

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

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GREGORY XIV. (1590-1591)

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## CHAPTER I.

### TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF MARY STUART.—THE SPANISH ARMADA.

THE brief pontificate of Sixtus V. marks a decisive turning point in the lot of the Catholics of England. In the first place, with the execution of Mary Stuart, all hopes disappeared of seeing the English crown on the head of a Catholic after the death of Elizabeth, while the destruction of the Spanish Armada in the following year, made it clear that they could no longer hope for the restoration of the old religion by the help of a foreign power.

When Sixtus V. ascended the throne, some seventeen years had elapsed since the Queen of Scots had sought for help in England, and had found instead a prison. Her beauty, once so lauded, had faded; her good name had been dragged in the mire; her health had become so broken that often she could hardly stand on her feet.<sup>1</sup> But the compassion which is wont to be felt for the rights of the oppressed made the helpless prisoner a greater danger to her enemies than she could ever have become as a free princess. There was therefore an ever growing desire on the part of the rulers of England to put an end to the ceaseless threats from abroad and conspiracies at home by an act of violence. As early as 1572, John Knox had demanded the death of Mary; his successors in this demand were the Puritans, who<sup>1</sup> dominated England by means of Leicester and Walsingham. According to the ideas of that sect Elizabeth was provoking the anger of God in allowing Mary to live any longer, for "woe to the shepherd that nourisheth the wolf in his sheepfold, woe to the husbandman that driveth not forth the wild boar from the vineyard

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, *Maria Stuart*, I., 23.

of the Lord." Were Jezabel and Athalia, who were put to death by the command of God, less guilty than the queen of Scotland?<sup>1</sup> Even at that time Walsingham looked upon Mary's life as a constant menace of death to Elizabeth, and even in state dispatches he described her in 1581 as the serpent which England was nourishing in her bosom.<sup>2</sup>

An excellent opportunity of winning over public opinion, as well as English statesmen, to decisive action against the Queen of Scots and the Catholics as a body, was given to the crafty secretary of state in 1584 by the murder of William of Orange. If the Catholic King could employ violence in the case of Orange, it was easy to persuade the English Protestants by means of this precedent that their own queen could do the same in the case of the Catholics. Rumours of attempts against the queen, for the most part fictitious, and condemnations to death of those supposed to be guilty of attacks upon the life of Elizabeth, fanned still more the popular indignation. This reached its height with the trial of Parry, because it was thought to prove that not only the agent of Mary Stuart in Paris, but the Pope's secretary of state himself, had approved of plans for the murder of Elizabeth.<sup>3</sup> The excitement of those days not only gave the English ministers an excuse for passing the terrible laws against the Catholics, but also supplied them with the desired pretext for notably pushing forward their designs against Mary Stuart.<sup>4</sup> Everywhere in England hundreds of Protestants pledged themselves in the churches to persecute in every way, and even to death, any who threatened the life of Elizabeth, and anyone on whose behalf she was menaced. Corresponding legislative proposals followed, and even though the laws that were eventually issued fell short of the promises held out by this Protestant alliance,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 56 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> "The bosom serpent." Cf. POLLEN in the *Month*, CIX. (1907), pp. 356 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 453 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> "Les desfiances sont sy grandes à present pardeça, que lon a subson des ombres." Castelnau, January 1, 1584, in POLLEN, *Mary*, xxiv.



Walsingham had nevertheless obtained a great deal. England had become accustomed to the idea that it would be possible to shed the blood even of a queen and the heir to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

In order, however, actually to lay hands upon Mary Stuart, it was necessary to have proof that she had personally been concerned in a conspiracy against Elizabeth. According to the revelations of Parry, such proof could be found in the papers of Morgan, and Elizabeth actually obtained his arrest from Henry III.<sup>2</sup> In all probability the hot-headed and incautious Welshman had indeed taken part in machinations against the life of Elizabeth, but without the connivance of Mary.<sup>3</sup> But Morgan was warned in time before his arrest, and nothing incriminating was found among his papers.<sup>4</sup>

It thus became necessary for them to spy upon Mary herself, and to entrap her by means of those arts, in the use of which the creatures of Walsingham were past masters. There was a whole army of spies in the service of the secretary of state, who, in the guise of friends, won the confidence of their victims, and, if necessary, even incited them to conspiracy, that they might then employ the arm of the law against them. Parry is but one example of such creatures. Walsingham employed spies in eleven cities of France, seven of Flanders, three of Holland, and six of Spain, and outside Europe in Algiers and Constantinople.<sup>5</sup> In Rome he employed the exile

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 455, and POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, xxiii-xxx.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 74-88.

<sup>3</sup> POLLEN in the *Month*, CIX. (1907), 364.

<sup>4</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 80. "They had not only writing or letter to hurt any in the world; but after their old manner, they have forged some writings by all appearance to terrify the good people of England." Morgan, July 20, 1585, *ibid.*, 81.

<sup>5</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 144. BURGON (*Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, I., 95) to some extent gives various numbers; on one occasion he enlisted 53 spies abroad besides 18 others whose duties could not be officially defined. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, LIX., 238.

Solomon Aldred, who was in the enjoyment of a pension which he had received from Gregory XIII., and acted as an agent of the Holy Office.<sup>1</sup> Among the English Catholics there was no family or person of note who was not kept under surveillance.<sup>2</sup> In the French embassy in London, Chérelles was in the pay of the secretary of state, and he handed over the code used by Mary, though he adjured the man to whom he gave it to let nothing be known of the transaction, saying that he could not, for all the gold in the world, bear the shame of having what he had done made public.<sup>3</sup> For these purposes of espionage the government made use of people who belonged to the dregs of humanity, broken and desperate men, and not infrequently impoverished gentlemen, who were not ashamed in their poverty to share the booty of the robbers;<sup>4</sup> for, as Walsingham wrote to the English ambassador in Paris,<sup>5</sup> it is necessary to pay rascals so that honest folk may succeed in discovering the truth. The most repulsive of these scoundrels made their way into the English seminaries on the continent, where they simulated piety and zeal for the Church, received the sacraments and were ordained priests, in order the better to carry on their espionage and serve their master.

To win the confidence of the imprisoned queen for one of

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 147. Aldred was of opinion that it was better to serve men than God; because men pay with gold and God with martyrdom (*ibid.*). One of Elizabeth's Privy Councillors told Charles Arundel that the queen would have given a Cardinal in Rome 20,000 scudi to spy out the secrets of the court and its intentions towards England. Arundel reported this to Gregory XIII. SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 166; *cf.* *Acta consist.* (of Card. Santori), 854.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 145.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>4</sup> Thus e.g. Sir George Gifford; see POLLEN in the *Month*, CX. (1907), 245; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 146 *seq.* *Cf.* the sketch given by POLLEN (*loc. cit.*, 243-253; Mary, xxxv. *seqq.*) of R. Bruce, R. Poley, George Gifford, N. Berden, Gilbert Gifford and Savage.

<sup>5</sup> January 25, 1585, in POLLEN, the *Month*, CX., 244.

these spies was naturally a difficult matter, but against his will Mary's imprudent agent, Thomas Morgan, came to Walsingham's assistance in this. His own imprisonment in the Bastille prevented Morgan from forming a sound judgment concerning the visitors who asked him to recommend them to Mary. Thus it came about that persons in Walsingham's service, made their way to her armed with letters of recommendation from Morgan, and on the strength of these letters won her confidence. As Allen said later on,<sup>1</sup> it was Mary's own servants who hastened her to her ruin.

The "conspiracy" and trial of Parry had brought to the Queen of Scots an increased severity in her imprisonment; at the end of 1585 she was taken to Chartley, an ancient and unhealthy castle, within the cold walls of which at first the most ordinary conveniences of life were lacking.<sup>2</sup> The Catholics looked upon it as an ominous sign when the custody of Mary was no longer entrusted to a member of the higher nobility, but to a man of lesser rank, Amias Poulet, who was moreover entirely devoted to the principles of the Puritans, the mortal enemies of the queen.<sup>3</sup> Mary remained for three months in her new abode, cut off from all contact with the outside world.<sup>4</sup> She was then informed that she could receive and dispatch letters by means of her vintner, in the casks which he brought full and took away empty, and for the first time after a long period was the captive queen able to rejoice in receiving proofs of the attachment of her friends. She had no suspicion that a trap was being laid for her, but no single letter made its way in or out in the casks which, after being decoded by the skilful Thomas Phelippes, was not conveyed to Walsingham.<sup>5</sup> The very first letter which Mary received

<sup>1</sup> In POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 243.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 120 *seq.* It would seem that Mary herself wished to leave Tutbury. POLLEN, Mary, lii.

<sup>3</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 118, 129. Cf. the Letter Book of Sir Amias Poulet, keeper of Mary Queen of Scots, ed. JOHN MORRIS, London, 1874.

<sup>4</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 133; POLLEN, Mary, lvi.

<sup>5</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 190. With regard to Phelippes see *ibid.*, 160-163, and POLLEN, Mary, liii., *seq.*

through her vintner was the first mesh in the net in which the queen became more deeply entangled, for it contained a letter of recommendation from Morgan of Gilbert Gifford, that crafty man who, to use the expression of Henry III., had been charged by the lords of Elizabeth's Privy Council to destroy the Queen of Scots, and who carried out his task in a masterly way.<sup>1</sup>

Gilbert Gifford who was a member of a good Catholic family of Staffordshire, had, in obedience to his father's wishes, devoted himself to a life of preparation for the ecclesiastical state. After two years he exchanged Allen's seminary at Rheims for the English College in Rome; he was expelled from thence for bad conduct, but by means of a repentance which was probably insincere, obtained from the rector of the college a letter of recommendation to Allen. Out of consideration for Gifford's family Allen let himself be persuaded to help him to make a fresh attempt, but instead of actually entering the seminary at Rheims, Gifford made his way to Paris and London, and probably was thenceforward in touch with Walsingham. He then went to Rome, to the spy Aldred, and thence to Allen at Rheims, where he once more, with many tears and admissions of his faults, admirably succeeded in playing the part of the returned prodigal. Allen was weak enough to let himself be touched with pity, and he gave Gifford shelter, assigning him a minor position in the teaching staff of the institute.<sup>2</sup> The result was a grave disaster for

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 176. Morgan wrote on January 25, 1586, that he had only given Gifford a few lines (*ibid.*, 180); on the other hand in the form in which his letter of recommendation was given it is of considerable length (*ibid.*, 191). It was amplified, we must suppose, by Phelippes. The draft of the letter, written in Phelippes' hand, is dated in the old style (*ibid.*, 185).

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 148-152; POLLEN in *The Month*, CX. (1907), 249 *seqq.*, and Mary, xlii *seq.*; LEE in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, XXI., 302 *seq.* Froude and Hosack make Gilbert Gifford a Jesuit, Kretschmar (112) attributes the entire fault (without any proof) of the whole Babington Plot to the Jesuits. On the contrary Gilbert Gifford was the declared *enemy*

the seminary of Rheims, for within its walls was devised the plan for the assassination of Elizabeth, which, in its results, formed one of the most serious blows which fell upon the English Catholics.

At the same time as Gilbert Gifford there was in the seminary at Rheims his kinsman, William Gifford, a professor of theology, who afterwards, when he had entered the Benedictine Order and become Archbishop of Rheims, was a man of great distinction, but who at that time, embittered by the party strife among the English exiles, was in communication, perhaps not always blameless, with Walsingham and his tools.<sup>1</sup> For some months during 1581 there was also in the college John Savage, a man of limited intelligence, who suffered himself to be led by Gilbert Gifford as though he had no will of his own. After he had done his military service, first with Leicester, and afterwards with the Duke of Parma, Savage again stayed at Rheims (1583-1585), and it would seem was once more a member of the seminary.<sup>2</sup> In a conversation he had with the two Giffords, in the summer of 1585, concerning the attempts to kill Elizabeth, Savage received the impression that the professor of theology, William Gifford, looked upon such acts as good and praiseworthy, and three weeks later he resolved to take upon himself the carrying out

of the Jesuits ; at the instigation of Morgan he composed, together with Grately a polemic against them, which has disappeared, but which was probably for the next twenty years the authority for writings against the Jesuits (POLLEN in *The Month*, CIII. (1904), 357 n. ; CXIX. (1912), 302 ; LEE, *loc. cit.*, 303). The antagonism of Morgan, William Gifford and others for the Jesuits was connected with a division among English and Welsh parties of the English exiles, into which we cannot enter here. Cf. LECHAT, 157 *seqq.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the controversy concerning him between E. C. Butler, O.S.B. and J. H. Pollen in *The Month*, CIII. (1904), 243 *seqq.*, 348 *seqq.* A letter to Walsingham of April 18, 1586, does honour to William Gifford : printed in POLLEN, *loc. cit.*, 248.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 178 *seq.* ; POLLEN in *The Month*, CX. (1907), 250 *seq.*, and Mary, xliii.

of such a plan.<sup>1</sup> In August, 1585, he went to London with that purpose, though how and when it was to be accomplished he had no idea. At first he wandered about the city, waiting for chance to give him a good opportunity. It would seem, however, that Gilbert Gifford did not take Savage seriously, for when, later on, he entered upon a closer relationship with Walsingham, there was nothing to show that he had ever really entertained any fears for the queen's life.

When on September 23rd, 1585, orders were issued for Mary Stuart to be imprisoned at Chartley, Gilbert Gifford, on October 8th, suddenly turned his back on the seminary at Rheims, obtained in Paris a letter of recommendation from Morgan to the Queen of Scots, and placed himself at the disposal of Walsingham in London, who put him in touch with the forger and cypher-reader, Phelippes.<sup>2</sup> Thenceforward it was Gifford who laid the snares to bring about the death of the prisoner of Chartley.<sup>3</sup> It was he who put himself in touch with Mary's vintner, and acted as her intermediary in her correspondence with the French ambassador, taking care, however, that all Mary's letters should first reach the

<sup>1</sup> The only source for these events is the confession of Savage in his interrogatory (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 306). This confession has only reached us in a mutilated form (*ibid.*, 308). In this as in other documents the name of Gilbert is deliberately suppressed, so as to conceal his participation from the conspirators. The whole blame is thrown on William Gifford, but from the character of the latter it is extremely improbable that he would have approved of the regicide. Gilbert Gifford will have skilfully informed him of the questions which later on he interpreted in his own way before Savage. POLLEN (Mary, xlv.; *The Month*, CX., 251) discovered a version of the confession of Savage in which Gilbert's name was *not* suppressed. Cf. BUILER, *loc. cit.*, 254 *seqq.*; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 179.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 181, 184.

<sup>3</sup> "Lequel (Gifford) ne demandoit autre chose que de faire tomber la royne d'Escosse en une conjuration contre la vie de la royne d'Angleterre, laquelle estant descouverte, ils pussent inciter la dicte royne à la faire mourir." Châteauneuf, the French ambassador, in KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 188.

hands of Phelippes and Walsingham.<sup>1</sup> Gifford's family had not the least suspicion of the dastardly part being played by Gilbert, who had the effrontery to ask for a reward from both Walsingham and Mary,<sup>2</sup> and later on, while in the midst of his disgraceful intrigues, had himself ordained priest,<sup>3</sup> in order to win the confidence of the Catholics.<sup>4</sup>

At first the letters of the prisoner contained nothing serious ; Poulet complained of this to Walsingham, and thenceforward there were to be found in Mary's letters, that is to say in the copies which have been preserved, and which are all from the hand of Phelippes, demands for vengeance on Elizabeth and for help from abroad.<sup>5</sup> But this was not enough for Walsingham, for it was necessary to involve Mary in a plot against the life of Elizabeth. It was therefore first of all necessary to set such a plot on foot, by adding more important fellow conspirators to the insignificant Savage. According to the report of the French ambassador, it was again Gilbert Gifford who set himself to this task,<sup>6</sup> and he turned his attention to Antony Babington, a young and wealthy Catholic gentleman, aged 24, who had given himself up to a life of pleasure in London with his young companions,<sup>7</sup> a life which did not prevent occasional outbursts of religious enthusiasm. As a page of Shrewsbury, Babington had made the acquaintance of Mary Stuart, and up to a few months before her removal to Chartley had acted as go-between in the correspondence of the captive queen.<sup>8</sup> It was not, however, Gifford himself who involved Babington, but another equally scandalous seminarist, John Ballard.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 190, 196, 200. He never entered into personal relations with Mary (*ibid.*, 214), though he wrote to her (*ibid.*, 198).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>3</sup> At Rheims on March 14, 1587; see POLLEN, MARY, 122; LEE, *loc. cit.*, 303.

<sup>4</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 512 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 198.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 223-227.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 224. That he was not Mary's page, see POLLEN, MARY, cv., 50.

Ballard, it would seem, had begun his career as the opponent of Mary Stuart. In 1578 he had offered himself to the English ambassador in Paris as a spy upon Morgan and the French court, but with the condition that he should not be insulted by a large reward for his services.<sup>1</sup> But in the following year, having graduated at Cambridge, he entered Allen's seminary at Rheims, and in 1581 began his sacerdotal work in England; this soon brought him into prison, from which, however, he soon escaped.<sup>2</sup> Both in prison and in his escape, he was accompanied by Antony Tyrell, a nervous and excitable priest, who afterwards four times apostatized from the Catholic Church, and four times returned to her, and who at one time made the most disgraceful depositions against Catholic priests, and then retracted them.<sup>3</sup> Ballard's enthusiasm for his ecclesiastical labours came to an end after his first arrest. In 1584 he set out for Rome. Tyrell accompanied him, and later on, when he had fallen into the hands of the English government, made the most extraordinary allegations against his companion. In Milan before Owen Lewis, in Rome before the rector of the English College, the General of the Jesuits, and Gregory XIII. himself, and in Rheims before Allen, Ballard was made out to have laid plans for the murder of Elizabeth, and to have claimed the approval of the Pope and the Jesuits. Afterwards Tyrell retracted what he had said, and asserted that there was not a word of truth in his accusations.<sup>4</sup> That Ballard principally

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 76.

<sup>2</sup> POLLEN, Mary, lxvi. *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, lxviii. *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> In his retraction, he thus described all that he had related concerning his journey to Rome: "A long and monstrous tale, and most untrue. Neither was there ever any such speech or negotiations with the persons in any of the places named, neither would we ever have durst to have proposed any such thing unto them, if Ballard or I had been so wicked to conceive it, as thank God we never were" (POLLEN, Mary, lxxvi.). If we can put trust in this hysterical man anywhere, it is only in the case of his retraction. He made it in a public pulpit before a Protestant



devoted himself to politics seems clear from the fact that when Tyrell was imprisoned in 1586 he feared the suspicions and anger of the English authorities chiefly on account of his relations with Ballard.<sup>1</sup>

On his return from Rome Ballard went to seek out in Paris Morgan, Mary's representative, and his friends, and under their influence became more and more filled with the idea that he was called to do great things, and to initiate a great change in favour of the Queen of Scots and the Catholic religion.<sup>2</sup> He began to visit the castles of the nobles whom he thought to be well disposed to the employment of violence against Elizabeth, and at their instigation, went to Scotland to inquire into the sentiments of the nobles there. There, at the beginning of 1586, he especially treated with the most important of the supporters of the Queen of Scots, Claude Hamilton, who was closely connected with the royal house, and was in near succession to the throne. It was also quite in keeping with his grand plans that, in the course of his travels in England, he sought to make the acquaintance of the nobility, travelled in great splendour, and expended large sums of money on entertainments and banquets. He was possessed in a high degree of social gifts and talents, while one cannot but admire his behaviour, later on, when faced with a disgraceful death. But even though in other respects Tyrell is not to be trusted, he has hit the mark when he makes Ballard's outstanding characteristic the ambition<sup>3</sup> which led him to aspire to a position which was quite beyond his capacity. Ballard was not a statesman in any sense of the word. He was lacking in cool judgment and circumspection, and that which calm reflection would have shown to have been a bare possibility, his lively imagination painted as a practical

audience, which was expecting anything but a retractation, which cost him the loss of a lucrative office which he desired, and placed him in prison instead (*ibid.*, lxx. *seq.*, lxxii. *seq.*). For Tyrell see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, LVII., 437.

