (381 *seq.*) from the Simancas Archives (Ley, 1870, p. 28). I have used the copy in the archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, III., 9.

disagreeable impression that Philip was the stronger and the Pope the weaker. In order to remove this Olivares was to call attention to the fact that Spanish dominion in Italy had brought peace and tranquillity, so that it must not be looked upon as foreign and oppressive, but natural and useful, and the only guarantee for the maintenance of order. Moreover the Spaniards had in view no fresh conquests in the Appenine peninsula, as had been shown by their attitude towards the disturbances at Genoa. The principal purpose of the instructions to the Spanish ambassador was disclosed in the second part. This brought out in the strongest terms how important it was for the welfare of Christendom that the Pope should act in full agreement with the king with regard to the disturbances in France, where there was a danger of a non-Catholic prince obtaining the crown. This interesting document ends with a reference to the intolerable preponderance of the Huguenots, and the Catholic zeal of the King of Spain. It shows how Philip II. sought from the first to anticipate the Pope's fear lest by his attitude towards the disorders in France he should find himself in political dependence upon Spain, and would contribute to a still wider extension of her power, a fear which was carefully fostered on the part of France, Venice and Florence.

The autocratic character of Sixtus V., as well as his lofty conception of the Papal dignity, explain how it was only very unwillingly that he accepted under compulsion the situation created after the unhappy war of Paul IV., which confirmed the Spanish preponderance in Italy, reduced the Papal States to a power of the second rank, and imperilled the liberty of the Apostolic See. The personality of Philip II., and his cold and calculating character, were in marked contrast to the fiery nature of Sixtus V., who loved to attain his end directly with an energy that never counted the cost. The aim of the King of Spain to assume the tutelage of the Church, and in a sense to share the office of the supreme apostolate with the occupant of the Apostolic See,¹ could not fail to be supremely antipathetic to him. In spite of this he saw

¹ Cf. HÜBNER, II., 20.

clearly from the first that he could only carry out his great plans for the advantage of the Church by maintaining friendly relations with the monarch who was the most powerful of the Catholic sovereigns of his time, and at the same time the most zealous protector of Catholicism, even though beyond all doubt he almost always had secondary and purely Spanish ends in view. Therefore Sixtus V., as soon as he had assumed the reins of government, expressed himself in courteous terms to the Spanish ambassador, Olivares, and entered upon a friendly correspondence with Philip II.¹ Although the new Pope was not in a position to meet all the wishes of the king, especially with regard to the affairs of France, yet in many respects Philip had every reason to be satisfied with the friendly attitude of the new Pope. On May 2nd, 1585, Sixtus V. confirmed the *Sussidio* for another five years, which amounted to a revenue of 420,000 ducats. On October 17th, 1585, there followed for a similar period of time the approbation of the *Excusado* and of the *Cruzada* for six years. These brought two million ducats annually into the royal treasury.² In the following year Philip II. received, for himself as well as for his son, the right of presentation for Sicily and Sardinia.³ Philip's request for the union of the title of Grand Master of the military Order of Montesa with the crown of Aragon was also granted.⁴

¹ See PRIULI, 316. HÜBNER, I., 259 *seq.* The Pope's first letter, of May 10, 1585, concerned the help of the Spanish officials in Italy against the scourge of the bandits (see *supra* p. 76). Worthy of note is the friendly advice which Sixtus V. gives the king concerning his government, by a brief of May 6, 1586; see the principal passage from this in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII, 170, n. 1.

² See *Indice de las concesiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado in the archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, I., 9. PHILIPPSON (Granvella, 450) wrongly places the concession of the *Excusado* and the *Cruzada* in September.

³ Consistory of April 28, 1586; see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 53.

⁴ See *Relazione di Fr. Soranzo* in BAROZZI-BERCHET, I., I, 48.

With regard to the unending disputes about jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Naples, Sixtus V. showed so much good will during the first year of his pontificate as to give hopes of a settlement of the differences which had so often disturbed the friendly relations between Rome and Madrid during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. ; the Pope even entirely suppressed the congregation set up by his predecessor to deal with questions of jurisdiction. An agreement was occasionally come to in small disputes,¹ but it was very problematical whether a complete understanding could be arrived at.

The benevolent attitude of the new Pope encouraged the representatives of Philip II. in Italy to display their Spanish pride in an intolerable manner. At Milan the governor, the Duke of Terranueva, had a stall erected for himself in the cathedral, which was as high as that of the archbishop, and clung obstinately to this privilege. At Naples, the viceroy, the Duke of Osuna, included in his prohibition of the export of corn from the Kingdom of Naples the lands of the inhabitants of Benevento which were situated within the Neapolitan territory, in spite of the fact that it was a separate Papal enclave. In both cases Sixtus V. spoke so decisively and in such a threatening way that both governors had to withdraw their claims.²

Not so fortunate was the Papal nuncio in Spain, Cesare Speciani, who had gone thither in succession to Taverna in April, 1586. His reports are filled with complaints of the usurpations of the authorities in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.³ In March, 1586, Philip solemnly made his *obedientia* to the new head of the Church by means of a special envoy,⁴ but the Catholic King nevertheless clung firmly to

¹ Cf. the *report of Capilupi of August 14, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and PRIULI, 316.

² See HÜBNER, I., 329. Cf. the *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend. Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. HINOJOSA, 319 *seq.*, 321 *seq.*

⁴ See Acta consist. 845; *Archivio della Societa Romana*, V., 567; BREMOND, 199; *Avviso of March 15, 1586, according to which the Pope, who had been much moved during the function,

his cesaropapistical ideas, in which he was especially supported by the aged Cardinal Granvelle. When, towards the end of 1585, the nuncio complained of the decrees of the royal council, which limited the rights of the Papal representatives, Granvelle pointed out to the king in a memorial that it was precisely with a Pope like Sixtus V. that they must be on their guard, and remember that the security of the Italian possessions of the Spanish crown demanded that none of their inhabitants should be dependent upon a foreign prince.¹

Even now Papal ordinances met with an arbitrary and capricious treatment in Spain. This was the case in the autumn of 1586 with a decree which, in order to remove gross abuses, strictly forbade the handing over of benefices to others, without the previous consent of a cardinalitial commission. The Spanish authorities looked upon this as an infringement of the rights of the crown. In like manner a Papal decree concerning the dress of bishops was interfered with by Philip II. At Naples the old disputes were constantly breaking out.² Nevertheless Sixtus V., in December, 1586 complied at the creation of Cardinals with the repeatedly expressed desire of Philip II., by conferring the purple on Ascanio Colonna, a son of Marcantonio.³ If in spite of this

remarked jokingly of the supper which was given by one of the representatives of Philip II. "che sariano maltrattati perchè S.B. viveva da povero fratello." Urb. 1054, Vatican Library. The "Oratio" delivered at the function by Iosephus Valentinus was printed, Rome, 1586.

¹ See PHILIPPSON, Granvella, 616. The nuncio at that time, Taverna, was replaced on December 11, 1585, by Cesare Speciani, Bishop of Novara; see the *brief to Philip II., December 11, 1585, Arm. 44, t. 30, n. 120 (*cf.* n. 153), Papal Secret Archives. Speciani reached Madrid on April 11, 1586; see HINOJOSA, 319.

² See HÜBNER, II., 30; PHILIPPSON, Philipp II. u. d. Papsttum 437 *seq.*, HINOJOSA, 321.

³ With regard to this see the letters of Sixtus V. to Philip II, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, III., 567 *seq.*, 568 *seq.* What importance Philip II. attached to his relations with the Colonna is clear from the *Instrucion al condestable de Castilla, embaxador de obediencia

the relations between Rome and Madrid became worse rather than better, the fault to no small extent lay with the Spanish ambassador, Olivares. This man, who was overbearing, often irritable, and quarrelsome, was not the person to promote conciliation,¹ while he deliberately fostered the mistrust felt by Philip II. for the acts of Sixtus V.²

The presence of such an ambassador became doubly disastrous when to disputes over ecclesiastical matters there were added disagreements and quarrels of another kind. One of the principal reasons for the concession of the *Cruzada* had been the repression of the corsairs in the Mediterranean, but Sixtus V. discovered that very little was being done for that purpose, although the concession brought to the Spanish king 800,000 ducats a year.³ Soon afterwards the Pope felt himself personally insulted by another incident. A life of his benefactor Pius V., and dedicated to himself, which mentioned that Pope's disputes with Philip II. without any sort of exaggeration, and even with a good deal of reserve, was simply prohibited by the Spanish government.⁴ The Spaniards, as Cardinal Este said at the time, expect everything to bow before their pride. It is displeasing to them that

cia al P. Sixto V., dated January 2, 1586, in which the duty is laid upon the ambassador of paying a visit, after the Cardinals, to the widow of Marcantonio Colonna. Archives of the Spanish Embassy Rome.

¹ See PHILIPPSON in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX., 439; HÜBNER I., 361 *seq.*; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 570. For the delight taken by Olivares in disputation *cf.* the incident related by Santori in his *Autobiografia* (XIII., 178).

² For this distrust see the report in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 437. *Cf.* also PHILIPPSON, *Granvella*, 449, and *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX., 442 *seq.*

³ See GRITTI, 343. An *Avviso of July 2, 1586, reports that Sixtus V. enumerated in a state of great excitement all the penalties incurred by princes who usurped spiritual favours (Spain, France), when an agent asked for the concession of tithes. Urb. 1054, p. 226b, Vatican Library.

⁴ *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 422, n. 1.

history, when it speaks of them, should conform to the fundamental law of telling the truth about them as about everything else. This was the reason for the prohibition of the biography of so holy a Pope, an act which Sixtus V. stigmatized as worthy of heretics.¹

A much more serious dispute was caused by the manifestly biased "pragmatic on titles" of Philip II. in October, 1586,² which fully revealed the bureaucratic and absolutist character of the king. The enactment aroused general dissatisfaction among the diplomatic body at Madrid. The Imperial ambassador, Khevenhüller, protested openly against "the wretched scrawl" and said that he would go away before the beginning of the new year, when the ordinance as to titles was to come into force. The nuncio expressed himself in more measured language, but none the less frankly, and referred a decision to the Pope, since it was the latter who conferred and regulated titles in the case of ecclesiastics. Philip II. replied that his intention was to remove abuses, and not to offend anybody, least of all foreign princes; for the rest, what was written was written!³

Sixtus V. was very sensitive in matters of this kind. In February, 1587, he complained in consistory that Cardinal Santori had spoken of the King of Spain as his sovereign, whereas the members of the Sacred College had but one sovereign, the Pope.⁴ When Sixtus V. received the text of the pragmatic on titles, he summoned Olivares and told him that if the king did not at once revoke the ordinance, as far as ecclesiastical dignitaries were concerned, he would immediately put it on the Index.⁵

¹ HÜBNER, II., 30.

² Extract in HÜBNER, II., 500 *seq.* Cf. RICCI, Silingardi, I., 175 *seq.*

³ See HÜBNER, I., 381 *seq.*

⁴ See Acta consist., 850, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 178. The incident was soon known in Rome, and the attitude of Sixtus V. praised; see *Avviso of February 28, 1587, Urb. 1055 p. 71, Vatican Library.

⁵ See HÜBNER, I., 383.

On July 27th, 1587, Sixtus V. spoke of the matter in public consistory. In an allocution lasting for an hour, he said that Philip II., by his pragmatic, had assumed jurisdiction over Cardinals and prelates, and that, acting under the advice of his ministers, who were schismatics and excommunicate, he refused to change it. Finally, he forbade the Cardinals, under pain of excommunication reserved to the Pope, to receive letters from Spain in which they were not given their proper and customary titles.¹ This discourse was no sooner known in Rome than it aroused the greatest surprise, and it was generally thought that there would be a serious conflict.²

Even after the consistory, Sixtus V., whose irritation had been increased by the encroachments of the officials of Philip II. in Naples and Madrid,³ indulged in bitter complaints. The Spanish Cardinals were astonished at the determination he displayed in this matter.⁴ At a meeting of the Segnatura the Pope expressed himself so violently at the behaviour of Philip II. towards the nuncio in Madrid, that not only the referendaries, but the Cardinals themselves trembled.⁵ For a time Olivares did not dare to approach the Pope, because he was openly speaking of excommunicating the King of Spain.⁶

¹ Besides the report in *Acta consist.* 851 (*cf.* GULIK-EUBEL, III., 54) see the *letter of A. Malegnani of July 29, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso of July 27, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 284 *seq.* Vatican Library. The latter gives the discourse in great detail. *Cf.* also Gualterius, *Ephemerides, 131b, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

² *" Hora i discorsi sopra questi negotii son varii, tutti però s' accordano a dire, che tal cosa non starà qui et che nasceranno degli inconvenienti grandi senza dubio. Ognuno però si confida nell' intrepidezza del Papa." Avviso of July 29, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 287. Vatican Library.

³ See in App. n. 15 the first *report of Malegnani of August 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See in App. n. 16 the second *report of Malegnani of August 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See *Avviso, s.d. but belonging to this time, in Urb. 1055, p. 297, Vatican Library.

⁶ See in App. n. 16 the *Addition to the second report of Malegnani of August 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

When, on August 7th, 1587, the appointment of William Allen as Cardinal,¹ which had been asked for by Philip II., took place, Sixtus V. seized the opportunity to write an autograph letter to the Spanish king. He frankly pointed out to him that his expedition against England could only be successful if he first reconciled himself with God: since no sin displeases the Almighty more than the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as is plain "from both sacred and profane history." His characteristic letter goes on: "Your Majesty has been advised to include in your pragmatic, bishops, archbishops and Cardinals; this has been a very grave sin, and therefore you must remove these ministers of God from the aforesaid pragmatic, and do penance, for otherwise some punishment may fall upon you. Do not put your trust in anyone who advises you otherwise, as he is perhaps a flatterer or an atheist, but put your trust in me, the father given you by God, believe in this Holy See which is your mother, and which you are bound to obey *de necessitate salutis*. If your counsellors are classical scholars let them read Eutropius, if they are canonists let them read the 10th and 36th distinctions, if they are lawyers let them read *de Smis Episcopis*, if they are theologians let them read the 1st and 20th opusculum of St. Thomas, and then they will not give your Majesty such bad advice. The Emperor Augustus and other pagan Emperors had so great respect for sacred jurisdiction that in order to make laws affecting sacred persons they caused Pontiffs to be appointed. I have shed many tears for this great sin of yours, and trust that you will amend your ways and that God will pardon you. In questions of salvation you must needs obey the Vicar of Christ without reply, and in this hope I implore for your excellent Majesty every blessing."²

¹ Cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 52.

² HÜBNER, III., 236 *seq.* has given the letter from the Simancas Archives. The copy in Cod. 35, V., 21, p. 222 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome, of which LÄMMER has published the principal part (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 165) is incomplete. Reprinted by CUGNONI in the *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 575 *seq.* It is incompre-

Philip II. made no reply to this letter,¹ because just at that time, on account of his preparations against England, it was more necessary than ever for him to be on good terms with Rome. His pride rebelled against a generous retraction,² but concealing his distaste, he tried to end the controversy superficially, and trusted to underhand means, such as acts of kindness to the Pope's nephews, to recover his good will.³ But as opinions differed widely as to the form and purpose of the expedition against England, there were painful controversies on this matter as well.⁴ The fate of the great Armada made the deepest impression throughout Europe, while in Italy the event intensified the hostility to Spain and caused a great coolness between Rome and Madrid.⁵

From the first Sixtus V. had assisted in the enterprise against Queen Elizabeth with mixed feelings, as, on account of the designs of Philip II. on the crown of England, the possible victory of Spain caused him anxieties which, however, were not always expressed, either personally or by his representatives abroad. His fears of the rise of a universal Spanish monarchy were assiduously fostered on the part of France, Venice and Florence. "I asked the Pope to take into hensible how BROSCHE, in his *Geschichte des Kirchenstaates*, in which he had freely used the Venetian reports, though in a partisan sense, can maintain (I., 296): "until the last year of his life the Pope remained on peaceful and cordial terms with Spain!"

¹ See GRITTI, 343.

² Cf. the *Relazione di Spagna* in C. BRATLI, *Filip den Anden af Spanien*, Copenhagen, 1909, 196; probably the work of Camillo Guidi.

³ HÜBNER (I., 386) quotes in this connexion the report of Girol. Lippomano from Madrid, November 5, 1587. Philip II., however, had already tried to win over the Pope's nephew; see PHILIPPSON, *Granvella*, 571, and the *report of L. Olivo of August 20, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ More fully in Vol. XXII. of this work, chap I.

⁵ See HERRE, 391 *seq.* The cesaropapistical tendencies of Philip II., which always obtruded themselves, contributed to the estrangement.

consideration," wrote Cardinal Este in October, 1585, "with regard to the proposed Armada, the alarm that this was bound to occasion among the Christian princes, since, although the heresy of the queen gives the Spanish monarch an excuse for his designs against England, there is no possible doubt that what he is aiming at is domination over the whole of Christendom. The Pope replied that it would be a long and wearisome journey to that point, and remained thoughtful and said no more."¹ Sixtus V. could not deceive himself as to what would happen to the Holy See if there should be a complete victory on the part of the world wide power of Spain, for the usurpations of Philip II. in ecclesiastical matters were still continuing, and were giving rise to constant disputes.² Very characteristic of the language employed by the representative of Philip in Rome was an incident which occurred during the time when the fate of the Armada was still in doubt. The Pope was considering the appointment of a new nuncio at Madrid. When he suggested for that office a prelate who was old and unacceptable to the Spaniards, Olivares had the effrontery to reply that he understood the reason for this choice, as the aged prelate would succumb to the hardships of the journey, and His Holiness would thus inherit a "clericato di Camera."³

How little suited Olivares was to deal with a man like Sixtus V. was also plain during the discussions which took place in Rome after the failure of the Armada. The ambassador advised his sovereign to insist upon the continuance of the payment of the subsidies, to prepare for a change of policy towards the Holy See, and in general to make use of open threats. In the Pope's refusal to contribute to the making ready of a second Armada, Olivares saw nothing but niggardliness, whereas the Pope was quite justified after the

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 375.

² See *ibid.*, II., 31 *seq.*

³ See HINOJOSA, 327 *seq.*; in spite of this Sixtus V., as he announces in a *brief of August 27, 1588, to Philip II., appointed Annibale de Grassis, Bishop of Faenza, as nuncio in Spain. Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 38b, Papal Secret Archives.

destruction of the Armada in realizing the exhaustion of the Spanish monarchy, and the small probability of the aged and ailing king being able to resume with any success the terrible struggle against a queen so powerful as Elizabeth.¹

How false was Olivares' fanciful description of the sentiments of Sixtus V. towards Spain, is clear from the fact that even now the Pope would not hear of any directly hostile attitude towards his powerful ally.² It is only true in the one statement that Sixtus V.'s fear of Spanish preponderance did not disappear. This fear, which was prevalent throughout Europe at that time,³ was all the more deeply rooted in the Pope in that he, as he once frankly admitted, was, in his capacity of temporal sovereign, like a fly compared to an elephant before the king on whose dominions the sun never set.⁴ For this reason he repeatedly declared his adherence to a policy of a balance of power among the powers of Europe. The great princes, he said to Giovanni Gritti, the ambassador of Venice, each stood in need of a counterweight, because, if one of them became too strong, the others ran a serious risk of being overwhelmed by him.⁵

In spite of this Sixtus V. was in serious danger of coming into complete political dependence upon Spain, and even of assisting the unlimited expansion of the power of Philip II., which he so justly feared. The struggle with the League in France placed him in this dilemma, which, in all probability, cut short his life.⁶

King Henry III. of France showed the greatest joy at the

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 403.

² See HERRE, 394.

³ Cf. the German pamphlet of 1585, in KABER, *Die Idee des europäischen Gleichgewichts* (1907), 25. Contemporary Spanish poets expressed in like manner their hopes of the formation of a universal Spanish monarchy; see GOSSART, *Les Espagnols en Flandre*, Brussels, 1914, 240.

⁴ Thus did Sixtus V. express himself to Alb. Badoer on November 24, 1589; see RAULICH, *Contesa*, 297.

⁵ HÜBNER, II., 516.

⁶ See REUMONT in the *Bonner Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, 1870, n. 17.

election of Sixtus V. He was confirmed in this by the reports of his ambassador in Rome, Jean de Vivonne, known as the Sieur de St. Gouard, for that diplomatist, who was easily impressed, was able at first to say a great deal concerning the friendly dispositions of the new Pope towards the King of France. Henry III. accordingly at once had recourse to the Holy See to ask assistance in suppressing the insurrections in his kingdom. To this request for help, however, which was addressed to Cardinal Luigi d'Este, the Protector of France, there was attached a threat, namely a hinted possibility of an alliance with the Huguenots.¹

At the beginning of June, 1585, Sixtus V. expressed himself clearly on the subject of his attitude towards the disorders in France. He declared that he was resolved to support King Henry III., not only with his money and his authority, but even with his own blood, always supposing that His Majesty did not ally himself with the Huguenots.² The head of the Church was justified in insisting strictly upon this principle. But what attitude was he to adopt towards the League? A decision as to this point was made especially difficult by the fact that during his period of enforced inactivity as Cardinal, Sixtus V. had got out of touch with political affairs. He therefore at first avoided arriving at any definite decision. Very characteristic of his attitude was the story told in Rome to the effect that Cardinal Este, on the strength of the part he had taken in the election of the Pope, thought it right immediately afterwards to recommend the affairs of France to Sixtus V., and had received the reply: the Holy Father will do what he is inspired

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 261 *seq.*, 315, 362; BREMOND, 170 *seq.* The French ambassador looked upon it as an important concession that at the coronation of the Pope on May 1, as at that of Pius V., he was assigned the first place after the representative of the Emperor and before the Spanish ambassador. Cf. CHARRIÈRE IV., 371. Extract from the *Lettere al card. d'Este dal suo agente in Parigi, August 5, 1585, to August 2, 1586, in Barb. LXII., 15, Vatican Library.

² See the report of Vivonne of June 4 in BREMOND, 173.

to do by the Holy Spirit.¹ Prudence was all the more called for in that the reports of the complicated conditions in France were extremely contradictory.

The Spanish ambassador Olivares, and Cardinal Pellevé, who was in close relations with him, were indefatigable in pointing out that the adherents of the League were the only reliable supporters of the Catholic religion left in France. It was to them, therefore, as they insisted, that the head of the Church must give his approval and assistance. On the other hand, Vivonne and Cardinal Este painted the members of the League in the darkest colours; they were intriguers, who under the pretext of the faith were promoting the ambitious designs of Guise, and they were manifest rebels, whose behaviour must result in the destruction of religion, by driving the king into the arms of the Huguenots. Vivonne and Este were able to point to the fact that not all the Catholics of France were on the side of the League, and that actually the greater number of the Catholic nobility and officials of the court, and also some of the prelates, were loyal to Henry III.² Priuli, the shrewd representative of the Signoria of Venice, in his views of the state of affairs in France, insisted above all upon the political aspect. The League, he whispered in

¹ See *Avviso of April 24, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 179b, Vatican Library.

² In the * *Commentari delle cose successe nel regno di Francia da che prese il possesso di quello Henrico III.* it is said: " Questa lega non è dubbio che non fosse stata molto a proposito per conservare la religione quando il re ne fosse stato capo o la presa alla morte di quello, ma havendo i confederati drizzato senza indugio un' essercito et parte de' cattolici abborrendo tal attione come quella che pare[v]a lor peccato di lesa M^{ta} si mesero col re et lo essortavano a far la guerra contro essi confederati et questi furono tutti li prencipi cattolici del sangue reale eccetto il Cardinal di Borbone solo, cioè il prencipe di Conty, il Cardinale di Vandomo, il conte di Suisson figliolo del gia prencipe di Condé et il duca di Monpenisero et quasi tutta la nobiltà della corte et uffitali della corona, alcuni del clero di maniera che tutt' i cattolici di Francia si divisero in due parti Realisti et Legalisti." Cod. Dur. 44, p. 266 of the Library at Carlsruhe.

the Pope's ear, is not strong enough to be able to secure the mastery without the help of Spain, which in the end would herself reap the fruits of victory.¹

It was natural that the representatives of the various parties which were so violently struggling against each other, should have sought in every way to win over the Pope, and it is wonderful how the latter, in spite of his lack of experience of politics, and the partisan reports of the special congregation assembled under the presidency of Este,² was able so quickly and so surely to grasp the situation. If the League were to prove victorious with the help of Philip II., French Calvinism would be crushed, but at the same time the political independence of France would disappear. The predominance of Spain would then be so great as to overwhelm Italy and the Holy See. In addition to his primary duty of saving the Catholic religion in France, Sixtus V. had the secondary task of seeing that France survived as a great power. Spanish assistance, moreover, by means of which alone the League could be victorious, was unpopular with the greater number of the French people, not excluding many members of the League itself; the danger might arise of the vacillating king, and the great middle party which adhered to him as the lawful sovereign, and which was both Catholic and anti-Spanish, being ousted by the Huguenot party. The welfare of religion and the salvation of France, Sixtus V. rightly concluded, could only be secured if divisions among the French Catholics were removed, and if all the adherents of the Catholic religion were united under one standard. It was this conviction that determined the policy of the Pope, but as the moment for intervening with good effect did not seem to him to have yet come, the first thing to be done was to gain time.