<sup>1</sup> POLLEN, Mary, lviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxvii., lxxix.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxviii.

reality. That he should have looked upon extreme measures of violence as lawful and excusable for the attainment of his ends may be to some extent explained by his residence in Flanders and France, where, in the struggles between the Gueux and the Huguenots, the most elementary principles of right and morality had become undermined among many people. Persons described Ballard as an ecclesiastic gone astray;<sup>1</sup> to understand the whole of his conduct it is necessary to keep before one's mind the fact that the priests in England had no bishop, or other superior over them, and that they were able to act according to their own wishes.

They were fateful moments for the English Catholics when, at the beginning of 1586, Ballard was initiated into the schemes of John Savage, and came to the decision to go to Paris in order to discuss with Morgan and Paget the carrying out of those plans; soon afterwards he got into touch with Babington and his friends, spoke to them of the imminent arrival of foreign troops in England, and promised them in his lordly manner high position and great rewards, if they would cross the seas and join the hostile armies. Ballard thought that he was acting in the most profound secrecy; he had no suspicion that Walsingham had already turned his attention to him, and that he had been given, to accompany him on his journey, under the guise of a trusty friend, his paid employé, Bernard Maude. About the same time Gilbert Gifford boasted to Phelippes that it would soon be possible to find out all that was going on among the Catholics.<sup>2</sup>

Ballard carried out his project of going to Paris in the spring of the year 1586. By the help of Paget, Morgan's representative, he obtained access to the Spanish ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, and explained to him how favourable the circumstances were for a military expedition against England, saying that a new courage was animating the English Catholics, that the armed forces of England were engaged in Flanders, and that four of the nobles had given their word

<sup>1</sup> "Un cierto clerigo desviado (KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 211, n. 1). FRERE (244 *seq.*) makes Ballard a Jesuit.

<sup>2</sup> POLLEN, Mary, lxxxii. *seq.*

to murder Elizabeth. Mendoza replied to Ballard in general terms, but that was quite enough for the hot-headed enthusiast, and he returned to London without waiting to speak a second time with Mendoza.<sup>1</sup> On May 22nd, 1586, there reached London a certain Captain Fortescue, in a blue velvet doublet and a plumed hat, who was shortly to be seen in every inn and tavern.<sup>2</sup> This was Ballard in disguise, whose aspirations to a name and fame was soon to be satisfied by a world-wide reputation, though in quite another sense from that which he dreamed of. He at once talked with Babington, just as though Mendoza had made him solemn promises of the most far-reaching kind, and the carrying out of the plan were certain. According to him, the Catholic powers had united in an alliance, preparations had been made for an expedition against England during the coming summer, the like of which the world had never seen. The Pope was to be the head of the enterprise, the French under Guise or Mayenne, and the Spaniards under the Duke of Parma would pour into England with 60,000 men; whoever failed to join them would run the risk of losing all he possessed. At first Babington raised some objections: the foreign princes had their hands tied by the disturbances in their own countries, so how could they ever find the means to call into being so vast an army, and convey it across the seas? In England their coming would meet with but little support. As long as Elizabeth was alive, he added, the government would be in strong hands. These remarks gave Ballard the opportunity of disclosing the worst part of his plan. Steps have been taken, he replied, to see that her life shall not stand in the way. The instrument chosen for this purpose will be Savage, who has bound himself by oath to carry it out, as well as several others.<sup>3</sup>

Ballard also spoke in the same sense with Babington's friends, among whom his disclosures led to lively discussions. We stand between two serious dangers, said Babington: from the government we have to fear lest it destroy the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxxvii. seq., xciii. seqq.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 219.

<sup>3</sup> Babington's first confession, in POLLEN, Mary, 52.

Catholics, either by a massacre, or by laws by means of which it will hold the lives of every Catholic in its hands ; on the other hand we have to fear lest the foreigner should take possession of the country, and pillage and subdue it. And what of the position of the Catholics ? Printed books maintain the view that no Papist can be a good subject, from which it naturally follows that it is right to wish to exterminate them. The government knows to what lengths desperation will drive men ; it must therefore either lighten the burdens of the Catholics, of which there is no hope, or exterminate them, as soon as a convenient pretext for so doing is presented. The best course would be to leave England to its fate, said Babington. At the death of the queen there would beyond all doubt be reason to fear civil war, because of the many claimants to the throne ; the successor of the ailing Mary Stuart could only be James of Scotland, in whom the friends of Babington had no confidence at all.<sup>1</sup>

But in spite of certain doubts the conspiracy made progress. Savage was set aside, and the whole affair was entrusted to Babington.<sup>2</sup> On June 7th, 1586, Ballard and Babington had a conversation at the village of St. Giles, at which they discussed the murder of Elizabeth and the liberation of Mary Stuart, who was then to mount the English throne.<sup>3</sup> Not long afterwards, Gilbert Gifford, Walsingham's spy, was received into the number of the conspirators,<sup>4</sup> and the secretary of state could thus be assured that he would be informed of everything that Babington and his friends decided upon in the deepest secrecy. When, a short time after the meeting of June 7th, Ballard undertook a journey through England, in order to sound the feelings of the aristocracy, he was

<sup>1</sup> Babington, *ibid.*, 54 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> POLLEN, cx. List of 18 conspirators, *ibid.*, cxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Thus the Indictment against Babington, which also makes Gilbert Gifford a participator in the plot. Later on the name of Gilbert was omitted in the documents of the case. POLLEN, cxiv. For the reason, see *ibid.*, cxv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, cxv.

accompanied by Walsingham's tool, Bernard Maude.<sup>1</sup> Immediately, by order of the secretary of state, Gifford went to Paris, to watch Morgan more closely; on his return, Babington, who was still hesitating, asked him what was the opinion of the French theologians concerning the plans of the conspirators, and as Gifford could give him no information on the subject, he sent him back to France to make inquiries.<sup>2</sup>

Although Babington and his associates continued to discuss the raising of the country districts, and the carrying out of the plot, neither he nor his accomplices were free from anxieties. One of the latter put forward the plan of merely making Elizabeth a prisoner in a fortress, and surrounding her with Catholic ministers. It was perhaps only in order to conceal his intentions that Babington tried to obtain from Walsingham leave to go abroad. It was unfortunate for him that, for this purpose, he sought the mediation of Robert Poley, one of Walsingham's vilest tools, who, in his dealings with the Catholics, feigned piety, in order the better to betray them. Poley welcomed the advances of Babington in such a friendly way, that the heedless young man opened his heart to the traitor, both as to the conspiracy and his own doubts; Poley naturally seized upon the opportunity to quiet his scruples and to encourage Babington in his plot. Walsingham himself three times received the hesitating conspirator, and tried to win him over as a tool in his designs upon Mary Stuart, but Babington turned a deaf ear to his suggestions, as well as to his guarded hints and warnings.<sup>3</sup>

In the opinion of a contemporary, not long afterwards,<sup>4</sup> the fire of the plot would have been put out with a few drops of water, or rather would have died out of itself, as soon as its basis, the Franco-Spanish attack which was supposed to be intended, was realized to be a chimera. But Walsingham wanted the hesitating conspirators to adhere firmly to their design, and in this Mary herself came to their assistance. As

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, cxx-cxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Southwell, 1591, *ibid.*, cli.

Babington had been the first intermediary for conveying to him letters from Mary Stuart, Morgan formed the idea of renewing those relations, and in consequence Mary addressed to Babington a request that he would hand over to her envoy any letters for him which he might still happen to possess.<sup>1</sup> Walsingham at once realized the importance of this note : if Babington complied, it was very probable that Mary would become involved in his plans. It therefore became supremely important to give new life to the already waning conspiracy. This task was undertaken by Gilbert Gifford. He complained to Savage of his everlasting irresolution, while to Babington, referring him to Mary's agent, Charles Paget, he confirmed all those things which Ballard claimed to have understood from the lips of Mendoza : namely, that before September a hostile force would be landed upon English soil, and that a levy of a great number of troops had already been made.<sup>2</sup> Babington again gave expression to his doubts : he wished first of all to be assured by some authority beyond the seas—probably Allen—of the lawfulness of the undertaking ; it was therefore necessary that the preliminary measures should be completed, and that the rewards for carrying out the dangerous scheme should be rendered quite certain. Until all this was done, Gifford must engage to hold back Savage and the others from any attack upon the queen ; if this were not done he swore that he would reveal the whole affair to the queen.<sup>3</sup>

It was perhaps in consequence of a letter from Mary to himself, or perhaps even before he received it,<sup>4</sup> that Babington, in spite of his hesitation and his own doubts, sent the fatal documents by which he explained to the Queen of Scots, and

<sup>1</sup> POLLEN, CXXX.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, CXXXV.

<sup>3</sup> " Untill all which were don, I advised him to withholde such as were employed against the Queens person. . . . If he did not, I protested and swore I would discover it unto the Queen." *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, CXXXVII. Babington says in his eighth confession that he had written to Mary : " To think to move the Scottish Queen, to deale the more roundely and readily." *Ibid.*, 91.

thus, as can readily be understood, to the secretary of state, the whole plan of the conspiracy.<sup>1</sup> He set forth how, as a result of the communications made to him by Ballard concerning the plans of the Catholic princes, he had formed the desire of offering his services to Mary, and then went on to mention the principal matters involved; among these appeared the plan for "getting rid of the usurper of the throne."<sup>2</sup> He even came back a second time to this matter; with ten nobles and a hundred others, he said, he intended to undertake the liberation of Mary; as for "the removal of the usurper," this would be undertaken by six nobles of his acquaintance.<sup>3</sup> Mary was asked to appoint the leader of the insurrection, to give authority to Babington, and to guarantee "suitable rewards for the carrying out of the tragical" undertaking.

When he read this letter, Nau, Mary's secretary, advised her to leave it unanswered.<sup>4</sup> During the past few months the captive queen had refused two plans for her liberation, though she thanked those who had put them forward; but now, when it was no longer an individual loyalist who wished to become her cavalier, and it seemed that she was offered an alliance of the Catholic princes, and that an enterprise against Elizabeth was already decided upon, she determined on July 12th to accept Babington's proposals.<sup>5</sup>

Mary was not blind to the vagueness and incompleteness of all these projects, and pointed out<sup>6</sup> that first of all everything must be thought out and prepared to the smallest detail. First of all it was necessary to be quite certain of foreign help, and to be sure that all the work of preparation

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-23, written about the 6 (16) of July, 1586, and reached Mary's hands on the 12 (22) of July (*ibid.*, 24).

<sup>2</sup> "The dispatch of the usurping Competitor." POLLEN, 20, n. iv.

<sup>3</sup> "For the dispatch of the usurper . . . six noble gentlemen . . . will undertake that tragical execution." *Ibid.*, 21, n. viii.

<sup>4</sup> POLLEN, Mary, 148.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, cxli.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 38-46.

had been carried out, and that only after the blow had been struck against Elizabeth could there be any thought of her own liberation. With regard to the matter which certainly lay nearest of all to the heart of Babington, Mary expressed herself with great reserve. Babington had asked for authority to assure his friends of a reward for their blow against Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> To this Mary would not agree.<sup>2</sup> She promised rewards, it is true, but not for the six, nor for their particular undertaking, but only in general and for her own liberation. But any authorization in virtue of her royal authority Mary did not give.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand she did not expressly find fault with the blow against Elizabeth. She looked upon herself as lawfully queen, with all the rights and powers belonging to one in that position, and did not look upon it as her duty to instruct the subjects of a foreign sovereign as to their civil duties, the more so that, if the projected attempt were to take place, the war on her behalf and against Elizabeth would already have broken out. Later on, and indeed immediately before her death, she asserted that she had not approved the projected assassination, and from all that is known of her it is impossible to suppose that she would "have appeared before her heavenly judge with a lie upon her lips."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "It resteth that . . . their heroical attempt maie bee honorably rewarded . . . and that so much I maie bee able by your Majestys authoritie to assure them." *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Gifford to Walsingham, July 11, 1586, *ibid.*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> "Remitting to the judgment of our principall frends on this side with whome you have to deale herein, to ordaine (and) conclude upon this present . . . as you shall amongst you find best; and to yourself in particular I refer to assure the gentlemen above mentioned of all that shal bee requisite of my part to the entier execution of thie good willes. I leave also to your common resolutions, etc. (POLLEN, Mary, 42). I doe and will thinck my self obliged, as long as I live, towardes you for the offers you make to hazard your self as you do for mie delivery, and by anie means . . . I shall doe my endeavour to recognise by effects your desertes herein" (*Ibid.*, 45). Cf. the remarks of POLLEN, *ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Thus BRESSIAU in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LII. (1884), 288.



Moreover, according to Mary's intention, the letter she wrote to Babington at that time was not intended to be final, and in the course of the correspondence further opportunities were bound to present themselves for entering more minutely into the particulars of Babington's plan.

At the end of the letter Phelippes added a forged postscript, by which Babington was asked to state the names of the six nobles.<sup>1</sup> Babington could hardly reply to this request, because the six were not as yet finally decided upon.<sup>2</sup>

By this letter Mary had placed herself in Walsingham's hands. On August 2nd Phelippes asked him what was now to be done with Babington, whether he was to be arrested, or whether the game that was being played with him was to continue.<sup>3</sup> Walsingham hesitated for more than a month. He knew that with men like Babington and Savage there was no real danger, and that in the meantime it might be possible to learn something more of their secret designs.

In the meantime the conspirators could not help becoming aware of the uselessness of their plans. Some weeks after Mary's letter, Ballard returned from his tour in the north, and he had been forced to realize that the Catholics were very far from having thoughts of a rebellion. Those who ought

<sup>1</sup> POLLEN, *Mary*, 45. That the postscript had been added to the letter when Babington received it is placed beyond doubt by its mention in the confessions of Babington and Dunne. Walsingham too makes mention of the postscript. *Ibid.*, clxvi.

<sup>2</sup> "The sixe for taking away the Queen were never named nor sounded nor in my owne determination resolved upon." The second confession of Babington, n. 21, in POLLEN, *Mary*, 75. The controversy whether the steps concerning the killing of Elizabeth were falsified in the letters of Babington and Mary was also declared by BROSCHE (VI., 584) to be insoluble. We follow the opinion of Pollen, who considers both the letters to be authentic (*Mary*, cxxxvii., 31-33). The forged postscript was certainly found attached to the letter when this reached the hands of Babington; this is clear from the words of Babington, Dunne and Walsingham themselves (*ibid.*, clxvi.).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, cl.

to be the most eager, he complained to Babington, are the most lukewarm, and this only bore out the saying that the older men are the colder they become ;<sup>1</sup> he told Gilbert Gifford that for the success of the undertaking it was necessary to have Mary Stuart's consent, signed and sealed, and that otherwise no one would listen and all would be in vain ; some had even openly threatened to denounce him.<sup>2</sup> In order to close to Ballard every way of escape, he now received from Morgan<sup>3</sup> orders to give the Queen of Scots no information as to the steps being taken by the conspirators, so as not to solicit her authority. Ballard was now in a position of the greatest difficulty ; he could not withdraw, because the matter was too far advanced, nor could he go forward. He said, with tears in his eyes, that he had forfeited his good name, and that thousands would perish through his fault, because, trusting to Mendoza and Paget, he had pledged himself to many people.<sup>4</sup>

Ballard now thought of going to France in order to obtain information from Mendoza. Even more significant of the utter folly of the conspirators were the instructions which at this moment Babington gave to the traitor Gifford. The latter was to go to the continent in order to obtain from those in authority tranquillizing replies to certain questions. These concerned the real intention of the foreign powers to give their assistance, and the rewards which the conspirators were to receive ; above all Gifford was to bring back the assurance

<sup>1</sup> The first confession of Babington, *ibid.*, 56 : " those, that should be most forward were most slowe and the older the colder."

<sup>2</sup> " Withoute the which, saied he, we laboure in vain, and these men will not heare us. . . . He complained much of Sir T. Tressom and my Cosin Talbot, for not only they woulde not heare him, but thredned him to discouer him ; and saiethe he, unlesse we obtain that from . . . [sign to indicate Mary Stuart] all is but winde." Gifford to Walsingham, July 11, 1586, in POLLEN, 107 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 138, the confession of Ballard.

<sup>3</sup> About July 3 (13), and reached the hands of Ballard about July 16 (26), 1586, POLLEN, 112, cliv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

that "this undertaking is directly lawful in every respect!" Until these questions were cleared up Gifford was to prevent any steps being taken against the person of the queen. If this were not done Babington once again asserted on oath that he would disclose the whole affair to the queen.<sup>1</sup> Thus, at a moment when everything depended upon prompt action, they were still considering the question of lawfulness or unlawfulness, and they were quite uncertain as to the fundamental premises of the whole undertaking!

Gifford actually took steps to obtain from Walsingham permission for his journey, but as, for some reason or other, he received no reply, he escaped to France. Later on, he explained in confidence the reasons for this strange behaviour; the traitor still retained some vestiges of shame, and feared, at the trial of Mary which was bound to follow, to be confronted with his victim.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime Babington and his friends received news which filled them with terror. Phelippes, for example, in deciphering the fatal letter of Mary, had drawn a gallows in red ink, and news of this had reached the conspirators through a messenger.<sup>3</sup> Their terror was still further increased with the discovery that Maude, who had accompanied Ballard on his journey through England, was a party to all their secrets, and had taken much trouble to keep the conspirators firm in their designs, was nothing but a spy of Walsingham's.<sup>4</sup> The vilest of his supposed friends, Poley, was still called by Babington his "sweet Robert,"<sup>5</sup> even when he was already

<sup>1</sup> First confession of Babington, *ibid.*, 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cxvii. *seqq.* In Paris Gifford elicited from the ambassador Mendoza a letter concerning the approval of the regicide, which however did not arrive (*ibid.*, clxxiii. *seqq.*). In Paris Gifford was very active as a spy, and got himself ordained priest in 1587, the better to spy upon the Catholics. Soon afterwards he was arrested in a house of ill-fame and thrown into the episcopal prison, where he died in 1590 (*ibid.*, 118-130).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, cxlix., clx.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, cliii., 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, clxx.

deeply entangled in his snares. When Babington wished for a passport to go abroad, Poley had obtained for him an interview with Walsingham, at which the secretary of state had let fall mysterious hints.<sup>1</sup> Overcome with terror, Babington sought the counsel of his "sweet Robert" as to whether it would not be better to inform Walsingham of the whole conspiracy. Poley naturally tranquillized his fears, but Babington now endeavoured to do the secretary of state a service, not, as Poley asserted, by betraying the two recently arrived Jesuits, Garnet and Southwell, but by spying on them.<sup>2</sup> Poley succeeded so well in winning the confidence of Babington that the latter informed him of Mary's letter of reply, and discussed the whole conspiracy with him. After three days of such discussion Babington made up his mind that Poley must go to Walsingham and prepare him for the confession which Babington intended to make to the secretary of state on the following day! Ballard too sent a message to Walsingham, offering to make a full confession. But it was too late; Walsingham would receive neither of them.<sup>3</sup>

Mary's letter of July 17th (27th) only reached its destination after twelve whole days' delay in Babington's hands; his reply of August 3rd (13th) contained the unhappy news of the betrayal of his supposed friend by the conspirator Maude, but nothing else of importance. Walsingham then put an end to the game he was playing with the conspirators, and Ballard and Babington and their accomplices were arrested. They made full confession<sup>4</sup> and on September 30th and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> POLLEN, clxiii. After his arrival in London, Southwell wrote on July 25: "At the court it is said that they are preparing a matter which, should it be successful, would mean the utmost sorrow to us; if it does not succeed all will go well" (*ibid.*). At first Southwell bitterly blamed "the wicked and ill-fated conspiracy"; later on, when some part of the infamous behaviour of the government was known, he thought of it more leniently. POLLEN in *The Month*, CXIX. (1912), 302.