In the meantime, on June 2nd, 1585, there arrived in Rome

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 160 *seq.*; BREMOND, *173 *seq.*; *cf.* also in App. n. 3 the *report of Ragazzoni of May 23, 1585, Papal Secret Archives.

² This is first mentioned in the *Avviso of May 11, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 202, Vatican Library.

the Duke of Nevers, Luigi Gonzaga, accompanied by Cardinal Vaudemont, Charles of Lorraine.¹ His object was to obtain what had not been possible under Gregory XIII., a clear and definite support of the League, and the publication of a bull excluding Henry of Navarre and Condé from the succession to the throne on account of heresy.

By the prudent advice of the Spanish ambassador, Nevers devoted himself above all to the religious sentiment of the Pope. Supported by Pellevé, he pointed out in eloquent words that the League had not in view any rebellion against the weak king, but was working solely for the national and religious welfare of France. The duke, so the Pope told Vivonne, has sworn to me that his friends are seeking for nothing but to serve Henry of Valois, and to drive out the heretics. The head of the Church certainly could not find fault with this. At another audience the Pope said: If the king at last takes action we shall not be bound to do so in his stead. "Tell the king that I want to help His Majesty with all my power, but only on the condition that he does not mix himself up with the Huguenots, but rather that he must drive them out of his kingdom. I am now given assurances that the League has only this end in view."²

Nevers and Vaudemont thought that they had carried the day,³ but they counted on their triumph too soon. Even

¹ See *Avviso of June 4, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 240, Vatican Library, and the *report of Capilupi of June 3, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. H. DE LA FERRIÈRE (*Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, VIII., xxvii.) is wrong in making Nevers barely reach Rome by June 12. With regard to the forged letters of Nevers in *Mémoires du duc de Nevers*, I., 665, edited by M. LE ROY DE GOMBERVILLE, 1665, see BREMOND in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXXV. (1884), 226 *seq.*

² See BREMOND, 177 *seq.*

³ Capilupi, too, in his code *reports of June 12 and 15, 1585, thinks that he can state that Sixtus V. will act in accordance with the wishes of Nevers. In the report of June 15 it is stated that Vivonne was "molto solo," and that the French Cardinals were on close terms with Nevers. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

though Sixtus V. admitted that their mistrust of Henry III. was well founded, he nevertheless insisted strongly on the necessity of coming to an understanding. "Enter into negotiations with Vivonne and Este," he said to Nevers and Vaudemont, "but let them be courteous and friendly; let all four of you settle upon some scheme of agreement, and show it to us, and we will see what is to be done. If you cannot come to an agreement we will take the matter into our own hands." To the insistent requests for the publication of a bull in favour of the League, an evasive reply was returned.¹

Thus when Nevers, once more accompanied by Cardinal Vaudemont, took his departure on June 18th, he was forced to acknowledge that he had not attained his real purpose. A final attempt to obtain a bull against Navarre, made by Vaudemont at his farewell audience, came to nothing. The Pope cut short the increasingly heated demands of the French Cardinal by saying: "We have already told you that we cannot do it: now we tell you that we will not do it."²

The briefs of June 5th, 1585, which Nevers received in reply to the letters written to the Pope by Cardinal Bourbon and the Duke of Lorraine, did not even distantly correspond with the hopes of the League.³ In the brief to Cardinal Bourbon the Pope expressed his great displeasure at the disturbances in France. He praised the zeal of the Catholics for the maintenance of religion, but joined thereto a stern warning: "In all you decide and do you must above all things take care that your end is a good one, that the means you adopt to attain it are righteous, and you must take into consideration the rank and dignity of the persons concerned, and especially must you recognize the authority and majesty of the king with all respect and obedience, according to the words of the Apostle: that all are subject to the higher powers, since there is no power except from God, and those who govern are sent by God, and if you fail in any way in this respect you will sin, your conduct will be condemned by all,

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 165 *seq.*

² See *ibid.*, 167.

³ See FOUQUERAY, II., 133 *seq.*

and you can be of no use to yourselves or to the kingdom." The letter to Duke Charles of Lorraine only praised his zeal for the Catholic religion.¹

Sixtus V. expressed his principles to the King of France in a letter dated June 24th, 1585, with all possible clearness. He wished to help the king, he said, in all his needs, nor would he suffer his royal dignity to be attacked, nor his kingdom divided. The leaguers had assured him that they only wished to defend religion and purge the kingdom of the heretics: if this were the case he could not find fault with their intention, but he wished them to recognize Henry III. as king. Este and Vivonne asserted that the king intended to revoke the edict of 1580, and purge the kingdom from the religious innovators. He praised this intention and promised his assistance, to bring it about that the arms of the leaguers should be united with those of his Majesty.²

In a brief of July 13th, 1585, addressed to Cardinal Bourbon and Duke Henry of Guise, the Pope praised their struggle against the Huguenots, but he very significantly added that victory was to be looked for with all the greater security if they acted in union with the king, concerning whom they had written to him that he was not only the support but also the leader of the common cause.³

In order to obtain better information concerning the complicated state of affairs in France, Sixtus V. decided to make a change in the nunciature in that country. The holder of that position at that time, Girolamo Ragazzoni,

¹ The text of the brief to Bourbon may be found in part in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII. (1880), 156, n. 1, and complete in *Le Cabinet hist.*, III., 206. The brief to "Carolo duci Lotharingiae" states: *"*Zelum tuum catholicae religionis tuendae summopere probamus nec potest quidquam fieri Ecclesiae utilius, tibi ipsi gloriosius, reipublicae christianae salutaris, divinae bonitati acceptius.*" 15 Iunii, 1585. *Brevia Sixti V.*, Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 583 seq.

³ See the *text (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 6.

was making very biased reports, to the discredit of the League and in favour of the weak king. Sixtus V. wished to replace him by Fabio Mirto Frangipani, Archbishop of Nazareth. This man, who had grown grey in state affairs, enjoyed the highest reputation, and was an ornament of the episcopate. As he had already been nuncio in France in the time of Pius V., from 1568 to 1572,¹ he was well acquainted both with the country and with its leading personalities.² Vivonne and Este, on the other hand, suggested the Bishop of Reggio.³ But Sixtus V. would not let himself be persuaded and when Vivonne alluded to the close relations between Frangipani and Spain, the Pope replied: "We are informed that the King of France is making use of the Huguenots, and that he intends to enter into relations with Queen Elizabeth of England; you tell us exactly the contrary. Whom am I to believe? Frangipani will investigate the true state of affairs."⁴ When Sixtus V. informed the French ambassador in courteous terms⁵ of the definite appointment of Frangipani as nuncio in Paris, Vivonne did not dare to express his disapproval, so that the Pope concluded that he consented. This was borne out by the fact that Vivonne wrote to his king that he could be satisfied.⁶

But in the meantime Cardinal Este, who had been won over by Medici to oppose the appointment of Frangipani, had taken decisive steps in the matter in Paris. The consequence was that when Frangipani arrived at Lyons he found a letter from the king telling him not to continue his journey. To Vivonne fell the delicate task of informing the Pope of

¹ See Vol. XVIII of this work, pp. 118, 134.

² This was brought out in the **Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.* in a special way. Papal Secret Archives.

³ See the *report of Capilupi from Rome, June 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See the report of Vivonne of June 16, 1585, in BREMOND, 181.

⁵ Cf. BIAUDET, *Nonciatures*, 54, n. 4.

⁶ See BREMOND, 182. According to the *report of Capilupi of June 19, 1585, the mission of Frangipani was already decided upon. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

this fatal decision of his sovereign. Emboldened by his previous experience of favour he thought that he would easily be able to discharge this duty, all the more so as he hoped that the news of the peace concluded at Nemours on July 7th, 1585, between Henry III. and the League, which had arrived just at that moment, would be very pleasing to the Pope. He looked upon this as so certain that he even went so far as to ask for a pecuniary subsidy for his king, as the French Catholics were now united against the Huguenots. He then added the request that Henry III.'s protest against Frangipani might be allowed. Sixtus V. showed great surprise, and did not conceal his indignation. With regard to the treaty he drily remarked that it would be necessary first to know its terms; he looked upon the rejection of Frangipani as an insult to his own dignity and that of the Holy See. When Vivonne alluded to the relations between Frangipani and Guise, he made the very just observation that to find fault with such a thing was more than strange at the moment when the king had made his peace with the League.¹

When Sixtus V. had received from Frangipani a detailed report of the insult that had been offered him, he resolved to take strong steps to uphold the dignity of the Holy See. When Vivonne presented himself for an audience with the Pope on July 26th, he was told that the Pope could not receive him, and that further he ordered him to leave Rome within twenty-four hours, and the States of the Church within five days.² On July 29th the Pope himself informed the King of France of his decision, which had been provoked by the contradictory behaviour of the ambassador.³

¹ See the report of Vivonne, July 23, 1585, in BREMOND, 183 seq. For the peace of Nemours see DE BARTHÉLEMY in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII. (1880), 465 seq.

² For what follows, besides the documents produced by HÜBNER (I., 312) cf. the letters of Giov. Alberti in DESJARDINS, V., 12 seq., and the *reports of Capilupi of July 27 and 31, and August 3 and 7, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Text in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 576-579, with wrong date 1575 for 1585.

Not only Cardinals Este and Rambouillet, but also the Venetian ambassador Priuli and Olivares himself, tried to calm the Pope. But their remonstrances were in vain. Sixtus V. said to Este that he was well disposed towards the King of France, and that he was willing to help him so long as the war against the Huguenots was carried on loyally and seriously, but that he could not, at the very beginning of his pontificate, quietly submit to personal affronts. If he did so everyone would do as they liked with him, and would treat him as Gregory XIII. had allowed himself to be treated. Santori had great trouble in preventing the Pope from speaking of the matter in consistory.¹

The only concession to which Sixtus V. could be brought to consent was to say that he would allow Vivonne to remain for the time being with Este at Tivoli, but Vivonne, who was deeply offended, would not accept this. On August 3rd, he left the Papal States and went to the baths of Lucca, to get over his great agitation. Before he left, the hot-headed Frenchman addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, or rather a small book, in which he made a personal attack upon the Pope. He advised his king to demand a general council, and if Sixtus V. refused this, to convoke a national council in France.²

Before this incident occurred, which rendered probable a breach between the Holy See and the King of France, Sixtus V. had submitted to the examination of the Inquisition the question whether a bull against Henry of Navarre ought not to be issued.³ Philip II. and Guise pressed for immediate action, while Este, Rambouillet and Vivonne definitely advised against it. The Pope was still in doubt; it was only at the beginning of September that he came to a decision. The result was that the conviction that France must have

¹ SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 167. Cf. HÜBNER, I., 312; DESJARDINS, V., 19.

² See BREMOND, 188 *seq.*

³ On June 5, 1585, Sixtus V. asked Santori for a presentation of the case against Henry of Navarre; see SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 166.

none but a Catholic sovereign carried the day against the other considerations which were above all urged by Santori. It seemed that it could only be by inflicting this censure upon the leader of the Huguenots that the hesitating Catholics would be induced to desert the party of Henry of Navarre, who had notoriously and repeatedly fallen into heresy.

The bull, which was read in consistory on September 9th, 1585, together with the acta of the process held under Gregory XIII., and numerous other documents, and important evidence, laid it down that Henry of Navarre and Condé had relapsed into the heresies which they had solemnly abjured, had taken up arms against the King of France and the other Catholics for the purpose of carrying on a bloody persecution of the adherents of the Catholic faith, and must thus be held to be notorious and relapsed heretics. According to the laws then in force notorious heresy involved the loss of sovereignty and rank. Accordingly by the bull Sixtus V. pronounced, in the traditional form, in virtue of the plenitude of power given him by God, and with the consent of the Cardinals, the sentence that Henry of Navarre and Condé, those "sons of wrath," had, as relapsed, impenitent, public and notorious heretics, and enemies of the true Christian faith, incurred the consequent penalties, and that they had in particular forfeited all title to the succession to the throne, especially in France, and therefore all right to the obedience of their subjects. Henry III., in virtue of his coronation oath, which obliged him to the destruction of all heresies, was exhorted to carry out this sentence, and the French archbishops and bishops were ordered to promulgate it.¹

¹ See Acta consist. 843. DESJARDINS, V., 20. The text of the bull "Ab immensa aeterni Regis," dated "Quinto Idus Sept." (9 not 5, as often stated, even by L'ÉPINOIS [La Ligue 26] and by HERRE [337] was at once published in Rome "apud haeredes Ant. Bladii impress. Cam.;" it is more easily to be found in GOLDAST, *Monarchia*, III., 124 *seq.* and SENTIS, *Clem. VIII.*, *Decret. lib. 7*, p. 165 *seq.* IANSSSEN (*Ein zeitiges Wort an meine Kritiker, neue Aufl., besorgt von L. Pastor, Freiburg, 1895*, p. 141), rightly points out against Ebrard that it is not a

The important document was published on September 21st, 1585, by being affixed at St. Peter's and in the Campo di Fiori.¹ Twenty-five Cardinals had signed the bull. Este and Rambouillet had stood out,² though not in the sense of contesting the right of the Pope to assert his judicial authority even in temporal matters in this way. No member of the Sacred College questioned this right, though opinions as to the opportuneness of the promulgation were very divided. Cardinal Santori, though he signed the bull, was absolutely opposed to the promulgation on the ground of inopportuneness, pointing out to the Pope the lamentable consequences of his using extreme measures in so headlong a way. When, later on, Sixtus V. realized that he had made a mistake in publishing the bull, he called the Cardinal his "Cassandra."³

definitio ex cathedra, and that in it is not to be found the general principle that a heretical prince has no right to rule over Catholic subjects, and that the latter owe him no fealty. Cf. also HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche u. Staat*, 676 *seq.*, and DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, 210.

¹ See GOLDAST, *loc. cit.*, 126. Capilupi mentions the bull for the first time in his *report of September 11, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Sporeno does so for the first time in his *letter of September 14, 1585 (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). On the same date an *Avviso, which states that the Pope's action was praised in Rome. Urb. 1053, p. 299, Vatican Library. The *brief to Henry III. dated September 21, 1585, in Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

² See GOLDAST, *loc. cit.*, 126. According to a *code report of Capilupi of October 12, 1585, Sixtus V. was very angry at Este refusing his signature; if the bull did not please him, he rightly said, he should have said so before, and brought forward his reasons in consistory. In like manner the Pope complained of Rambouillet, who excused himself for not signing the bull because he had gout in the hand! Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 169. Cf. also what Sixtus V. said to Badoer, in RAULICH, 249, n. 2. and MAFFEJI, *Hist.*, 8. Granvelle too looked upon the bull as premature, especially as he wished his king first to conquer Navarre; see PHILIPPSON, *Granvella*, 457.

It was a great misfortune that all the adversaries of Spain, and, among the Italian states, especially Venice, saw in the bull of Sixtus V. a weak act of condescension to Philip II. and the League.¹ In so doing they certainly did the Pope a wrong, and raised an insurmountable barrier between the leaders of the Huguenots and the Catholics. Sixtus V. for his part hoped to separate Henry III. from the Huguenots, and on the other hand to link the members of the League closely with their lawful sovereign, and thus render the dangerous intervention of Spain unnecessary. In order that it might not seem that he was acting in the interests of or under pressure from the members of the League, he had in June refused to publish the bull as requested by Nevers and Vaudemont. But after the peace of Nemours it seemed to him that the opportune moment had come, since, in virtue of that treaty, the king had allied himself with the League, revoked all the promises he had made in favour of the Huguenots, declared the latter incapable of holding any office, especially the right of succession to the throne, and ordered his subjects to embrace Catholicism or leave the kingdom within six months. After this edict, and still more after the bull of excommunication, there could only be, the Pope thought, two parties in France, the defenders and the enemies of the faith. If the members of the League united under the banner of the lawful king, and all the rival Catholic forces in France were directed against the Huguenots, Catholicism, and with it France, were safe, and it would become possible to solve the question of the succession, and solve it without the help of Spain. This reasoning on the part of Sixtus V. was quite logical, presupposing one thing: that the reconciliation between Henry III. and the leaders of the league, sealed by the peace of Nemours, was sincere and lasting. The Pope believed that it was, not fully understanding the involved state of affairs in France.²

¹ See CHARRIÈRE, IV., n. 411.

² See HÜBNER, II., 168-170; BREMOND, 193 n. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 20.

Henry of Navarre at once realized how dangerous to himself the Pope's bull might be, and attacked Sixtus V. with the greatest violence; he found means on November 6th of getting posted up in Rome a protest against the invalid excommunication of Sixtus V., who assumes the name of Roman Pontiff."¹ His own conduct was equalled, as far as want of respect was concerned, by his publicists. The most weighty of these was François Hotmann, the author of the work "The thunderbolt that failed" (*Brutum fulmen*).² This says "the stinking excommunication" is impious unjust and false, the accuser has himself fallen into heresy, and Sixtus V. is the "arch-heretic and Antichrist." Henry declared himself ready to "prove it in a free and properly convened council" and that he would only submit to such a council.³

Henry had already addressed a protest to the Sorbonne, to the nobility, to the third estate and to the city of Paris,

¹ See *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 243; CAPEFIGUE, IV., 273 seq.; HAAG, France protest., Pièces justif., p. 191; ROBIQUET, II., 225.

² The work of FR. HOTMANS (Hotomanus): *Brutum fulmen P. Xysti V. adversus Henricum regem Navarrae*, etc., 1585, was placed on the Index; see REUSCH, I., 525 (cf. REICHENBERGER, I., 250, 252, and for the German translations A. HAUFFEN in the periodical *Euphorion*, VIII., Leipzig, 1901, 560 seq.). Reusch brings out how curious it was that the book of François Perrot, *Avviso piacevole dato alla bella Italia sopra mentita data dal re di Navarra a P. Sisto V. da un nobile francese*, Monaco, 1586 (place of printing, fictitious) which makes use of passages from Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio against the Curia, was not placed on the Index. Bellarmine has confuted this work in detail in his controversies, in an appendix to the *Tractatus de summo Pontifice*. A list of the attacks on and defences of the bull is given by J. LELONG, *Bibl. hist. de la France*, nouv. éd., Paris, 1768 seq. The Vat. 5450 contains: *Apologeticum adversus protestationem Henrici Borb. et Henrici Condei adversus declarat. Sixti V.*

³ *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 243; POLENZ, III., 219 seq.; L. Oliva says in his *letter from Rome, July 23, 1586, that Navarre had written a "lettera diabolica al papa." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua

the author of which was Duplessy-Mornay: in this he demanded that such a council should be convoked for his instruction, and that the States-General should assemble for the reform of the kingdom.¹ This appeal, as well as the view that the bull was an infringement of the rights of the state, met with special favour from the Parliament of Paris.² This body broke out into the most violent expressions against the "usurpation" of the Pope, in attempting to settle the succession to the throne, and suggested to the king that he should throw the bull into the flames in the presence of the whole of the clergy of France.³ Many other Frenchmen, too, who did not share the religious opinions of Navarre, expressed themselves in favour of his right of succession, and resisted the bull, which in their opinion had been the work of the League, the "disturbers of the peace" and of Philip II.⁴ All those Catholics who saw in the attack on Navarre nothing but a political move, now joined him,⁵ so that the event was exactly the opposite of what Sixtus V. had aimed at by his bull.⁶ A special impression was made by the fact that the Duke of Montmorency, whose influence extended over the whole of Languedoc, took the side of Navarre. "If consideration for the public weal and for religion" so he declared, "has made many men the followers of the Guise, so also the declaration of the King of Navarre, that he will change his faith in deference to a council, and his condition in accordance

¹ BERGER DE XIVREY, Letters missives, II., 138, 165; *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 300 seq.; L. EPINOIS, La Ligue, 29, n. 1.

² DESJARDINS, IV., 597; ROBIQUET, II., 229 seq.

³ *Mém. de la Ligue*, I., 222.

⁴ It is well here to mention the work of Pierre du Belloy, containing bitter attacks on the Council of Trent, published for the first time in French in 1585 (see SCHELHORN, Amoen. hist., I., 922), which Bellarmine answered in a pseudonymous dissertation; see DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Selbstbiogr. Bellarmins, 88 seq. Cf. *ibid.* 91 seq. for the reply of Bellarmine to the Avviso piacevole alla bella Italia" (*supra*, p. 28, n. 2).

⁵ Cf. CHARRIÈRE, IV., 422.

⁶ See DESJARDINS, V., 20.

with the decrees of the States-General, has led the greater number of good Catholics and true Frenchmen to the view that what is at issue is not a question of religion, but of politics. If the Catholics join Navarre, they will certainly bring him back to the Church." Montmorency devoted all his energies to this end, convinced that a year of civil war would do more harm to religion than ten years of peace. On December 1st, 1585, Henry of Navarre had turned to Henry III. himself. He pointed out to him how much he would be injured by the Pope's mixing himself up in the arrangements for the succession to the throne, and that he must be prepared to suffer the same fate as had befallen Childeric from the action of Pope Zachary.¹ But however displeasing the Pope's action had been even to Henry III., he did not dare to resist it openly. He did not take any steps on behalf of the bull, but neither did he pay any attention to the Parliament.²

Sixtus V. made allowances for the difficult position of the king, for which the latter was not to blame; he felt nothing but compassion for him, and would gladly have helped him, if so feeble and untruthful a man could have been helped. This essentially benevolent disposition of the Pope towards Henry III., was useful to the king in adjusting the incident which he had occasioned by his rejection of the Papal nuncio. Yet the agreement, which was urged by Venice,³ and eagerly pressed by Este, was not reached so quickly as was at first expected at the Curia,⁴ for Sixtus V. felt himself bound to uphold the dignity of the Holy See.⁵ At the same time his

¹ See L'ÉPINOIS, *La Ligue*, 29 *seq.*

² See STAHELIN, 29.

³ See the *letter of Capilupi of August 10, 1585, *ibid.*

⁴ See the *report of Capilupi of August 14, 1585. According to his *report of August 7, he had said that Cardinal Giulio Canani would go as legate to France, as to which, however, in his *letter of August 10, Capilupi remarks that this would be impossible until Henry III. had made satisfaction. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See the *reports in BREMOND, 192. *Cf.* also the *letter of Capilupi of August 31 and December 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives,

good sense told him that a complete break with Henry III. would be of great advantage to the enemies of the faith, and to those who were supporting the Catholic religion for secret selfish ends, i.e. the Guise and Philip II.¹ On the other hand, the position of Henry III. in face of the renewed struggle against the Huguenots, was such that he could not dispense with the assistance of the Pope.² At the beginning of November, 1585, the rumour spread that the Bishop of Paris, Pierre Gondi, was to be sent as envoy to Rome.³ The Pope, who was constantly worried by the events in France,⁴ learned of this decision with joy.⁵ Gondi was received by him with great kindness,⁶ because he brought most satisfactory assurances of the firm purpose of the king to cleanse France from religious innovations.⁷ The ambassador was able to report

Mantua. The *letter of Henry III. to the Pope, in which he takes the blame for the incident, saying that Vivonne had acted by his orders, bears the date August 17, 1585; orig. in Ottob. 3210, I., p. 12, Vatican Library.

¹ See HÜBNER, I., 272.

² Cf. the *reports of Capilupi of October 5 and 18, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ The original of his *credentials, dated November 7, 1585, in Ottob. 3210, I., p. 7, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* a *letter of Catherine de' Medici to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated November 9, 1585, recommending Gondi. It is missing in the *Lettres de Cath. de Médicis*, where, VIII., 356 *seq.*, there is only the undated letter of the queen-mother to Sixtus V. Gondi set out on November 9; DESJARDINS, IV., 597.

⁴ See the *report of Capilupi, October 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The Quarant'Ore ordered for an exceptional circumstance of which the *Avviso of November 5, 1585 (Urb. 1053, p. 474, Vatican Library) makes mention, probably related to France.

⁵ See the *report of Capilupi of November 13, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ See *Avviso of December 18, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 585, Vatican Library.

⁷ Cf. the autograph letters of Sixtus V. to Henry III. and Catherine de' Medici in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 564 *seq.*

to Paris that the Pope had granted to the King of France, as a subsidy against the Huguenots, the desired concession of the goods of the Church, up to the value of 2,400,000 livres.¹

Thus the incident of the rejection of Frangipani was finally settled. When Henry III. had declared his readiness to receive him as nuncio in Paris, Sixtus V. allowed the ambassadorship in Rome to be once more filled by Vivonne, but under the condition that Francis of Luxemburg, Duke of Piney, who was to make the *obedientia*, should first come to Rome. This question of form, which once more endangered the agreement, was fortunately adjusted by the efforts of Cardinal Este.² In the last week of June, 1586, Frangipani set out for Paris ;³ on the way he met Vivonne, who reached Tivoli on August 10th.⁴ Since all the questions relating to

¹ See L'ÉPINOIS, *La Ligue*, 40 *seq.*; where there are further details of the opposition of the French clergy.

² See the reports of Gondi in BREMOND, 195 *seq.*, and DESJARDINS, V., 21 *seq.* Cf. also the *reports of Capilupi of January 8 (le cose di Francia ancor molta suspense) and March 8, 1586 (Frangipani has not yet received permission to start, although the king has signified that his coming will be welcome), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For Francis of Luxemburg cf. BERGER DE XIVREY, *Lettres missives*, III., 22, n. 2.