<sup>3</sup> POLLEN, Mary, clxiii. *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Confessions of Babington printed in POLLEN, 49-97.

October 1st suffered the cruel death which the English laws inflicted for the crime of high treason.<sup>1</sup>

The news of the discovery of the plot caused tremendous excitement in the country. Even before the arrest of the guilty parties vague rumours had made their way among the people of a bloody day of terror, and a new massacre of St. Bartholomew, threatening England and her queen. The landing of a hostile army was looked upon as imminent, and during the night great bonfires were lit along the coasts.<sup>2</sup> At the execution of Babington, such an "army" of spectators assembled, that it alone would have been enough to resist all the enemies of England.<sup>3</sup> Bonfires were lit all over London in rejoicing, the bells rang out unceasingly, and the children sang psalms.<sup>4</sup>

To the English Catholics the plot and the executions were a terrible blow. The attempt upon the queen had been planned by Catholics, and a Catholic priest, a student of the seminary at Rheims, was its promoter. Such facts lent themselves in an extraordinary degree to being used against the old religion, and in order to use them to the best advantage, the dangers, in themselves very limited, which might have come from Babington's schemes, were grossly exaggerated. That the greater number of the Catholics knew nothing of the attempt,<sup>5</sup> and that the other missionaries could not be judged by the standard of a Ballard,<sup>6</sup> did not enter the minds

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 332-337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 274 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.

<sup>5</sup> The greater part of them considered the plan for the assassination as an invention of the Protestants. POLLEN, Mary, cvi., n.

<sup>6</sup> MEYER (130) says: "The few priests who thus gravely injured the dignity of their mission were all men who were far removed from the typical character of the Catholic missionary in England. John Ballard . . . lived as a man of the world and did not exercise his priestly functions. Anthony Tyrell . . . was, with his utter instability, a character that was the complete opposite of the missionary trained to inflexible fortitude . . ."

of most Protestants. For the greater discomfiture of all who professed the Catholic religion, it was just at that time that Antony Tyrell, Ballard's companion on his earlier travels and who was also a student of the seminary at Rheims, fell into the hands of the government, having been arrested on the score of his priesthood. On hearing of the arrest of Ballard this nerve-racked man was quite beside himself, and in order to save himself made any sort of confession that was asked of him. He claimed to have been present when Allen, the General of the Jesuits, and the Pope himself, had urged the assassination of Elizabeth. Later on he retracted all these statements as sheer lies,<sup>1</sup> but at the time, and more or less down to our own times, complete belief was placed in them. Elizabeth herself expressed to Tyrell her satisfaction at these confessions.<sup>2</sup>

The Queen of England did not know how nebulous and empty the whole conspiracy was, but her irritation had been especially aroused by the fact that nobles of her immediate entourage were among the accomplices of Babington. She would have liked to have inflicted special torments in punishing the conspirators, but Burghley pointed out to her that if the law were enforced to the letter, the death for high treason was so horrible that any further outbreak would hardly be possible. Nevertheless, on the second day of the executions, the tortures of the victims were cut short on account of

Gilbert Gifford . . . who got himself ordained priest only the better to betray his Catholic coreligionists . . . did not injure the prestige of the mission, but only that of those who assisted him."

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 10; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 300 *seq.*; BUTLER in *The Month*, CIII. (1904), 225. Without any proof FRERE writes (244): "Ballard the Jesuit, who had originally obtained the Papal sanction (!) for the deed, etc." Perhaps Gilbert Gifford had attempted to involve the Pope in the conspiracy; he induced the Earl of Westmoreland to entrust a certain Yardley, a secret spy, with a mission to Rome. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 218.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 303.

the murmurs of the spectators, a thing which the printed accounts subsequently attributed to the clemency of Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup>

When such sentiments, both of the people and of the Queen of England, were at their height, the time had at last come for the act of violence which Walsingham had so long been preparing, and in the midst of the excitement of those days the charge against the Queen of Scots was launched. But naturally, it was not easy to prove Mary's guilt. No letter of hers had been found in Babington's house ; in all probability he had burned it soon after he received it. It was therefore necessary to make Babington and Mary's private secretaries, Nau and Curll, authenticate the copy made by Phelippes, but this too was a matter of difficulty. The letter could not be shown to the secretaries with the forged postscript, nor to Babington without it. Nevertheless, Babington's signature was obtained by calling the attention of the heedless young man to the first part of the letter, and after this, its recognition by the two secretaries followed in due course. Nau was led to believe that the original letter had been found among Babington's papers, while Curll was shown the supposed original, which was beyond doubt a forgery, but which the secretary in his fright recognized as being the work of the queen herself.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Mary's fate was sealed. On October 5th she was taken to her last prison, Fotheringay, a castle near Peterborough: There, on the 21st of the same month, forty-three of the greatest nobles were assembled in order to pronounce sentence on her as Babington's accomplice. The judges took their stand on the law which had been issued on the occasion of the association of 1584, and aimed against Mary ; thus it was impossible to look for an impartial judgment. Mary took up her stand on the ground that, as an independent sovereign, she was not subject to the English laws. At first, therefore, she refused to appear before the lords, but when the crafty

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 330 *seq.* POLLEN, Mary, clxxxi. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, clxxxiii-cxciii.

Hatton pointed out to her in apparent friendship that her refusal would be taken as an admission of her guilt, whereas, by replying to the accusations she could prove her innocence, she fell into the trap, and while protesting against the legitimacy of the tribunal, agreed to answer the accusations.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, no attention was paid to her protest, and the trial was carried on as though by a properly constituted tribunal.<sup>2</sup> Mary skilfully pointed out the monstrous nature of the proceedings; she was not allowed to have anyone to defend her;<sup>3</sup> Babington, who, in the case of her guilt, would have been able to prove it, had been destroyed:<sup>4</sup> Babington's letter and her own reply were not produced, either in the original or in authenticated copies.<sup>5</sup> Her secretaries Nau and Curll were not admitted.<sup>6</sup> As far as the assassination of the queen was concerned Mary began by setting forth the claim that she had treated of this matter in detail in a letter to Mendoza. "After I had worked for my liberation by good means, and without result, I was forced to adopt the means that were suggested to me, though without either consenting to them or approving them."<sup>7</sup> But in the situation in which she found herself, she said to her secretary Nau, she did not feel herself obliged to make any denunciation.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless she denied, to the moment when she found herself at the block, that she had ever sought or approved the death of Elizabeth. The

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 22-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 33 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>4</sup> OPITZ, II., 341.

<sup>5</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 42.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>7</sup> LABANOFF, VI., 458 *seq.*

<sup>8</sup> "N'estimant ès termes ou elle se voyait estre obligée de la révéler." LABANOFF, VII., 208; *cf.* POLLEN, cxcvii. With regard to Mary's words concerning her relations with Babington see OPITZ, II., 341 *seq.* It would seem that at first she denied all relations with him, which, however, in the mouth of an accused person, only meant that she left it to her accusers to prove it against her.



sentence, which was pronounced at Westminster, and approved by Parliament, declared the captive queen to be convicted and guilty.<sup>1</sup> On February 18th, 1587, the headsman's axe put an end to her life at Fotheringay.<sup>2</sup>

The grandeur of Mary's character was never shown in a brighter light than in the last days of her life, and it has been as she showed herself then that the picture of her has been handed down to posterity, and lives on in the remembrance of men. Her calm serenity, and the courage and the fearlessness with which she met her death, show her to us as though transfigured by sorrow and martyrdom, and comforted and sustained by a true religious consecration. For a long time past she had been convinced that the real reason why her death was sought was none other than her loyalty to the Catholic religion, and that her enemies wished to destroy her because, as the Catholic heir to the throne, she was a menace to English Protestantism.<sup>3</sup> For this reason she looked upon her violent death as a kind of martyrdom. To Burghley and Bromley, when they summoned her before the tribunal of the nobles at Fotheringay, she declared that she cared nothing for her life, and that she was only defending herself on account of her own honour, and the honour of her friends and the Church. She was a Catholic, and she was ready to shed her blood to the last drop for the faith, and she would count herself

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 56 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 328 *seqq.* MAXWELL SCOTT, the Tragedy of Fotheringay founded on the Journal of Dr. Bourgoing and on unpublished MS. Documents, London, 1895. Among the letters of farewell which Mary wrote as early as November, 1586, when she thought her execution was at hand, there is a letter to Sixtus V. of November 23, 1586. LABANOFF, VI., 447 *seq.*; *cf.* F. PALACKY, Literarische Reise nach Italien im Jahre 1837, Prague, 1838, 9.

<sup>3</sup> See further *infra*, pp. 28 *seq.* The address of Parliament, which demanded the death of Mary, further maintained that Mary wished to remove Elizabeth from the world, not only to deprive the country of the true religion, but also to set up there the tyranny of Rome. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 64; *cf. ibid.*, 66, the speech of Pickering before Elizabeth.

happy if God should give her the grace of dying for His cause.<sup>1</sup> This statement she repeated on the eve of her execution, when she was told of her approaching death ; her end, she said, was very welcome to her, and she would not be deserving of eternal happiness if her body could not suffer the stroke of the headsman's axe.<sup>2</sup> When the Earl of Kent retorted that her life would be the death of the Protestant religion, and her death its life, her face was transfigured with joy : " I did not deem myself worthy of such a death " she exclaimed, " because to die for the faith means to be numbered among the elect."<sup>3</sup> In her letter of farewell to the Jesuit, Samerie, who had for a time, in the disguise of a physician, and under the name of La Rue, ministered to her, she said that she remembered that she had promised him to die for the faith, and that she had kept her promise.<sup>4</sup>

Filled with thoughts such as these, the queen for a long time past had had read to her daily the lives of the saints and martyrs ;<sup>5</sup> the example, she said, of those who had borne testimony to the faith with their blood, would be a support and instruction to her.<sup>6</sup> She gladly devoted herself to the remembrance of the Passion of Christ ; above her hearth there were embroidered scenes from the story of the Passion of the Redeemer worked by her own hand.<sup>7</sup> On the eve of her execution she washed the feet of her ladies, for Christ too had entered upon His Way of the Cross by washing the feet of the Apostles.<sup>8</sup> After midnight the courageous lady had the story of the Passion read to her from the Gospels : at the words of Jesus to the good thief : " This day thou shalt be with me

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 331-332.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 332 *seq.* ; *cf.* 337.

<sup>4</sup> OPITZ, II., 369. For Samerie *cf.* POLLEN in *The Month*, (XVII. (1911), II-24, 136-149.

<sup>5</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 76, 346.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I., 122 ; II., 343.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II., 345.

in Paradise " she signed to them to stop.<sup>1</sup> In her prayer at the block she said that she wished to breathe out her soul at the feet of the Crucified.<sup>2</sup>

Her conviction that she was dying for the faith was thus the explanation of the calm serenity with which, as Burghley himself bears witness, she received her death sentence.<sup>3</sup> While her attendants were bathed in tears, her own eyes were dry ; even at the block she prayed without any sign of fear, and in so loud a voice as to drown that of the importunate Dean of Peterborough.<sup>4</sup> There were none among those who were present at her execution who were not filled with wonder at her bearing.<sup>5</sup> Philip II. was for a time uncertain whether he should order a requiem for her, since, in his opinion, she had died as a martyr, and thus no longer had need of any prayers.<sup>6</sup> In Paris the populace were so incensed against Elizabeth, that the English ambassador could not leave his house without risk to his life, or the probability of being publicly insulted.<sup>7</sup> Sixtus V. received the news of Mary's execution at the end of March ; his great sorrow was only tempered by the hope that Henry III. would be led by this catastrophe to take serious steps against England.<sup>8</sup> He thought of honouring her by a solemn requiem, but changed his mind, remarking that such manifestations were not customary for women in Rome. He therefore contented himself with giving alms for prayers for her soul, and having masses said for her at privileged altars.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 333.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 373.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 375. Cf. KLEINPAUL, *Die Fuggerzeitungen der Wiener Hofbibliothek, 1568-1605*, Leipzig, 1921, 101.

<sup>6</sup> Letter of Lippomano to Venice, April 21, 1587, in BROWN, II. 504.

<sup>7</sup> Dolfin to Venice, March 13, 1587, *ibid.*, 483.

<sup>8</sup> Gritti to Venice, March 28, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 491 ; SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 180. Cf. *Revue des quest. hist.*, XXVII., 196.

<sup>9</sup> \*Avviso of April 4, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 114b, Vatican Library.

Just as the events of those days brought out in the most striking manner Mary's spiritual character, so was it in the case of her rival. The outstanding characteristics of Elizabeth's policy were her indifference with regard to questions of morality and conscience, and the duplicity with which she sought to cover up even acts of violence and the most barefaced deceit with a cloak of justice and truth, leading men to believe that she was only reluctantly led into doing the things that she desired with all her heart. In a queen who was so richly endowed with intellectual gifts we look in vain for any definite sign of generosity or compassion towards her unfortunate cousin. It may be that perhaps such feelings may have existed in her from time to time, but, in the case in question, there is no reason to think that it existed. One cannot get away from the impression that we are here confronted with nothing but ill-concealed cruelty.

In Westminster Abbey James I. has placed side by side the tombs of the two queens who in life were so much brought into contact with each other, but who never met. But in so doing Elizabeth's successor and admirer has done but a sorry service to his own memory. "Not an hour in the day" says Washington Irving,<sup>1</sup> "but some ejaculation of pity is uttered

<sup>1</sup> "Not an hour in the day but some ejaculation of pity is uttered over the fate of the latter, mingled with indignation at her oppressor. The walls of Elizabeth's sepulchre continually echo with the sighs of sympathy heaved at the grave of her rival" (The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon (Irving), I., Paris, 1823, 361). Very soon the story of Mary Stuart was made the subject of poetry. As early as 1593 there appeared a *Stuarta tragoedia sive caedes Mariae Scotiae reginae in Anglia perpetrata*, by the professor of poetry at Douai, Adrian Rouler (*Zeitschr. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XXII. (1912), 42; cf. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, I., Brussels, 1739, 19). For a drama by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt in 1594, see ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 484. The tragedy by VONDEL, *Maria Stuart* (1646) aroused a storm of indignation among the Protestants of the Netherlands, and earned for its author a fine of 180 florins (A. BAUMGARTNER, Joost van den Vondel, Freiburg, 1882, 157 *seqq.*). The history of the Popes must specially mention that the future Urban VIII. composed

over the fate of the latter, mingled with indignation at her oppressor. The walls of Elizabeth's sepulchre continually echo with the sighs of sympathy heaved at the grave of her rival."

Among the princes of Europe no serious step was taken to save Mary from her ignominious death,<sup>1</sup> while not a hand was lifted to avenge her destruction. Mary was abandoned by her cousin in France, by the Catholic King, and by her own son in Scotland, who, in the midst of his mother's grave peril, did nothing more than have prayers publicly made in church for her conversion and the amendment of her life.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all this, attempts had not been wanting during Mary Stuart's last years to incite the kings of France and Spain to make a landing in England. Villeroy, one of Henry III.'s councillors, drew up a scheme for this purpose; by so doing he wished, on the one hand, to keep the Guise occupied, and render them harmless to the king, and on the other to withdraw from the Huguenots the support which they were receiving from the Queen of England.<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Guise easily allowed himself to be fired with enthusiasm for this new crusade, and Henry III. himself was not at first averse

some verses on Mary Stuart (MAPPEI S.R.E. CARD. nunc Urbani Papae VIII., *Poemata*, Dillingen, 1640, 207). A sonnet on her death by Giulio Cortese, of the years 1588, in *The Athenaeum*, 1908, n. 4205. Cf. K. KIPKA, *Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur vornehmlich des 17 n. 18 Jahrh.*, Leipzig, 1907. With regard to the tragedy *L'Ecossaise* by Montchretien (1610) see PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Hist. de la langue et de la littérat. française*, IV., Paris, 1897, 188.

<sup>1</sup> For the steps taken by the French ambassador Châteauneuf, and the ignominious part played by Henry III., as well as by James VI. see KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, II., 145 *seqq.*, 171 *seqq.*, 208 *seqq.*, 222 *seqq.*; BROWN, xvi. *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> He ordered "to pray publiclie for his Hienes' mother, for hir conversion and amendiment of life, and if it be godis plesour to preserve hir from his present danger quhairin sche is now, that sche may heirefter be ane profitabill member in Christis Kirk (FLEMING, 424).

<sup>3</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 89-108.

to the undertaking. Sixtus V. entered into communication with Guise concerning the plan, encouraged it, and promised his help.<sup>1</sup> But the everlasting hesitation of Philip II. brought this scheme as well to nothing. Villeroy, through Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, had asked Philip for the help which Guise deemed to be absolutely necessary. For a long time Philip did not reply at all, and when he did so it was only in general terms.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime English spies had come to a knowledge of the whole affair, and the Catholic Earls of Arundel and Northumberland, on whose help Philip was counting, were thrown by Elizabeth into the Tower, where Northumberland was put to death; the work of fortifying the English coasts was undertaken with feverish haste.<sup>3</sup> As early as August 25th, 1585, Guise wrote that the whole affair would end in nothing, and on October 1st he spoke of it as having been abandoned.<sup>4</sup> Eight days later Henry III. definitely withdrew his support from Guise and offered to restore Cambrai, which he had conquered, to the King of Spain if he would abandon Guise. Philip seemed to be seriously inclined to enter into the undignified bargain.<sup>5</sup> Nothing further was then done for Mary Stuart; Olivares declared to the Pope that it was absurd to think of attacking heresy in England before it was crushed in France.<sup>6</sup> Faced by the energy of Elizabeth, and knowing that he must be dependent upon the indecision of Philip, Sixtus V. bitterly gave utterance to the celebrated remark, that the distaff of the Queen of England was worth more than the sword of the King of Spain.<sup>7</sup> Sixtus V. had written to the Duke of Guise that he would do all in his power to further the expedition

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of July 9 (sent July 23) and of August 17, 1585, *ibid.*, 97-99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 100 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 96, 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 102, 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>7</sup> "Que valia mas la rueca de la reyna de Inglaterra que la spada del rey de España." *Ibid.*, 108.

against England, while in other ways as well he showed great zeal for Mary's liberation; although he was by nature so parsimonious he told the ambassador of Spain that he would willingly spend a million gold florins for that purpose.<sup>1</sup>

What a weight in the balance, for the solution of European problems, could be exercised by that northern kingdom, small though it was in area, was no secret to a man so keen-sighted and far-seeing as Sixtus V. Just as, to express the political importance of England, he said that at that time the British Isles, situated though they were at the ends of the earth, had in a moment become the centre of the world, that Spain and France were on either side of the scale, but that England was the fulcrum,<sup>2</sup> so did the Pope above all take into account the religious influence of Elizabeth. He saw in the Queen of England the principal stronghold of heresy,<sup>3</sup> and would like to have united the Catholic princes in an alliance against the "new Jezabel,"<sup>4</sup> who was everywhere supporting Protestantism, and was now trying to stir up the Turks against Catholic Spain.<sup>5</sup>

His aversion for the "new Jezabel" by no means blinded the Pope to her great qualities. Himself a statesman of ability, he was well able to appreciate her great gifts as a sovereign, and the strange spectacle of a woman who could stand up on sea and land against the two most powerful sovereigns of Christendom, filled him with admiration. If she were a Catholic, he said, she would have been his chosen friend, and in alliance with her he would have undertaken to have brought all things to a satisfactory issue.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>4</sup> HAMMER, IV., 159; BREMOND, 277. Cf. BROSCHE in *Zeitschr. f. allg. Gesch.*, I. (1884), 776-790.