³ Capilupi *reports on May 3, 1586 that Frangipani was ready to start and that he was only waiting for the news of the departure of Vivonne for Rome (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On May 14, 1586, the *brief to Henry III., concerning the mission of Frangipani was issued (Brevia, Arm. 30, t. 30, p. 200, Papal Secret Archives), but it was only on June 21 that an *Avviso announced the departure of the nuncio, to whom the Pope had only said: "Fiat voluntas tua" (Urb. 1054, p. 243). On September 6, 1586, Henry III. *announced to the Pope the arrival of Frangipani, and at the same time thanked him for having accepted Vivonne as ambassador; orig. in Ottob. 3210 I., p. 23, Vatican Library.

⁴ See BREMOND, 199. Vivonne had been expected long before; see the *reports of Sporeno of June 21 and July 12, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

his return and to the act of the *obediencia* had not yet been settled,¹ he took up his residence for the time being at the Villa d'Este. Thence he went to Rome, where he was at once received in audience. He had the good sense to ask the pardon of the Pope, who thereupon embraced and kissed him.² After Duke Francis of Luxemburg had also reached Rome on September 9th, 1586, both he and Vivonne were received in audience by the Pope on the following day, on the occasion of the raising of the obelisk in the Piazza of St. Peter's.³ On September 11th, the duke, in the name of the king, made the solemn *obediencia* in the Sala Regia, after which Luxemburg and Vivonne had the honour of dining with the Pope, and, after they had left the table, spending yet another hour in his company. The Pope was in the best of tempers, and showed special attentions to Vivonne. The latter would not be outdone, and declared that the incident had been entirely his fault. The Pope repeatedly assured them both of his love for France and for the king. "Oh! If only the king were successful," he said, "in restoring peace in his kingdom, and he could have a successor to the throne, then I would propose to His Majesty, without concerning myself about Spain, a joint enterprise against Tunis, where once St. Louis fought. Such wars as that I love, but not those between Christians. Money is not wanting: I have already accumulated a million in the Castle of St. Angelo."⁴

On October 3rd, 1586, the Pope thanked the King of France

¹ How difficult it had been for Este, especially the obtaining the return of Vivonne before the arrival of Luxemburg, is clear from his *Correspondence in: Fonds fr. 16042, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

² See the report of Vivonne of August 26, 1586, in BREMOND, 200.

³ See the reports of Vivonne and Luxemburg, *ibid.*, 200 *seq.*

⁴ See Acta consist. 847, the *Avviso of September 13, 1586, (Urb. 1054, p. 400, Vatican Library), and the reports of Vivonne in BREMOND, 202 *seq.* See also the *report of Camillo Strozzi of September 3 and 10, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and MAURITIUS BRESCIOUS, Oratio ad Sixtum V., Romae, 1586.

for his *obedientia*, and for the filial expressions of submission expressed on that occasion,¹ sending him by Francis of Luxemburg a relic of the True Cross,² while on October 27th, he granted him, for his life, the extension of the concordat to Brittany.³ Thus Sixtus V. had not even yet abandoned his hopes of Henry III., in spite of the fact that the warnings he had given him to take prompt and energetic and armed action against the Huguenots, and which he had accompanied by his grant of money, had not been carried into effect.⁴

The king, who was peaceable by nature,⁵ had from the first found himself very unwillingly involved in a war, in which he did not really desire the victory of either party. As the League was always embarrassing and dangerous to him, he had a strong wish to escape its influence by bringing about the reconciliation of Henry of Navarre with Rome.⁶ Montmorency treated of this matter with the nuncio Frangipani, who had recourse to Rome for instructions. The Pope declared that the objections made to the bull were groundless, but said that he was ready to listen to Henry of Navarre if he would acknowledge his errors and ask for forgiveness.⁷ But Philip II. was determined to prevent any such reconciliation. On September 15th, 1586, Olivares was ordered to urge the Pope with the greatest insistence not to entertain any illusions as to the sincerity of Navarre. Even though he were to conform externally, it was evident

¹ See Brevia Sixti V. in Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives.

² See the document in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 581, 585.

³ See Acta consist., 847. The *letter of thanks from Henry III. for this favour, dated Paris, 1586, December 22, in *Nunziat. di Francia*, XIX., 338, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See BREMOND, 252. Cf. PHILIPPSON, *Granvella*, 467.

⁵ See the **Relatione del regno di Francia* of 1587, a manuscript in private possession in Borgo in Valsugana, and made known by Mgr. Benetti in Trent.

⁶ See STAHELIN, 93 *seq.*

⁷ See the letter of Cardinal Montalto to Frangipani in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 576 *seq.*; cf. L'ÉPINOIS, *La Ligue*, 57 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

that it was all pretence on his part. He, the Catholic King, could never consent to a relapsed heretic becoming the sovereign of a kingdom such as France, which would at once fall into heresy.¹

On December 30th, 1586, Cardinal Este, who had been ill for a long time, died, to the general grief of the Curia.² In March, 1587, he was followed by Rambouillet.³ At the same time the aged Frangipani, who in the end had won the full confidence of Henry III., also died.⁴ While, in accordance with the wishes of Henry III., Sixtus V. conferred the title of Protector of France, rendered vacant by the death of Este, on the young and vivacious Cardinal Joyeuse,⁵ after long

¹ See HÜBNER, III., 227 *seq.*

² See the *Avviso of December 31, 1586, for the Christian death of this worldly prince of the Church, with whom Sixtus V. was on very strained terms. The sorrow, this Avviso states, was as great as that for "Titus, delitiae generis humani parendo ad ognuno, che sebene questa corte ha sempre accesi molti lumi di splendore et di grandezza, nondimeno le ne sia oscurata una gran parte con la morte di un signore, che nelle cortesie, nell' hospitalità, nella prontezza degli officii et in tutte l' altre qualità, che formano un vero magnanimo, non hebbe mai alcuno che l' avanzasse." Urb. 1054, p. 451b, Vatican Library. Cf. also the report in BREMOND, 245 *seq.*, and the *report of Malegnani of December 31, 1586. Luigi Olivo had already *reported the illness of Este on August 13 and October 22, 1586. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ He died at Corneto; see the *report of Malegnani of March 25, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 574.

⁴ See L'ÉPINOIS, La Ligue, 74; BREMOND, 254. According to the *report of the Venetian ambassador of April 4, 1587, Frangipani died in such great poverty that not even the money for his funeral could be found. The Pope announced his death with tears in his eyes; see the *report of the same ambassador on April 12, 1587, State Archives, Venice.

⁵ See the letter of Sixtus V. in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 587 *seq.*, BREMOND, 247 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 249 *seq.* the arrival of Joyeuse on August 20, 1587, and his rude and provocative behaviour towards Sixtus V. Cf. AUBÉRY, Vie du card. Joyeuse, Paris, 1654.

negotiations, in June, 1587, he appointed the Bishop of Brescia, Giovanni Francesco Morosini as nuncio in Paris.¹

The choice of Sixtus V. could not have been better. Morosini, a friend of Philip Neri, was not only an excellent priest, but also a distinguished diplomatist. Before entering the ecclesiastical state, this noble Venetian had represented his country at Turin, in Poland, and at Madrid; later on, as Bishop of Brescia, he laboured in the spirit of Catholic reform.² The task now entrusted to him by the Pope, of safeguarding Catholic interests in France, was one of the most difficult imaginable, for the state of affairs was becoming visibly worse. Sixtus V. was so affected as to fall into a state of melancholy.³

Morosini has described the position in France in a way that cannot be bettered. "Here," he wrote, "and all round us, are civil and foreign wars. Here there are factions of state and religion, factions of Catholics and Protestants, factions of politicians and leaguers, factions of the most bitter type, because they are between men closely akin. The nobles distrust each other; a few favourites are prosperous and proud . . . the hatred of the people for the government is very great." As to Henry III. Morosini remarks that the sovereign "is one man, yet acts like two persons . . . he wishes for the defeat of the Huguenots, yet fears it, he fears the defeat of the Catholics, yet desires it; these interior

¹ See BREMOND, 254 *seq.*; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, V., 272. For the other candidates *cf.* also the *reports of Malegnani of April 6 and 8, 1587. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² Sixtus V., in his *brief of June 4, 1587, to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, was able, with reason to praise Morosini as "virum gravissimis in legationibus magna semper cum pietatis integritatisque laude versatum" (orig. in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* St. COSMI, *Mem. d. vita di Morosini*, Venice, 1676. For Morosini's nunciature in France we must consult, besides the **Memorie e registri in Barb. LXI.*. 31 (Vatican Library), used for the first time by Tempesti, the numerous **Acta* in the Papal Secret Archives which L'Epinois has carefully drawn upon.

³ See the *reports of Malegnani of July 18 and 25, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

conflicts within himself afflict him, so that he lives in constant mistrust of his own thoughts and wishes . . . he does not trust himself, and trusts only in an Epernon ; the envy of the latter for Guise has changed into hatred, and the poison has made its way into the heart of the infatuated monarch ; greed for possessions and honours tyrannize over the favourite, liberality and humanity hold sway in the heart of Guise, adored by the people and hated by the king, who loves Epernon, who is hated by the people."¹

Faced by the inconstancy of Henry III., the governing classes in the French capital sought on their own account to put an end to a state of affairs that was becoming daily more intolerable. Lawyers, parish priests and merchants in Paris formed a secret league, which, from its governing body of sixteen persons, corresponding to the districts of the city, took the name of " the league of the sixteen." Its members bound themselves by oath to do everything to prevent a heretic ascending the throne in Henry of Navarre, and to remove all the abuses of the king's government. This body, which soon made its way into other cities, such as Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux and Rouen, entered into an alliance with the Guise to stamp out Protestantism and the abuses in the administration of justice.²

The year 1588, which was to witness the final decision of the terrible struggle between Spain and England, seemed to have become decisive for France as well. The common danger had in 1587 brought the king and Guise into the field against the Huguenots, but as soon as the danger had passed the former dissensions among the Catholics broke out afresh. The king saw in the numbers of the League his most dangerous enemies, while they could not trust a king who was ruled by Epernon. All the efforts made by Sixtus V. and his nuncio to reconcile the two Catholic parties proved useless.³ The ambassador of Philip II. fanned the dissension as far as he

¹ TEMPESTI, I., 612 *seq.*

² Cf. RANKE, Pápste, II²., 101 and Franz. Gesch., I., 422 *seq.*

³ See L'ÉPINOIS, La Ligue, 115 *seq.*, 173.

could, because he feared the intervention of Henry III. on the side of England.

In January, 1588, the Guise decided at Nancy to compel the king to join the League. In Paris, where an attack from the Huguenots was feared, the excitement increased from day to day. Preachers incited men to commit excesses, and put forward the wildest theories.¹ Henry III. threatened, but dared do nothing. He collected troops in the neighbourhood of the capital, but at the same time opened negotiations with the Guise. The people of Paris, alarmed at the military preparations of the king, begged Guise to come to their assistance. Henry III. tried in vain to prevent this. On May 9th the duke arrived in Paris, and was received by the populace as a conqueror, with jubilant cries "Long live Guise, the pillar of the Church." Henry III. was terror-stricken, and on May 12th, brought his Swiss into the city. This was the signal for revolution; the barricades sprang up as if by magic. The courageous nuncio Morosini climbed over them and went on foot to the Louvre to try, even at the last moment to bring about a peaceful solution, but while he was still in the royal palace the fighting broke out in the streets and Henry III. sought safety in flight. Guise seemed to be the master of the French capital, but the radical elements soon obtained the upper hand.²

Sixtus V., who had hitherto striven in every way to preach conciliation to both the Catholic parties, and to urge them to a common war against the Huguenots,³ was all the more grief-stricken at hearing what had happened in Paris as he had a sincere love for France, which had so often rendered good

¹ Cf. LABITTE, *De la démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue*, Paris, 1865. HAFERKORN (*Die Hauptprediger der Ligue [Progr. des Wettiner Gymn.]*, Dresden, 1892) says nothing that is new.

² See L'EPINOIS, *La Ligue*, I., 134 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, where the reports of Morosini are fully used. Cf. ROBIQUET, II., 364 *seq.*

³ A few days before the riots in Paris Sixtus V. had written in this sense to the Duke of Guise; see HÜBNER, II., 190.

service to the Church.¹ It is said that his irritation was so great that he could neither eat nor sleep.² He condemned in the severest way the action of Guise, which might drive Henry III. into the arms of the Huguenots, and had destroyed the unity of the Catholics. On the other hand, he did not fail to criticize the unworthy behaviour of the king.

The Pope expressed himself in the frankest way to Gritti, the ambassador of Venice. Gritti told him that the Senate feared lest the King of France, in order to escape his anxieties, might embark upon a policy that would be fatal to the Catholic cause, and that this was borne out by the language of his ministers.

The Pope sighed, and replied: "Those Lords (at Venice) have indeed good reason to grieve, because the considerations that you have laid before us are very true, and we too grieve at what has occurred, but it pleases us that those Lords are grieved, for when a tooth is decayed but does not hurt, a man pays no attention, but when it hurts he applies the remedy. The kingdom of France is a most noble kingdom, and the Church has always received great services from it; we love it and hold it very dear, and we are consoled to hear that the Signoria holds it in the same affection": then after a pause, he continued: "In this connexion we will tell you that when our nuncio went to France, we having learned on good grounds from certain Jesuits that the Queen of England was not averse to returning to the Catholic religion, and knowing that between the king and her there was a certain understanding, we instructed the nuncio to make it his business with the King of France to induce him to instruct his ministers, through whom he was wont to treat with the queen, to invite the said queen to return to the obedience of the Holy Roman Church, saying that we would promise her, in spite of the forfeiture of the kingdom pronounced against her by Pius V., to restore

¹ * "Pregamo Dio che non abandoni quel regno per li molti meriti di tanti gloriosi Re passati" he wrote in his own hand on April 19, 1588, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3715).

² See L'ÉPINOIS, I., 179.

her to her kingdom, to give her all the assurances that she had asked of us, to declare as her royal successor whomsoever she pleased, to defend her against her subjects and against the King of Denmark, whom she said she feared, in a word, we have refused her nothing. The nuncio did what he could with the King of France, and it did not seem that he could do any more. When we were asked for help by the king, we offered him twenty-five thousand infantry paid by us, and eight thousand cavalry, all men above suspicion, and in whom he could put full confidence, and with whose help we could have chastised both heretics and rebels, and placed him in a position of complete mastery in his kingdom. We made him this offer because we thought that to give him the help of three or four thousand infantry would be to give him the opportunity of making peace with the heretics, and force him after a little while to go to war again, as had happened in the past under other Popes, from whom the king received but small help, and suffered himself to settle his own affairs and do his own will, and we did not wish things to turn out like that ; but if we did help him we wished to help him to stamp out the heretics and not to help him to make peace with them.”¹

With regard to recent events Sixtus V. expressed himself as follows : “ The Duke of Guise went to Paris with only eight horsemen, and dismounted at the house of the Queen-mother. The queen, when she saw him, asked why he had come without informing her ; he replied that he had heard that the king intended to massacre all the Catholics in Paris, and that he, being a Catholic, wished to die with the rest, but the duke was wrong to make such a reply, and we cannot excuse him ; the queen told him that this was not the case, and gave him assurances and asked him to go to the king ; the duke agreed to this, and word was sent to the king to tell him of the arrival of Guise ; the king replied that he knew long before that he was coming to Paris, and that if he was come to make a protest against Epernon, he did not wish to

¹ Report of Gritti of June 4, 1588, in HÜBNER, II., 191 *seq.*, III., 244 *seq.*

speak to him ; when this reply was brought back to Guise, he said that his differences with Epernon did not call for protests, but were matters to be settled with sword and dagger, and that he had come to Paris wishing to approach the king and serve him ; the king consented that he should go to him, and the queen took the duke in her carriage and brought him to the queen regnant, whither two hours later the king came ; they spoke together, and were on friendly terms ; the duke was a long time with the king, and then he took his leave and returned to his own house ; it came into the king's mind to introduce the Swiss into Paris, and to order the attendance of a gentleman to act as his guard ; of the gentlemen commanded only one obeyed ; when the Swiss were introduced into the city, the people of Paris claimed that it was not lawful to bring foreign soldiers into Paris, and that if the king needed soldiers for his privileges he was bound to ask the city, and the city would give him the soldiers he needed, and there was a rising and many Swiss were killed in the riots ; during this rioting they sent to summon our nuncio, who was asked to intervene and quiet the disturbance ; in the end the nuncio, who behaved in the most admirable way, took the Duke of Guise once more to the king, and the king and the Duke of Guise went together through the city, and the duke always accompanied the king with his cap in his hand, and waited upon him, and things became quiet ; the king returned to his house, and the duke went to his lodging ; in the evening the king set out and went to Chartres without saying a word."

" We consider (the Pope continued) that if the duke put himself into the hands of the king, and went alone to him, what could the king be afraid of, what reason had he for summoning the Swiss ? either he suspected the duke or he did not ; if he suspected him, why did he not detain him, and if he saw that he was disturbed why did he not cut off his head and throw it in the street ? All would have been quiet ; if he did not suspect him, why did he summon the Swiss, and if he did not wish to do this the first time, why did he do it on the second occasion ? Some say that if the

duke were dead, there would remain Aumâle and Lorraine, who would have stirred up strife and sought for revenge ; but nothing would have happened, and those people would not have moved. Now we come to the other matter : the king left Paris ; whom was he afraid of, and if he was afraid, how was he safer for taking to flight ? If your fathers had fled from Venice in the tumults in your city, would they have handed down to you the liberty you enjoy ? Fly from Paris ! What for ? From fear of being murdered ? If he had been murdered the king would be dead. This is the position : they now ask us to send them a legate ; we do not wish to do so, as we do not wish to compromise our reputation, as Cardinal Orsini went as a legate to France and they would not receive him, saying : What is it to do with the Pope ? In the same way Cardinal Riario was sent to Spain and was not admitted ; we do not wish to meet with such rebuffs, and will never submit to them ; before we made up our mind to send a legate to Poland, we were asked by the King of Spain, the Emperor and the King of Poland, and we demanded to see the instructions given by the Pole to Reszka, and when we saw that the Pole said that he wished for a Cardinal legate, and that if we did this he would prove his esteem for us, we sent him. We will send a knight, we will send a bishop, or an archbishop to treat with France, we will send a Cardinal that they wish for, we will allow them to choose him, but a Cardinal Legate we will not send ; we have offered the king to leave the matter to us, and told him that we will give him his kingdom free from all trouble in a short time, if he will let us do as we will, or if he will do it himself ; they ask us to order Guise to leave Paris ; we have no power to give orders in Paris, except in a case of heresy or sin or something that concerns ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; with this matter we have nothing to do, for it is not an ecclesiastical matter.” His Holiness added : “ The king says that he will approach the Huguenots ; if he does that, there is still something else that we can do ; in spite of all this we have written our letters to the king, encouraging him and comforting him, and we will go on considering what can be done, nor will we cease

to do so, because, besides the interests of religion, consideration for the state makes it necessary to attend to the preservation of that kingdom, which is too important to be allowed to perish. . . .”

Gritti remarked that if Guise had gone to Paris with but eight horsemen, this proved his previous understanding with the city. The king had certainly made mistakes, but it was not a question now of criticizing what had happened, but of remedying the evil. Sixtus V. pointed out that he had already sent to Guise the strongest exhortations to submit to the king.¹

Vivonne, the French ambassador, described to the Pope in a detailed and vivid way the insult which had been offered to the king by Guise.² According to his instructions he hinted that the king might in his desperation throw himself into the arms of Navarre. The Pope sprang to his feet in great excitement and said: “If all you tell me of the king’s enemies is true, then God will punish them.” Vivonne then thought that the moment had come to present the request that the Pope should openly pronounce in favour of the king, by immediately issuing three briefs: to Henry III., to the French clergy, and a third, strongly worded, to the members of the League. The Pope, however, thought that it was still necessary to reflect carefully. When Vivonne again insisted, the Pope replied: “Piano! Papal briefs are not struck off with a hammer. We are ready, however, to appoint a congregation to examine the affairs of France.” The Pope said the same to Cardinal Joyeuse, assuring him at the same time that the leaguers were quite in error in boasting of a brief approving their conduct “for that they will never receive.”³

The independence which the Pope maintained with regard to the rival parties, was also shown by another episode. The nuncio Morosini, who was working to bring about an agreement between the king and Guise, reported that the members

¹ See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.*

² See the report of Vivonne, June 13, 1588, in BREMOND, 225.

³ See the letter of Cardinal Joyeuse, June 13, 1588, *ibid.*, 226.

of the League hoped to compel the king, hard pressed as he was, to accept the decrees of the Council of Trent. Such a thing would in itself and for its own sake have been most pleasing to the Pope, but he did not suffer himself to be taken in by such tricks. It is not in the power of the League, he told Vivonne, to settle such matters; that is a question that must be decided between the Pope and the king.¹

The Pope also expressed himself with great impartiality at the consistory of July 15th, 1588, when he adopted the king's desire for the appointment of a legate. When, in moving words, he had expressed his grief at the state of affairs in France, which had deprived him of sleep, he praised, though without pronouncing any opinion as to the intentions of the League, the efforts that they, as well as Henry III. had made against the Huguenots.² Since Morosini had laboured indefatigably with both parties, and had won the favour of both, he appointed him Cardinal and Legate for the kingdom of France, to the assistance of which he wished to come in every way. Nor did the Pope pay any attention to the objections which Cardinal Santori raised to this decision.³

¹ See *ibid.*, 226 *seq.*

² "Laudavit constantiam christianissimi regis, qui invitatus ab haereticis illos reiecit atque repulit alios principes exteros et haereticos se cum eo coniungi cupientes et se illi offerentes. Laudavit etiam ducem Guisum, de quo licet dicant quod fidem catholicam et illius conservationem obtendat et aliud praetendat scilicet regimen regni, tamen Sanctitas Sua non videt nisi bona opera ad propagationem religionis catholicae et non potest nisi exterioribus bonis operibus ex praeclaris eius facinoribus contra haereticos gestis indicare." Acta consist. 856.

³ See Acta consist., 856, SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 182; SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 226; *reports of Brumani of July 16, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *briefs to Henry III. and Guise, dated July 15, 1588, concerning the appointment of Morosini, in Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives. The reply of Guise, of August 5, 1588, in L'EPINOIS, 196, n. 3. In April Rusticucci had hinted that two legates might be sent to France, one to Henry III. and one to the League, See the *report of Brumani of April 22, 1588, Gonzaga Archives. Mantua.

On July 19th, 1588, Henry III. gave way to the leaguers, who were steadily gaining ground, and issued the Edict of Rouen. In this he promised to suppress the religious innovations, to accept the Council of Trent, and recognized that none but a Catholic must ascend the throne of France. Soon afterwards Henry of Guise was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole army. On July 20th, 1588, Henry III. wrote to Vivonne that he could tell the Pope that peace with Guise was concluded, and that he was ready to proceed against the Huguenots more energetically than in the past. At the same time the king announced his journey to Blois, where the assembly of the States-General was to be opened on September 15th.¹ Sixtus V. deemed this step to be both premature and dangerous. When Cardinal Joyeuse spoke to him of the convocation of the States, and added that this had been done by the free will of the king, and that it promised well for the pacification of the kingdom, and the consolidation of the royal authority, he received the reply: "The Guise too will be there, and they will not do all the good that is expected from them."²

How right the Pope's view was, and how mistaken that of the king, was shown in the course of the proceedings, which increased the boldness of the Guise even more. On September 26th, 1588, Morosini, who, in accordance with his instructions, was striving to reconcile the king with the Guise, wrote from

¹ See BREMOND, 227 *seq.*, *Ibid.*, 288 *seq.* for the invasion of Saluzzo, which was much felt in France, by the ambitious Duke Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy, in the autumn of 1588, in which Sixtus V. participated because the duke had led him to believe that the Huguenots had established themselves in that territory; see the reports of Gritti of November, 1588, in HÜBNER, II., 429, 433, 513 *seq.* Cf. also MAFFEJI, *Hist.*, 39; L'ÉPINOIS, I., 226 *seq.*, 242; SERRANO, *Arch. de la Embajada de España*, I., 104; C. RINAUDO, *Carlo Emanuele Duca di Savoia*, Turin, 1891, 142 *seqq.*; RAULICH, *Carlo Emanuele*, I. (1896), 349 *seqq.* Cf. the *letter of Sixtus V. to the Duke of Savoy, October 5 and November 1, 1588, State Archives, Turin.

² See HÜBNER, II., 207. Cf. BREMOND, 297, n. 4.

Blois to Rome : the dissension between them becomes greater every day, and the duke has been warned to be on his guard, as the king is plotting to have him murdered. The position was so critical that Morosini made remonstrances on the subject to the king. If Guise, he said, were to be killed in the royal castle, it would bring shame upon His Majesty and peril to the kingdom, because the Catholics would be driven to desperation, and the king's authority would disappear. Henry replied that he intended to take as much care of the duke's life as of his own !¹

Three months later, on December 23rd, Henry of Guise, and on the next day his brother the Cardinal, were murdered by the order of the king ; Cardinal Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, Pierre d'Épinac, and other leaders of the league were imprisoned.² This was Henry's reply to the radical policy which bade fair to make Guise the master of France. When, after this crime, he entered the room of his mother, who was seriously ill, he exclaimed : " Now at last I am King of France ! Guise is dead " ; Catherine replied : " You have ruined the kingdom."³

¹ See the report of Morosini, September 26, 1588, in L'ÉPINOIS, *La Ligue*, 219 *seq.* MARTIN, in *Le Gallicanisme*, 236 *seq.* describes in detail the attitude of Morosini towards the negotiations of Blois, and the inflexible attitude of Sixtus V. concerning the publication of the decrees of Trent.

² See the reports of Morosini in TEMPESTI, II., 213 *seq.* and DESJARDINS, IV., 868 *seq.* Cf. *Bull. de la Soc. d'hist. de France*, I., 2 (Paris, 1834), 77 *seq.* ; SEGESSER, *Rechtsgeschichte*, III., 378 *seq.* ; *Eng. Hist. Review*, X., 304 *seq.* ; PLATZHOFF, 85 *seqq.*

³ See the *report sent by Morosini, in the Papal Secret Archives, *Francia*, II., 156, which has been made use of by L'ÉPINOIS, *La Ligue*, 265.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MURDER OF THE GUISE—SIXTUS V. AND THE LEAGUE—MURDER OF HENRY III.

THE first news of the murder of the Guise reached Rome on January 4th, 1589, by means of a courier from the Duke of Savoy. In the course of the two following days this was followed by its confirmation and full details.¹ Vivonne, the ambassador of Henry III., undertook the difficult task of explaining the action of his sovereign, at an audience which was granted to him on January 6th. To his relief and surprise, the Pope spoke with calmness and moderation. His only bitter remark lay in his question whether, in the whole of history, Vivonne knew of a case of a sovereign murdering a Cardinal. The self-control shown by the Pope was all the more admirable as the king's letter to his ambassador was incredibly foolish and tactless. In this letter he said that it had been necessary for him to free himself from the duke, because the latter was aiming at his throne and at his life so that he had followed the advice given him by the Pope on the occasion of the insurrection of the Barricades. To this remark, which was as false as it was brazen, was attached the provocative offer of a benefice held by the murdered Cardinal Guise to the Cardinal nephew, Montalto! The reason for the murder of a member of the Sacred College was given in the following postscript: "I forgot to inform your Holiness that it was necessary to act in this way, because Cardinal Guise had had the effrontery to say that he would not die until he had held my head while my hair was cut to make a monk of me."²

¹ See the report of G. Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 24, and the *letter of Sporeno of January 7, 1589, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Cf. L'EPINOIS, *La Ligue*, 275.

² See BREMOND, 298 seq. ; cf. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1922, 415.

After Vivonne, the Venetian ambassador, Gritti, was received in audience. To this intimate friend the Pope expressed in the clearest terms his opinion of the terrible occurrence, of which he had been informed in the strictly objective report of Morosini. "We were unable to approve," he said, "and were indeed forced to blame the Duke of Guise on account of his first act of taking up arms and uniting himself to other princes against his king, because it was not for him in any way to take up arms against his prince, and even though he did so under the pretext of religion, it was nevertheless not fitting that he, who was a subject, should take up arms against the king, nor attempt to impose laws upon him, and this was an excess and a sin, because the vassal has no right to command or constrain the prince; he may indeed persuade him, warn him, or exhort him, but to take up arms and stir up a rebellion against his king is a proceeding that cannot be excused; it is a sin, and if the king had in consequence taken proceedings and had punished him, he could only say that he was his subject, nor could anyone do aught but praise his act."

"The second action taken by the duke was to go to Paris during these last months, and he went to Paris with only seven men, and went to the queen-mother, and then to the king; if the king had wished to take proceedings then against the duke he could have done so, he could have arrested him and punished him, and if he had killed him and thrown him out of the window, no one would have said anything, and all would have been finished. If he still feared the rising of the people, he could have seen how the city was stirred by his arrest, and in any case, when the duke was dead and thrown into the street, all was over and everyone would have held his peace; but the king acted wrongly in not acting thus, which everyone would have praised; instead he fled from Paris and abandoned his royal city, and went as you know to Orleans."

"And now there has followed this third act; the duke was in his power and the king was master, and could do what was right against his subjects, having to render an

account to no one, but after the king was reconciled to the duke, to admit him to his councils, and confide in him, and talk over with him all that has occurred, to send and summon him to his chamber, and he going thither confidently, to have him butchered before his eyes, that we cannot praise, for it is not an act of justice but of murder ; he should have arrested him and put him on his trial, and then do as he wished because he is king, and thus all would have been well done with the authority of the laws, and by the ordinary methods of justice. If he had seen any insurrection, then he could have proceeded against him summarily, but to kill him as he did was murder and not justice, and it grieves us that the king should have committed such a sin.

“As to the Cardinal whom he put to death, if the king had even the smallest complaint to make of him, why did he not inform us of it ? We would have summoned him long since to Rome, and would not have allowed him to depart, and we should thus have remedied everything, and if the Cardinal had not come to Rome, we would have deprived him of his cardinalate as a disobedient subject, and then the king could have done as he pleased. We asked the ambassador who stood here before you, to tell us who has murdered a Cardinal, and we asked him if he had anywhere read of such an act. The king has also ordered the arrest of the Cardinal of Bourbon, an old man of seventy years, which will kill him. In a word the king has done ill to treat them thus, after having been reconciled to them, and admitted them to his counsels.”

The Pope had spoken with calm and dignity, but he could not restrain a sigh at the heavy burden of the tiara. “When we were only a Cardinal,” he said, “we had no need to rack our brains over being obliged to excommunicate a king, or summon him to Rome, or take any other action against him.”¹

In the evening of January 6th, 1589, Olivares, the Spanish ambassador, also presented himself at the Vatican, though it was not his day for an audience. He returned again on

¹ See HÜBNER, III., 266 *seq.*

the following day, and remained with the Pope for two hours. After him was received Giovanni Niccolini, the envoy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was told in brief the same as had been said to Gritti, and with him as well the Pope was very calm.¹

In the meantime there was waiting in the antecamera Cardinal Joyeuse, who was greatly annoyed at the long audience granted to the Spanish ambassador. When the Pope repeated to him as well what he had said to Gritti, he objected that His Holiness himself had regretted that the king had not killed the duke during the insurrection of the barricades. In reply Sixtus V. rightly pointed out the difference, and said that the king had killed the duke, not while the facts of the rebellion were still recent, but after he had been reconciled to him and without any trial. Thereupon there followed an exceedingly heated discussion. For the murder of the Cardinal, in which Sixtus V. saw an incomparably greater crime, Joyeuse asked for pardon in the king's name. The Pope replied: "Matters of conscience are not dealt with through ambassadors. The king should himself write to us for absolution. We reserve to ourselves the right to discuss the matter with the Cardinals. Vivonne tried in vain to prevent this."²

Cardinals Santa Croce and Joyeuse again attempted to deter the Pope from his intention before the consistory of January 9th, 1589, but in vain.³ When the ceremony of the "closing of the mouth" had been carried out in the case of the new Cardinals, there was a dead silence in the hall until the Pope, who was visibly agitated, rose to express his feelings about the sacrilegious crime that had been committed on the person of Cardinal Guise, without saying anything about the murder of the duke.⁴

¹ See DESJARDINS, V., 25 *seq.*

² See *Lettres du card. d'Ossat*, I., Paris, 1698, 12; BREMOND, 300 *seq.*; HÜBNER, II., 215.

³ See *Lettres du card. d'Ossat*, I., 14.

⁴ "Iustis de causis ommissa Guisii mentione," says MAFFEI (*Hist.*, 38).

His discourse, which proved how entirely the interests of the Church held the first place with Sixtus V.,¹ opened with the characteristic words: "We find ourselves constrained to give expression to an unspeakable sorrow, so unspeakable that we cannot find words to describe it, for the sacrilegious crime which has caused it is quite unheard of. By the order of the King of France, Cardinal Guise has been killed, a Cardinal has been killed, a Cardinal Priest has been killed, and one who was at the same time Archbishop of Rheims. He has been butchered without trial, without sentence, by the civil authority, unknown to us, without the sanction of the Holy See, to which he was so closely united, as though we had not existed, as though there had been neither Apostolic See, nor God in heaven or earth. The divine law binds all men, nor is anyone excepted. The divine law commands that "thou shalt not kill." Who then is allowed to kill? Certainly no one, be he prince or king. If a judge, in virtue of the laws, condemns anyone to death, this is not to kill but to punish, to chastise so that the processes of law may be observed. But the Cardinal has been killed without judgment, without law, and not by the command of or with the consent of his superior, which in this case is ourselves. He has been killed like any ordinary man without consideration for his rights, his rank, or his episcopal and cardinalitial dignity. Nor can be it said that the Cardinal had done or said anything against the king or the crown, since, on the evidence of Henry III. himself, conveyed to us by his envoy Gondi, he had warmly recommended him for the vacant legation of Avignon, as the royal representatives can bear witness. Since then nothing has occurred on the strength of which it could be maintained that the Cardinal had done anything against the king. But even granting that that were the case, even so the king should have refrained from such a crime and sacrilege. He knows how strictly we proceed against the guilty. Could he not have left the condemnation to us,

¹ HERRE (398) rightly calls attention to this.

in the meantime holding the Cardinal under arrest? Or if he could not wait could he not have questioned our legate Morosini, who enjoyed his special confidence, and who had been created a Cardinal by us at his request?"

After the Pope had developed this point, he paused for a while, as though overcome by grief. He then went on, giving praise to Providence which had permitted such a disaster during his pontificate, for He that had assisted him from his youth would also be with him in the time to come, so that he might deal with such an evil. After a further pause Sixtus V. dwelt upon the fact that the king had only asked for absolution by means of his ambassadors, while he himself had uttered no single word of repentance. He then recalled how once King Henry II. of England had humbly accepted penance for the killing of Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury, who was not a Cardinal. The same was the case with even Theodosius, a powerful Emperor, after the massacre of Thessalonica: these examples drawn from history he developed at length. In recalling the power of Theodosius he quoted a passage from Claudian.

Then the Pope expressed his wonder that certain Cardinals dared to excuse the crime in his presence, without remembering that the honour and safety of the whole of the Sacred College was involved. "It is not we," Sixtus exclaimed, "who wish to become Cardinals, it is not we who seek after the purple by the favour of this or that prince. What has happened affects not us, but you. It is you who are willing that the civil authority should sweep aside your immunity, liberty, authority and all your privileges; this is your affair. If the killing of a Cardinal is passed over so lightly, the same thing may happen to each one of you. We for our part will see that justice is done, and in so doing we shall have nothing to fear, since God is justice itself. We cannot go on for sorrow, though there is still much to be said." Then the Pope announced the appointment of a special congregation of Cardinals, to deal with the affair. "May the Lord God assist His Church!" the Pope concluded.

Cardinal Joyeuse, who well understood that part of the

Pope's discourse was directed to himself, rose as soon as the Pope had ended, and with head uncovered, asked to be allowed to make some observations in excuse of the Most Christian King. Sixtus V. bade him be silent. In spite of this the Cardinal again attempted to speak, thus breaking the rule by which the Cardinals could only speak in answer to a question or with the permission of the Pope. This permission Sixtus V. refused him, and once again imposed silence upon him.¹

After this painful incident the members of the congregation, which was to meet under the presidency of Santori, were appointed; they were Cardinals Fachinetti, Lancelotti, Pinelli and Mattei.² Santori soon succeeded in inducing Joyeuse to ask the Pope's pardon at the next consistory on January 16th.³

In order to show publicly his horror at the acts of violence committed by Henry III., Sixtus V. suspended the discussion of all matters concerning France in consistory, informed Vivonne that he must no longer attend in the Papal Chapel, and suspended his usual weekly audiences.⁴ Olivares he received all the more frequently, but the latter still found the Pope's feelings towards France too lukewarm. Both

¹ The text of the discourse of Sixtus V. is corrupt in the printed edition of the *Acta consist.* (858-861); thus p. 850, n. 7 *cardinales* should appear instead of *cardinalis*; n. 8 the same; n. 9 *cardinalem* instead of *cardinales*. The printed edition is also wrong in giving January 11 as the date of the consistory; the correct date (January 9) is in **Acta consist. camer. XI.*, p. 107, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican and in the Spanish **Relacion*, in Cod. 6423, p. 10-11, State Library, Vienna. Cf. HÜBNER, II., 216 *seq.* A new printed version of the discourse, from older manuscripts in *Anal. eccles.*, IV. (1895), 465 *seq.*

² See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 184.

³ See *ibid.*; *Acta consist.*, 861; **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, in Barb. lat. 2814, p. 438b, Vatican Library; RICCI, *Silingardi*, I., 103.

⁴ See **Avviso* of January 18, 1589 (on Friday Vivonne was refused an audience), Urb. 1057, p. 24, Vatican Library. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 30; HÜBNER, II., 221.

he and Philip II. were anxiously awaiting the moment for armed intervention in France, and took the strongest measures in Rome to bring this about.

But the Pope, who feared among other things danger to Italy and the Holy See from a victorious intervention on the part of Spain, would not let himself be hurried. Olivares informed him most insistently that Henry III. was negotiating with Navarre, and that he intended to recommend him to the States at Blois as his successor. If Navarre abjured his heresy, which of course would only be in appearance, and the Pope accepted his abjuration, the ambassador of Spain was instructed to remind the Pope that his king, as he had already informed him in 1586, would be forced to interfere under arms in France. In his reply Sixtus V. praised the zeal of the King of Spain for the holy faith, but his praise seemed to the Spanish ambassador to be rather half-hearted.¹ His suspicions of the Pope, however, were quite unfounded, for Sixtus V. had not as yet come to any decision.²

At the end of January the Pope expressed himself very frankly to Gritti. In this conversation he spoke of his fear lest Henry III. should suffer the same fate as Guise. He once more bitterly complained of the king's statement that in killing Guise he had followed the advice of the Pope. It is not we, he said, who are breaking the forms of law. To kill without a sentence is not justice but vengeance. If the king has acted from motives of revenge, he will receive the chastisements of God. If he has only exercised his rights, where are the minutes of the trial, the accusation and the defence? Does Henry think himself authorized to judge ecclesiastics? Does he wish to be both king and Pope? That would be heresy. We have done everything he has asked of us. After our accession to the throne the Duke of Nevers came to Rome to obtain our adherence to the League. May God pardon its authors: Pope Gregory, Galli and Pellevé. The king knows our reply. We said:

¹ See the reports of Olivares in HÜBNER, II., 221- 223; III. 284 *seq.*

² Cf. the Este report in Ricci, SILINGARDI I., 104.

“Subjects may not rise in rebellion against their sovereign ; if the king is negligent in combating heresy, it is not their affair to make laws for him. It is our business and not theirs to admonish. He wished to sell ecclesiastical property, and we gave him the power to do so ; he asked for a Cardinal, and we complied with his request ; for a nuncio, and we gave him one ; for a Cardinal Legate, and this too we complied with, thereby departing from the normal usage. We met his wishes in everything and in all ways. You know, the Pope concluded, the story of Pharaoh. He had exhausted the patience of God. When he saw the people of Israel walking amid the waters, while he himself was at the bottom of the sea, he exclaimed : This is the finger of God (*digitus Dei est hic*). And indeed what is happening in France is the finger of God.”¹

In the meantime Henry III. was deluding himself with the hope of being able to settle the complications occasioned by the murder of Guise in a satisfactory manner. Deceived by Vivonne and Joyeuse, he expected by resistance to intimidate the Pope in such a way that “His Holiness will come to us hat in hand.”² This task was entrusted to the Bishop of Le Mans, Claude d’Angennes, who reached Rome on February 26th, 1589, but his mission was entirely fruitless, for the Pope remained immovable in his determination that he would only give him absolution if Henry released from prison Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons ; this however the king could not be induced to do.³

While the Bishop of Le Mans was negotiating with the Pope, the followers of the murdered Guise, who, under the leadership of his brother, Duke Charles of Mayenne, had risen

¹ See the report of Gritti of January 28, 1589, in HÜBNER, II., 223 *seq.* ; III., 291 *seq.*

² “S.Sta gli andarebbe con la berretta in mano.” The reports of the French representatives fell into the hands of Sixtus V. ; see the letter of Badoer of June 17, 1589, in HÜBNER, II., 231.

³ BREMOND (303 *seqq.*) treats of the mission of the Bishop of Le Mans in greater detail than Hübner. *Cf.* also L’ÉPINOIS, 301 *seq.*

in a twofold struggle against Henry III. and the Huguenots, did all they could to induce the Pope to take their part, but this they could not bring about. Sixtus praised indeed the zeal of the French Catholics against the Huguenots, but condemned their rebellion against the lawful king, to whom they must submit themselves, should he show himself truly repentant.¹

The members of the League were further than ever from either submission or reconciliation with Henry III. As had been the case with the Huguenots after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, so did dangerous theories now make their way among the French Catholics. Thus on January 7th, 1589, the Sorbonne declared that Henry, by the crime at Blois, had forfeited all right to the crown of France, and that the people might take up arms against him in defence of their religion with a clear conscience.² This was followed by the new government of nobles, ecclesiastics and burghers, the so-called "Union" which was formed in the French capital, the members of which bound themselves to everything, even to

¹ See L'ÉPINOIS, 309. The statement of RANKE (Päpste, II², 112): "Sixtus was entirely on their side" (i.e. the league), is completely false. POLENZ (IV., 657 *seq.*) formed a far truer opinion. Sporeno in his *report of March 4, 1589, well sums up the situation: "S.Stas nihil penitus se declaravit circa vel personam dicti regis vel Guisianae familiae et nemo adhuc novit circa S.Stis consilium." Cf. also in App. n. 23 the *report of Sporeno of April 22, 1589, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Cf. also the letter of Brumani of April 22, 1589 (Gonzaga Archives Mantua), in App. n. 24.

² For the decision of the Sorbonne of January 7, 1589, see HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 493; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., I, 372; ROBIQUET, II., 501 *seq.* The statement of RANKE (Franz. Gesch., I., 460) that in this the views of those members of the Sorbonne who were influenced by the doctrines of the Jesuits, were decisive, is wrong; cf. DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 405. For the attitude during the disturbances of the time of the French Jesuits, who for the most part avoided mixing themselves up in political questions, cf. the detailed account of FOUQUERAY (II., 170 *seq.*, 222 *seqq.*).

regicide. In Paris all the coats-of-arms and statues of Henry III. were destroyed. A huge procession passed through the streets, and at a given signal all taking part in it blew out their candles with the words: "May God thus extinguish the generation of the Valois." Some ecclesiastics, such as Jean Boucher, a parish priest of Paris, declared from the pulpit that it was lawful to clear a way by killing a prince who had been condemned by the people as the enemy of the common good and of religion.¹

Like the capital, a large part of the country separated itself from the king, and it seemed as though the end of the French monarchy had come. Clergy and people saw in Henry III. a tyrant who had forfeited his right to his authority. In the cities the rich burghers thought of setting up small republics, while the nobles aimed at the formation of provincial "satrapies."² Violence was frequently employed against the supporters of Henry III. At Angers the Catholics who would

¹ See L'ÉPINOIS, 284 *seq.*, 288 *seq.*; RITTER, II., 42. Cf. the work of Labitte, cited *supra*, p. 296, n. I, and ROBIQUET, II., 493 *seq.*, 522.

² *"Lo stato di Francia alla morte del duca et card. di Ghisa cessò di essere monarchia imperoche la più parte delle città et terre del regno et li migliori cominciando da Orliens levorono quasi in un medesimo tempo l'ubidienza al Re senza intendersi l'una con l'altra et furono tra questi in particolare tutt' i parlamenti fuorche Bourdeaux et Renes, l'uno in Ghienna, et l'altro in Bretagna. Si rivoltorono anco contro S. M^{ta} una buona parte de nobili, tutti li prencipi della casa di Lorena et quasi tutti gli ecclesiastici, ma con pensieri diversi. Il clero et la gente bassa desideravano di deporre il Re come preteso tiranno, i ricchi et potenti delle città pensavano di volere instituire delle repubbliche in loco della monarchia et li nobili havevano la mira a far delle satrapie particolari co' l mezzo delle cittadelle et de presidii. Non di meno tutti furono d'accordo per conservarsi di stabilire un' unione et più tosto di rinovar quella che di già era stata stabilita l' anno 1585, ma non più contro gli heretici solamente ma contro quelli et contra la persona del Re. Commentarii delle cose successe nel regno di Francia," Cod. 44, p. 286, of the Library at Karlsruhe.

not join the League were maltreated, and Henry III. found himself confined to Blois, Amboise and Tours.¹ Duke Charles of Mayenne, the brother of the murdered Henry of Guise, could look forward to the complete victory of his forces. Henry III. outlawed him as well as the Parisians, but however great his straits were, the king never entertained any thought of setting free the princes of the Church which was insisted upon by the Pope as the condition of absolution ; on the contrary, while his ambassador in Rome was asking for the Papal absolution, the king was carrying on negotiations with Henry of Navarre, the Huguenot leader, and at the beginning of April he concluded an alliance with him. On April 30th the two kings met at Plessis-les-Tours, and united their armies against Mayenne.² Cardinal Morosini had already left the court, and was eagerly awaiting his recall at Moulins. To the sorrow which this distinguished man felt on account of the failure of his great efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the two Catholic parties, was added the loss of the Pope's favour, who, quite unjustly, expressed the greatest displeasure at his conduct.³

¹ See L'EPINOIS, 239 *seq.*, 298.

² See *ibid.*, 318 *seq.*, 322 *seq.*

³ Morosini, so as not to anticipate the decision of the Pope, contented himself, in face of the acts of violence of Henry III., with warning the king in a private conversation, a step which HÜBNER (II., 232 *seq.*) praises as being the most suitable. In Rome Morosini was severely blamed (see RICCI, I., 105). The Pope too rebuked Morosini, because he would have liked him to have acted with all possible rigour ; he frequently, and without reflection, spoke with suspicion of the loyalty of the nuncio, whom he often called the secretary of the King of France ! (DESJARDINS, V., 30, HÜBNER, II., 218). Morosini at once justified his conduct (see DESJARDINS, IV., 868 *seqq.*) and again asked for his recall, which the Pope refused because he did not wish to come to an open rupture with Henry III. (see HÜBNER, *loc. cit.*). The blame attached to the behaviour of Morosini, which L'EPINOIS (269 *seq.*, 273 *seq.*, 278 *seq.*, 330 *seq.*) has well dealt with in accordance with the Acta of the Papal Secret Archives, was so severe that it was feared that the Pope would deprive him of the purple ; see the

During the whole of the spring the Pope found himself courted by the rival parties in the most importunate way. Vivonne and Joyeuse endeavoured to induce him to refuse any hearing to the members of the League. Sixtus V. refused this : as the common father he was bound to listen to all.¹ Even greater efforts than those of the members of the League were made by the Spaniards, to win over the supreme head of the Church to their schemes.² But how little the Pope adopted the ideas of Philip II. was clearly shown by the words written by Olivares to his sovereign at the moment of the worst difficulties of the King of France, " It is a principle with this court to protect the King of France, however little confidence may be felt in him. It is feared that if France were to succumb Italy too would become the slave of your Majesty."³

The Spaniards and the leaguers might say what they would, but the Pope continued to exhort the French Catholics, not

*report of Brumani, Rome, January 18, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The intervention of Santori (see *Autobiografia*, XIII., 191) prevented matters from going to extremes. During this severe trial Morosini maintained a dignified attitude ; he never failed in his devotion to the head of the Church, from whom he asked pardon in a moving letter, although he did not feel guilty of any fault (*L'ÉPINOIS*, 331). Later on the Cardinal succeeded in convincing the Pope of his innocence (see his *apologia in TEMPESTI*, II., 411 *seqq.*). After this he had the satisfaction of being able to justify his behaviour at a consistory on March 14, 1590, in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, in so excellent a report that a complete reconciliation with the Pope followed (see *Acta consist.*, 870 ; *HÜBNER*, II., 516 *seq.*). Morosini then became one of the intimates of Sixtus V. (see *SANTORI*, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 193).

¹ See *L'ÉPINOIS*, 327. Cf. the **Avviso* of February 18, 1589, Vatican Library, in App. n. 20.

² See *L'ÉPINOIS*, 290 *seq.*, 300, 326 *seq.* The disagreements between the adherents of Henry III. and of the League became so acute in Rome that the two parties often came to blows ; see **Avviso* of May 3, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 256, Vatican Library.