<sup>5</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 93.

<sup>6</sup> BREMOND, 278. "Questa è una gran Donna, e se fusse cattolica saria una cosa senza esempio, e noi la stimaressimo molto. Essa non manca in alcuna cosa al governo del suo regno,

His ardent desire to possess such an ally in defence of the Catholic cause led this man, who was wont to be so far-seeing, to a strange misconception of the true state of affairs. Whereas he despaired of the conversion of Henry of Navarre,<sup>1</sup> he cherished for a long time the hope of being able to win back Elizabeth to the Catholic faith. The Duc de Piney, who in September, 1586, had made the *obedientia* in the name of Henry III., went back with instructions to the King of France to work upon Elizabeth in this sense by means of his ambassadors; he was to bring home to her that by her heresy she was stirring up endless plots against herself, whereas, by returning to the Church, she would win the esteem and affection of everyone.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, said Sixtus V. when Pisany shrugged his shoulders, Elizabeth would let herself be persuaded more easily than was thought. Men had often presented themselves before him with some plan for killing the heretic queen for a small sum of money, but he had always rejected so disgraceful a method of fighting. By his command, he went on to say, a Jesuit had gone to London to examine into the possibility of the conversion of the queen. The Jesuit and his purpose had been betrayed, and he himself banished, but the chancellor, who was a heretic to the marrow, gave him 200 scudi for his return journey, and gave him to

etc." (Giovanni Gritti to the Senate of Venice, Rome, March 12, 1588, in BROWN, n. 640). "Certo che questa è una gran Regina; vorremmo solamente che essa fusse cattolica, perchè saria la nostra diletissima; vedete come si governa bene; è donna et non è padrona se non di meza Isola et si fa temer da Spagna, da Franza et dall' Imperator et da tutti; et ha arricchito il suo regno delle prede tolte a Spagnoli, oltre il tenerli l'Olanda et Zelanda." (Gritti, March 19, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 642).

<sup>1</sup> BREMOND, 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 277 (*cf.* 204); HÜBNER, I., 369. Under Gregory XIII. the Spanish nuncio Ormaneto had laboured to win over Philip II. to an attempt to convert Elizabeth; he looked upon this "non solo per difficile, ma quasi per impossibile per la mala qualità di questa Donna, e di quel principalissimo ministro che ha seco, sed apud omnia possibilia." (CARINI, 88).



understand that the conversion of the queen was not so difficult as was thought.<sup>1</sup>

Such confidences only go to show that Sixtus V. was in many respects taken in by Elizabeth's ministers. The plans for her death may also be presumed, at any rate to a great extent, to have had their origin with the same English government, which wanted to tempt the Pope.<sup>2</sup> What the chancellor said concerning Elizabeth's inclination to conversion, only shows once more what is already well known from other sources, that the queen, from political motives, wished to keep alive among the Catholics the idea that at the bottom of her heart she was still well-disposed towards the old religion.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pisany on November 15, 1586, in BREMOND, 277 *seq.* By the Jesuit perhaps Crichton is meant. FOUQUERAY, II., 108 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 447 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> When the marriage with Alençon was being discussed Elizabeth expressed herself in this sense to the French ambassador, de Lansac, so that the latter, on his return, was "full of praises" of the queen, in the sense that as far as religion was concerned matters were not so hopeless as was generally supposed: she spoke of the Pope with the highest esteem; if he could only read her heart, she said, he would not think so badly of her: her one desire was the religious unity of Christians: if the Emperor and the other princes desired a general and free council she would take part in it. If sons should be born of her marriage, then the kingdom would return to the Catholic faith on the following day. This might easily be brought about in another way, for the queen was very favourably disposed towards the faith: she only concealed this so as not to arouse discord in the kingdom. These expressions made so great an impression upon Lansac, that he said to Priuli, the Venetian ambassador in Paris: In her inner heart the queen is no more devoted to heresy than I am, who would die a thousand times for the Catholic faith (Priuli, July 14, 1581, in BROWN, II. 32). Similar statements are to be found in the very earliest years of Elizabeth. Thus \*Bernardo Pia wrote from Rome on February 15, 1567, of "stupende nove" from England: that the queen had allowed the mass: if her marriage to the Archduke Charles took place, more might be hoped for every day (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Later on Clement VIII. once more hoped for the conversion of Elizabeth: she had listened

Sixtus V. never allowed himself to be discouraged by the fact that the queen made no sort of response to his plans for her conversion.<sup>1</sup> Even in the last year of his life he still entertained the hope of seeing the Queen of England<sup>2</sup> and her kingdom<sup>3</sup> return to the faith. Elizabeth, he told the Venetian ambassador, had sent an agent, who was already in Rome.<sup>4</sup> Nothing further is known of this, but on the other hand it would seem that a secret agent of Sixtus V. actually penetrated to the English court. When the news of the sailing of the Armada reached Rome, the Pope said to the Venetian ambassador that he had done all that he could to induce the queen to return to the Catholic faith; in spite of the bull of deposition of Pius V. he had proposed to her a fresh investiture with her kingdom, and the appointment of bishops of her choosing. Elizabeth scornfully replied that the Pope would do better to give her some of his money.<sup>5</sup>

Even though to the last the Pope looked upon as possible the peaceable recovery of England by way of conversion, at the same time he never neglected to press France and Spain

willingly to the admonitions of a Catholic hermit, while on the other hand it was only with difficulty that she forced herself to listen to the discourses of her own preachers (Mocenigo on June 26, 1598, in BROWN, Calendar IX. (1592-1603), n. 703). Again at the death of Elizabeth the Venetian ambassador Scaramelli wrote that some Catholics at the court were of opinion that in her secret heart Elizabeth had not been far removed from a reconciliation with the true Catholic faith (Scaramelli, April 7, 1603, *ibid.*, n. 1169).

<sup>1</sup> HÜBNER, I., 371.

<sup>2</sup> Badoer on February 24 and May 5, 1590, in BROWN, n. 15-928. On March 26, 1590, Sixtus V. spoke in consistory "de reductione Reginae Angliae et Ducis Saxoniae." \*Consistorial acta of Cardinal Santori, in Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, III., p. 63, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Badoer on June 23, 1590, in BROWN, n. 942.

<sup>4</sup> Badoer on April 14 and 21, and May 5, 1590, *ibid.*, n. 923, 924, 928; \*Brumani on April 14, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>5</sup> Gritti on July 2, 1588, in BROWN, n. 679.

by means of his nuncios, to intervene by armed force.<sup>1</sup> In France, Henry III. was, it is true, allied with Elizabeth, but from the Duke of Guise such an idea was sure to meet with full consent. On July 17th, 1586, Guise wrote to Mendoza that he had decided upon the undertaking against England, and that he counted upon the help of Philip II. for this. At the end of September he declared to the king that either with his help or without it he was going to risk an attempt to land in England. At the end of 1585 a secret treaty for the same purpose was entered into with the nobility of Scotland, and renewed in May, 1586. Rumours concerning these plans became so alarming that in August the English merchants were thinking of leaving France, and the English ports were fortified. But by the end of 1586 the disturbances in France had rendered any such undertaking out of the question.<sup>2</sup> Guise nevertheless still retained his enthusiasm for the new crusade. He wrote to Alessandro Farnese that he would think himself fortunate to be able to take part in so beautiful and holy an expedition as a simple soldier, dagger in hand, under the command of Farnese.<sup>3</sup>

The constant pinpricks with which Elizabeth harassed the King of Spain seemed little by little to exhaust his patience, and the grand plans which he had been so long maturing were now actually nearing their realization. At the end of 1584 Philip placed the direction of the English question in the hands of Farnese,<sup>4</sup> who was full of enthusiasm for a scheme of invasion. England, said Farnese, is the head, and Holland and Zeeland are the neck and the arms, and it would be possible to solve the English and Flemish problems at a single blow, if first of all the head were struck at.<sup>5</sup> Filippo Sega put forward the same view in a memorial which he presented to Sixtus V. in 1586.<sup>6</sup> On April 20th, 1586, Farnese submitted

<sup>1</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 339 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 341-343.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 344 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> LECHAT, 143.

<sup>5</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 346.

<sup>6</sup> See BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 596 *seq.*

his plan of attack to the king,<sup>1</sup> upon which Philip sent Mendoza the orders for the attack, which he was to send on to Farnese,<sup>2</sup> but even now the actual execution was prevented. Mary Stuart's evil genius, Gilbert Gifford, presented himself before Mendoza and told him of the support which a Spanish army of invasion would meet with from the English Catholics, and of the conspiracy of Babington.<sup>3</sup> Mendoza then thought it advisable, with the consent of Philip II.<sup>4</sup> first to wait for the issue of the plot, and when soon afterwards Babington's schemes were discovered, there was no further idea of sending on the letter to Farnese.<sup>5</sup> After this Mary Stuart was completely deserted. On April 10th Paget had already written to her that her hope lay with the King of Scots.<sup>6</sup> Now even this hope proved vain; James VI., who was not yet twenty, was writing sonnets on Elizabeth, and was seriously thinking of marrying that queen, who was thirty-two years older than himself.<sup>7</sup> On July 5th, 1586, he bound himself in close alliance with Elizabeth,<sup>8</sup> and after the end of 1585 Mary's gaolers took savage pleasure in taunting the mother with the betrayal by her son.<sup>9</sup>

Mary had learned from Allen at Rheims at the beginning of 1585, that the landing in England was about to take place, and on January 3rd of the same year Allen expressed his joy at this in a letter to Farnese.<sup>10</sup> In the following November Allen went to Rome, principally it would seem to ask for help for the needs of the seminary at Rheims, to which the new Pope had not continued to pay the

<sup>1</sup> LECHAT, 147.

<sup>2</sup> KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 350 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 352.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 354.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 358.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 354 *seq.*

<sup>10</sup> LECHAT, 143.

subsidy granted by Gregory XIII. ;<sup>1</sup> but that Allen also had other purposes in view in making the journey is shown by a memorial on a landing in England which he sent to the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Allen tries to show that the undertaking would be easy, because the English, for the most part, were Catholic in sentiment, at least in their hearts ; the invasion, however, should be made in the name of the Pope, because there were many in England who would have nothing to do with the Spaniards ; the bull of excommunication of Elizabeth should be renewed, in order that the foreign princes might break off their relations with her, and their commercial treaties with England. About 10,000 to 16,000 men would be sufficient to subdue the island, but they should act with all speed, so that the Catholic nobles might not gradually lose courage, and Mary should not be killed or die. Elizabeth's own life might suddenly come to an end, and then a heretic would ascend the throne, and things would be in a desperate position.

<sup>1</sup> Bonhomini to Rusticucci, Aix, September 12, 1585, in EHSSES-MEISTER, *Kölner Nuntiatur*, I., 141. " Pope Gregory granted him large subsidies, but these ceased on the change of the Pontiffs." Allen got Gritti to give him recommendations for Venetian territory, and collected there by means of his agents several hundred ducats for his seminary. Gritti on August 7, 1587, in BROWN, n. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *De praesenti rerum statu in Anglia brevis annotatio*, in THEINER, *Annal.* 1583, n. 90, pp. 480-483. The date of this, which is wrongly given by Theiner, is clear from p. 481 : the Earl of Northumberland (died June 21, 1585) " haeretici hoc ipso anno in carcere crudelissime trucidarunt " ; there was also the rising of 1569, 16 years before the time of the writer (*ibid.*, 481, n. 2) ; " Status ecclesiae temporalis . . . per felicissima novi Pontificis auspicia subito tranquillitati et securitati sit restitutus " (*ibid.*, 483) ; Flanders is once again almost entirely subject to the King of Spain (*ibid.*). The author of the document finds himself " hic in Urbe " (*ibid.*, 482, n. 7) ; he has " iampridem " (perhaps for the projected invasion of 1583 ?) a broadsheet in English " de modo procedendi et movendi catholicos, quando ventum erit ad executionem rei " (the landing). By this broadsheet perhaps is meant the work described by Meyer (280).

When Allen wrote in this strain he had in mind the state of affairs prevailing in England at the time of his exile ; he did not realize that in the meantime many things had changed in his country. His view, however, that the land forces of England could not cope with the true Spanish army, still held good. But before it would be possible to attack and destroy those land forces, it would be necessary to defeat the English fleet, and until that was done it was useless to think of an invasion of England. But during the long period that had gone by since Allen had visited his country, the English fleet had been entirely transformed, and henceforward England could be considered as a single almost impregnable fortress.

The foundations of the development of the English naval power had already been laid by the first two Tudor kings. Queen Mary, after her marriage with Philip II., devoted herself to the repairing of the old ships and the building of new ones. During the first decade of her reign Elizabeth had allowed the fleet once more to decline,<sup>1</sup> although during the same period there had sprung up in England an interest in great commercial undertakings ; the wish, following the example of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, to bring back fabulous wealth from the Indies, had made its way among all classes of the people, including the queen herself, and thus the spirit of enterprise of individuals had made up for the neglect of the first years of Elizabeth's reign. Commercial companies were founded, and voyages of exploration undertaken. An attempt was made to find a way by land across Russia to India, and to cross the polar seas to the north of Asia and

<sup>1</sup> JULIAN CORBETT, *Drake and the Tudor Navy. With a History of the rise of England's Naval Power*, London, 1898 (*cf Hist. pol. Blätter*, LXXIV. (1899), 74 *seqq.*) ; CESAREO FERNANDEZ DURO, *La Armada invencible*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1884, 1885 ; *State Papers relating to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Año 1588*, ed. by JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON (*Navy Records Society*), London, 1894 ; FROUDE, *Spanish Story of the Armada*, London, 1892 ; WILLIAM FREDERICK TILTON, *Die Katastrophe der spanischen Armada, July 31 to August 8, 1588 (Diss.)* Freiburg i., Br., 1894.

America.<sup>1</sup> These attempts did not succeed, but the English were able to gain advantage for themselves even without obtaining possession of a colony of their own ; they captured the valuable commerce between the colonial powers of the south and the other nations ; they pillaged like pirates the badly defended Spanish-Portuguese possessions in the West Indies ; they lay in wait for the ships returning thence, and looked upon their rich cargoes as lawful booty. The first English sea heroes, Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake, were nothing but pirates, pirates in every sense of the word, but men of an audacity that has something grand about it. When after his predatory expedition to Peru, Drake found his return by the Straits of Magellan barred, he sailed across the Pacific to England,<sup>2</sup> and thus, without intending it, completed the voyage round the world, just as was done a little later by Thomas Cavendish ;<sup>3</sup> of his five ships he brought only one back, but that one carried a booty of 800,000 pounds sterling. In other respects these founders of the English maritime power were destroyers and men of violence, quite devoid of conscience. Hawkins, with the connivance of the Queen of England, enriched himself by slave-trading,<sup>4</sup> while on one occasion Drake set fire to a convent of nuns, and would allow none to leave the building until it was completely burned down ;<sup>5</sup> generally speaking churches and convents met with no mercy at his hands.<sup>6</sup>

The experience gained by these pirates on their voyages and adventures was of great value during the seventh decade of the century to the English fleet.<sup>7</sup> The warship of the past

<sup>1</sup> LINGARD, VIII., 258.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 260 ; BROSCH, VI., 600.

<sup>3</sup> LINGARD, VIII., 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>5</sup> "Haveva tra le altre cose messo fuoco in un monasterio di monache, abbrugiandole dentro di esso, senza permetter che alcuna uscisse viva di là." Letters of Gradenigo and Lippomano to Venice, June 25, 1586, in BROWN, n. 371.

<sup>6</sup> BROWN, n. 321, 354, 358 *seqq.*

<sup>7</sup> MEYER, 216 *seq.*

had been the galley, which was for the most part driven by oars; in naval battles an attempt was made to get close to the enemy ships and board them, whereupon the crews of the two ships fought with sword and lance and gun, and there thus ensued a battle as though on land. The cannon that were mounted on an elevated poop at either end of the ship, only took part in the battle in a secondary degree. The Battle of Lepanto was fought and won by the Christian powers after this fashion, since galleys driven by oars were sufficient for the comparatively calm Mediterranean Sea, and the Turks too possessed no other kind of ships.<sup>1</sup>

Matters were different on the more stormy seas, and the English soon realized that oar power was not suited to cope with winds and high seas. They therefore set themselves to the building of ships with sails. The sides of the ships, which had previously been given up to the oars, were thus left free, and could be used for the mounting of cannon. The custom of waging naval warfare by means of ramming and boarding, and of carrying on hand to hand fighting with the opposing force, was abandoned, and the object became to put the enemy ship out of action from a distance by means of the artillery.<sup>2</sup>

The advance which was brought about by this change was perhaps hardly less great than that other, made much later, when the sailing ship gave place to that driven by steam.<sup>3</sup> In England men became convinced of their superiority to the maritime power of Spain. The naval power of the King of Spain is of no importance, it was stated in 1579 at a meeting

<sup>1</sup> In the open sea the Mediterranean type of galley could not be brought into general use; "the ships at the battle off Sandwich in 1217, or near Sluys in 1340 were for the most part sailing ships, in which however oars were also used." J. K. LAUGHTON in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, XIII. (1898), 581.

<sup>2</sup> MEYER, 216.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* LAUGHTON (*loc. cit.*, 582) thinks: "It is no exaggeration to say that the change from the ships of 1500 to those employed against the Armada was greater than that from the latter ships to the ships of war at Trafalgar."



of ministers at Greenwich, he has nothing but galleys, which are of no use in the northern seas ;<sup>1</sup> in instructions sent to the envoy with William of Orange it is stated that England is strong enough to defend itself unaided against the King of Spain, or any other prince.<sup>2</sup>

Many people abroad, however, judged very differently. Neither Philip II. nor his advisers had any thoughts of the superiority of the English naval power. In 1580 Mendoza wrote, when ambassador in London, that the English fleet could not withstand a fourth part of the Spanish maritime forces.<sup>3</sup> The English exiles who were so often in such circumstances called into consultation in Rome and Madrid, expressed the same opinion.<sup>4</sup> Very often, however, men held the most exaggerated views of the power of Spain.<sup>5</sup> At anyrate for some time the views of Sixtus V. were not free from this error, and he too sometimes, when conversing with the Venetian ambassador, said scornfully that after all England was only a small island which had often before been conquered by the Britons and Saxons.<sup>6</sup>

False ideas of this sort were soon disproved by the facts. Conscious of her own power, England resolved in 1585 not to wait for the Spanish attack which was slowly being prepared, but to attack on her own account. Leicester was sent quite openly with an army to assist the insurgents in Holland, and in June of the same year Drake received orders to make ready a fleet against Spain. At the same time the English statesmen made use of the relations which they had entered into with Turkey in 1579<sup>7</sup> to urge the sworn enemy of Christen-

<sup>1</sup> MEYER, 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

<sup>6</sup> Gritti on January 10, 1587, in BROWN, n. 451.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. BROWN, xxix-xlvi. ; PEARS in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, VIII. (1893), 439-467 ; BROSCH in *Zeitschr. f. allg. Gesch.*, I. (1884), 776-790.

dom to attack Spain,<sup>1</sup> and Drake sent silver cups to the Turkish Kapudan as a present.<sup>2</sup> In order to be able to keep a strong fleet against Spain in the Red Sea the Turks at that time were thinking of restoring the canal "which the Kings of Egypt had made from Damietta to Suez," and even of constructing one from the Nile to the Red Sea.<sup>3</sup>

But the Turks had their hands tied by their war with Persia, while the incapable Leicester met with no success in Holland. Drake on the other hand inflicted serious losses on the Spaniards at sea.<sup>4</sup> He first harassed the coasts of Galicia, and captured twenty-six ships in Portuguese waters, containing 300,000 ducats.<sup>5</sup> He captured the flagship of the Peruvian fleet with 400,000 crowns,<sup>6</sup> and pillaged the Cape Verde Islands.<sup>7</sup> He then crossed the Atlantic to the West Indies; S. Juan in Porto Rico, S. Domingo in Haiti<sup>8</sup>, Porto Caballos in Honduras, Cartagena and Florida<sup>9</sup> yielded him rich booty. He met with no resistance anywhere at sea, and became "master of the seas."<sup>10</sup> If on the other hand he landed, and the inhabitants plucked up courage to defend themselves, he fared worse; thus at Teneriffe, where "the troops, with the monks and priests, who encouraged them to resist, and to face death for the faith of Christ," hampered the landing, sent one of the ships and its crew to the bottom, and damaged the flagship and another so badly that they had to be taken in

<sup>1</sup> BROWN, xxxix. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Bernardo, Venetian ambassador in Constantinople, April 2, 1586, in BROWN, n. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Bernardo, July 23, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 385.