³ *HÜBNER*, II., 221.

only to the defence of their religion, but also to obedience to their king, provided he showed himself truly repentant.¹ In order to bring this about, Sixtus V. after a fierce struggle, resolved to publish the Monitorium, for which the Spaniards and the Guise had pressed as strongly as the supporters of Henry III., among whom the representatives of Venice and Florence were prominent, had resisted it.²

It was a dangerous step which the Pope thought it his duty to take for the salvation of the Catholic religion in France,³ because it threatened to involve her in the nets of Spanish policy. The decision was only come to after Sixtus V. had received from Sini, the secretary of Morosini, a detailed report on the state of affairs in France.⁴ On May 5th, 1589, the Pope carefully reviewed in consistory the conduct of Henry III., bringing out especially his alliance with the Huguenots. The documents bearing on the question were read, as well as the text of the Monitorium, which met with the approval of all the Cardinals. The whole, however, was to be kept secret for the time being under pain of major excommunication to be incurred immediately.⁵

Sixtus V. delayed for another whole week in publishing the Monitorium, so little can one speak of precipitation in the matter. It was only on May 12th that the document was sent to the legates, with orders to promulgate it on the same day as it was posted in Rome,⁶ which was done on May 24th in

¹ See the important letter of Cardinal Montalto of April 23, 1589, in L'ÉPINOIS, 324.

² Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 42.

³ See HERRE, 398. L'ÉPINOIS (328) says of the monitorium : Cette mesure était juste ; c'était le droit du Pape et son devoir. Cf. also ROCQUAIN, La France, 388.

⁴ See L'ÉPINOIS 328 ; cf. 322 for the mission of Sini.

⁵ In the printed edition of the Acta consist., 865, there are several printer's errors which alter the sense : thus, after *contractaverunt* there should be : "quid fecerit Henricus III Rex, trucidavit et cepit et excommunicatus est." Cf. the Este report in RICCI, I., 107.

⁶ See HÜBNER, II., 237, 240.

the customary manner.¹ In the consistory held on the same day, the Pope once more described the events that had led up to it, especially bringing out the patience which he had displayed towards the king, notwithstanding his many lapses. He again enumerated the benefits he had conferred on Henry III., and stated that the king had not asked for absolution, as he, the Pope, now admonished him to do; lastly, he made it clear that if the king would enter into himself, he was ready once more to bestow his favour upon him, as on a prodigal son.²

The Monitorium laid it upon Henry III., under pain of major excommunication, to set at liberty within ten days Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons, and to appear in Rome within sixty days, either in person or by proxy.³ The document, to the great surprise of the Spaniards, made no mention of the alliance with Henry of Navarre, although this was the real reason for this last admonition.⁴ The Pope very prudently limited himself to that which, quite beyond question, entered into his sphere, the murder and imprisonment of the

¹ See the Este report in RICCI, I., 109. The printed copy of the monitorium at St. Peter's was, according to an Avviso of May 27, 1589, guarded for two days by light cavalry (BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 139). Vivonne, the Bishop of Le Mans and Joyeuse only left Rome on May 30 (see DESJARDINS, V., 43; cf. RICCI, I., 110). The statement of THUANUS (I., 95), that Vivonne left before May 24, is thus quite wrong.

² See *Acta consist. camer. XI., 118. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Cf. Olivares in HÜBNER, III., 298 *seq.*

³ The text of the *Monitorium, which begins with the words "Inscrutabilis Divinae providentiae altitudo," and is dated "Romae apud s. Petrum 1589 tertio Nonas Maii," in *Brevia Sixti V.*, Arm. 44, t. 29 and 32, Papal Secret Archives; see EHSES, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 288 n. 2. Cf. EYZINGER, *Rel. hist. cont.*, Cologne, 1589, 67 *seq.*

⁴ See the letter of Montalto to Frangipani, May 27, 1589, in EHSES, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 288. Cf. SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 187.

princes of the Church. To the Venetian ambassador he said that he still held his arms open to the king.¹

If Sixtus V. hoped, as a priest and as head of the Church that the king would act upon his admonition, as a statesman he desired the repentance of that unhappy monarch even more than he expected it. If Henry does not enter into himself, the Pope said to the Venetian ambassador on July 29th, he will come to a miserable end like Saul.² Three days afterwards, just when he was about to attack the League in its headquarters, Paris, he fell by the hand of an assassin.³ When the news of

¹ In the letter of Montalto to Visconti it is said of the monitorium: "è medicinale, et non mortale." SCHWEIZER, III., 30.

² See HÜBNER, II., 242 *seq.*

³ The assassin, a young Dominican named Jacques Clément, who was mentally defective, and the butt of his companions from the cradle as POLENZ (IV., 618) says, was at once killed by the people. He was acting in the spirit of the party of the League, and had been encouraged in his purpose by its adherents, especially the Paris preachers, and was afterwards declared by them to be a martyr, "quae tamen sanctio (says MAFFEI in his Hist., 47) utpote nulla Pontificum auctoritate facta, postmodum evanuit." That Clément had nothing to do with the Jesuits, as DROYSEN (*Gegenreformation*, 190) still maintains, is shown by DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 402 *seq.*, where the story that Clément had first gone to confession to the Jesuits is also refuted. RANKE writes (*Franz. Gesch.*, I², 469) "Clément was strongly impressed by the doctrine, which at that time was specially maintained by Boucher, that a tyrant who offended against the common well-being and religion, might be killed by a private individual, and his only scruple was as to whether a priest could perform such an act. He laid before his superior the question whether it was a mortal sin for a priest to kill a tyrant. He was told that it was an irregularity, but not a mortal sin." In support of this Ranke quotes the following, evidently taken from the *Relacion del successo de la muerte del rey christ.* sent by Mendoza to Spain (Simancas papers in Paris): It is asked: "si peccava mortalmente un sacerdote que matasse a un tiranno; it is replied: que vedeva el tal sacerdote irregular." Anyone who knows even the first principles of Canon Law will see at once that this has reference to *irregularitas ex delicto*, which occurs in

his terrible end reached Rome, this last scion of the House of Valois, a decadent both physically and morally, had already for a long time past forfeited all esteem.¹ Like many others,² Sixtus V. saw in this the punishment of God for Henry's misdeeds. He expressed himself to this effect at the *Segnatura*,³ and at the consistory of September 11th, 1589.

Of the discourse he delivered at that consistory there only remain some extracts which are in part difficult to understand.⁴

all crimes publicly known as notorious, and suspends the person affected from the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions. Such ignorance in the case of a celebrated historian would cause amusement if the most vile accusations against the Catholic Church had not been based upon this rashly stated and obstinately maintained assertion (again in the 4th edition of the *Franz. Gesch.* (1876), I., 239, n. 3).

¹ The first news arrived on August 18, 1589 (see *TEMPESTI*, II., 370 *seq.*; *EHSES*, II., 349, n. 1; *RICCI*, I., 111); in the evening of August 20, Niccolini, the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany received confirmation from Florence (see the **Avviso*, of August 23, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 520, Vatican Library). When the news was read to the Pope, who at first would not believe it "S.Stà mostrò . . . dispiacerli la morte del Re di Francia et che S.M. non avesse fatto già quel che la S. Sua voleva" (Niccolini August 22, 1589, in *DESJARDINS*, V., 52). At the feast of St. Louis the royal arms no longer were to be seen in Rome in the church of that saint (see **Avviso*, *loc. cit.*, 524).

² See *SANTORI*, *Autobiografia*, XIII. 188.

³ See in App. n. 26 the *Avviso* of August 29, 1589, Vatican Library.

⁴ This is especially true of the abridged account given in a few lines of the *Acta consist.*, where it is stated: "Multis rationibus ostendit hoc divino solummodo iudicio evenisse nihilque hac in re hominibus tribuendum." In the account too given by the *report of the Venetian ambassador A. Badoer, September 11, 1589 (State Archives, Venice, used by *RANKE*, *Päpste*, II⁸., 113, but with the wrong date September 1), and in the report of Niccolini in *DESJARDINS*, V., 56 *seqq.*, the event is attributed to the direct intervention of God. In a Spanish **Relacion del consistorio de 11 Settembre, 1589*, which I found in Cod. 6423, p. 4 *seq.* in the State Library, Vienna, it is expressly said of the discourse

But an exact report of his discourse at the Segnatura tells us in what sense the Pope interpreted the event. He especially brought out the great surprise which the assassination caused him, but also said that it had aroused his compassion. It was his opinion that God, after the sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against the king, had allowed that Henry, himself the murderer of an ecclesiastic, should in his turn be slain by the hand of a priest. At the same time the

of Sixtus V. : **“ Procuco dar a entender no succeder semejantes muertes sino por permission divina a los Reyes.”* This is in accordance with the version in **Acta consist. camer., XI., p. 124* (Papal Secret Archives), where it is stated : *“ rem huiusmodi actam esse ut in ea divini iudicii vis plane agnoscatu,r ”* and Sixtus V. expressed himself in the same sense at the Segnatura. The versions of the discourse of Sixtus V. spread about by the League were quite different. Thuanus has given extracts in his historical work (I., 96), in order to build up on the strength of this apocryphal fabrication (*cf.* E. MEAUME, *Etude hist. sur Louise de Lorraine, reine de France, Paris, 1882, 114*) grave attacks on the Pope, attacks which have been repeated quite recently (e.g. by Ebrard, who is refuted by JANSSEN, *Ein zweite Wort an meine Kritiker*, ed. L. Pastor, Freiburg, 1895, 132 *seq.*, and lastly by ROBIQUET [II., 575 *seq.*]), after they had already been spread about during the life of Sixtus V. by the English Protestants (see : *Antisixtus, Sixti V., P. M. de Henrici III. morte sermo*, London, 1590 ; there was also an English translation, a copy of which is to be found in the British Museum). According to the version of the League, Sixtus V. had compared the assassination in its wonderful greatness to the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, had exalted Clément above Eleazer and Judith, and had said that by his action he had *given his assistance* to Divine Providence. That the Pope had not expressed himself in this way, but had only spoken of the *permission* of God, is clear from the above-mentioned passage from the Spanish report. From the same source it is also plain that the other statement concerning the blasphemous comparison is equally false. In the Spanish report it is clearly stated that in quoting the words of Habacuc (I., 5) : *“ Aspiciate in gentibus et videte et admiramini et obstupescite quia opus factum est in diebus vestris, quod nemo credet, cum narrabitur,”* Sixtus V.

Pope alluded to the singular disposition of Providence by which the crown of a king who had killed a Cardinal, should fall into the hands of a Cardinal. At the end of his discourse at the Segnatura the Pope once more deplored in forcible words the terrible fate of the last of the Valois.¹

If for a moment the Pope had hoped that matters would be simplified in France,² he was soon forced to realize that this was an illusion. In spite of the urgency of Olivares and of the followers of Mayenne, he at first adopted an attitude of prudent reserve towards the parties in France. The prompt proclamation of Henry of Navarre as king, by the army, and a great part of the Catholic nobility, without any previous change of religion, or even such a change being made a condition, was bound to fill the supreme head of the Church with anxiety for the Catholic religion. The declaration made by Henry as to the safeguarding of the rights of the Catholics, and his readiness to be instructed in the Catholic religion within six months, and to submit himself to a general and national council, showed that any precipitate action was not advisable. But in the meantime there had come to Rome on September 1st, the Seigneur de Diou, as the envoy of the Duke of Mayenne, to win over the Pope to the support of the

had remarked that although this passage had been applied by the ancient Fathers and theologians to the birth of Jesus, it might far better (*muy bien*) be applied to the present case. But this by no means implies that Sixtus V. compared the assassination to the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Nothing then remains in the version of the League but the allusion to Eleazar and Judith. According to the Spanish report Sixtus V. did indeed refer to these cases, which are recorded in Judith 13 and Macchabees I., 6, but he repeatedly and strongly insisted "no haver podido succeder al Rey de Francia este desastre sino por la misma permission," and especially as a "castigo," because the king, a few days before, had allowed the heretical soldiery to commit excesses, to profane the churches and to violate women.

¹ See in App. n. 26 the *Avviso of August 29, 1589, Vatican Library.

² See SANTORI, *loc. cit.*; TEMPESTI, II., 371.

League. In accordance with his duty of listening to all as the common father, he at once admitted him to audience, but did not recognize him as the envoy of France, just as he rejected his request that he would approve the election of Mayenne as Governor-General of the kingdom. In his reply to the suggestion of the members of the League, Sixtus pointed out that the account given by Diou had thrown so little light upon the intentions of the League, that he was unable to give them any rule of conduct, but at the same time he said that he would send a legate, who would obtain for him authentic information as to the disorders in that country, because he had the salvation of religion and of France very much at heart.¹

It was impossible to maintain this attitude of reserve for long, because it was necessary to take the changed state of affairs into account. Political and religious passions had broken out with still greater violence after the murder of Henry III. There now existed in France only two great parties, that of the league, in whose eyes the legitimate sovereign was the imprisoned Cardinal Bourbon, who was at once proclaimed in Paris under the name of Charles X., and the party of Henry of Navarre, who, as a descendant by ten generations from St. Louis, now claimed the crown, even though he did not profess the faith of the majority of the French people. Although even many good Catholics, such as Cardinals Lenoncourt and Vendôme, supported him, yet this man, who had hitherto been the leader of the Huguenots, was only strong because of his Huguenot army. Since the Catholics declared themselves in his favour in ever increasing numbers, it did not seem improbable that his Huguenot supporters would become the minority and the Catholic ones the majority. But this remained very uncertain, as did the question whether a statesman of the stamp of Henry would

¹ *Brief "dil. fil. nobilibus viris generale concilium sanctae unionis Catholicorum in civitate Parisiorum repraesentantibus, dat. in monte Quirinali sub annulo piscatoris die sept. 21, 1589," in Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 183b, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* other *briefs of September 21, 1589, concerning the mission of the legate. Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 347.

keep the promises made to the Catholics when he had been proclaimed king.

To Navarre's right to the succession, which came to him from the provisions of the Salic Law, was opposed the declaration made at Blois in 1576 with the consent of Henry III., and recently solemnly confirmed as a fundamental law of the nation, that France could only be ruled by a Catholic king. Paying no attention to this Henry had seized upon the crown, although he was a Huguenot, and moreover a relapsed heretic and one who had been excommunicated by name. The danger which this involved for the Catholic Church in France was all the more clearly brought home to Sixtus V. because Philip II. was making every effort to prevent any reconciliation between Henry of Navarre and the Holy See, and was never weary of describing the possible return of Navarre to the Catholic religion as a trick. To this was added the news of the zeal with which John Casimir, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and the Imperial cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Ulm were supporting Navarre with loans of money and a licence to recruit.¹

At that moment, to save the faith in France, to save it at all costs, seemed to the supreme head of the Church a sacred duty, a pressing duty, a duty that over-rode all other considerations, even if it involved (a thing which was very repugnant to him) making the King of Spain the arbiter of the destinies of France.² Therefore Sixtus V. was inclined to give his support and help to the League, although in many ways this was very dangerous, and he saw very little real solution of the problem of the succession in the proclamation of Cardinal Bourbon as King Charles X., since that aged prince of the Church was in the power of his rival.³

¹ Cf. EHSES, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lvii.

² See HÜBNER, II., 245 *seq.*, who calls attention to the remarks of Sixtus V. to Badoer.

³ Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 659. Of interest is the remark of Brumani: "La Sorbona ha mandato a S.St^à la effigie de Borbone in stato regio." *Report of September 23, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

How firmly the Pope clung to his former plan of uniting the two parties under one standard was clearly shown by his action of sending a new Cardinal Legate to France in the place of Morosini, whose mission had not satisfied him, and which could now be considered to have been brought to an end by the death of the king.¹

The choice of a suitable person presented extraordinary difficulties. The Cardinals of the French Congregation, Santori, Facchinetti, Lancelotti, Pinelli and Mattei, discussed the matter from every point of view. Some of the older Cardinals, and especially Scipione Gonzaga, who was supported by the ambassador of Venice, suggested the appointment of two legates, one for ecclesiastical and one for military affairs.² Cardinal Santa Croce was of opinion that no legate should be sent, but only a nuncio; the sending of a legate was not in keeping with the dignity of the Holy See; moreover, Henry of Navarre would only be annoyed by this, whereas he might obtain the mastery, so that in the end it might become necessary to treat with him. He gave this advice because, supposing that Navarre became a Catholic, he would be the lawful heir to the throne.²

Sixtus V., on the other hand, insisted that a Cardinal Legate must be sent to France. Many names were suggested for the purpose, but none of them satisfied the Pope, except Rusticucci who, however, had been passed over as he did not speak Latin well. Lancelotti, Aldobrandini and Mattei were ruled out by Olivares, who wished for Madruzzo, Galli, Pinelli or Rovere. Castrucci and Santa Croce were also spoken of.⁴ Sixtus V. was of opinion that the new legate, although he must be acceptable to Philip II., must not be an object of suspicion to those who did not support the League, and must also be well

¹ See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 57.

² See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 188 *seq.*; MANFRONI, *Legazione*, 200 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 351.

³ See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 62.

⁴ See L'ÉPINOIS, 351. *Cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 59 *seq.*, and the *report of Brumani of September 23, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

versed in public affairs and be absolutely loyal to the Holy See.¹ His choice at last fell upon Errico Caetani, in no way, however, as was widely supposed, to please Spain, but merely because there was no other suitable person in the Sacred College.²

Errico Caetani, whose memory is still preserved in Rome by the beautiful chapel which he built at S. Pudenziana, seemed to be, for various reasons, the man best fitted to solve the difficult problem. Appointed a Cardinal by Sixtus V. in 1586, and since September, 1587, Camerlengo of the Holy See,³ a scion of an illustrious family, rich, of imposing appearance, wise and prudent, he had a great knowledge of the affairs of France. He was acceptable to Philip II., who had already mobilized his troops on the French frontier, but there was also reason to expect that, because of his calm and impartial character, he would be favourably received by the Catholics of France and the people of Paris.⁴

On September 24th the Pope announced his decision to the congregation of Cardinals appointed to deal with the affairs of France,⁵ and on the following day appointed Caetani in consistory with the approval of the Sacred College.⁶ Obviously

¹ See in App. n. 27 the *report of Brumani of September 27, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See MANFRONI, *Legazione*, 201.

³ Cf. GARAMPI, 321.

⁴ See in App. n. 27 the *report of Brumani, September 27, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. the *Relacion del consistoro del 25 September, 1589, in Cod. 6423, p. 6-7 of the State Library, Vienna.

⁵ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 64.

⁶ See *Acta consist. of September 25, 1589 (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican), which is more detailed than the printed version in Acta consist. 867, and the *Relacion of the State Library, Vienna, cited *supra*, note 4. According to the latter there specially took part in the discussion Gesualdo, Colonna, Pellevé, Torre and Lancellotti. See also the *report of Brumani of September 27, 1589 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and the letter of Montalto to Frangipani of September 30, 1589, in EHSES, II., 371 *seq.*, and that to Visconti in SCHWEIZER, III., 64.

so as not to allow any interference on the part of Olivares, the matter was dealt with in strict secrecy.¹ After the decision, however, the Pope spoke openly on the subject to the ambassadors who were most intimate with him. Thus he told the representative of the Duke of Mantua that the appointment of Caetani had been objected to because his brother had the Golden Fleece, and two of his nephews were serving in Holland, which made it appear that his sympathies were too Spanish. Against this Sixtus V. had pointed out that that distinguished decoration was possessed by many others, who were not for that reason looked upon as bound to the King of Spain. The same was true of those who owed him military service. On the other hand Caetani owed all his dignities to the Holy See, to which two of his brothers were also greatly indebted. For that reason it might confidently be expected that the Cardinal would be acceptable to all or nearly all the Catholic princes: to Philip II., the Emperor, the Dukes of Ferrara, Urbino, Mantua and Savoy, as well as to the League; even Venice and Florence at length reconciled themselves to his appointment.²

The Secret Archives of the Vatican contain the minute of the instructions for Caetani, which was presented to the Pope for his approval on September 30th.³ As the purpose of the

¹ "Con estrema segretezza ha passato questo negotio," says Brumani in his report of September 27, 1589, *loc. cit.*

² See in App. n. 28 the *report of Brumani of September 30, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Istruzione per ill. e rev. card. Gaetano legato in Francia, mandata a S.S. con quella del sig. card. SS. Quattro (Facchinetti) sabbato 30 settembre a ore 16, 1589: Miscell. di Francia, Arm. 11, caps 11, n. 24 and Varia polit. XCVI. (in the middle of the volume, see EHSSES, II., 371), Papal Secret Archives. HÜBNER (II., 249) has been the first to use this Istruzione and to publish it (III., 303 *seq.*), and has come to the conclusion that "a number of reasons both internal and external show that the Instructions as given by TEMPESTI (II., 390 *seq.*) are apocryphal." BALAN (VI., 634, n. 1) had already pointed out that the Ragionamento published with other things by Tempesti did not emanate from the Pope. Without knowing of this remark MANFRONI

mission of the Cardinal Legate, this points out in the first place the preservation of the Catholic faith in France, and more particularly to separate from Navarre the Catholics who were supporting him, and to reunite them to the adherents of the league. The States, the prelates, and the nobles with whom the legate would have to deal, are enumerated in particular. He was to enter into Paris with great solemnity, bestow the apostolic benediction in Notre Dame, and at once open negotiations with the king (Cardinal Bourbon) if he were at liberty, or if not, with the Duke of Mayenne, the general council of the League, the princes who were in Paris, the municipal council and the Sorbonne. With regard to the use of the 100,000 scudi which the Pope gave him, and of the subsidies which were still to be made, he was to act in exact accordance with the special instructions given him by His Holiness.

The question of the succession was not touched upon in the instructions. Facchinetti, one of the members of the congregation, had suggested the election of Cardinal Vendôme, but the congregation was of opinion that the time had not come to face that question. Lastly, the legate was to prevent at all costs the convocation of a national council, and to request Mayenne in case of need to resist it with armed force.

The numerous briefs given to Caetani to announce his mission bear the date of October 2nd.¹ Among them there is even one for the "Most Christian King Charles."² That this

(Legazione, 203) came to the same conclusion with regard to the Ragionamento. Manfroni considers the Istruzione used by Hübner to be one of the plans proposed by the French Congregation, of the approval of which by the Pope there is no proof. For the fact that Sixtus V. modified the original Instructions Manfroni refers (205) to the *bull of legation for Caetani in Barb. XXXII., 203, p. 201, Vatican Library.

¹ *Brevia Sixti V., Arm. 44, t. 30, p. 198b *seqq.*, t. 32, p. 37 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

² The brief to Charles X. is printed from Arm. 44, t. 29, p. 278b of the Papal Secret Archives in SAULNIER, 301 *seq.*, who remarks: "Le bref ne fut vraisemblablement jamais remis au

was prepared only in case the Catholics should come to an agreement on his behalf, may clearly be seen from the brief addressed at the same time to the council of the League. In this the object of Caetani's legation is stated to be that all the efforts of the League may be directed in the best possible way to the election of a Catholic king.¹

In the meantime there arrived the news of events in France which brought about a change in the views of the Pope. He therefore gave the Cardinal Legate before his departure on October 2nd,² new and different oral instructions. Following the example of the great work accomplished by Aldobrandini

cardinal Bourbon ni meme connu en France." A memorial intended for Caetani, October 3, 1589, in DESJARDINS, V., 649 *seq.*, discusses the possibility of an arrangement between Navarre and the League, by which Navarre should recognize the aged Cardinal as king, whom he would then support in the event of his return to the Church.

¹ See the *text (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 29.

² MANFRONI (Legaz., 203, 209) wrongly places the departure on October 15. In the Itinerarium legationis Gallicanae cum card. Caietano, in Barb. 2815, p. 1 *seq.* composed by Paolo Alaleone, it is expressly stated that on October 2: "Legatus discessit ab urbe" (Vatican Library); according to L'ÉPINOIS (359) the Itinerarium was printed in the *Revue du Monde cath.*, 1867); L. CAETANI, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 14 *seq.* has missed this. Brumani *reports on October 7, 1589: to-day Caetani left Viterbo for Florence (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Sporeno says in his *report of October 7 that Caetani's retinue, which was chosen by the French Congregation, was composed of about 200 persons; that no one knew whom the Pope wished for as king (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). Among the suite of Gaetani were his brother Onorato, Patriarch of Alexandria, the Bishop of Piacenza, Filippo Sega, the strong supporter of the League, P. Francesco Panigarola, Bianchetti as chancellor, Bellarmine (see DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Bellarminio Selbstbiographie, 60 *seq.*, 99 *seq.*), the master of ceremonies P. Alaleone, and Camillo Sighicelli, whose letters and diary were used by MANFRONI (Legaz., 194 *seq.*). The *Acta of the mission of Caetani in Arm 8, ord. 2, IKL of the Papal Secret Archives.

in his mission to Poland, Caetani was to work for a true peace, to secure the election of a Catholic king, and insist upon the liberation of Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons, upon the introduction of the Inquisition, the breaking off of the alliance with the Turks, and the abolition of those Gallican liberties which conflicted with the authority of the Holy See. The Cardinal was also to inquire whether Cardinal Bourbon, who had been proclaimed by the League as King Charles X., had been accepted by all the members or only by some of them. Caetani was also to report as to the aspirations of the Duke of Vendôme and the Duke of Lorraine. The support he was giving to the League, the Pope added, was understood by him as being assistance to the Catholic religion, and so he must find out whether the League and the Duke of Mayenne were really only animated by the interests of religion, and whether Mayenne was not aiming in the first place at himself obtaining the throne, as well as at the destruction of heresy. The legate was also instructed to report if Navarre took any hostile action against the Catholics, and whether there was any hope of his becoming a Catholic. Over and above this Caetani was to keep a watchful eye on the aims of the Spaniards, and especially find out whether they were working to extend their own power in France rather than to bring about the election of a Catholic king.¹

Fresh instructions for Caetani to this effect were written on October 5th by the Clerk of the Camera, Lomellini, which were much more restrained and reserved than the former ones, and were sent after the legate who had already departed.² According to these he was to win the confidence of the princes of the blood royal, not to make an enemy of Navarre, and to induce Mayenne to give up his unreasonable ambitions and make no attempt to withhold the crown from him to whom it belonged.

¹ TEMPESTI, II., 390 *seq.*

² **Instruzione per il card. Gaetani legato in Francia dal rev. Lomellini 5 ottobre 1589; Varia polit. XC p. 99, Papal Secret Archives, first consulted by MANFRONI, Legazione, 205. That subsequent instructions were also sent to Caetani is expressly stated by SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 190.*

These changed instructions, the carrying out of which was beyond the diplomatic powers of Caetani, were obviously written under the influence of the fear of increasing the enormous power of Spain in France by an unconditional support of the League.

No less great an influence was also exercised by the news which had come that the Venetian government, despite its friendly assurances to the Pope, had ordered its representative in France to recognize Henry of Navarre as king.¹

This bold step aroused general resentment in the Curia. It was asked: How can a Catholic state accord the title of Most Christian King to a notorious heretic and one moreover who had relapsed, and seek the friendship of such a man? Nor could the Pope pass over such a thing lightly, and he told his intimates that the occurrence might lead to the breaking off of diplomatic relations.² To Badoer, the ambassador of the Republic, Sixtus V. spoke at first very quietly, principally because he did not wish to close the way to Navarre, should the latter really wish to seek for absolution.³ Therefore it was not in accordance with his wishes when the nuncio in Venice, the moment the Doge received the credentials of Henry IV. from the Seigneur de Maise, who had until then been the envoy of Henry III., left Venice without taking leave. Sixtus V. condemned this haste, because he desired for every reason a peaceful settlement of the occurrence. From the first, through this affair, there was a conflict in his mind between his sense of duty, considerations of a politico-religious character, and his love and esteem for the Venetian government. His friendly dispositions towards Venice went so far as to lead him to order the nuncio to return at once to his post.⁴ As for the Seigneur de Maise, he was ready to recognize him as the representative of the King of Navarre, but he

¹ See RAULICH, Contesa, 250 *seq.*

² See in App. n. 28 the letter of Brumani of September 30, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See the report of Badoer in RAULICH, 225 *seq.*

⁴ See the *report of Brumani of October 28, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. HÜBNER, II., 267; RAULICH, 266.

firmly refused to accept him as the ambassador of the King of France.¹

This distinction was rejected in Venice ; it was not the duty of the Signoria to pass judgment on the succession to the throne of France. By making any claim to do so it would drawn down upon itself the displeasure of Henry, who was recognized by the French army, by the princes and the greater part of the nobles, and who had pledged himself to protect the Catholic religion, and would sooner or later return to the bosom of the Church. He alone was in a position to restore peace in France ; to close the way to an understanding would be to drive him to extreme measures, and force him, with German and English help, to turn his arms against the whole Catholic world, and above all against Rome and Italy.² Remonstrances to this effect were to be made to the Pope by a special envoy. For this purpose a choice was made of Leonardo Donato, a distinguished diplomatist, who belonged to the group of young senators gathered round Andrea Morosini, and who was fortunately known to the Pope, having been sent by the Republic to make the *obedientia*.³

The benevolent attitude of the Pope towards Venice caused the greatest excitement among the Spanish party in Rome, who displayed an indefatigable activity. A statement made by Olivares made so great an impression on the Pope that he almost repented of having sent back the nuncio so hastily. If the Seigneur de Maise, the representative of Philip II. said to him, is accepted in his official capacity, then his own sovereign and the Duke of Savoy must recall their ambassadors from Venice, and the diplomatic body there would henceforward be composed of the representatives of the Pope and of

¹ Cf. the instructions to the nuncio Visconti, October 28, 1589, who was forbidden to recognize as a royal ambassador the envoy of Navarre to Prague, and who was told to suggest to the Emperor a similar attitude. SCHWEIZER, III., 90 ; cf. 108, 113, 153 *seq.*

² See HÜBNER, II., 264 *seq.* ; RAULICH, 262 *seq.*

³ For the circle of A. Morosini, see FOSCARINI, *Letterat. Venez.*, Venice, 1854, 116 *seq.*

a relapsed heretic!¹ This statement left the Pope very anxious, and Badoer had to use all his skill to prevent the Pope from being won over to the arrogant point of view of the Spaniards, and to that end he dwelt especially on the idea of bringing about the reconciliation of Henry with the Holy See by the mediation of Venice. He could not, however, prevent the Pope from expressing his disapproval of the attitude of the Signoria, and even speaking of the employment of ecclesiastical censures.²

Thus the position was very critical when Donato reached Rome on November 18th. On the following day he was received in audience with Badoer.³ The Pope was very affable and even invited the two diplomatists to be seated. They employed all their eloquence in justifying the action of their government. Sixtus V. heard them kindly, but in his reply left no room for doubt as to the displeasure he felt that the Republic should have received Maise as the envoy of the King of France, as this showed that it held a heretic in higher esteem than the Pope. His complaint, however, was not expressed with any violence, but rather as an old and sincere and affectionate friend of the Republic, who, despite his displeasure at the fault committed, was anxious once more to set matters right. "To break with those whom one does not love," said Sixtus V., "is no great hardship, but to do so with those whom one loves causes great sorrow. How could the

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 268.

² See RAULICH, 269 *seq.*, 273 *seq.* The Cardinal of Verona, Agostino Valiero, brings out in a *letter to a Venetian noble, Verona, 1589, October 21, that it was not lawful for the government to recognize as king a "giudicato relasso dalla S. Sede," or to admit his ambassador; as a Venetian, says Valiero, he grieves at this in a special way, but hopes that an arrangement may be come to by means of Donato. Cod. Cels. 53 (H.311) of the Library, Upsala.

³ Cf. as to this the report of the two ambassadors of November 25, 1589, in RAULICH, 279 *seq.*, where, however, the audience is wrongly placed on November 10 instead of November 19. Ranke, who also uses this report (Päpste, II^o, 136) mixes up the audiences of November 19 and 24.

good and wise elders of the Council have come to the pass of acknowledging as King of France one who is not, and cannot be such? Navarre has neither been crowned, nor elected by the States, but tumultuously proclaimed by the army. Moreover he has upon his shoulders the excommunication and the declaration of the Holy See that he is incapable of ascending the throne. Yet in spite of that, and in defiance of all the warnings of the Pope, Venice has recognized him as the Most Christian King. As to this there can be no argument as to either religious or political interests, for any decision as to the interests of religion belongs to us, and Navarre should have submitted to that from the first. And as to political interests, Venice ought to know that it is not prudence to satisfy one prince by alienating all the others. The Republic of Venice does not stand so far above all states as to be able to set an example to the rest. The excuse, too, that the senate did but receive the envoy in the capacity which he himself claimed, does not hold good. For what did the senate do when the envoy of the Catholic League appeared, and presented himself as the ambassador of the crown of France? It refused to receive him until he had renounced the title he had claimed. So should it also have done with the envoy of Navarre, so as to compel him to submit to the Holy See, whereas now he can boast that he has been recognized as king in Italy. If this is done, what becomes of her neutrality between the two parties in France? What would Venice have done if Cardinal Bourbon had sent his representative to the city of the lagoons as the envoy of the King of France? "Sixtus V. concluded by declaring that he appreciated the good dispositions of the Signoria in not admitting Maise to the religious functions, but that he could not be satisfied with that. The ambassadors must work to bring about a settlement; he, too, desired this, for, and at these words he placed his hand upon his breast, "it would be painful to us to have to break with Venice."

In reply to the Pope's declaration, the ambassadors insisted above all on the argument of opportuneness. The Republic saw in Navarre a counter-weight to the threatening preponderance of Spain, and feared lest Navarre should set the Turks in

action. The ambassadors also alluded to the fact that according to all the probabilities Navarre would be victorious.¹ Such arguments Sixtus V. would not accept, nor the suggestion that the whole affair was only a question of courtesy. During the course of the conversation the ambassadors were successful in showing that some of the accusations made by Sixtus V. were based on false reports spread by their enemies. They counted especially on the impression they would make by the argument that the Pope ought not to be displeased at seeing a representative of Navarre in Venice, because this made it possible for the Signoria to act as intermediary. "We do not wish for that," Sixtus replied, "for that would have the opposite effect of increasing the pride and arrogance of Navarre."

The audience, which had lasted for two hours and a half, passed so peacefully that the ambassadors went away with the impression that the Pope would not break with their government. Yet they could not conceal from themselves the gravity of the situation. Cardinal Pinelli, who was so friendly to them, expressly pointed out to them what was involved in the fact that the Venetian government had accorded to the King of Navarre the title of Most Christian King, in spite of the fact that he had been excommunicated by the Pope and declared incapable of succeeding to the throne.²

The pessimistic forecast of Pinelli was confirmed at the second audience given to the two Venetians, on November 24th. The Pope, who was alarmed at the news which had arrived in the interval of the help given to Navarre by England, Denmark and the Turkish Sultan,³ this time spoke to them

¹ These arguments, which are missing in the report of the *letter ambassadors, were given by Sixtus V. to Brumani; see the of the latter, November 22, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See Badoer in RAULICH, 293.

³ See the *letter of Brumani of November 22, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On the previous day Sixtus V. had ordered a general jubilee in view of the situation in France; see EHSSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 422 n.

in threatening terms, but in spite of this the ambassadors avoided making any concession. It was to no purpose that Sixtus V. pointed out that it was a question of religion, and that the friendship extended to Navarre must be considered as an insult to himself. "Does the Republic fear anything from Navarre?" he said. "There is no need for her to do so, for in that case we will defend her with all our power." We have no lack of money or soldiers. We can help you more than he can hurt you. How many projects has not the Catholic King himself abandoned, yet not from fear of us, for our material strength compared with his is like a fly compared to an elephant. He has done so from respect for the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and your good and venerable senators, each one of whom is fit to rule the world, should do the same. We do not ask that Maise should be expelled or not be received by their body, but we do not wish that he should be accorded those honours which belong to the ambassadors of France. If this concession is made to us, all will be settled, but otherwise we shall have to proceed in accordance with the canons.¹

The Pope had spoken very excitedly. So as not to irritate him any further, the ambassadors contented themselves with the statement that they would ask for further instructions from their government. It was characteristic of the feeling of the Signoria that it replied that it could not and would not make any further concessions.² Thus all hopes of an understanding seemed to have vanished. The Spaniards were jubilant, while Donato was in despair; he asked for a farewell audience which was granted to him on December 15th.

At this meeting, which has become celebrated, Donato first expressed in moving words his sorrow that the Pope should put greater faith in the words of the enemies of Venice, than in the actions of the Republic, which were directed solely to the peace and welfare of Italy. He strongly insisted that Venice had no intention of encouraging the heretics, either with money, troops or advice. He recalled the hesitation which Venice had shown in receiving Francis of Luxemburg when he

¹ See RAULICH, 296 *seq.*

² HÜBNER, II., 277.

visited the city of the lagoons on his journey to Rome in the interests of Navarre. But his government had not been in a position to do more.

The Pope understood perfectly well that the principal reason why Venice maintained diplomatic relations with Henry IV. was her fear of Spanish preponderance. Donato well knew that Sixtus V. as well as watching with much anxiety the ambitious schemes of Philip II., whose preponderance in Italy must increase in an intolerable way should he succeed in becoming the master of the destinies of France. In that case not only the independence of Venice, but also that of the Holy See was endangered. Taking his stand upon this community of interests, Donato begged, when the Pope had somewhat calmed down, that His Holiness would let him take his departure with a promise that he would settle the matter, and in their common interests not only restore the former friendship between Rome and Venice, but even consolidate it. Sixtus V. tried to avoid this ultimatum by saying that he could only come to a decision after he had met Francis of Luxemburg. With great presence of mind Donato replied: "If Your Holiness will only let me take my leave after the arrival of Luxemburg, you will thereby connect my mission with the affairs of France, with which it has nothing to do. My duties are only concerned with a question of etiquette, and my government does not wish to mix itself up in any way with religious questions." He further pointed out that the object of Luxemburg's mission was not known, and that perhaps he was coming to threaten a council.

During this speech Sixtus V. became more and more uneasy. "Whereas it was the last thing we were expecting," the ambassadors reported to the Doge, "the Pope, either acting upon an inspiration from God, or won over by our conclusive and pertinent observations, suddenly showed signs of yielding, and said: you have conquered us. He that has a companion has a master. We will speak again with the French Congregation, which we have always consulted. We will tell them that we have held a discussion with you, but that you have worsted us. Write this to the senate, that we beg of it in

future to proceed with greater circumspection in questions of religion, and to show more consideration for the Holy See."¹

When the envoys presented themselves once more before the Pope on December 20th, he told them that even though he could not approve what the Republic had done, he was nevertheless willing to abstain from the rigorous measures which he had intended to take against her. He then admonished them again that the Venetian government must try, in matters concerning the Church, not to neglect the necessary caution and complained of the freedom with which pasquinades against Philip II. and the Pope were allowed in Venice.²

¹ See the report of Donato and Badoer, December 16, 1589, used by RANKE, *Päpste*, II⁸., 137, HÜBNER, II., 277, and RAULICH, 308 *seq.*; complete in HÜBNER, III., 327 *seq.*

² See the report of the ambassadors of December 20, 1589, in RAULICH, 313 *seq.* One of the pasquinades to which Sixtus V. alludes is printed in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, VII., 487 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

SIXTUS V. AND SPAIN.

DURING these lively discussions between Sixtus V. and the two representatives of the Republic of St. Mark, the strong Spanish party in Rome was far from inactive. Olivares and Cardinals Madruzzo, Deza, Mendoza and Gesualdo held frequent meetings, at which Rusticucci and Galli also sometimes were present. These were also in close relations with Diou, the envoy of the league, and with Cardinal Pellevé.¹ The most indefatigable of all was Olivares. He repeatedly gave assurances that his sovereign had no other aim than to place a truly Catholic king on the throne of France, and that to secure that he would resist the heretic Navarre, even by force of arms. Not only did he appeal to the religious feelings of the Pope, but he did not even abstain from threats. Sixtus V. had to put up with being told that the troops assembled at Milan and Naples were, it was true, destined in the first place for the support of the League, but could easily be turned against Rome. Naturally the irritation caused by the diplomatic alliance of the Republic of Venice with Henry IV. was made full use of.²

The quarrel between Sixtus V. and Venice was still continuing, and seemed likely to lead to a breach owing to the obstinacy of the Signoria, when Sixtus V., in order to obtain the assistance of God for the religious future of France, ordered a jubilee at the beginning of December,³ gave way

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 284 *seq.*

² See RAULICH, 256.

³ See the *Bando dated IX. Cal. December, 1589, in Bandi V., I, 145, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. Acta consist., 867, 869; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 55; COUDERC, Bellarmin, I., Paris, 1893, 150 *seq.*, 417 *seq.* The Pope took part in the jubilee with great

before the remonstrances of the Spaniards, and came to the grave decision of putting an end to the continued state of uncertainty, by adopting a policy of resolute action side by side with Spain.

The news that came from France was very disquieting. Henry of Navarre had undertaken a hurried march upon Paris, and on the morning of November 1st had occupied all the suburbs on the left bank of the Seine. It was learned that his troops had committed outrages upon the churches and sanctuaries, and against priests and religious.¹ Acting under the influence of this news, and of the threatened breach with Venice, the Pope sent to Cardinal Gesualdo, as the representative of the King of Spain, a declaration of his readiness to conclude an alliance with Philip II., to save the Catholic religion in France, and to protect the neighbouring nations from the contagion of the Huguenots. In the event of the death of Cardinal Bourbon, who had been proclaimed king by the League, under the title of Charles X., he was willing to settle the succession to the throne in accordance with the wishes of the King of Spain. He offered to share

devotion; see the *report of Donato of Dec. 2, 1589; a passage from which is in RANKE, *Papste*, II⁸., 136 n. 1; SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 189; **Avvisi* of December 6 and 9, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 703, 707, Vatican Library. *"Mi disse di più Montalto," reports Brumani, December 2, 1589, "che le cose di Francia andavano a traverso." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. With regard to the jubilee for France in 1587 *cf.* CAPECELATRO, *St. Philip Neri*, 541 (Engl. ed., 1926), see also BOTTONI, *Osservazioni sopra i giubilei et in particolare quello dato da Sisto V. l'a. 1587*, Piacenza, 1587.

¹ *"De Francia," writes Brumani from Rome, on December 9, 1589, "le nove sono poco buone per la Lega, ma si tace ne si può penetrare il tutto, che Navarra habbia saccheggiato alcuni borghi di Parigi, abbruciate case, violate chiese, imagini, sacramenti, religiosi, monarche, ammazzamenti molti, menati pregioni numero grandissimo, non si dubita punto che già S. Sta, Olivares et quelli della congregazione lo confessano, et fatto tutto ciò partitosene Navarra nanti aggiunse Humena colle sue genti, tutto questo si sa certo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

in the enterprise in the same proportion, and with even larger forces, to confirm the attitude of the Italian states towards it, and to take action together with the king both promptly and energetically.¹

It was a strange coincidence that just when this plan had been sent in great secrecy to Madrid on November 16th, 1589, one of the principal reasons for this fatal step, the apparently inevitable breach with Venice, was removed owing to the explanations of Donato. The Pope did not dare to draw back at once, because the news from France was still highly unfavourable for the Catholic Church.² Moreover, there was always the possibility that Venice might make common cause with Navarre, even before the latter was reconciled to the Catholic faith. At that time Sixtus V. still considered the sincere conversion of this man who had relapsed into heresy, and was looked upon as an atheist in Italy, to be improbable.³ It was true that the reasoning of Donato had shaken his opinion on this point, but had not altogether changed it.⁴

¹ See the proposals of the Pope, in the form of verbal notes, which Gesualdo presented by his orders to Olivares, in HÜBNER, III., 339 *seq.*, 342 *seq.* MANFRONI (Legazione 228), thinks that Sixtus V. did not make the proposal seriously, but only so as to gain time.

² At the consistory of December 20, 1589, the Pope said that Caetani ought to have arrived in Paris (according to *a letter of Brumani of December 30, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), but that he had not yet had any definite news. Letters from the nobles to the legate were then read, after which the Pope remarked: **" Si in provincia ista, in qua vix una civitas remansit catholica, quid erit in aliis? Voluimus significare vobis istas primitias legationis."* Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5, of the Vatican Library.

³ "E opinione che egli non creda in cosa alcuna perchè si dice che alli stessi suoi predictatori Ugonotti quando sono nel pergolo faceva mille scherni quando lei era più giovane," is stated in the *Relatione del regno di Francia of 1587, MS, in private possession in Borgo in Valsugana.

⁴ See HÜBNER, II., 295.

The decisive change in the situation was brought about by Francis of Luxemburg, Duc de Piney, who at last,¹ on January 9th, 1590, arrived in Rome in the name of the Catholic supporters of Henry of Navarre.² Vivonne, who had returned to the Curia in the autumn of 1589, had skilfully prepared the ground for him.³ Olivares, who, according to the expression of the envoy of Mantua, was working with a thousand spies,⁴ was greatly disgusted when, on January 10th, Francis of Luxemburg was received by the Pope, not, however, in public consistory, but only cautiously and in private audience, at which, however, the Pope, in contrast to the cold behaviour of the members of the court, was very affable, and even allowed the duke to be seated.⁵ This first audience, at which nothing was discussed but the general sad state of France, was followed by a second on January 14th. The duke told the Pope how his king had offered him to say to the Holy Father that he was not an obstinate heretic, and that if he were instructed it was his intention to abjure his errors. It made a particular impression upon the Pope when Luxemburg informed him that Henry of Navarre had assured him that

¹ According to the *report of Brumani of September 23, 1589, from Rome, Luxemburg, was expected daily, as he had announced his immediate arrival to the Pope in a letter of September 6. (L'ÉPINOIS, 383) Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² TEMPESTI (II., 377) gives January 19, and (II., 466) January 26 as the day of his arrival. In his report of January 13, 1590, Badoer (HÜBNER, III., 344) mentions "luni" i.e. January 8.

³ See BREMOND, 317 *seq.*.

⁴ "Sta colli occhi aperti et con mille spie" says Brumani in his *report from Rome, January 6, 1590. At that time the arrival of Luxemburg seems to have still been uncertain. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See the *Avviso of January 13, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 12, Vatican Library; MAFFEI, Hist., 48; RICCI, II., 141 *seq.*, and the reports in L'ÉPINOIS, 348 *seq.* Sixtus V. related to Brumani with great emotion the "humiltà" with which Luxemburg has kissed his foot. Brumani records it as a "favore segnalato" that the Pope made the duke be seated during his audience. *Report of January 13, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

he believed in the presence of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. "Praised be God," exclaimed Sixtus V., "that is good news!" Luxemburg asked permission for the followers of Henry to remain faithful to their king without incurring the penalties of the Church. He also asked that, for the salvation of the king's soul and of a great number of his adherents, His Holiness would entrust the task of instructing him to suitable priests. The first request was received by the Pope in silence, but the other he granted at once, and Monsignor Serafino, Auditor of the Rota for France, was designated as being very fitted for the task.¹

It was characteristic of the arrogance of the Spanish party that Olivares, and Cardinals Deza, Mendoza and Madruzzo who supported him, demanded the immediate dismissal of Luxemburg. Sixtus V. naturally rejected this attempt to restrict his intercourse; "We have no need of anyone to teach us" he said to the Cardinals, and to the ambassador of Venice he said: "We will not send Luxemburg away; he is a guarantee to us of the sincerity of those who have sent him."²

In spite of this definite statement the powerful Spanish party in Rome was not satisfied. The Pope therefore justified his action at the consistory of January 29, at which he said "to negotiate is not to come to an agreement."³

The insistent pressure of the Spanish ambassador confirmed the Pope in the course of action he had adopted. Cardinal Montalto was instructed to treat Luxemburg with all possible honour.⁴ On February 7th the Pope replied to the letters of the Catholic princes and nobles who had taken up the cause of Henry of Navarre. He praised their readiness to defend

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 283 *seq.* For Serafino *cf.* BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 138 *seq.*

² See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 386 *seq.*, RICCI, II., 143.

³ *Sermo de adventu ducis a Lutzenburgo, de audientiiis eius, de causa et rationibus et quad aliud est audire, aliud facere, in *Acta consist.*, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

⁴ See in App. n. 30 the *report of Brumani of January 20, 1589, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the Catholic religion, but begged them to unite their efforts with those of the other Catholics.¹ A brief to the same effect was sent to Cardinal Vendôme.² The Cardinal Legate received instructions not to break off relations with the Catholics who supported Henry, and to receive them not with harshness but with good will.³

Seeing that Francis of Luxemburg was consolidating his position in Rome, Olivares became more and more angry ;⁴ his spies kept a watch on the duke's lodgings, and noted all the ambassadors and Cardinals who visited there.⁵ In other respects Olivares found himself condemned to inaction, seeing that the king's reply to the Pope's proposal for an alliance had not yet arrived. The change that had taken place in the sentiments of the Pope made him more anxious every day.⁶

¹ *Brief " dil. Fil. nob. viris, principibus, ducibus, baronibus atque aliis catholicis regni Franciæ Turoni commorantibus, dat. Romæ apud s. Petrum 7 febr. 1590," in *Brevia Sixti V.*, Arm 44, t. 30, p. 397b, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 387 seq.

² See **Brevia Sixti V.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 390.

³ Letter of Cardinal Montalto to Caetani, February 8, 1590, published in the *Revue du Monde cath.*, 1867, Avril, 70.

⁴ Luxemburg paid a visit to all the Cardinals ; see the *report of Brumani of February 3, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ " Questo ambasciatore di Spagna (cypher) sta anotando et osservando chi visita questo duca Lucimburgo, massime i ministri di principi et chi (de') cardinali." Undated report of Brumani, *ibid.*

⁶ In his *Hist.* (59) Maffei describes this change thus : " Ad extremum ipsemet, quo erat usu rerum, et ingenti solertia, reputare coepit apud se, quam sint ob privatos cuiusque respectus fluxæ et instabiles belli societates ; quam parvi momenti, precaria, nec suis radicibus alte defixa potentia. In suspicionem præterea venerat Mayneus affectati (ut supra dictum est) obtentu religionis imperii. Simul observabatur Hispanorum dominandi cupiditas, quibus opponi Galliae regnum, et exaequatas Summorum Pontificum vires e republica ducebat esse, modumque statui genti, non tantum in florentissimis Italiae ditionibus, verum etiam in ipsa Romana Ecclesia arbitrato suo paene cuncta versanti. Hisce Pontificis Maximi cogitationibus intervenire per

He thought that if he intimidated the Pope all would be settled. At an audience which took place in January he presented to the Pope a document which Sixtus V. at first refused to accept, with the words: it is sure to contain one of his usual impertinences. Nevertheless, in the end the Pope took it, and when he read it after the ambassador had gone, he saw that his supposition had been a correct one. In this document Philip expressed his surprise that the Pope should be in treaty with the party of Navarre, and threatened that if he continued to do so, to employ both material and spiritual arms! When Sixtus related this to the ambassador of Florence, he remarked that a Catholic man like Luxemburg, who had a good purpose in view, could not be repulsed; as Pope it was his duty to listen to everybody; even if the Duke of Saxony or the Turk himself were to send an ambassador, he would listen to him.¹ When he asked whether Sixtus V. would receive a letter from Navarre, Luxemburg received a reply in the affirmative.²

By his conciliatory attitude the Pope was in direct conflict with the conduct of the Cardinal Legate Caetani whom he had sent to France. The latter allowed himself to be persuaded by the members of the League and the Spaniards that Navarre, as a relapsed heretic, could not become King of France, even if he received absolution from the Pope. Therefore, in defiance of the instructions sent to him, he treated Cardinals Vendôme and Lenoncourt, who advised moderation

eos dies privatae cum Philippo rege offensiones, quas Austriaco nomini infensi callidi homines, et aulae periti, miris artibus acuebant. Ergo paullatim effectum est, ut Sixtus, qui sese initio valde severum ac rigidum in regia causa praebuisset, demitigari quotidie, et benigne coepere Luxemburgio polliceri."