<sup>4</sup> JULIAN S. CORBETT, Papers relating to the Navy during the Spanish War, 1585-1587, London, 1898.

<sup>5</sup> Gradenigo, October 25, 1585, in BROWN, n. 290.

<sup>6</sup> Gradenigo, December 21, 1585, *ibid.*, n. 300.

<sup>7</sup> Report concerning this, *ibid.*, n. 321.

<sup>8</sup> Letter of the governor of Havana, February 6, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 334.

<sup>9</sup> Report concerning this, *ibid.*, n. 416.

<sup>10</sup> "Draco è patrone del mare, ne ha impedimento alcuno onde puo disegnare et eseguire tutto il desiderio suo." Gradenigo, January 10, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 304.

tow by the others.<sup>1</sup> But for the most part no resistance was attempted. When Drake and 800 English approached the city of S. Domingo in Haiti, the inhabitants fled to the mountains, " fathers left their sons in danger, and daughters their mothers, monks and nuns fled in panic, and the English took possession of the whole of the island without shedding a drop of blood " ; a million and a half of gold was the value of the booty.<sup>2</sup> Drake had thoughts of establishing himself in Haiti, and constructing fortresses, but in an attack on Havana he was driven off with the loss of three ships ; when the governor of Haiti turned upon him at the head of 4000 men, the negroes, on whom the English were counting, refused to apostatize from the Catholic faith, and sickness reduced the ranks of the pirates, so that Drake found himself obliged to withdraw.<sup>3</sup> Of the 1300 men with whom he had set out, only 400 returned home.<sup>4</sup> In the following year, however, the daring pirate again set out against Spain, burned in Cadiz harbour more than twenty Spanish ships,<sup>5</sup> and by a daring coup-de-main captured the harbour of Sagrez at Cape St. Vincent.<sup>6</sup> As had been the case in the West Indies and on the coasts of Spain, so too did the Spaniards suffer serious losses in the Mediterranean. In the summer of 1586 Philip II's Sicilian fleet of thirteen ships was utterly defeated near Pantelleria by five merchant vessels in a battle that lasted for five hours. The battered Spanish ships had to take to flight, while the English only had two men killed and one wounded.<sup>7</sup>

The Spanish national pride was now deeply wounded.

<sup>1</sup> End of November, 1585 ; report of January 11, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of the governor of Havana, February 6, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 334. Cf. the report of February 24, *ibid.*, n. 358.

<sup>3</sup> Gradenigo, May 14, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 351 ; cf. n. 358

<sup>4</sup> Giov. Dolfin, Venetian ambassador in Paris, September 12, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 407.

<sup>5</sup> Report as to this, *ibid.*, n. 513.

<sup>6</sup> Report of May 21, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 522.

<sup>7</sup> MEYER, 263 *seq.*

If, as the Venetian ambassador at Madrid thought<sup>1</sup> the French reflected too little and therefore did not always attain their purpose, the Spaniards certainly reflected too much and thus let the favourable opportunity slip, so that even the Spaniards themselves said that their king was reflecting and negotiating while Elizabeth was acting and seizing her opportunity. Through all Spain there ran the cry that they were going to take the matter seriously and make every sacrifice, for Elizabeth and Drake were dragging the greatness of the king and the glory of Spanish courage in the dust.<sup>2</sup> The city of Seville offered to equip twenty-four ships at its own expense and to maintain them for a year.<sup>3</sup> In spite of its poverty, the province of Valencia promised 200,000 crowns.<sup>4</sup>

Preparations for a great military expedition had been commenced a long time before ; levies were to be raised in Spain and Italy, and forty ships were to be kept in readiness, and it was commonly believed that this was intended for the generally expected attack upon England. More cautious observers, however, were of opinion that such an undertaking was out of the question until Flanders had been subjugated, and the customary financial subsidies granted by the Pope,<sup>5</sup> and that such help would have been on a grand scale. Spain's greatest sea hero, the brave admiral Santa Cruz, was of opinion<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lippomano, December 3, 1586, in BROWN, n. 439.

<sup>2</sup> " Spagnuoli dicono che il Re pensa et negotia, et la Regina d'Inghilterra opera et fa da vero." Lippomano, May 21, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 518.

<sup>3</sup> " Par che tutta la Spagna si lasci intendere di voler far davvero et dar ogni aiuto, dicendo che questa Regina d'Inghilterra et Draco vanno oscurando la grandezza di questo Serenissimo Re, et il valor della nation Spagnuola." Lippomano, May 16, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 514.

<sup>4</sup> Lippomano, May 24, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 518.

<sup>5</sup> Gradenigo, August 10, 1585, *ibid.*, n. 280.

<sup>6</sup> \* " Santa Cruz stimava necessarie 300 navi per la impresa d'Inghilterra et 70 m. fanti et tre milioni d'oro per hora." Gritti June 14, 1586, State Archives, Venice. Cf. BROWN, n. 364., The number of ships and the equipment at the review on April 19, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 657. The numbers after the review of May 9 and

that in order to attack England, 300 ships, with 70,000 men and three millions of gold would be required.

Before long there was no longer any room to doubt that the armaments were actually directed against England; an army was to be sent to the island from Spain, and from Flanders under the command of Farnese. But to the despair of far-seeing statesmen these warlike preparations were carried on extraordinarily slowly. "It is really incredible," wrote the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, "how Philip, considering his long experience and his great intelligence, tries to control the huge machinery of government without the Council of State, and so to speak, without ministers.<sup>1</sup> He writes many folio pages, and sometimes issues two thousand edicts in a day."<sup>2</sup> This determination of the king, to deal with and grasp everything for himself, and to have every detail laid before him, was the cause of constant delay.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in spite of his warlike preparations, until the last moment, Philip did not give up the hope of concluding peace with Elizabeth, and the latter encouraged his negotiations; it would seem that she did this in all seriousness, because she too feared the superior strength of the Spaniards.<sup>4</sup>

No one so often or so forcibly expressed his displeasure at the dilatoriness of the king as Sixtus V. Before Christmas, 1585, Philip II. to his great joy, received the Papal authority which confirmed or granted to him again for seven years all the revenues of the so-called bull of crusade.<sup>5</sup> But after 14 in TILTON, 24 *seq.* In a memorial of March, 1588, Santa Cruz asked for 556 ships, among them 150 large ships of war, amounting altogether to a tonnage of 77,250 with 94,222 men (Duro in TILTON, 2).

<sup>1</sup> Lippomano, January 12, 1587, in BROWN, n. 453.

<sup>2</sup> Lippomano, April 14, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 501.

<sup>3</sup> Gradenigo, January 10, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 304.

<sup>4</sup> Lingard, VIII., 277 *seq.*; BROSCHE, VI., 606; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, I., 344. Lippomano wrote again on May 27, 1588, of the *mandati amplissimi* for Farnese, "per che possa concludere quando li deputati della Regina acconsentino alla libera restituzione di Holanda et Zelanda." BROWN, n. 670.

<sup>5</sup> Gradenigo in BROWN, n. 304, p. 130.

making this munificent concession, which meant an annual revenue of 1,800,000 crowns,<sup>1</sup> the Pope wanted to see something done by the king ; he did not cease to give advice and to bring pressure to bear, and often bitterly complained that he was always put off with promises for the future. He said to the ambassador of Venice that Drake's successes had been foreseen by him, and that King Philip would do better to make his plans in advance, rather than wait until his trade was ruined by the enemy and his colonies captured, and only then take the matter in hand. He said the same thing to the ambassador of Spain.<sup>2</sup> Another time he said that Santa Cruz should have sailed against Drake ; he should have aimed his blow directly against England, for in that case all the English troops would have been at once recalled ; moreover, England was not prepared, and her forces were scattered between the Indies and Flanders. At the same time Sixtus V. pointed to his generosity towards Spain ; he had made a calculation of the subsidies granted by Paul III. to Charles V., by Julius III. to Parma, by Paul IV. when Charles brought the French to Italy, and lastly that granted by Pius V. for the league ; " we are ready," he said, " to give the king four times this, to help him against England."<sup>3</sup> So long as the Armada did not set sail, and even afterwards, the Pope looked upon the undertaking without confidence or trust. When he heard of Drake's successes he gradually changed his original opinion, that an attack upon England would be an easy matter, while in Rome the whole undertaking was looked upon as full of difficulty.<sup>4</sup> Although Sixtus V. was unwilling to make any further subsidies he nevertheless was prepared in the middle of 1586 to grant half a million scudi from the Papal treasury, and two millions from the revenues of the Spanish clergy, if Philip would contribute another two million.<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> Gritti, May 10, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Gritti, May 31, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 359.

<sup>4</sup> " L'impresa era stimata piena di molte difficoltà." Gritti, July 5, 1586, *ibid.*, n. 376.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Philip's dilatoriness was not looked upon in Rome as the only difficulty standing in the way of the undertaking against England. If Sixtus V., thought the nuncio in Spain, had been as well informed as Gregory XIII., he would perhaps have looked upon both his schemes as impracticable, namely the attack on Geneva and that on England. For who would become the sovereign of the latter, if it were conquered? Philip would put forward his own claims, but neither the Pope nor any other prince would give his consent to such an aggrandizement of the power of Spain.<sup>1</sup> If Philip were to unite England as well to his world-wide dominions, there would be a danger of the Pope becoming a mere chaplain of the King of Spain. Sixtus V. had an opportunity of learning what the other princes would think of such an extension of the power of the Spanish monarchy, when he asked Henry III. what attitude he intended to adopt towards the expedition against England. The king replied<sup>2</sup> that he would indeed be glad to see England in other hands than those of Elizabeth, but that he would never consent to seeing that kingdom in the hands of the Spaniards. When the Pope replied that if that country were conquered it would come into the hands of James VI., who would easily be converted, the king retorted: if the victory is won by the King of Spain, nobody need expect that he will give up his conquest; the Spaniards are not friars, and they will not give up the fruits of their victorious arms in obedience to a command of the Pope.

Sixtus V. naturally looked at the matter from the point of view of religion; he desired the conquest of England as a preparatory step to bringing that country back to Catholicism. To Philip, on the other hand, the undertaking was principally political; to him it was a question of protecting his existing dominions and of acquiring a new kingdom; at first

<sup>1</sup> Gradenigo, February 22, 1586, in BROWN, n. 322. HÜBNER (I., 315, Germ. edit.) says: "How very modern these reflections of the diplomatic Pope sound; and how they develop the doctrine of the European balance of power!"

<sup>2</sup> Gritti, June 14, 1586, in BROWN, n. 364; cf. n. 337.

he wished to be invested by the Pope with the crown of England for himself, and when Sixtus V. would not agree to this, he wished for it for his daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia.<sup>1</sup> Some of his contemporaries entertained suspicions of Philip's religious motives, and thought that he was acting in accordance with the advice of Macchiavelli, that a prince should be guided by religion rather in outward appearances than in fact.<sup>2</sup> It would seem, however, that this was going too far, and the king's usurpations at the expense of the Church were not sufficient to warrant such an accusation. Nevertheless in his designs against Elizabeth religious motives were only secondary, and therefore Sixtus V. mistrusted the sincerity of his intentions, so that Olivares had considerable difficulty in removing such suspicions.<sup>3</sup> The ambassador of Venice several times openly voiced the suspicion that the preparations against England were only feigned, in order to deceive the Pope and obtain money from him.<sup>4</sup> Sixtus V. himself once said: We have granted the King of Spain the goods of the Church, and this money is the cause of all his failures, because it was not used for its proper purpose."<sup>5</sup>

But in spite of all his doubts the Pope was in the end constrained to avail himself of the services of Philip.

<sup>1</sup> POLLEN in *The Month*, CI. (1903), 561; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Al' incontro non mancano infinite e gravi persone che tengono, che quella santimonia e devotione non sia sopra pietosa radice e christiana base fondata, ma su quella politica regola che la religione in un principe debba più apparire che esservi et che solo a similo esteriorità nenon con grande arte dirizzate le cose sopradette. Spanish report (by Camillo Guidi?) in C. BRATLI, 189.

<sup>3</sup> See his letter of February 24, 1586, in BELLESHEIM, *loc cit.*, 157.

<sup>4</sup> Gradenigo, August 10 and October 18, 1585, in BROWN, n. 280, 288.

<sup>5</sup> Gritti, November 28, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 604. Perhaps this suspicion explains the harsh tone of the autograph letter of the Pope to Philip II. of July 25, 1588, in which Sixtus V. defines his position in the matter of subsidies. *Arch. Rom.*, XIV. (1891), 172 *seq.*; MEYER, 273, n. 1; HERRE, 385 n.



On July 29th, 1587, a formal convention was drawn up.<sup>1</sup> In virtue of this Sixtus V. promised financial aid to the amount of a million scudi ; half of this was payable after the departure of the Spanish troops for England, and the other half was to be paid in two-monthly instalments. To the Pope's promise was attached the special condition that the Spanish fleet should sail during 1587. Other conditions were also laid down as essential, and to these Philip had to pledge himself by a public act on his honour as a sovereign. After the conquest he was to nominate a king for England from whom the restoration and maintenance of the Catholic religion could be definitely expected, the man chosen must be acceptable to the Holy See, and was to receive his investiture from the Pope. The Apostolic See was to receive back all its rights and revenues, and the churches, monasteries and pious foundations all their former possessions. The treaty was signed on behalf of the Pope by Cardinal Carafa, and on that of the king by Olivares. The whole matter, moreover, was to be treated as an inviolable secret, and it was only at the end of June, 1588 that Sixtus V. informed a few Cardinals, especially Cardinal Mattei, of the alliance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed in MEYER, 454-457. \* " L'anno passato di luglio sottoscrissero i capitoli S.St<sup>à</sup> et il conte Olivares, per questa impresa d' Inghilterra, et vi era il capitolo che al settembre si andasse all' impresa." Brumani, August 27, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. On June 27, 1587, Gritti wrote that the Pope had promised to pay 600,000 crowns immediately after the landing in England, and after that 70,000 crowns a month for the whole duration of the war, but England was to remain a Papal fief and the Pope was to nominate the king. BROWN, n. 537.

<sup>2</sup> \* " Noverit V.S. S.S<sup>mm</sup> D.N. pepigisse fedus ante aliquot menses cum rege Hispaniae adversus reginam Angliae ; quod quidem adeo hucusque occultavit, ut nec unus ex cardinalibus a S.St<sup>o</sup> cognoscere potuit. Detegit tamen ante 4 dies uni vel alteri cardinali et presertim cardinali Matteo Romano." Spreno, June 25, 1588, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Cf. SANIÒRI, Autobiografia, XIII., 180.

Although the treaty with Philip II. was kept secret, Sixtus V. gave a public proof of his rapprochement with the King of Spain. For a long time the English refugees on the continent had sought to obtain through Philip II. the elevation of Allen to the cardinalate.<sup>1</sup> The object was to give the English Catholics a leader and a head, round whom they could rally, because, as they said, the effects of the want of such a head could be clearly seen from the case of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Philip pressed for the appointment of Allen especially in order that the new Cardinal might accompany the Spanish army on the expedition to England as Papal legate, and after the conquest bring his authority to bear for the reorganization of religious and political conditions.<sup>3</sup> But in spite of all his efforts, the end of 1586 arrived without Advent (the time kept by Sixtus V. for the appointment of Cardinals) having brought with it the fulfilment of the king's wishes.<sup>4</sup> Everyone was therefore surprised when, on August 7th, 1587, the Pope, quite outside the customary time, and not long after he had spoken bitterly against Philip II., at the close of a consistory proposed Allen for the cardinalate, on the ground that the necessity of giving the English an Englishman as their leader justified this exception to the law recently issued. The Cardinals gave their assent, and only two of them hinted at a Scottish archbishop as a suitable candidate. After this Cardinal Carafa presented Allen to the Pope and the Cardinals. During the next few days Allen received the title of Cardinal

<sup>1</sup> Mendoza to Philip II., April 6, 1581, Corresp. de Felipe II. Vol. V., 565 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Letter of November 1, 1582, *ibid.*, VI., 421; the memorial of Olivares to the Pope, March 14, 1587, in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 165. Morgan and the Welsh party were working against Allen and wished to see nominated in his stead their compatriot Owen Lewis. LECHAT, 161 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Olivares, February 24, 1586, in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 158.

<sup>4</sup> All that had been done was to appoint a new Cardinal Protector for England: "Sisto V. crea il cardinale Enrico Gaetani protettore d' Inghilterra." June 30, 1586, from the Gaetani Archives, Rome.

of England.<sup>1</sup> It was thought that the appointment had been made to make up to Philip II. for the bitter words which the Pope had employed against him.<sup>2</sup> In fact Sixtus V. wrote to the king on the same day that he had promoted Allen in order to comply with his wishes,<sup>3</sup> adding that the whole of Rome had understood the event as an announcement of the expedition against England, even though he had adduced a quite innocent motive for the appointment.<sup>4</sup> Sixtus V. took the opportunity of again bringing pressure to bear, and at the same time of appealing to the conscience of the powerful king "so that your Majesty may set your hand to this undertaking, taking care first to reconcile yourself with God, for the sins of sovereigns are the misfortune of their subjects, and the ruination of their kingdom. No sin calls down the anger of God more severely than the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as may be seen from both sacred

<sup>1</sup> "Tum Smus proposuit promotionem Gngl. Alani Angli in cardinalem, et hoc quia cum Maria regina Scotiae, in qua Angli et catholici omnes illarum partium spes suas posuerant, exspectantes illius successionem in regni Angliae, et finem tandem imponi tot calamitatibus, persecutionibus et miseris, defuncta sit, ne regnante impiissima Iezabele catholici et fideles omnino desperent, cogitavit illum in cardinalium coetum aggregare. . . ." Acta consist. in Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, II., p. 238b, Vatican Library, printed in *Anal. juris Pontif.*, IInd. Ser., 1872, 852. Cf. Gritti, August 8, 1587, in BROWN, n. 565. Extract from the Consistorial Archives in LAEMMER, Melet., 232; BELLESHEIM, Allen, 176. RITTER (*Deutsche Gesch.*, II., 40) makes Allen a Jesuit!

<sup>2</sup> Further "a confusione di quella scelerata et indegna regina d' Inghilterra." Allen is "creatura di Farnese," and hence the displeasure of the Cardinals not of Farnese's party. Thus \*Malegnani, August 8, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Letter in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 176. Cf. BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, Hague, 1922, 671.