¹ See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 72 *seq.* Sixtus V. expressed himself in a similar sense to the Venetian ambassador Badoer; *cf.* his report of January 13, 1590, printed in part by HÜBNER, III., 349 *seq.*, which RANKE (*Päpste*, II^{s.}, 138, n. 1) wrongly attributes to Donato. On this subject *cf.* also the letter of Montalto to Visconti in SCHWEIZER, III., 164, n. 7.

² See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 75.

with Navarre, harshly and with rebuffs. The Cardinal Legate showed clearly that he would have nothing to do with Navarre, even if he became a Catholic. Even the censures of the Pope himself could not induce any change of policy. Lastly he went so far that, of the 100,000 scudi which he had brought with him, he gave 50,000 to Mayenne, at the very moment when Sixtus V. was refusing to the Seigneur de Diou the subsidies he asked for, on the ground that he could not give the subsidy originally intended because he was convinced that the League was only making religion a pretext for worldly ends.¹ With bitter words Sixtus V. blamed the action of his legate, because he was acting more in accordance with the wishes of the Spaniards than with the instructions of the Pope.²

On February 22nd, 1590, Philip's reply, dated January 28th, to the proposal for an alliance made to him in December, arrived in Rome. This was affirmative in every respect. An expedition of 50,000 men was to enter France, and the commander-in-chief was to be appointed by the Pope. Cardinal Gesualdo at once took his declaration to Sixtus V., but the evasive reply which he received on February 28th, made it only too clear what a change had taken place in the Pope's views during the last two months. It gave assurances, it is true, that at the time of the murder of the Guise, the Pope had considered the settlement of affairs in France most likely to be attained by acting in common with the Catholic King, and that he had inclined to this course even more definitely after the death of Henry III. But as this retrospective statement contained no hint as to the steps which would have to be taken in the immediate future, Gesualdo, who was deeply interested in the affair, asked for further enlightenment as to what he was to tell his king. First of all, the Pope said, it would be necessary to wait for further news from the legate

¹ See MANFRONI, *Legazione*, 222 *seqq.*, 241 ; L'ÉPINOIS. 367 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 389 *seq.*, 397 *seq.* ; EHSSES, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 372, n. 2.

² See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V. 85. Cf. HÜBNER, III., 357 *seq.* ; L'ÉPINOIS, 402 *seq.*

in France ; there had been dissension in the League ; Mayenne had received the news of the help that was to be sent with indifference ; there was talk of an attempted rapprochement between Mayenne and Navarre ; any precipitate action would encourage this rather than prevent it. The Cardinal said that the excommunication of the followers of Navarre was the indispensable minimum, but the Pope replied that the legate had orders first of all to try milder means. Gesualdo insisted that at any rate Luxemburg must be sent away, but was told that this too could not be done forthwith.¹

Olivares now tried to attain his end by using stronger methods. At an audience on February 24th he read to the Pope a letter from Philip II. which demanded an authoritative ratification of the projected alliance of December. The king had done his duty, let the Pope now do his, by sending away Luxemburg at once, declaring Navarre permanently unable to succeed to the throne, and excommunicating without further delay the Cardinals, princes and nobles who supported him. Should His Holiness refuse, the king would on his own account take further steps in the service of Jesus Christ. Sixtus V. tried vainly to interrupt the reading of this letter. Then he sought to throw doubts upon its authenticity ; lastly he said that if the letter were authentic, he would be forced to point out that His Catholic Majesty, without coming to any previous agreement with the Holy See, had concluded peace with the Turk, and formed an alliance with the heretical King of Denmark, and ask whether now His Majesty wished to teach him how he was to proceed against the heretics. Let the king rather be careful not to offend the supreme head of the Church, for otherwise he would excommunicate him, release his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and demand an account of the millions of gold florins which he had taken of Church property. After these words, which were spoken in violent irritation, the Pope rose and left the hall.

Olivares, whose ostentation in Rome was proverbial, could not have looked for such a result of his audience. Pale with

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 296 *seq.*, III., 363 *seq.*, 367 *seq.*

anger, the haughty Spanish count had to open the door of the audience chamber for himself, and pass through the antechamber, thronged with curious courtiers, in order to return to his embassy. In an instant the rumour ran through Rome that there had been a breach between the Pope and Spain.¹

Both parties, however, wished to avoid this, so were ready to come to an arrangement. Therefore, on February 28th, Olivares was given another audience to make his excuses. He formally expressed his submission, but in practice adhered firmly to the dismissal of Luxemburg. The Pope assured the ambassador that the legate's report would arrive in a few days, so that Olivares was induced to delay the departure of his courier until March 3rd.²

In the evening of the same day there arrived from Naples a distinguished Spanish magistrate, Doctor Martos, who was to read before the consistory the solemn protest of the King of Spain against the action of the Pope, in the place of Olivares, who knew no Latin.³ It was clear that the Spaniards intended to push the quarrel to extremes. On March 3rd Olivares presented himself at the Vatican and asked for the Pope's decision as to his three demands: the immediate expulsion of Luxemburg, a fresh declaration against Navarre, and the excommunication of the Catholics who supported that king. When the Pope let slip the remark that Navarre might be victorious and that it would therefore be imprudent to irritate him, Olivares thought that the time had come to give the Pope, as he himself said "a great fright." His Majesty, he replied, views with surprise the want of agreement

¹ See the report of Badoer, to whom the Pope gave particulars of the audience, dated Rome, March 3, 1590, in HÜBNER, II., 298 *seq.*, and in the original text, III., 376 *seq.* Hübner, however, wrongly places the audience on February 28.

² See the report of Olivares, February 28, 1590, in HÜBNER, III., 372 *seq.*, and in App. n. 31 the *report of Brumani, s.d. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See in App. n. 31 the *report of Brumani, s.d. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

between the words and the actions of His Holiness. He, the ambassador, was therefore charged, with the assistance of Doctor Martos, to make a public protest against the proceedings of His Holiness. Sixtus V. broke out in the most violent way, threatened the King of Spain with excommunication, and the ambassador with expulsion from Rome, and even, as he himself afterwards said to Badoer, with execution. But Olivares remained undismayed, and appealed to the protection of the rights of nations under which he rested. No danger should deter him from carrying out the orders of his king. He again asked for permission to read the protest at the next consistory. "Does the king wish to be Pope?" cried Sixtus V., "in that case we must at any rate first make him a Cardinal." "No," replied Olivares, "my sovereign, as a good and strict Cathloic king, does not wish to go beyond his rights, and I once more ask permission to read the protest." The Pope curtly refused him.¹

Although during the following days Sixtus V. spoke in the bitterest manner of the Spaniards (calling Philip II. the cause of the ruin of France),² Cardinal Gesualdo nevertheless succeeded in once more acting as an intermediary. On March 10th Olivares was again to be given an audience to ask the Pope's pardon. Sixtus V. told this to his suite, so that the news was at once spread throughout Rome. Luxemburg declared his readiness, until Navarre's reply arrived, to leave Rome in the meantime on the pretext of a pilgrimage to

¹ See the report of Olivares of March 3, 1590, in HÜBNER, III., 378 *seq.* and *ibid.* 382 *seq.* the information given by Sixtus V. to Badoer about the audience, which was afterwards added to by legend; see as to this HÜBNER, II., 303 n. 1. *Cf.* also in App. n. 31 the *report of Brumani, s.d. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² " *Dopo questo caso il Papa parla in ogni occasione con passion de *Spagna* et con amaritudine et particolarmente dice il *Re cattolico* è causa della ruina di Francia et che Dio lo castigherà con i compagni che furon mezi della *Lega*, che gia si fece in *casa di Guisa*." Report, s.d. of Brumani, which certainly belongs to these days. The words in italics are in cypher. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Loreto. Sixtus V. gave permission for this, so that the duke set out on March 7th. It was thought in Rome that it had been done, because the Pope intended to yield to Spain and it was said that Luxemburg would not return.¹ But they were mistaken ; Sixtus V. remained firm in his resistance, and in a letter to Philip II., dated March 8th, he protested against the threats made to him of a council and a schism, and against the attempt of Catholic princes to sit in judgment on the Vicar of Christ.² Olivares made no mention of Luxemburg at his audience on March 10th, but only demanded the excommunication of the Catholic supporters of Navarre under the threat of his immediate protest. This led to a further violent scene and the breaking off of the audience.³

As the result of these occurrences fear and anxiety were rife in Rome. In the churches special prayers for France were added to the prayers of the Forty Hours.⁴ The Italian ambassadors were a prey to indescribable anxiety, for Philip II. and Sixtus V., it was thought, would call the Italian princes to their assistance. The Pope would have on his side Venice and Urbino, and would forbid Ferrara and Parma, under the threat of censures, to help Spain, while he would also appeal to Florence and Mantua. Sixtus V. complained to the envoy of Mantua that Philip II. wished to oppress him who was quite unarmed, but that the king was deceiving himself. It was true that France, which had on previous occasions assisted the Pope against the Emperors, was ruined ; Savoy, Genoa, Parma, Ferrara and Urbino had been won over by the Spaniards, the Duke of Florence was a vassal of Spain because of Siena, while the Duke of Mantua was bound

¹ The above from the interesting *report of Brumani, s.d. in App. n. 31, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See HÜBNER, II., 304.

³ See the *report of Badoer, March 17, 1590 (State Archives, Venice), used by HÜBNER, II., 305.

⁴ See the *Avviso of February 28, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 82, Vatican Library. G. Campori, in his *report of March 20, 1590, bears witness how much the affairs of France were occupying everybody's attention. State Archives, Modena.

by the Golden Fleece ; nevertheless, the Pope was not afraid, because Our Lord would not refuse him His protection because of his righteous intentions towards France. He hoped, moreover, that the Italian princes would not suffer the Papacy and the dignity of the Holy See to be trampled on.¹

Continuing his conversation with the envoy of Mantua, the Pope once more brought out his fixed intention of persuading Henry of Navarre, by a friendly arrangement with Luxemburg, to set Cardinal Bourbon at liberty ; it would only be after this had failed that he would be able to take proceedings against the Catholic supporters of Henry without exposing himself to the charge of harshness and cruelty. He could never have prematurely inflicted excommunication on the Catholics, as Olivares demanded, because it was his duty first of all to make a trial of every method of gentleness. Then Sixtus V. went on to make bitter complaints of the unwise behaviour of the Cardinal Legate, Caetani, who, by his great intimacy, which he did not hesitate to show publicly, with the ambassador of Spain, had from the first made himself an object of suspicion to the Catholic supporters of Navarre, and had increased that suspicion by paying the 50,000 scudi to Mayenne, although he had been warned to be on his guard, since that money was intended for the liberation of Bourbon. In the same way, contrary to his instructions, Caetani had treated Cardinal Vendôme very harshly, and had almost rejected that influential personage, by winning whom he would have won over many others to himself.²

At the consistory of March 14th Sixtus V. discussed the affairs of France, with open allusions to Olivares and Philip II., who wished to withdraw from his submission to the Holy See. He made it clear that he would have to meet such an act by the excommunication of Philip II.³

¹ See in App. n. 31, the *report of Brumani, s.d. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), which gives the words used by Sixtus V. literally.

² See the *report of Brumani, s.d. *loc. cit.*

³ See Acta consist., 870. Cf. the report of de Maisse, March 15, 1590, in the *Rev. d. scienc. relig.*, I. (1921), 342.

The Saturday audience of the ambassador Olivares, which took place on March 17th, was awaited with general tension. The maestro di camera, Sangalietto, who was in attendance, noted that when Olivares entered the audience chamber, he scarcely bent his knee before His Holiness, while the Pope took his seat without looking at the ambassador.¹ Three times Olivares asked him on his knees to approve of the immediate excommunication of the Catholic supporters of Navarre, together with a declaration of the latter's inability to succeed to the throne, or else to allow the presentation of the protest. When he saw that his demands and proposals were not listened to, Olivares threatened that *his king would withdraw himself from his obedience to the Holy See, and would deal with the cause of Christ according to his own ideas*. In the end Sixtus V. himself terminated the discussion, which had become very heated, by leaving the audience chamber. Olivares went to Cardinal Montalto and assured him that he would rather lose his head by the Pope's orders than by those of the king. The protest would have to be proceeded with, and if necessary, he himself would publish it in the antecamera or affix it in the city.²

¹ These details are given by Niccolini in his *report of March 30, 1590 (State Archives, Florence, Med. 3299), used by HÜBNER, II., 306.

² The audience of Olivares, which has become celebrated, has been described in detail by Badoer, from information given him by Sixtus V., in his report of March 22, 1590, used by HÜBNER, III., 387 *seq.*, and before that by RANKE, *Päpste*, II⁸, 140. Cf. also in App. n. 32 the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. It is abundantly clear from this that the audience took place on Saturday, March 17. RANKE (II⁸, 140) and others wrongly place it on March 22, which has since been repeated in other works (e.g. BROSCHE, I., 298). It is impossible to understand how Ranke can maintain: "We see that there existed an opinion that was more orthodox and more Catholic than the Pope himself; the Spanish ambassador made his appearance to give expression to it in words before the Pope," nor how Ranke himself, immediately afterwards calmly relates

Now that things had gone so far, the Pope, by the advice of Cardinals Gesualdo and Galli, decided to convoke an extraordinary congregation for March 19th, at which, besides the Cardinals of the Inquisition, and those appointed for the affairs of France, fourteen other Cardinals were to be present, or twenty-three in all. Gesualdo and Galli made the selection, so that those in favour of Spain were in the majority. The Pope allowed them to do so. Olivares nevertheless during the night developed a feverish activity in winning over the members of the congregation in favour of his demands.¹

On March 19th all the Cardinals who had been summoned to the congregation appeared, with the exception of Santori, Carafa and Castagna. Santori was ill, and the other two feigned illness. In a discourse of more than an hour and a half the Pope once more reviewed the situation, and proposed three principal questions: should the protest of Doctor Martos, as demanded by the ambassador of Spain, be admitted? should excommunication be pronounced against the Catholic adherents of Navarre? should the relations with Luxemburg be suspended? He himself proposed a delay of fourteen days, to allow the arrival of the reply of Navarre concerning the liberation of Cardinal Bourbon, who was still a prisoner.

To the general surprise only four Cardinals, Gesualdo, Galli, Madruzzo and Deza, pronounced in favour of the simple approval of the Spanish demands, Gesualdo doing so with special vehemence. The Pope, who repeatedly intervened in the discussion, especially set forth clearly the threatening character of the protest, which he could not admit, but must on the contrary resist, even by extreme measures. Cardinal Colonna was in complete agreement with him. Cardinal

how this ambassador threatened that his king would renounce his obedience to the Holy See. This, according to Ranke was a view "even more orthodox and Catholic than the Pope himself!"

¹ See DESJARDINS, V., 89 *seq.*, 97, besides the reports of Niccolini, and also the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 32.

Mattei expressed his surprise that the King of Spain, who claimed to be the protector of the Catholics, should have allowed himself to act thus in the matter of the protest, by which he would render himself a schismatic. Most impressive of all was the speech of Cardinal d'Aragona. In view of his close relations with Spain, from him least of all could it have been expected that he would take the side of the Pope. First of all d'Aragona recalled the oath that he had taken to shed his blood if necessary in the service of the Church. He declared that he was resolved to speak his opinion without respect of persons, and in so doing believed that he was acting in the best interests of the Catholic King, his sovereign and benefactor, since nothing could do greater harm to His Majesty than the renunciation of the obedience which he owed to His Holiness, or the protest against the actions of the supreme head of the Church. Such a course of action would give scandal throughout the world, and would give rise to incalculable evils, but above all such a protest would produce in France quite a different effect from that which was intended. The whole of the aristocracy, and almost the whole of the clergy would find themselves suddenly excommunicated, and that by the act of the King of Spain and not of the Holy Father, who, on the contrary, had held out in his briefs the hopes of his blessing. Philip II. wished for a Catholic France, but the steps that he had taken would drive the French people into separation from the Church. Even from political motives the demand of the ambassador of Spain ought to be rejected, since the severe measures against Navarre which the king demanded, would only unite the French more closely to him.

The Cardinal had spoken with great heat ; he said that he would rather have his tongue torn out than approve anything contrary to the dignity of the Holy See. The votes which were taken at the end of the session, which had lasted for six hours, showed that the majority of the Cardinals shared the views of the Pope. "May God have mercy on us," exclaimed Sixtus V., "it cannot be said that we selected these men, for they (the Spaniards) drew up the list of the

congregation, and in spite of that our proposals have been accepted."¹

It was a severe blow to Olivares that pure Catholic principle, which is only possible by following the Pope, had won so striking a victory over the Spanish conception, which threatened a schism. When two of the Cardinals, the elder Colonna, and Sforza, informed Count Olivares, not in the name of the Pope or of the congregation, but only in their own name, of the decision of the Sacred College, and exhorted him to submit, he seemed disposed to do so. He only asked for time to reflect until the following day. On that day, March 20th, Luxemburg, who was believed to be on his way to France, suddenly appeared in Rome. As a consequence the anger of Olivares knew no bounds, and he refused to give the two Cardinals any answer. When they asked him: were they to tell this to the Pope? Olivares replied: "Certainly."² At a consistory held on March 21st, Sixtus decided that such a reply was an affront, and forbade the Cardinals under pain of excommunication, to have any direct or indirect dealings with the ambassador of Spain. He summoned all the Cardinals to meet in congregation on the following day, March 22nd.³

¹ See besides *Acta consist.* 871 and the *annotation in *Franciae Varia*, t. 31, Papal Secret Archives, the full report of Niccolini in *DESJARDINS*, V., 97 *seq.* (with wrong date March 17), the letter of Broderie to Henry IV. in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XI., 28 *seq.*, the report of Badoer in *HÜBNER*, III., 388 *seq.*, and in App. n. 32, the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See Niccolini in *DESJARDINS*, V., 100 *seq.* Cf. in App. n. 32 the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Cf. in addition to the short account in the *Acta consist.*, 871, the detailed version in the **Acta consist. camer.*, XI., 140, Papal Secret Archives, the Este report in *RICCI*, II., 152, and above all the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590 (*loc. cit.*) in App. n. 32. In L'Epinois the above mentioned events are not mentioned, nor in the text of Hübner. The latter gives in App. III., 394 *seq.* the report of Badoer of March 23, which, however, by reason of an omission is not quite intelligible.

At that meeting the Pope described his attitude towards the King of France from the murder of Guise down to the present moment. He proved by documents, which were read by the secretary Caligari, that he had tried in vain to act in union with Philip. He spoke bitterly of the behaviour of Caetani, and still more bitterly of Olivares, who was even threatening the Papal States from Naples. He therefore proposed the expulsion and excommunication of Olivares and the defence of the frontiers of the Papal States against the Spaniards. The views of the Cardinals were very varied. Some, especially Gesualdo, came to a violent exchange of words with the Pope. Most of them were opposed to the use of extreme measures until further negotiations with Olivares had been held. Only a few, however, dared to excuse the ambassador. Some pointed out that Philip II. knew nothing of the provocative behaviour of Olivares, or else that, even if this were not the case, the ambassador had deceived the king into thinking that it would be easy to frighten the Pope; that the whole of the Sacred College was opposed to Olivares, and that the whole of Rome as well was hostile to him. Sixtus declared that he would rather die than give way to the demands of Spain, and as the Spaniards did not believe what he said and threatened him with protests, he no longer considered himself bound by his proposals of December, 1589. After the Pope had spoken further of the pride of the Spaniards, who allowed themselves to go to all lengths, and had given expression to his own fearlessness, it was unanimously agreed that the protest of Olivares could not be admitted. Cardinals Deza and Mendoza were ordered by the congregation to inform the Spanish ambassador of this.¹

¹ Besides the short report of Badoer in HÜBNER, III., 394, *seq.* see Acta consist., 871 (*cf.* the version in LAEMMER, Melet., 233) and the full reports of Niccolini and Montalto in DESJARDINS, V., 102 *seq.*, 108 *seq.*, the letter of Broderie in the *Revue des quest. hist.*, XL., 30 *seq.*, the *note in *Franciae Varia*, t. 31, Papal Secret Archives, and the *report of Brumani of March 24, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 32.

They had an interview with him lasting for two hours and a half. It was learned that afterwards they informed the Pope that Olivares had yielded so far as to defer his protest for fourteen days.¹ Sixtus was determined not to admit it, but rather to send the ambassador out of Rome. The latter remained at his palace; the customary Saturday audience was refused to him, though Cardinals Deza and Mendoza interested themselves on his behalf. When Deza pointed out the fact that Olivares had written to Naples to withdraw the troops from the frontier of the Papal States, Sixtus V. said that the ambassador could do as he pleased; he felt no fears, for he could mobilize 8000 men for his protection. From the beginning of his pontificate he had been opposed to all hostilities, and in religious matters was prepared to act in union with the King of Spain, as a father, a brother and a comrade. If, in spite of this the king or his representatives insisted on employing violence, he would show the world that Sixtus V. was not a Paul IV.²

All goes well, wrote Antoine de la Broderie, who had been brought to Rome by Vivonne, and was working there as the agent of Henry; if the king asks the Pope for absolution and becomes a Catholic, there can be no doubt that there will be a breach between Sixtus V. and Spain. "For the love of God," Broderie adjured his king, "Your Majesty must not let so good an opportunity slip. But first of all it is necessary to liberate Cardinal Bourbon, because, as the Pope said yesterday to the ambassador of Venice, he will do nothing for Your Majesty until that is done. The annoyance of the Pope with the Spaniards, and especially with Olivares, is very great."³

It was in the midst of such favourable circumstances that news reached Rome which was bound to confirm the Pope

¹ See the above mentioned *report of Brumani, which completes the description given by Hübner.

² Brumani reports all this in his most important *letter of March 24, 1590, hitherto unknown (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in App. n. 32.

³ See *Revue des quest. hist.*, XL. (1886), 31.

in his opinion that so remarkable a personality and so capable a leader as Navarre would be victorious in the end. This was the news which arrived on March 29th,¹ that Mayenne had suffered a bloody defeat near Ivry on the 14th. When Sixtus V. communicated to the general congregation on the following day this intelligence, which sealed the preponderance of Henry over the forces of the League, he complained of the behaviour of Caetani, and especially of the monitorium which he had sent to the Catholic adherents of Navarre, and proposed the immediate recall of the legate. But all the Cardinals were opposed to this, on the ground that they must not give the impression that the French Catholics were being abandoned at so critical a moment.² At the same time, opinions were very divided as to what should be done. It was clear that the majority of the Cardinals did not believe in the likelihood of the conversion of Navarre, and were therefore in favour of strong intervention in union with Spain. Only some of them, like Giustiniani and Montalto, were opposed to such an undertaking. Contrary to his usual custom, the Pope on this occasion did not intervene in the discussion. Only at the end did he remark that he could not believe in the evil intentions of Navarre, for otherwise he would already have taken action against him. At last it was agreed that the final decision should be taken by the Pope together with the five Cardinals of the French Congregation and five other members of the Sacred College.³

¹ See Acta consist., 871.

² In the Acta consist., 872, and also in *Cod. XXXV., 5, III. of the Barberini Library, the general congregation is wrongly placed in April. L'ÉPINOIS (423) did not discover this, and thus confused his account. For the negotiations see the detailed report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 112 *seq.*

³ See *ibid.* and the *report of Brumani of April 7, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 33. The *Acta consist. in Cod. XXXV., 5, III. of the Barberini Library names on March 29 as members of the Congregatio Franciæ: S. Georgius (Serbelloni), Gesualdus, Aragon, Columna sen., Comens (Galli), Paleottus, Alexandrinus (Bonelli), Madrutius, S. Severina (Santori), SS.