<sup>4</sup> "Et ancorche io nel proporlo habbia tenuto pretesto molto lontano da ogni sospetto, nondimeno mi si dice che per Roma subito fu cominciato a dire: hora mettianci in ordine per la guerra d' Inghilterra." *Arch. Rom.*, V. (1882), 575.

and political history." Sixtus V. developed this theme in detail, and exhorted Philip to do penance, for otherwise a great disaster might fall upon him.<sup>1</sup> It would seem, however, that the Pope, apart from his consideration for Philip II., had resolved to promote Allen, and when Pisany complained that France had been once again passed over, he gave hopes for the coming Advent; the appointment of Allen had not been made out of consideration for Spain, and they would see the good purpose it would serve.<sup>2</sup> At Madrid the promotion of Allen was received with great satisfaction,<sup>3</sup> and in Rome as well men were unanimous in praising the new Cardinal.<sup>4</sup>

Sixtus V. showed himself accommodating to the Spaniards in another way as well; he gave his approval to an edict solemnly declaring to the English Catholics the renewal of the Papal bull of excommunication of Elizabeth, and her sentence of deposition. This was printed as a broadsheet at Antwerp and was to be disseminated among the Catholics immediately after the landing in England.<sup>5</sup> Allen, from whose pen the document came, accompanied it by a declaration in which the misdeeds of Elizabeth in her public and private life were enumerated in the strongest terms.<sup>6</sup> When at last it really seemed that the Armada was preparing to put out to sea, on March 30th, 1588, a printed announcement of a great jubilee indulgence was issued, which was kept throughout Italy with great devotion and with large gifts of alms by great crowds. After Easter, so the Pope stated, he would make known the reasons why he had published the indulgence.<sup>7</sup> In Spain too heaven was implored to grant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> BREMOND, 259.

<sup>3</sup> Speciani in BELLESHEIM, Allen, 177; MEYER, 275.

<sup>4</sup> \*Malegnani, *loc. cit.* says of him that he is very dignified; just as " bello d' aspetto, persona humanissimo " is the description of the Avviso of August 8, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 307, Vatican Library Cf. Gritti, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> MEYER, 277-279.

<sup>6</sup> LINGARD, VIII., 279, 442-446.

<sup>7</sup> \*Avvisi of March 30, April 13 and 30, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 121, 136, 170, Vatican Library.

victory by prayers at every mass and in all the churches ;<sup>1</sup> in Madrid the Forty Hours was held forty times in forty churches,<sup>2</sup> and every day there was exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and a sung mass in a specified church ;<sup>3</sup> on festival days there were crowded processions ;<sup>4</sup> all this was done for the happy event of the Armada, and the continuation of these prayers was ordered anew every two months.<sup>5</sup> The king himself prayed on his knees every day for two or three hours before the Most Holy, and as was reported, he got up in the night to pray.<sup>6</sup> When the fleet had put out to sea he knelt for four hours on the bare pavement with his hands joined or raised, and the heir to the throne was made to serve the mass which Philip was hearing.<sup>7</sup> This gives the impression that the king had a lively realization of the inadequacy of his preparations ; natural means, upon which the issue essentially depend, had to be supplemented by supernatural ones, which, however, are not intended to fulfil their purpose unaided. It would also seem that Philip attached importance to the supposed visions and prophecies of a mystic, who was said to have received the stigmata.<sup>8</sup> Other visionaries on the other hand prophesied disaster to Spain.<sup>9</sup> The Augustinian, Alonso de Orozeo, who was held to be a saint, predicted

<sup>1</sup> Lippomano, July 5, 1587, in BROWN, n. 543.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Lippomano, October 31, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 592.

<sup>4</sup> Lippomano, May 5, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 656.

<sup>5</sup> Lippomano, September 19 and October 31, 1587, *ibid.*, n. 583, 628.

<sup>6</sup> Lippomano, April 30 and May 5, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 653, 656 ; Speciani, April 30 and July 11, 1588, in MEYER, 267 *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> Speciani, July 11, 1588, *ibid.*, 268.

<sup>8</sup> He wrote to her with his own hand and promised to visit her ; later on it appeared that she had received 40,000 crowns in jewels and gold. Lippomano, December 31, 1588, in BROWN, n. 794. The judicial sentence upon her, *ibid.*, n. 795. Santa Cruz also visited her, *ibid.*, n. 550 ; even Louis of Granada was deceived by her, *ibid.*, n. 628.

<sup>9</sup> Speciani, in MEYER, 267.

that the expedition would be shipwrecked "on account of our sins."<sup>1</sup>

Shrewd observers also threw doubts upon the happy issue of the Spanish venture, but on the other hand Alonso di Leyva held out great hopes to the king, saying that Elizabeth could never withstand, on land or sea, so great an armament.<sup>2</sup> But in Paris, in April, 1588,<sup>3</sup> men still thought that Philip would never hazard so great an undertaking, and that he would never submit the peace and independence of his kingdom to the uncertainty and risk of a battle. It was too well known how strong the English fleet was, and how skilled the English were in sea fighting. Therefore, the Venetians Mocenigo and Gritti wrote from Paris and Rome that even in the event of victory the Spanish Armada would be so reduced that there could be no thought of effecting a landing in England.<sup>4</sup> It was therefore hoped up to the last moment that peace would be concluded between Spain and England,<sup>5</sup> but this very hope gave opportunity in Spain for working less zealously upon the fitting out of the Armada. It is the Papal nuncio in Madrid who tells us this,<sup>6</sup> while his colleague in Venice reports that, according to the view widely held there, the Spanish fleet could not be compared with the English one, that its ships were inferior, and the crews without experience or military discipline.<sup>7</sup> The French ambassador Pisany described the state of the Armada and of Philip's army to the Pope in similar terms; the king, he said, will accomplish nothing against England, because he is unable to do so.<sup>8</sup> Sixtus V. himself said to the Venetian ambassador<sup>9</sup> that it was true that the

<sup>1</sup> See T. CÁMARA, *Vida del b. A. de Orozeo*, Valladolid, 1882, 321 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Lippomano, February 6, 1588, in BROWN, n. 625.

<sup>3</sup> Mocenigo, April 8, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 648.

<sup>4</sup> Mocenigo, April 8, Gritti, May 7, 1588, in BROWN, n. 648, 660.

<sup>5</sup> Gritti, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Speciani, January 18, 1588, in MEYER, 286.

<sup>7</sup> Matteucci, May 11, 1588, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> On August 24, 1587, in BREMOND, 284.

<sup>9</sup> Gritti, March 12, 1588, in BROWN, n. 640.

king had prepared his Armada, but that he was so slow in coming to his decisions that "we have no idea when he will carry out his plans. Nor do we see what he can do, since Elizabeth has 140 ships of war, she has received great pecuniary assistance from Denmark and Saxony, she has constructed fortifications, and she has been able to do so quite unmolested. On the other hand the king has lost 20,000 men by bad management and bad administration. We do not know what will happen. On the other hand the king has on his side the justice and mercy of God, and therefore he, the Pope, has not lost hope." Sixtus V. expressed himself still more bitterly to Pisany about the King of Spain.<sup>1</sup> When he was alone with his secretary he shed many tears whenever he thought about the sailing of the Armada.<sup>2</sup>

There were reasons enough for fear and anxiety. Philip, according to an estimate of the time,<sup>3</sup> had got together 153 ships, 8,041 sailors, and 19,747 soldiers, 916 volunteers and 2,460 cannon. The armament was obtained in great measure from Protestant contractors in Germany and Denmark.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pisany to Henry III., April 13, 1588, in BREMOND, 286.

<sup>2</sup> "Se l'armata del re Cattolico fosse uscita il Settembre et Ottobre passato, N.S. haveva certa fiducia, che dovesse ottenere vittoria. Hora è tanto disconfidato di se stesso, che non si puo indurre a credere, che habbia a sortire buon fine. Et ogni volta che si ricorda, che habbia ad uscire, non puo tenere le lagrime, che li piocono largamente da gl'occhi. Et nel leggere la cifra de V.S., se bene la tiene per vanità, non si ha potuto contenere, che non pianga meco, et tanto dirottamente che ha indotto me ancora in piangere. Ma questo sia tra lei e me." The secretary, Giov. Andrea, Bishop of Bertinoro, to the Spanish nuncio, Speciani, April 2, 1588, in BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, The Hague, 1922, 673, n. 856.

<sup>3</sup> BROWN, n. 671. The information, however, is contradictory. Other figures in MEYER, 284, and BROSCHE, VI., 608. Cf. also the Este reports in RICCI, Silingardi, II., 39 seq., 41.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the largest ships were purchased from the German cities of the Hanseatic League; for the construction and equipment of the others Spain obtained everything in the way of timber, ropes, tackle, pitch, tar, provisions and artillery which

At first Elizabeth was neglectful about her own armaments ; but in the end the English fleet had about as many large ships, and many more small ones than the Spanish Armada, while in artillery the English were three times superior to their inexperienced adversaries.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a short time before the Armada sailed, the Spaniards suffered an irreparable loss by the death of their distinguished admiral, Santa Cruz, the conqueror of Don Antonio at the Azores.<sup>2</sup> His place was taken by Medina Sidonia, who owed his appointment to a position of such great responsibility solely to his noble birth. Their misfortunes were brought to a head by the instructions given to the new admiral. Although the great number of cannon, about 2,500, in the fleet, seemed to point to the advisability of abandoning medieval methods of sea warfare, and of meeting the English artillery on their own terms, yet the instructions of Medina Sidonia<sup>3</sup> contained the advice to try and draw near the enemy's ships and to board them. It was quite impossible to overcome the English fleet by such means.

When at length in the last days of May the Armada set sail from the harbour of Lisbon, whole months passed in Rome without any exact news of its fortunes. At the beginning of July the Pope expressed his painful surprise at this ; instead of leaving the Queen of England time to arm, he said, Philip should have followed the Pope's advice and attacked England in the September of the previous year. But the king is old, he said, and he cannot change his nature ; we must take him

could not be provided at home, to a great extent from Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and Wismar. The embargo upon and the capture of certain ships by England had the consequence that later on reinforcements for the Spanish undertakings against England had to be conveyed by long detours round the Orkneys to the Spanish ports. EDWARD P. CHEYNEY in the *Eng. Hist. Review*, XX. (1905), 662-670.

<sup>1</sup> MEYER, 284 ; TILTON, 29 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Died on February 29, 1588 ; see BROWN, n. 628,

<sup>3</sup> TILTON, 3-5 ; MEYER, 284.



as he is.<sup>1</sup> At the end of August the rumour ran through Rome that the Spaniards had been victorious ; many Cardinals and crowds of people went to the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli to give thanks to God, and there were public festivities.<sup>2</sup> But the Pope remained mistrustful ; this English expedition, he said about this time, has never pleased me.<sup>3</sup> About a fortnight later he again expressed himself as before as to the cunning of Elizabeth and the dilatoriness of Philip, and he ended by expressing his fear that the Armada would accomplish nothing unless God worked a miracle. To a bishop who visited him in disguise, James VI. had promised to recognize the Holy See, and to provide a harbour of refuge for the Armada, but Philip's delays had given Elizabeth time to induce the young king once more to change his mind. Cardinal Morosini wrote to Rome from Paris that a harbour of refuge in France for the Spanish fleet was an absolute necessity, and that at his suggestion the French king was inclined to provide this, but that when the Pope showed the letter on the subject to the Spanish ambassador the latter had laughed and treated the matter as of no importance.<sup>4</sup> The Pope's advice was also neglected in other

<sup>1</sup> Gritti, July 9, 1588, in BROWN, n. 686. Dated July 6, 1588, is the \*Descrittione dei porti e fortezze d' Inghilterra, composed by Fr. B. Bonardus, "magist. s. palatii," in *Varia polit.* LXX., 106 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, LXXXVI., 172 *seqq.* a similar \*note to Filippo Pigafetta, when the Duke of Parma was suggested as general.

<sup>2</sup> \*Avviso of August 24, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 363, Vatican Library. Such reports of victories were also spread elsewhere, especially by Mendoza ; *cf.* DURO, I., 175-200.

<sup>3</sup> " \*La guerra di Inghilterra non piaque mai alla S.Stà, ma sì quella d' Alghieri, prima perchè quella è più difficile, secondo non è tanto dannosa Inghilterra alle anime cristiane, come che non praticano se non volontariamente, come Alghieri che van depre-dando sempre i nostri mari." Brumani, August 27, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* App. No. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Moreover Philip had entered into relations with the Duc d' Aumale, so that he might hand over to him the port of Boulogne; but Aumale was driven back (FOURNERON, *Les Ducs de Guise*,

ways, in spite of the fact that Sixtus V. had promised far greater pecuniary help than ever had been given by his predecessors.<sup>1</sup>

II., 294 *seq.*). In a secret instruction Philip II. pointed out to his admiral, Medina Sidonia, that if the landing in England was not immediately successful he should take possession of the Isle of Wight as a base (TILTON, 7).

<sup>1</sup> “ \*S.St<sup>à</sup> mi ragionò dell’ armata, et sta con dubbioso pensiero del successo, vedendo così traversati principii. Il duca di Parma sbarcò la sua gente, per questo ponto secreto, perchè havea presentito nella Fiandra sollevatione cagionata si crede per industria della regina d’ Inghilterra per divertirlo a non unirsi con l’ armata spagnola il che gli è successo. Lodò qui S.St<sup>à</sup> l’ astutia per ragion di stato, di questa donna, mi disse che la tardanza ha cagionato et cagionerà ogni male perchè il re di Scotia havea promesso due cose col mezzo d’ un vescovo vestito da laico, con licenza de S.St<sup>à</sup>, una di mandare a riconoscere la S.St<sup>à</sup> come vero Vicario, la 2<sup>a</sup> porto principale per tutta l’ armata spagnuola, ma tardando l’ armata, la regina ha fatto tanto che l’ ha dissuasato et indotto alla sua devotione, inducendolo a far tagliar il capo ad un principale che lo tenea nella devotione christiana. Mi ha detto di più che il Morosino hora card<sup>le</sup> scrisse a S.St<sup>à</sup> a mesi passati che non sapea come l’ armata non dovesse haver bisogno di porto per la riviera Francesca in occasione di fortuna et che a raggiungimento largo havea cavato dal re di Francia buona inclinatione a tal comodità, N.S. [communicò] questo capitolo di lettera al conte Olivares, il quale se ne rise e lo sprezzò. Pensa mo’ V. A. che dica hora S.St<sup>à</sup> in veder l’ armata andar in traversia senza haver porto. Mi ha detto di più haver dimandata l’ armata sopra le spalle sue con promessa de pagar ogni legno che si perderà et pagar il nollo de legni che stanno a nollo in quest’ armata et lassare che S.St<sup>à</sup> faccia guidare da chi gli piace quest’ impresa, ma non la vogliono intendere. Mi ha detto anco che quando si capitulò l’ anno passato volea mandar gente sua si come fece sempre Paolo III. in tutti gli aiuti che diede a Carlo V., et Pio V. nell’ aiuto di Francia et nella lega contro il Turco, ma i Spagnuoli non la volsero intendere et S.St<sup>à</sup> condescese acciò di lui non si puotessero mai lamentare, che per sua causa non si fosse fatta l’ impresa. Quanto al denaro gli protestò, che niun Papa secondo le scritture di Castello non diede mai più che

In the meanwhile, the rejoicings in Rome in August had long spent themselves. On September 24th the Mantuan envoy, Brumani, wrote that they were anxiously waiting for definite news of the Armada ; on October 1st he reports that Cardinal Joyeuse had received bad news.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of October they were still in a state of uncertainty ; at that date they kept the Forty Hours in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli for the victory of the fleet, which had already long since been defeated, and the Pope himself was present at its solemn conclusion.<sup>2</sup> But at the same time Sixtus V.'s attitude at that time was so full of doubt and so little favourable to Spain that Olivares reported this to Madrid in words of great irritation. The Pope, he said, shows no joy at good news, but even, on the contrary, an almost scandalous indifference to bad news.<sup>3</sup> Sixtus V. had to defend himself against the accusation of discourtesy towards Spain ; he said that he could not give Philip a greater proof of his sympathy than by telling him his opinion quite frankly.<sup>4</sup>

At length Spain herself received definite news of the fate of her Armada, when, at the beginning of October, the first wretched remnant of the powerful fleet and the half-starved survivors of the crews returned to their country.<sup>5</sup> A month later half the ships had not yet returned.<sup>6</sup> It was not the

100<sup>m</sup> ducati a l'anno, et che S.St<sup>à</sup> promettea un milione d'oro cioè 500 milia, sbarcata la gente per far l'impresa e poi cento milia al mese, et con tutte queste cose va dubitando che non si farà impresa, se la M<sup>tà</sup> de Dio non fa miracoli. Questo in sostantia ho cavato a longhi ragionamenti dalla S.St<sup>à</sup>". Brumani, September 10, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>1</sup> Both \*letters in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. the report of Gritti, September 24, 1588, in BROWN, n. 744.

<sup>2</sup> \*Avviso of October 19, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 475, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Olivares, September 26, 1588, in HÜBNER, III., Appendix 39 ; BREMOND, 287.

<sup>4</sup> Gritti, July 9, 1588, in BROWN, n. 686.

<sup>5</sup> MEYER, 286.

<sup>6</sup> Lippomano, November 1, 1588, in BROWN, n. 770.

winds nor the seas that had brought about the destruction of the Armada, on which in the opinion of many the fate of Christendom seemed to depend ;<sup>1</sup> rather it was the superior mobility of the English ships, the greater experience of their commanders, and the greater efficiency and range of their guns, which, in the initial encounters, from July 30th onwards, and after the destruction of so many ships by night by the English fire-ships in the decisive battle of August 8th, forced the Spanish fleet into retreat. It was fortunate for the vanquished that after the battle the prevailing north-west wind suddenly dropped, for otherwise it would have driven the helpless ships to be wrecked on the coasts of Zeeland ; it was a further piece of good fortune that the enemy's ships which were pursuing them were short of munitions, for otherwise England would have won a victory which would have completely exterminated the enemy. The remnant that, in the course of the long voyage home by the north of England, was broken up by storms and driven upon the coasts of Ireland, were but the sorry remains of the once powerful Armada.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous broadsheets spread the news of the surprising event among the nations of Europe.<sup>3</sup> The impression they

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of Frangipani to the rector of the Jesuit college at Trêves, August 23, 1588, in BROM-HENSEN, *Rom. Bronnen*, 675.

<sup>2</sup> MEYER, 286 *seq.* ; TILTON, *Katastrophe der span. Armada*, Freiburg, 1894, with a summary of the sources, pp. 35-44. *Cf.* the report of Pedro Coco de Calderón, who took part in the expedition, in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, I., Madrid, 1897 ; HUGH ALLINGHAM, *Captain Cuellar's Adventure in Connacht and Ulster, A.D. 1588*, London, 1897 ; report of the Duke of Parma, August 12, 1588, in BROWN, n. 728 (*cf.* 734, 746) ; *Los náufragos de la Armada Española en Irlanda*, in the *Bol. de la R. Acad. de la historia*, XVI. (1890), 255 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> One such broadsheet : *Contrafactuer der Hispanischen und Englischen Armada, wie sie auf dem Britanischen Meer einander augetroffen*. Anno 1588, 9 Augusti, in J. B. ADRIAN, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften u. seltenen Dokumenten*, Frankfurt, 1846, 364 *seqq.* Another broadsheet bears the title : *Ein new Lied / von der Spanischen Armada und Kreigrüstung auf / Meer under*

produced was very great everywhere, and the political aftermath was bound to follow ; this was to be seen in Italy, which was so oppressed by the Spaniards, in the changed attitude of Venice and Tuscany.<sup>1</sup> Sixtus V. was inclined to follow the example of these two states, when the murder of the two Guise led him once more to a rapprochement with Spain.<sup>2</sup> The Pope disclaimed any share in the responsibility for the ill-fated expedition, to which he had only given his consent with a bad grace, so as not to seem to hold back from an undertaking against the enemies of the faith.<sup>3</sup> He refused, however, to come to the assistance of the embarrassed finances of the King of Spain, because he had only made the promise to do so in the event of a landing being made in England. In his indignation, Philip for a time only dealt with the nuncio in Spain by letter.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the Pope had already shown his unwillingness to touch the treasure kept in the Castle of St. Angelo, and when the Armada set sail he had summoned the Conservatori of Rome to his presence and appealed to them for help to raise a million ducats in some other way.<sup>5</sup>

Philip II. was hard hit by what happened. At the receipt

dem befehl des Herzogs von Medina Sidonia aus Portugal / wie diese nach Engellandt abgeschifft, aber / durch die Engelländer durch vilfaltige Schar / mützel und Schlachten Sämlich erschlagen / verbrenndt, gefangen, zum Teil durch / un glückhafte Wind auf dem Meer / verwähet worden sind etc. / In der Weiss, wie die Schlacht / aus Frankreicht singt oder in s Linden / schmids Thon zu singen. / Gedruckt zu Nider Wesel bey Nicolaus Schreber, 1588, 3 folios in sm. oct. ; copy in the library of J. v. Görres, kindly lent by Fr. S. Görres.

<sup>1</sup> HERRE, 391 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Badoer, April 29, 1589, in HÜBNER, II., 481. At the end of September, 1588, Sixtus V. declared himself quite ready to lend 800,000 ducats, but demanded guarantees of repayment if the expedition against England should not take place. BROWN, n. 743.

<sup>4</sup> BREMOND, 288 ; Badoer, July 6, 1589, in BROWN, n. 861. Cf. RICCI, Silingardi, I., 52.

<sup>5</sup> Pisany, June 28, 1588, in BREMOND, 288.

of the news of the terrible disaster he preserved his exterior calm, as he had previously done during those sad weeks when all Spain was in suspense between hope and fear.<sup>1</sup> After the first bad news, which was carefully withheld from the people, had come, he withdrew more than ever from appearing in public, and no one could have access to him : he made his will anew, and remained for hours alone with his confessor.<sup>2</sup> A religious openly said to him that God had listened to other appeals than the prayers and processions ordered by the king, namely the prayers of the downtrodden poor, who thronged round the court without receiving their pay and unheeded in their needs.<sup>3</sup> The sorrows of this sorely tried man reached their height when, at the beginning of 1589, in addition to his anguish of mind, he was made to suffer also as a father. The only son who remained to him was lying between life and death. Even then Philip tried to conceal his anguish, but he could not succeed in doing so. He sat in his study, he signed edicts, he superintended current business, but he could not refrain from visiting his son, who seemed to be at the point of death.<sup>4</sup> He did not give up the idea of sending another fleet against England.<sup>5</sup> He would sell, he said, even the candelabra on his desk if necessary, in order to obtain money. In the meantime the cities of Spain vied with each other in offering their assistance to the king.<sup>6</sup>

While Spain was plunged in the depths of grief, England, as may well be understood, was beside herself with joy at what had happened. Firework displays and entertainments were arranged, and the people enthusiastically acclaimed the queen when, mounted on a white palfrey, and with a marshal's baton in her hand, she reviewed the troops at

<sup>1</sup> MEYER, 291.

<sup>2</sup> Lippomano, September 6, 1588, in BROWN, n. 732.

<sup>3</sup> Lippomano, October 1, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 747.

<sup>4</sup> Lippomano, February 27, 1589, *ibid.*, n. 821.

<sup>5</sup> Lippomano, September 29, October 12 and 24, and November 1, 1588, *ibid.*, n. 745, 754, 768, 770.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 770. Speciani to Montalto, September 24, 1588, in MEYER, 291 ; BROSCHE, VI., 656, n. 3.

Tilbury on the day after the battle.<sup>1</sup> The rejoicings were also given a religious form ; services of thanksgiving were held, and the opportunity was eagerly seized upon for representing the triumph over the Spanish Armada as a judgment of God, in which the Almighty had pronounced in favour of Protestantism and against the Catholic Church. In order to make this opinion credible and self-evident the historical facts were entirely distorted.<sup>2</sup> In the legend which grew up, and which has found an echo even in recent historical works, it was not the superiority and experience of sea warfare, not the better equipment of the English which had brought about the victory, but the direct intervention of God which drove the enemy to disaster. Thus the might of the Spanish Armada was depicted in the most exaggerated colours, it was Elizabeth who had nothing of the kind with which to oppose it, it was England which seemed doomed to destruction. But the Almighty fought for His own, and sent a tempest against the Spaniards ; “ Almighty God breathed, and the Armada was scattered in all directions.”<sup>3</sup> The fable that Philip II. had looked upon his Armada as “ invincible,” and had from the first called it so, was intended to serve

<sup>1</sup> LINGARD, VIII., 285, 290.

<sup>2</sup> “ That a great naval engagement should die out of the popular imagination and give place to the impression left by the disaster wrought by the forces of nature ; that storm and foam should take the place of the roar of cannon, and that to wind and wave should be ascribed what was due to the superior equipment of a fleet, finds no parallel in the history of modern warfare.” MEYER, p. 223 (Engl. transl.).

<sup>3</sup> Catholics too drew a moral of a religious nature from the great event. Thus Maffei says : “ Haec tanta tamque inopinata Hispanorum clades haereticis interim exultandi, Catholicis moderandi animos, rerumque humanarum imbecillitatem agnoscendi, cunctis divina iudicia cum timore ac tremore pensandi, satis amplam in multos annos materiam praebuit : ac simul dilati sapienter a Sixto subsidii, vel iniquis et obtrectatoribus apertam confessionem expressit (Hist. 44). Cf. MEYER, 293.

the same purpose. But no such expressions are to be found in the Spanish records.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholics of England had to pay dearly for the Spanish attack and defeat. When the attack by Spain was imminent in 1586 the royal Privy Council had allowed itself to be led to relax for the first time the persecution of the Catholics ; after February 23rd in that year those adherents of the old faith who were prepared to enter the light cavalry, were, on the payment of a sum to be agreed upon, relieved of the fines which they would otherwise have had to pay for non-attendance at church and the like. In November 1586 for the first time the opinion began to be held that the constant condemnations were damaging the reputation of the government itself, and they began to withdraw priests from the prisons in the large cities and remove them to isolated castles, where they would attract less attention.<sup>2</sup> But 1588 brought a reaction. At the end of the year some of the royal councillors suggested the carrying out of a kind of massacre of St. Bartholomew among the Catholics. Elizabeth rejected this proposal, but a great number of Catholics of both sexes and of all classes were thrown into prison, perquisitions were carried out, and ministers inveighed from the pulpits against the tyranny of the Pope and the treason of the Catholics.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless the loyalty of the latter under such treatment remained unshaken, and the Catholics displayed the same love of their country as their Protestant fellow countrymen.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "It is clear from the despatches that the Spaniards never regarded their Armada as invincible ; it sailed amid fears and prayers rather than amid popular exaltation." Opinion of ARMSIKONG in an article in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XII. (1897), 667.

<sup>2</sup> POLLEN in *The Month*, CV. (1905), 274 seq.

<sup>3</sup> LINGARD, VIII., 276 seq. A contemporary description of the terror by the Jesuit Weston in SPILLMANN, III., 154.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* The English exiles on the continent, who were looking to their return to their country from the Armada, were for the most part on the side of Philip. The list of the officers and nobles of the Armada contains about 20-25 English or Irish names ; according to Camden there were in the ranks of Farnese's army



Burghley himself bore witness to this after the defeat of the Armada, in a work composed by himself and entitled *A Letter to Mendoza*, issued as the supposed work of an English Catholic, and published in various languages.<sup>1</sup> This especially praises Viscount Montague, who appeared before the queen with his son and his nephew at the head of 200 horsemen, for the protection of her person. The writer goes on to relate how in the prison of Ely those who had been arrested for their religion signed a declaration of their readiness to protect the queen till death against everyone. Francis Englefield, a declared supporter of the Spaniards, wrote on February 3rd, 1589, that there was no hope of the immediate return of England to the ancient Church, since the English Catholics themselves were resolved to resist Spain.<sup>2</sup> Marino Cavalli, of invasion about 700 Englishmen. But even among the exiles some refused to bear arms against their own country. Thomas Denyce, a fervent Catholic, who enjoyed the favour of the Inquisitors, even warned Elizabeth of the Spanish plans. LECHAT, 145.

<sup>1</sup> This work was at once recognized by Persons as a forgery (LINGARD, VIII., 277 n.). Sir Walter Scott prefaces his new edition in the Somers Tracts with the remark: "It is hardly necessary to add that the letter is supposititious." The proof of the authorship of Burghley was given by Pollen. In addition to internal evidence, this is further shown by the sketch of the work which still exists in Burghley's hand, see *The Month*, CXVII. (1911), 300-304, 531-532. For the facts given in the text we may use, together with LINGARD (VIII., 277 n.) the letter to Mendoza. Just as Mendoza, after the defeat of the Spaniards still continued to spread news of their victory, so did Burghley in this work direct his irony against the attitude of the ambassador, who grieved as a Catholic at the damage inflicted on the English Catholics by the Armada, disapproving of the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth and the explanation of it given by Allen, and speaking of the aversion felt by English Catholics for a forced restoration of Catholicism. For the French edition of this work cf. STÜBEL in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XX. (1899), 672 seq.

<sup>2</sup> POLLEN in *The Month*, IC. (1902), 411. It is uncertain whether the British admiral Lord Howard of Effingham was a Catholic (*ibid.*). Further reasons against the view that Lord Howard, the victor of the Armada, was a Catholic, are given by E. J. DAVIS in *History*, 1925.

the Venetian ambassador in Paris, wrote in 1602 that at the time when the Spanish fleet made its attack upon England, the Catholics had all remained loyal to the queen.<sup>1</sup>

But their loyalty could not protect the Catholics from the fate of Elizabeth taking her revenge at their expense for the attack of the Catholic King. Even during the fight with the Armada, on July 24th, 1588, three priests were put to death on account of their religion.<sup>2</sup> After the danger was over, in one week, about the feast of St. Bartholomew, fourteen priests and laymen were put to death, and between August 28th and November 29th no fewer than twenty priests, ten laymen and one woman suffered the same fate. During the years 1589 and 1590 nineteen Catholics went to the scaffold, and the storm of persecution lasted for ten years longer.<sup>3</sup>

In the pride of its sense of superiority, Parliament presented to Elizabeth the request that she would retaliate for the attack upon England by an expedition against Spain. Drake actually got together a fleet of 180 sail and 21,000 men, with which he set out from Plymouth on April 18th, 1589. He met with a certain amount of success in his attack upon the Spanish port of Coruña, but when he proceeded to Lisbon, in order to enthrone Don Antonio there as king, he was driven off by the skilful manœuvres of Cardinal Albert. The whole expedition came to a miserable end.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The archpriest was active in the Spanish cause. "I am told that it is impossible to foresee what will happen, for the last time the Spanish fleet attacked England the Catholics all remained loyal to the Queen." Cavalli, January 7, 1602, in BROWN, Venetian Calendar, IX. (1592-1603), n. 1043. What he says holds good even though Cavalli had in mind the naval attack of 1596.

<sup>2</sup> SPILLMANN, III. (1905), 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 166 *seqq.*; MEYER, 298 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> BROSCH, VI., 641 *seq.* At the consistory of August 30 was read the letter from the Cardinal Archduke concerning the defeat and pursuit of Don Antonio and Drake. The Pope ordered that in thanksgiving the Cardinals should go on the following Friday from S. Maria sopra Minerva to S. Giacomo (\*Consistorial acta of Cardinal Santori in Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5; III., p. 42, Vatican

With her victory over the Armada Elizabeth reached the height of her power ; thenceforward her star began to decline.<sup>1</sup> Her popularity with the people became less, and Parliament, which hitherto had been so docile, gradually plucked up courage to have opinions of its own. The former advisers of the queen died, and the queen thus became more and more isolated. In foreign policy there were no more specially brilliant successes, and even against Spain, in spite of the provocations of the Turks,<sup>2</sup> the " queen of the seas " won no outstanding victory. The colonies of the Indies remained in the hands of their mother country, and under the sceptre of Spain led a life that was by no means unprosperous. Gradually they learned how to defend themselves against the English pirates. Thus all that the defeat of the Armada had seemed to portend was by no means realized.

The view which has so long held the field, that the defeat of the Armada was a mortal blow at the world power of Spain, and the saving of Protestantism is in the main untrue.<sup>3</sup> Philip II. was still possessed of sufficient means to be able to send new Armadas in 1596 and 1597 against England, which continued to harass him. In both cases it was indeed storms at sea which forced the Armada, which had already sailed in 1596, to return after severe losses, and which in 1597 scattered both the fleets, so that neither the English nor the Spaniards won any laurels.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand it is true to say that by

Library). Indeed on September 1 the Pope went with 36 Cardinals and the court, from the Minerva to S. Giacomo, in procession and on foot. After the mass a psalm and some prayers composed by the Pope himself were sung, while the Cardinals stood. Then they went to S. Antonio de' Portoghesi ; see \**Diarium P. Alaleonis* p. 475b, Cod. Barb. lat. 2814, and \**Avviso* of September 2, 1580, Urb. 1057, p. 539, Vatican Library.

<sup>1</sup> BROSCHE, VI., 640-684 ; A. ZIMMERMANN in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXV. (1904), 199-215 ; J. CORBETT, *The Successors of Drake*, London, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the report in SCHWEIZER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 114.

<sup>3</sup> See LINDNER, *Weltgeschichte*, V., Stuttgart, 1907, 266.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BROSCHE, VI., 657.

the victorious defeat of the Spanish attack in the Channel in 1588 "was won the future world-wide power of England," for this great encounter remained effective, and bore immediate fruits in the wars waged against Spain.<sup>1</sup> England's most vulnerable point continued to be Ireland, where Elizabeth was unable to subdue the constant disturbances. Until the last years of the queen's life, the leader of the insurgents, the Earl of Tyrone, who had been educated in England, maintained his power there. If Spain had supported him more energetically, there can be no doubt that Ireland would have been lost to English dominion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> LINDNER, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> BROSCHE, VI., 669; JOHN B. KELSO, *Die Spanier in Irland (1588-1603)*, Leipzig, 1902 (*Diss.*).

## CHAPTER II.

### CATHOLIC REFORM IN GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS.

THANKS to the pastoral care of Gregory XIII., the Holy See possessed in the time of Sixtus V., in addition to the nunciature at the Imperial court, permanent representatives at Cologne and Graz as well. The principal and most honourable position<sup>1</sup> was always at the court of the head of the Empire, where, in addition to internal affairs, purely political questions had also to be dealt with. Although the nuncio at Cologne was absolutely independent in his vast territory in the west of Germany, all his transactions nevertheless came before the Emperor, and thus fell under the jurisdiction of the nuncio accredited to the Imperial court. The latter had further to devote his attention to religious questions in Bohemia, where the Emperor Rudolph II. lived, to those of Hungary and the other parts of Austria, as well as to those of south Germany. He was thus the representative of the Holy See for the whole of the Romano-Germanic Empire.<sup>2</sup> The holder of the nunciature at Prague at the time of the election of Sixtus V. was Germanico Malaspina, while the nunciature at Cologne was held by Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, and that of Graz by Giovanni Antonio Caligari.<sup>3</sup>

The complicated political conditions of the Empire were bound to occasion constant anxiety for Catholic interests. The successes obtained in the war of Cologne, just at the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V., had been rendered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter of Card. Aldobrandini, January 9, 1597, in *Carte Strozzi*, I., 2, 268.

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIX., 96.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 24, 394.

doubtful by the activities of the partisans of the archbishop, Gebhard Truchsess, who had been deposed on account of his apostasy from the Church, while at the same time important dioceses in the north of Germany ran the risk of being entirely lost to the Church. This state of affairs called for the care both of the nuncio at Cologne and of the nuncio at the Imperial court. Upon the latter fell the task of directly maintaining the possessions of the Church, as well as of striving to carry out the work of Catholic reform in those parts of the Empire which had remained true to her. In this respect, in spite of the fact that Gregory XIII. had devoted his special attention to conditions of Germany, there was still a great deal to be done. Almost everywhere there were evident signs of deep moral decadence, the reforming laws of Trent had as yet made but little impression, while in many places the decrees of the Council had not been even published.<sup>1</sup> Only a few of the bishops, above all the energetic Julius Echter of Würzburg, had completely fulfilled the task assigned to them. This distinguished man was indefatigably active in reforming the clergy, as well as in bringing back to the ancient Church the Franks who were dependent upon his territory. But not a few of the other German bishops were lacking in the necessary zeal. Thus Sixtus V., in the first years of his pontificate, had to address letters of reproach to the Bishops of Spire and Strasbourg, for not having discharged their duty of maintaining discipline among the clergy, and above all in the matter of extirpating concubinage.<sup>2</sup>

The state of affairs at the Imperial court was anything but favourable to the success of the efforts for Catholic restoration. The Emperor Rudolph II. had a real and steady wish to protect the Catholic religion in his hereditary dominions as well as in the Empire, but he was lacking in courage and firmness; moreover, he was already a misanthrope, weighed down by financial difficulties, so that he generally allowed

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xvi. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 81 *seq.* The Bishop of Würzburg was honoured with laudatory briefs, and the cathedral chapter was exhorted to support him. REICHENBERGER, I., 300 *seq.*

things to take their course.<sup>1</sup> His efforts on behalf of the Catholics were also paralysed by the fact that his relations with Philip II. were often strained,<sup>2</sup> while the powerful Protestant Prince Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had a great influence over him. All Malaspina's efforts to find a remedy for this were in vain.<sup>3</sup>

It was also fatal that the Emperor's entourage shrank from any energetic steps. In Rome they were convinced that the vice-chancellor, Vieheuser, was altogether opposed to the Holy See.<sup>4</sup> The truth was that in most parts of the hereditary territories of the Emperor, Protestant worship was tolerated, whereas the Protestant princes of the Empire without exception would not allow in their territories any sort of freedom for Catholic worship. In many cases Protestants sat side by side with the Catholics on Imperial commissions, which was a serious danger to Catholic interests.

The Romano-Germanic Empire seemed to Malaspina to be a great edifice which was in danger of falling to pieces.<sup>5</sup> In order to prevent its complete ruin, as well as to cultivate good relations with the Holy See, he insisted more than anything else on definite opposition being made to the Protestant movement in favour of independence, which had as its object the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, and the recognition as a law of the Empire of the declaration of Ferdinand I., concerning the free exercise of religion for the subjects of the ecclesiastical States.<sup>6</sup>

Malaspina rightly saw a great danger, which must be removed, in the fact that the education of the aristocracy was much neglected, both in Austria and in the Empire.

<sup>1</sup> See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 82. Cf. HÜBNER, I., 454.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BEZOLD, Rudolf II. und die hl. Liga, in the diss. of the *Münchener Akad. Hist. Kl.*, XVII., 356 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See the report of Malaspina of October 15, 1585, in REICHENBERGER, I., 182 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See BEZOLD, *loc. cit.*, 362, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Un grand edificio minacciante d'ogni parte rovina." Account of Malaspina to Sixtus V., in REICHENBERGER, I., 211

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 243 seqq.