Consistories and general congregations followed, at which the most recent news that had come from Caetani was read and discussed.¹ No decision was arrived at, but the Pope issued briefs of encouragement to those Frenchmen who were fighting against the Huguenots.² Although he was continually attacked by the League and the Catholic adherents of Navarre definitely to take their part, Sixtus V. remained silent. Nor did the brother of Cardinal Caetani, who had come to Rome to justify his conduct, receive any reply; the Pope wished to gain time.³

Although Philip II. was in complete agreement with Olivares as to the matter in hand, he nevertheless told him that he must moderate his way of acting. The ambassador followed this advice, which came too late, since, in the opinion of all, the behaviour of the Spaniards had been such that it could only injure their own cause.⁴ Most men gathered from the fact that he had sent back Doctor Martos to Naples

Quattuor (Facchinetti), S. Marci (Valiero), Salviatus, Lancelottus, Pinellus, Aldobrandinus, Saulius, Sfortia, Montaltus, Matheus, Columna iun. According to the report of Niccolini of April 7 (DESJARDINS, V., 117) out of consideration for Venice and Florence Cornaro and Monte were also added to the Congregation.

¹ See *Acta consist.*, 871 *seq.*; *cf.* DESJARDINS, V., 117 *seq.*, 120 *seq.* A more detailed account of the consistory of April 11, 1590, at which a discussion was held on the request of the Duke of Mayenne and the legate Caetani "super provisione ecclesiarum et monasteriorum Franciæ," is to be found in the *Brevia Gregorii XIV.*, in Cod. J., 58 of the Vallicella Library, Rome; there it is stated: **"Quibus litteris prius in consistorio per card. Mathaeum perlectis Stas Sua exquisivit vota cardinalium iisque habitis Stas Sua decrevit ius istud nominandi esse devolutum ad Sedem Apost., cum certus rex non sit hodie in dicto regno, et ideo Meduano [sic!] duci non fore illud concedendum; dixit autem Stas Sua se dictis ecclesiis et beneficiis non nisi de personis catholico foederi gratis et acceptis provisurum."*

² See L'EPINOIS, 425 *seq.*

³ See DESJARDINS, V., 116; L'EPINOIS. 468 *seq.*

⁴ See the Este report in RICCI, I., 155.

(on April 7th, 1590), that Olivares had given up his proposed protest. Others, such as Cardinal Pinelli, thought he still clung to it. That Olivares had not changed his views is clear from the way in which he laughed at the Pope's anxieties with regard to the state of the Church. "We have there (on the Neapolitan frontier)" he wrote to the king, "a few recruits and invalids."¹ A strange light is thrown upon the intentions of the Spaniards by the fact that the bandits, who had made a reappearance from March onwards, were, at the suggestion of Olivares, encouraged by the Neapolitan government.²

The Pope, who was still trying to gain time, became ill at the end of April because of his anxieties; a fever and catarrh, which he had neglected, took the form of an intermittent fever.³ In the first week of May his health seemed to some people to give cause for anxiety,⁴ and at the beginning of the month the Pope moved to the Quirinal.⁵ In the latter half of May his physical state was somewhat improved,⁶ but his spiritual martyrdom was by no means at an end. He had hardly recovered when he learned that during his illness the Cardinals had discussed the election of his successor.⁷ He was no less saddened by the fact that even some of the Roman clergy had allowed themselves to be drawn into the party quarrels. Luxemburg complained to him that at the Gesù certain

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 314.

² See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 193.

³ See besides the letters used by HÜBNER (II., 364) the *report of Sporeno of May 19, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

⁴ See the *report of Sporeno of May 19, 1590, *loc. cit.*, and the *report of Brumani of May 12 and 26, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ This we are told by an *Avviso of April 22, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 197, Vatican Library.

⁶ See the *report of Brumani of June 2, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁷ According to Brumani (*report of June 16, 1590) this was principally done by Cardinal Lancellotti (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

Jesuits had praised from the pulpit the Cardinal Legate as a martyr, as one who had exposed his life to danger before the heretics. The Pope attached no importance to this lack of tact.¹ When, however, other preachers publicly blamed in the churches his attitude towards Navarre, he issued an edict through the Cardinal Vicar on June 16th, forbidding preachers to speak of the political events of the time, and exhorting them to restrict themselves to urging the people to pray for the salvation of France, the maintenance of the faith, and the election of a Catholic king. Two preachers, who praised the conduct of Caetani, were arrested.²

In Paris too the preachers, and especially many doctors of the Sorbonne, lamented the fact that Sixtus V. had received Luxemburg, a manifest enemy of the Catholics, and that he had sent a legate without authority or money, who took up a political position between the two parties. On May 7th the Sorbonne declared that all French Catholics were bound in conscience not to accept as king a relapsed heretic such as Navarre, even though he were converted and absolved. Altogether apart from the questionable character of this decision, it was a usurpation of the Papal authority. This declaration, the publication of which Caetani had vainly tried to prevent, the Pope handed over to the Roman Inquisition, at whose suggestion he summoned the Dean of the Sorbonne to present himself in Rome within three months.³

¹ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 133.

² See Niccolini, *ibid.*, 139; HÜBNER, II., 518; L'ÉPINOIS, 436, n. 5.

³ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 116, 135, 137 *seq.*, 138 *seq.*; CHALEMBERT, 213; HERGENRÖTHER, Kirche u. Staat, 497; L'ÉPINOIS, 432 *seq.*, 437; ROBIQUET, III., 34; *brief to the Sorbonne (Papal Secret Archives) in App. n. 34. It is also absolutely false when RANKE (Päpste, II^e., 139) believes that Navarre "according to the ancient laws of the Church, as one who had apostatized for the second time, was not even capable of absolution"; this was never the practice of the Roman Church.

Sixtus V. suspected in the action of the Sorbonne the hand of the Spaniards, who in Rome were threatening a national council, and even the deposition of the Pope himself.¹ At the consistory of June 12th Sixtus V. spoke bitterly of the action of the Sorbonne.² On the strength of certain indications, however, many in Rome at that time gathered that Sixtus V. no longer believed in the conversion of Navarre, which had been so long delayed.³ Therefore the Spaniards thought that the moment had come to make a fresh attempt to win over the Pope to their side.

On May 9th, 1590, just when Henry of Navarre was making an attack on the fortifications of Paris, Cardinal Bourbon, the king nominated by the League, died in captivity in a castle of Poitou.⁴ He had always been a tool in the hands of others.⁵ In consequence of this the Sorbonne renewed its declaration that Navarre could never wear the crown of France, and the people of Paris prepared themselves to make a desperate resistance. Philip II. informed them that he would come to their assistance with all his forces. He looked upon the French throne as vacant, and aimed at settling the succession in accordance with his own ambitious schemes, while Sixtus V., now more than ever, inclined to the recognition of Navarre, supposing he returned to the Catholic faith. According to the plans of Philip II., the new king was to be either Mayenne, who in return for his elevation was ready to cede to Spain Burgundy, the Dauphiné and Brittany, or if Mayenne could not be intruded, the throne of France was to be filled by a son

¹ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 116, 134. Cf. HÜBNER, II., 23.

² Acta consist., 873. Cf. LAEMMER, Melet., 233 *seq.* (instead of June 13 read June 12).

³ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 131 *seq.*, 134, 138. Cf. RICCI, II., 157.

⁴ Definite news of this reached Rome on June 2, 1590; see DESJARDINS, V., 129. Cf. *report of Badoer, June 2, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

⁵ See E. SAULINER, *Le rôle polit. du card. de Bourbon*, Paris, 1912.

of the Duke of Lorraine, who was to marry a daughter of Philip, in which case Lorraine would pass to Spain, so as to connect the Franche Comté with the Spanish Netherlands.¹

The final decision of Rome was to be obtained by the highly gifted young Duke of Sessa, who enjoyed the full confidence of Philip II.² He reached Rome on June 21st, 1590. Sessa, the King of Spain hoped, would bring about by gentle means what the over violent procedure of Count Olivares had not been able to effect.³

At the first audience given to Sessa, in the evening of June 22nd, the conversation was limited to generalities. The Pope was courteous and seemed to be in a good humour. It was only on June 26th, at his second audience, that Sessa touched more directly upon his mission of carrying into effect the plans of December, and winning over Sixtus V. for a succession to the French throne in accordance with the wishes of Philip II. The duke first described, from the point of view of his sovereign, the complicated state of affairs in France, and suggested the remedies which would have to be promptly applied. With every expression of devotedness Sessa lamented that the plans made in December by His Holiness had never been carried out, and proposed, in order to meet the danger, the use of both spiritual and material means, namely the formation of a Papal army and the excommunication of the Catholic adherents of Navarre. The Pope replied calmly that he adhered to the proposals put forward through Gesualdo, but that they had not yet been accepted with any binding pledge. If he had done nothing for his part, the King of Spain too had done very little. Sixtus V. went on to show how right had been his judgment of the League. With all his readiness to conclude a treaty, he went on to say, he would rather throw his money into the Tiber than spend it on behalf of the Duke of Mayenne. The legate had acted contrary to his instructions in giving him

¹ See HÜBNER, II., 333 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*

² The *credentials for Sessa, dated April 10, 1590; orig. in Papal Secret Archives, Princ., XLVI., 103.

³ See HÜBNER, II., 339.

50,000 scudi ; he would not give his support to the League, he added, because the long standing quarrels between the houses of Bourbon and Guise had nothing to do with religion. The adherence of the greater part of the nobility to Navarre and not to Mayenne, was based on that. It was only by a policy of neutrality between the two parties, and a declaration that Spanish and Papal intervention had for its object nothing but the election of a Catholic king, without any favour for the League, that it would be possible to unite all the Catholics of France under one standard. Sixtus V. said nothing, however, of his opinion that the only possible Catholic king was Henry of Navarre, who was rejected by Philip. All the more fully did he dwell upon the evil conduct of Mayenne, who had shown himself to have no respect for the Holy See, and permitted his soldiers every kind of excess. He attributed his own want of activity so far in the first place to the attitude of Mayenne and Caetani ; the latter had not been able to separate the Catholics from Navarre. When the ambassador pointed out that a Spanish force was already in Savoy, and that the Duke of Parma had orders to lead the army in the Netherlands against France, the Pope replied that nothing could be more rash than to divide their forces. He rejected the inflicting of censures on the Catholic adherents of Navarre with the remark that in that matter the decision rested with him as a theologian. With regard to the question of the succession to the throne, Sixtus V. said that if Philip II. wished to take France for himself, he might do so. All that concerned him was that France should have a Catholic king. The Pope's statement, that he would not allow any protests, either from Sessa or Olivares, was received in silence.¹

Sixtus, in describing this audience, which lasted for more than two hours, to the envoy of Mantua, told him that he would not in any case launch an excommunication against the supporters of Navarre, because there was a possibility

¹ See in HÜBNER, II., 339 *seq.*, III., 457 *seq.*, the reports of Sessa, which are completed by the *letter of Brumani of June 26, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), in App. n. 35. Cf. also ROCQUAIN, *La France*, 417 *seq.*

that he would return to the Church. The Pope acknowledged that for the past two months Olivares had acted with greater moderation.¹

The third audience of Sessa and Olivares on June 30th made it clear to them that Sixtus V. was resolved before all things to gain time and keep a free hand. They both soon learned that the Pope had told the agent of the Duke of Urbino that he had penetrated the real aims of Philip II. and Mayenne; what they were aiming at was the subjugation of France.²

In the meantime Philip's reply to the complaints which Sixtus had made in his letter of March 8th at last arrived. "It is with the greatest surprise," he said in this autograph letter, dated June 12th, "that I see that Your Holiness, after taking action that was inspired by God against Henry of Navarre at the beginning of your pontificate, has allowed heresy to take root in France, without compelling the Catholic supporters of Navarre to separate from him. The Church is in danger of losing one of her most prominent members, the whole of Christendom is threatened by the reunited heretics, and Italy is exposed to the gravest dangers. While the enemies of God are thus advancing you are content to look on and let things be. I, on the other hand, who look upon all these interests as my own, and who have recourse to Your Holiness as a beloved and venerated father, and who as a good son call your attention to the duties of the Holy See, receive in return nothing but insults! Heaven and earth are witnesses of my veneration for the Holy See. Nothing shall lead me astray on that matter, not even the absurdities which Your Holiness ascribes to me. But the greater my attachment is, all the less will I suffer Your Holiness to violate your duties to the Church and to God, who has given you the means of taking action. At the risk of being importunate and of giving displeasure to Your Holiness, I shall insist upon your setting your hand to this work. In the event of your not doing so, I shall disclaim all responsibility for the

¹ See the *report of Brumani of June 26, 1590, *loc. cit.*

² See HÜBNER, II., 344.

fatal consequences that will ensue. By this present letter I wish to defend the Church. I shall believe in the affection which Your Holiness says that you feel for me, when I see from your actions that Your Holiness is following my advice, paying heed to my prayer, and seriously turning your attention to remedying the sufferings of France, which so closely affect the whole of Christendom. If Your Holiness, in correspondence with your duty, and the assurances which you have so often made, will act in this way, I will lend my aid as your devoted son. Anything to the contrary I will not admit, for I cannot believe that God will so far forget His Church as to allow His Vicar to neglect her interests. The rest will be told to Your Holiness verbally by the Duke of Sessa."¹

It was characteristic of the attitude of Sixtus V., who had no wish to drive matters to extremities, that he now deemed it advisable no longer to receive Luxemburg, though at the same time Monsignor Serafino Olivario, who was the soul of Navarre's party, always had access to him. The negotiations with Sessa and Olivares were handed over by the Pope to Cardinals d'Aragona and Santori, who were devoted to himself yet acceptable to Spain.² Cardinal Santori, after the Pope had imposed secrecy on him under the sacramental seal, was to draft a treaty of alliance for common action on the part of Sixtus V. and Philip II. in France.³ The discussions held by the two Cardinals with the representatives of Philip II. were based upon this.⁴ On July 19th a draft treaty was drawn up by which the Pope bound himself to military action in France, together with Spain, to save the Catholic religion, to unite the Catholics under one standard, to defend them against the attacks of the Huguenots, and to facilitate the election of a Catholic king. In a secret clause the Pope pledged himself to recognize as King of France the prince

¹ The original text of the letter of Philip II. to Sixtus V. in HÜBNER, III., 450-452. ROCQUAIN (423) calls the letter "presque menacante sous des dehors respectueux."

² See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 140; HÜBNER, II., 346.

³ See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 192.

⁴ Cf. HÜBNER, III., 466 *seq.*

chosen and pointed out by Philip, supposing him to be truly Catholic, though to this pledge there were attached a number of conditions which assured his own influence and that of the Holy See in the affairs of France, and to the acceptance of which the representatives of Spain could only be brought by the definite statement that in the event of their refusal the negotiations would be broken off. The representatives of the Pope also insisted on the omission of any expression in favour of the League. Philip's representatives thought that they had obtained a great deal in the omission of any mention in the articles of the integrity of the kingdom of France.¹

The Spaniards were already congratulating themselves on having attained their end, since nothing was wanting but the signature of the treaty, when Sixtus V., though he was suffering from fever, to their great surprise, laid before the French Congregation the important question whether in the case of the throne being vacant, the election of the French king came within the competence of the Pope. Olivares and Sessa were quite taken aback by this move. They gave the Pope an ultimatum until August 1st, but in vain, for Sixtus would ratify nothing. His duty as head of the Church, he told them, obliged him, before he definitely pledged himself, to obtain the opinion of the French Congregation.

In these critical days Sixtus V. found comfort with his former confidant, the Venetian ambassador, Badoer, who for his part was doing all he could to prevent the Holy See from becoming enslaved by Spain. He brought the Pope the latest news from France, and tried to keep up his courage with the hope of the immediate fall of Paris, which must involve the return of Navarre to the Catholic Church. Badoer eloquently described how the Spaniards were everywhere at a disadvantage. "They want to conquer the world," Sixtus scornfully said, "and are not able to capture Cambrai."²

On July 28th the Pope spoke out frankly: "We wish," he said to Badoer, "to restore peace in France, and to do so

¹ See *ibid.* II., 347 *seq.*, III., 477 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* II., 350 *seq.*, 354.

without pandering to foreign ambitions." The prudent Venetian thereupon tried to find out the Pope's views as to the future by saying: "Holy Father, it will not be easy to drive Navarre out of France, for now he is stronger and more victorious than ever. And suppose he were to be converted?" "In that case," replied Sixtus V., "it will not be our duty to bar the way to his return to the bosom of the Church. If he accepts the Catholic faith, without a doubt he will be elected, and once he is elected and confirmed in his position, no one will be able to act against him."¹

Thus Sessa's mission too was doomed to failure; this was quite clear to him as well as to Olivares. Yet the Spaniards continued to threaten. There was already talk of suspicious concentrations of Spanish troops on the Neapolitan frontier.² When Sixtus V. had heard the divergent views of the French Congregation,³ he made a further proposal. Since the mission of Caetani was looked upon as ended⁴, two prelates were to be sent to France: Serafino Olivario to the Catholic supporters of Navarre, and Monsignor Borghese to the adherents of the League, both with the task of convoking all parties to some given place and within a definite period for the election of a Catholic king. Olivares and Sessa, who saw in this the intention to hasten the conversion of Navarre, made strong remonstrances at an audience. Sessa described the sending of a Papal envoy to an heretical prince as a public scandal, as a dubious way of detaching his Catholic supporters from him, and as an unjust insult to his king. "We are not the slave of your king," the Pope replied in great annoyance, "we do not owe him obedience, nor are we accountable to him for our actions. We are his father, and it is not the place of sons to give him their advice without being asked for it. Do you,

¹ See *ibid.* II., 354 *seq.*, III., 493.

² See besides the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 146, the *letter of Brumani of July 28, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. n. 37.

³ Cf. Badoer in HÜBNER, III., 498.

⁴ Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 141, and the *report of Brumani, s.d. belonging to July, 1590, in App. n. 36 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

who wear a sword at your side," said Sixtus, turning to Sessa, "do you pretend to understand theology better than we do, who have studied both theology and other sciences? By what right do you come here during the heats of August to molest and threaten us? It would be better if you had stayed at home. What has your king accomplished in France? Nothing of any importance."¹

Although Cardinals Santori and Facchinetti told the representatives of Philip II. that their inopportune interference would drive Sixtus V. more and more to the other side, they continued to harass the aged and ailing Pope. On Sunday, August 19th, they again appeared before him in audience, to repeat once more what they had said a hundred times. They expressly protested against the mission of Serafino, and demanded, appealing to the "half" pledge wrung from His Holiness, that the troops for the Papal contingent should be furnished at once. The Pope answered them in violent words, and the ambassadors declared that if they were treated thus they could not present themselves again. To this Sixtus replied that they might go away at once, and then, calming himself a little, he added that he would communicate his further decisions to them.²

Sixtus V. complained bitterly to the French Congregation of the way in which the ambassadors of Philip II. had acted.³ To Cardinal Pinelli he said that if things went on this way he would have, for his own justification, to issue a solemn statement, and show how the Spaniards, under the guise of religion, were merely pursuing in France their own ambitious political aims, and because he, the Pope, would not suffer himself to be used as their tool for this purpose, they accused

¹ See the report of Sessa, August 7, 1590, in HÜBNER, III., 499 *seq.*

² See the report of the agent of Urbino, who had his information from the Pope himself, and the report of Badoer in HÜBNER, II., 361 *seq.*, III., 513 *seq.* Cf. also SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 193.

³ See HÜBNER, III., 509, 513.

him of encouraging heresy, caused him to be attacked in the pulpit, and threatened him with protests.¹

As the Pope wished above all things to gain time—the news of the capture of the French capital, already hard pressed by famine,² by Navarre, was expected from hour to hour—he revoked the mission of the two prelates to France, which was not approved of by the Cardinals of the French Congregation.³ But his decision was made, and all the diplomatists at the Curia realized it. The Papacy—this was certain—would not lower itself to become the instrument of political ambitions. Philip II. and the League would not have the wielding of the thunderbolts of excommunication from the Vatican, nor the use of the treasures of the Castle of St. Angelo; Rome would safeguard the interests of religion, but at the same time she would protect the interests of France; France would remain Catholic, and would not disappear as a great power; the European balance of power would be preserved, and with it the liberties of the Holy See.⁴

The great crisis had been overcome. Sixtus V. emerged victorious from the long and bitter struggle, but the victory had been won at the cost of his life. Many things concurred to wear out the forces of his energetic nature; the constant excitement caused by the unheard of struggles with the Spaniards; the grief occasioned by the unjust and offensive accusations of the “*exaltados*” both of the Spaniards and the members of the league, that he was favouring the heretics while in certain circles in Venice he was defamed as the

¹ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 146.

² On August 2, 1590, Brumani wrote **“Delle cose di Francia non si sente altro più del scritto, ma tutti stanno con la bocca aperta per aspettare qualche gran novità.”* In *similar terms on August 4. On August 18 Brumani *reports that Sixtus V. had told him to expect that Navarre would soon enter Paris. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See the authentic report, used by HÜBNER, II., 362.

⁴ With this splendid summing up of the situation made by HÜBNER (II., 363 *seq.*) HERRE (407 *seq.*) is in full agreement.

mercenary of Philip II. ;¹ the extraordinary difficulty of his position, which he himself had twice made worse by political errors ; the responsibility which rested upon him in deciding religious questions of such importance ; and lastly the impetuosity of his temperament.

The consistory which Sixtus V. held on August 13th was to be his last. He opened it with a characteristic allocution. Just as our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, he said, shared with His Apostles both His sorrows and his joys, so he too, Christ's Vicar on earth, felt himself obliged to make known to the Cardinals those things which filled his heart with satisfaction or with sorrow. To-day he had two comforting pieces of intelligence to impart to them ; one was concerned with earthly affairs and the other with spiritual. As to the first he was able to inform them that his galleys had captured three pirate vessels ; this was the first success that his fleet had obtained. The second piece of news was no less satisfactory. His nuncio had reported from Switzerland how salutary an impression had been made there by the return to the Church of the Margrave of Baden, whom many who had fallen into error had followed. Sad news, however, had reached him from Madrid, where a Jesuit had been so forgetful of himself as to have insulted the Pope in the pulpit as a Navarrist and a supporter of heresy. Sixtus dwelt at length on this point, and angrily extended the blame to the Order of the Jesuits, and at the same time spoke bitterly against the King of Spain, in whose capital the occurrence had taken place, without anyone having punished the preacher. What would have happened if one of the fathers had preached against the *Cruzada* ! Lastly Sixtus V. assigned a considerable subsidy for the assistance of the inhabitants of the Papal States who were in great need on account of the poor harvests. with much satisfaction he stated that, owing to his financial

¹ See the *Canzone Veneziana* in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, VII., 490 *seq.*, which reflects the views of Sarpi, a thing which the editor has not remarked. Brumani, in his *report of June 16, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) speaks of a *canzone* being sung in Savoy, which annoyed the Pope.

policy he was in a position to dispose of considerable sums, not to wage war, but to be expended in works of charity. He therefore proposed to assign half a million ducats as a subsidy for his subjects.¹

The quarrel with the representatives of Philip II. and the intense heat of the Roman summer had weakened the Pope considerably.² On August 20th he was seized with a violent fever. In spite of his illness he once again summoned the French Congregation on August 21st. But his discourse was that of a fever-stricken man: involved, disconnected, and full of contradictions. It was filled with violent complaints against Spain. "Philip II. will also appeal to God. If Serafino Olivario should announce the conversion of Navarre, he ought to receive the Cardinal's hat."³ Six days later he breathed out his ardent soul.

Sixtus V., apart from certain passing moments of weakness, which may be accounted for by the difficulty of the situation, had endured and fought like a hero for his convictions, with

¹ See Acta consist., 874, and the Spanish *Relacion del consistorio de 13 agosto 1590 in Cod. 6423, p. 12-13, of the State Library, Vienna. Cf. HÜBNER, II., 52 seq., 365 seq.; ASTRÁIN, III., 710. With regard to the Jesuit, Juan Jerónimo, cf. *supra*, p. 177. We do not know exactly the text of the passage against Sixtus V. of the sermon which P. Juan Jerónimo preached at Madrid on Ascension Day, 1590. Sixtus V. told the ambassador Badoer that Jerónimo had said: "Weep, brethren, because a reigning house, certain princes and even the Pope . . ." here he stopped, placed his finger on his lips, and continued, "hush! hush!"; then he went on in a low voice: "are supporting the heretic" (Henry IV.). The trial by the Papal nuncio Annibale de Grassi, which was sent to Sixtus V., and the notarial report vouched for by the rector of the Jesuits, Porres, have not yet been found (see ASTRÁIN, III., 467).

² See the *Avviso of August 11, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 407, Vatican Library.

³ See the reports of Aragon and Sessa of August 21 and 22, 1590 in HÜBNER, II., 367 seq., and the report of Badoer of August 25, 1590, in MUTINELLI, I., 185. Cf. ROCQUAIN, La France, 429.

firmness and courage to his last breath.¹ It was not granted to him to see the triumph of his wise policy of waiting ; but the course of events proved him to have been right. After four years Henry IV. entered Paris ; after five Clement VIII, once more received him into the bosom of the Church. Sixtus V. had substantially prepared the way for this success.

¹ Opinion of HÜBNER (II., 387 *seq.*). For the attitude of Sixtus V., always logical, always directed to the attainment of the same end, during these stormy months, see also HERRE, 407, who concludes that he "wished to act as the head of Catholic Christendom, whose authority must always rise superior to any worldly influence."