Since for the most part only nobles were given bishoprics the capability of the supreme pastors of the Church depended upon this education. Malaspina therefore very properly found fault with the fact that whereas the innovators made every effort to win over the nobility, Catholic Germany did not pay enough attention to their scientific and moral education.<sup>1</sup>

Malaspina not only complained of the weakness shown by the Emperor towards the Lutherans, but even more of his similar attitude towards the much more radical Calvinists, whose boldness was encouraged by the Count Palatine, John Casimir. Fortunately the efforts made by this prince to support the Huguenots met with resistance from Saxony, even after, in February, 1586, his son Christian I. succeeded Augustus in the office of the Elector.<sup>2</sup> Although the other

<sup>1</sup> See the report of Malaspina to Sixtus V., *loc. cit.*, 213.

<sup>2</sup> The death of the Elector Augustus was much lamented by the Catholics (*cf.* the \*letter of Sig. Giov. Cobenzl to Mgr. di Bertinoro [Caligari] Worms, 1586, April 14, in Cod. n. 19 of the Vallicella Library, Rome). With the death of Augustus (February 21, 1586) there was an end of the faint hope of bringing back that prince to the Catholic Church, a hope that since the death of his wife in the autumn of 1585 had once more revived, and had been welcomed with enthusiasm by Sixtus V.; see EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxxii. *seq.*, where on p. 271 *seq.* the whole *Discorso* of Minutio Minucci *sopra le cose del Duca di Sassonia*, November 25, 1585, is published, and which was also printed in *Beitr. zur sächs. Kirchengesch.*, X. (1895), 295 *seq.* See also BEZOLD in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1897, n. 4, p. 319 *seq.* *Cf. ibid.*, 1900, n. 4, p. 555 *seq.* for the embassy of the electorate of Saxony to Italy, which was directed against Spain. According to Bezold this embassy did not go to Rome, as was expected, but on receipt of the false news of a change of the Papal policy in favour of Philip II., returned from Florence to Germany. According to the \*report of Badoer, July 21, 1590 (State Archives, Venice) a Saxon mission was sent instead to Rome, where Sixtus V. declared that he would treat with it only concerning the return of Saxony to the Church, but not about anything else. *Cf.* also BEZOLD in *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akad. Hist. Kl.*, 1882, II., 158.



Protestant princes also held back, John Casimir nevertheless favoured the sending of a mercenary army to France, which, however, met with unfortunate results.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholic cause could place its hopes in the Archdukes Ernest and Ferdinand, both men of strong Catholic sentiments, rather than in the Emperor. The former, assisted by Klesl, the vicar-general of the Bishop of Passau for Lower Austria, and the Jesuit Wilhelm Scherer, set to work in Austria, which he governed in the name of the Emperor, in accordance with the ideas of Catholic reform and restoration. In some places, such as the countship of Hauseck, the conversion of the inhabitants to the Catholic faith was carried out without difficulty.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand in some places the innovators offered so strong a resistance that force had to be employed.<sup>3</sup> This was not necessary in the Tyrol, where the Archduke Ferdinand was carrying on the same work with like zeal.<sup>4</sup> There the difficulties arose rather from the negligence of the Catholic clergy, among whom any real change could only be brought about by slow degrees. This was made up for by the indefatigable labours of the Jesuits, as preachers, catechists, educators and confessors. It was a misfortune for the Catholic cause when there appeared on the scene, in opposition to the

<sup>1</sup> See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 86 *seq.* A \*Canticum in equitum peditumque Germanorum aciem eorumque repetitam cladem 1587" composed by the students of the Sorbonne in Paris in Cod. Barb. LX., 31, p. 83, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See G. SCHERER, Ursachen d. Bekehrung der Herrschaft Ober und Nider Hausseck im Erzherzogthumb Oesterreich vunder det Enss so vom Luthertumb darinnen sie uber 26 Jahr leider gesteck widerumb zum vhralten alleinseligmachenden Cathol. Glauben . . . gebracht worden, Ingolstadt, 1586. Cf. DUHR, I., 802.

<sup>3</sup> See WIEDEMANN, III., 73 *seq.*; IV., 198 *seq.* Cf. HUBER, IV., 294 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 803; BIBL. in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit. Suppl.*, Vol. VI., 589 *seq.*, and in *Jahrb. f. Länderkunde von Niederösterreich*, N.S., VIII. (1909), 151 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> According to the \*report of Sporeno, August 10, 1585, Sixtus V. praised the zealous work of Ferdinand against the innovators. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

Society of Jesus, a man who was in other respects very deserving, the Franciscan, Johann Nas; even the relations of Ferdinand with the Jesuits were cooled, a fact helped by his strained relations with Bavaria,<sup>1</sup> whose duke, William V., was rightly looked upon as the chief support of the Church in Germany.

William V. not only kept his own subjects in close union with the ancient Church,<sup>2</sup> but also brought pressure to bear on the Emperor and the Catholic princes for the formation of a defensive alliance among the Catholic States, which would oppose a barrier against the wish of the Protestants to attack. Such plans, however, were hindered by the jealousy of the Emperor, and as the Electors of Mayence and Trêves were timorous in the matter the negotiations never got beyond the preliminary stage.<sup>3</sup> The vice-chancellor of the Empire, Vieheuser, openly told the Duke of Bavaria that Rudolph II. would never join a defensive alliance of all the Catholics. Among the Imperial councillors, William complained to the Archbishop of Salzburg, there is always great dissension, and one is full of hatred of the other; some of them personally are not averse to the religious innovations, while those of sounder views are the victims of excessive fear. Even in the Imperial house itself, there is a want of union, and the Archdukes are striving among themselves for the succession to the Empire.<sup>4</sup>

The powerlessness of Rudolph II. was clearly shown when

<sup>1</sup> See especially HIRN, I., 160 *seq.*, 210 *seq.*, and DUHR, I., 841. HUBER (IV., 314, n. 3) with his too evident tendency to describe the successes of the Catholic restoration as being entirely external, allows himself to be led into adducing as a proof of this a circumstance which demonstrates the exact opposite; namely the large number of confessions and communions mentioned by the Jesuits. That the latter, in their care of souls, were by no means contented with outward appearances, is convincingly shown by DUHR (I., 495).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 53 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See RITTER, II., 12 *seq.*, 15.

<sup>4</sup> See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 82. Cf. HÜBNER, I., 451 *seq.*

two of the partisans of Gebhard Truchsess, Count von Neuenahr, and Colonel Martin Schenk of Niedeggen, with the support of the States-General of the Netherlands, set on foot an expedition against the archbishopric of Cologne and the diocese of Münster. When, on May 9th, 1585, Neuenahr had succeeded in taking possession of so important a position as the strong city of Neuss, the Elector Ernest of Cologne sought the help of the Emperor, but Rudolph II. showed a timorous reserve, out of consideration for the Protestants, especially the Elector of Saxony.<sup>1</sup> Sixtus V., too, who was annoyed with the Elector Ernest on account of his worldly behaviour, also refused the help he was asked for; he turned therefore to Philip II., and the governor of the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese. Malaspina and Bonhomini worked hard for the same purpose.<sup>2</sup>

Malaspina was no longer nuncio when, on July 26th, 1586, the Spaniards succeeded in recapturing Neuss.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, during his period of office, he had the satisfaction of seeing various important bishoprics filled by men who belonged to the party of Catholic reform and thus preserved to the Church.

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xxviii. For the importance of Neuss see EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 77 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 101 *seq.*; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 80, 86, 201 *seqq.*; HÜBNER, II., 22 *seq.* How unfounded is the statement of RANKE (*Päpste*, II.<sup>3</sup>, 78), repeated by STIEVE (*Politik*, I., 330), that Sixtus V. was very careful not to let Ernest know that he was aware of his misconduct, is clear from the severe words of the Cardinal Secretary of State Azzolini to Bonhomini on July 4, 1586, in EHSSES-MEISTER, V., 203.

<sup>3</sup> The news reached Rome on August 20. The Pope was delighted and at once informed his entourage; on the next day he went with twenty Cardinals to a thanksgiving celebration at S. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli and at S. Maria dell' Anima, where a *Te Deum* was sung (*cf.* SCHMIDLIN, 435 *seq.*). The brief of congratulation to Farnese in EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 209 *seq.* On August 1 the blessed hat and sword were sent to the victorious general; see LOSSEN., 628. *Cf.* also \**Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.* Papal Secret Archives.

A short time after the election of Sixtus V., there suddenly occurred the death, as the result of a fall from his horse, of Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, who, without having received the Papal confirmation, occupied the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishoprics of Osnabrück and Paderborn. This powerful prince, at a time when he was still posing as a Catholic to the Pope, had, as early as 1575, contracted marriage in all possible secrecy. When the news at length reached Rome, the Imperial nuncio was asked, supposing the story to be true, to take proceedings against the archbishop, who evidently intended to follow in the footsteps of Gebhard Truchsess<sup>1</sup> But this proved to be unnecessary. All the more need, however, was there for watchfulness in the case of vacant bishoprics, and for this purpose Malaspina and Bonhomini at once took the necessary steps<sup>2</sup>

The indirect consequence of the death of Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg was that a Catholic obtained possession of the bishopric of Münster. The Elector of Cologne, Ernest, had for a long time aimed at this, and was strongly supported by Malaspina. His principal rival had been Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg. Since there was now no longer any need to fear the latter's intrigues, on May 18th, 1585, the Elector of Cologne was unanimously elected Bishop of Münster. The election capitulation bound the new bishop to support the Catholic religion, and to combat all sects and seditious innovations in the diocese of Münster.<sup>3</sup>

The distinguished prelate who had brought about the choice of the Elector of Cologne was Gottfried von Raesfeld, the dean of the cathedral, who had laboured indefatigably for the restoration of the Catholic Church in Münster.<sup>4</sup> Before his death, which occurred on October 26th, 1586, Raesfeld left a legacy of 30,000 thalers for the establishment of a Jesuit college in the ancient capital of Westphalia. The

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xxi. ; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 80, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 100, 104 ; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., xlviii. *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See KELLER, I., 342 ; LOSSEN, II., 596 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. DEGERING, G. v. Raesfeld, Münster, 1906.

negotiations about this were carried on for two years; the matter was at last arranged in the autumn of 1588; the Jesuits were given the church of St. Nicholas, and the charge of the old cathedral school, known as the Pauline institute. Their position was at first very difficult; they had bitter enemies both among the citizens and in the cathedral chapter, which was partly Protestant in sentiment. The decadent clergy, too, showed themselves absolutely opposed to the moral improvement which was to be looked for from the new body of religious. But the new rector, Peter Michael, known as Brillmacher, who was a native of Cologne, and who had already on many occasions, and especially at the court of the Duke of Cleves, worked with great zeal and success, was able to surmount all the difficulties. His principal thoughts were for the Pauline institute. The number of the pupils of this establishment rose, in spite of the plague, from 300 to 700, and after three years to 1000. It was of great importance for the development of the institute that the energetic rector, in spite of all obstacles, at once commenced the erection of a new building and a church. But Peter Michael also laboured indefatigably in other ways. He was one of the preachers in the cathedral, and he wrote a brief explanation of the truths of the Catholic faith and of the doctrines opposed to them, which found a wide circulation. The nuncio in Cologne frequently made use of this distinguished man to carry out difficult undertakings.<sup>1</sup>

The Elector Ernest, coming as he did, as a Bavarian prince, from a house which was very well disposed towards the Society of Jesus, also gave his support to the establishment at Münster. When he had obtained, at the end of 1588, a predominant share in the government, he at once took steps to restore the Catholic religion. For this purpose in February,

<sup>1</sup> See SACCHINI, V., 8, n. 83-91; REIFFENBERG, I.; SÖKELAND, *Geschichtl. Nachrichten über das Gymnasium zu Münster* (1821), 60 *seq.*; KELLER, II., 268 *seqq.*, 276 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 144 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*; *ibid.* 610 *seq.* for the church of the Jesuits, St. Peter, at Münster, which is worthy of notice architecturally, aesthetically and constructively.

1590, he appeared in person at Münster, and with the governor and the chapter, made arrangements for the carrying out of the work of Catholic restoration.<sup>1</sup>

A short time after the appointment of the Elector of Cologne as Bishop of Münster, Paderborn as well, which for size was the second ecclesiastical principality in Westphalia, received, on June 5th, 1585, in the person of the provost of the cathedral, Dietrich von Fürstenberg, an excellent pastor, who was animated by sincere Catholic principles. Bonhomini, the nuncio in Cologne, had helped to secure this happy event.<sup>2</sup>

The religious state of the diocese of Paderborn was even more lamentable than that of Münster. The religious changes had obtained a strong influence over the proud aristocracy of the population of the city, as well as of the country folk, while a large part of the clergy had fallen into barbarism and immorality. It required extraordinary energy, as well as great prudence to provide a remedy, both of which qualities Dietrich von Fürstenberg possessed in a high degree. The prudence with which this shrewd administrator set himself to his task, was shown by the reserve which he at first showed towards the Jesuits, in whom later on he saw his best helpers. While the see was vacant, the school of Paderborn was handed over to them on May 1st, 1585. The number of pupils, which was then 140, had risen by the end of the year to 300, and in 1586 to 400. Later on the number declined, and in 1590 it was 268. This was due to the activity of their enemies, among whom was the parish priest of the church of St. Mark, Tunneken, who in spite of the oath which he had taken had apostatized from the ancient faith, and had fanatically taken up a stand against the "black wolves in sheep's clothing." "It is a hard and thorny task" complained the annalist of the college of Paderborn, "to cultivate this field of Paderborn, both because of the sterility of the soil, and because the seed is choked by thorns." At that time things had gone so far that even among the small number of Catholics few were

<sup>1</sup> For this see more fully under Clement VIII. in Vol. XXIII. of this work.

<sup>2</sup> See KELLER, I., 558; II., 421 *seq.*; LOSSEN, II., 594 *seq.*; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., xlix., 81, 95 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*

willing to be accounted friends of the Jesuits, and even these feared to have the fact known. How small the number of the Catholics was is shown by the fact that in 1588 only 750 persons approached the sacraments, and that in this number were included the pupils of the Jesuits. Two years of hard work had to elapse before conditions were improved. The decisive change was then brought about by the energy of Dietrich von Fürstenberg, who was then in the full vigour of his age.<sup>1</sup>

Dietrich had at first also had good prospects of being elected to Osnabrück. But in the end, on July 20th, 1585, the dean of the cathedral, Wilhelm von Schenking, was chosen in his stead. The early death of this prelate, whom Bonhomini declared to be the most Catholic member of the chapter, was all the greater loss because the party that was opposed to Rome succeeded, on October 25th, 1585, in electing as his successor Count Bernhard von Waldeck, whose religious opinions were very doubtful. In order to obtain the Papal approbation Bernhard swore to the Tridentine profession of faith, but it soon became clear that Bonhomini's fears as to the count's attitude were only too well founded.<sup>2</sup>

Since the cathedral chapter of Bremen was entirely filled by Calvinists, it was evident that no Catholic success could be looked for there. In the circumstances Bonhomini was satisfied that at Bremen, in succession to Archbishop Henry, there should be elected the young Duke John Adolphus, who was a member of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, and on good terms with the King of Spain and his governor in the Low Countries, and who, although he was indeed a Protestant, was looked upon as an upright and peace-loving man. The obligation of asking for the Papal confirmation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. v. LÖHER, *Gesch. des Kampfes um Paderborn*, Berlin, 1874, 322 seq.; RICHTER, *Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten*, I., Paderborn, 1892, 4, 16 seq., 21 seq., 27 seq., 29 seq.; SCHMIDLIN, 579 seq.; DUHR, I., 140 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 173 seq.; LOSSEN, II., 595. For Bernhard von Waldeck cf. A. FALKMANN in *Pickschen Monatschrift*, III., 273 seq.

for his son was recognized by Duke Adolphus of Holstein ; for this purpose he had recourse to the mediation of William of Bavaria. The latter received a reply from Rome that he must induce the Duke of Holstein to send his son, first to Ingolstadt and later on to Rome. Nothing came of this suggestion, and Bremen remained lost to the Church.<sup>1</sup>

In 1585 the death of Martin von Gerstmann brought about the vacancy of another bishopric, the great diocese of Breslau. Here too the provision made to fill it meant a success for the Catholic restoration. On July 1st, 1585, Andreas von Jerin, the provost of the chapter, was elected ; he was under the protection of Malaspina, had received an excellent training at the German College in Rome, and was numbered among the most distinguished prelates of eastern Germany.<sup>2</sup> The great hopes which the nuncio had of him were fully realized. An example of all the virtues, Jerin worked with the greatest zeal for the spread of the faith, the destruction of heresy, and for the restoration of discipline and Catholic worship in his diocese.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the great activity of his predecessor, very unsatisfactory conditions still prevailed there. Above all Jerin sought to provide for a better future by the revival of Catholic education. He was unable, however, to secure the establishment of a college of the Jesuits, who had been summoned to Breslau by his predecessor ; on the other hand he enlarged the seminary for ecclesiastical students at Niesse, and out of his own means established in that city a college for youths of the aristocracy, in order to meet the deficiency of higher Catholic officials.<sup>4</sup> The Congregation of the Council

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 81, 114 ; LOSSSEN, II., 593 ; SCHMIDLIN, 595.

<sup>2</sup> See RICHENBERGER, I., 113, 122, 132, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JUNGNITZ, Die Breslauer Germaniker, 10, 13, 15  
SCHMIDLIN, Restaurationstätigkeit der Breslauer Fürstbischöfe  
12 seq., Kirchl. Zustände, 533 ; NAEGELE, A. v. Jerin, in *Katholik*,  
XCI. (1911), 23 seq., 110 seq., 280 seq., 358 seq. (separate and  
enlarged edition, Mayence, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> See JUNGNITZ, Gerstmann, 210, 285 seq. ; *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Schlesiens*, XVIII., 68 seq. ; DUHR, I., 170 seq.



very justly bestowed the highest praise upon this zealous bishop.<sup>1</sup>

Although Malaspina saw the Catholic restoration take secure roots in Breslau, Münster and Paderborn, he was sorrowfully forced to admit that his efforts for the saving of the dioceses of Halberstadt and Lübeck were in vain. The attention of the nuncio was also called to the religious disputes which were going on at Strasbourg, Aix and Augsburg, and the tiresome, and as yet undecided issue as to the lordship of Fulda between the Archbishop of Würzburg and the Prince-Abbot of Fulda. With clear insight Malaspina realized that in all his efforts to promote Catholic reform in those parts of the Empire which still remained to the Church, the thing that was most necessary was to find a remedy for the great lack of priests. He therefore called the special attention of Sixtus V. to the support of the pontifical seminaries, which was all the more necessary as they were looked upon with suspicion by the Curia. As the students of these institutions were not sufficiently numerous, Malaspina advised the education of noble youths in Rome, the establishment of new colleges for the regulars, and the enlargement of the "Seminaria Pauperum" to provide for the needs of the rural parishes.<sup>2</sup>

The difficult conditions of Bohemia caused special anxiety to Malaspina, as there Protestantism was making progress. The nuncio was unable to obtain the carrying out of the edict of 1584, which was issued against the Picards there, but on the other hand, at the beginning of 1585, he succeeded in winning over the king to the making of a general visitation of the religious situation in Bohemia, which was to be followed by another one in the other dominions of the Hapsburgs. But his zeal had to be contented with an Imperial decree, although he himself fully realized how little this was in accordance with the injunctions of the Church. It was no wonder that Malaspina's work met with an unfavourable reception in Rome. A judgment which was drafted there insisted that the nuncio,

<sup>1</sup> See SCHMIDLIN, *Kirchl. Zustände*, 534 *seq.*; NAEGELE, *loc. cit.*, 122 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xxxi., 116 *seq.*, 148.

who had accepted the Imperial decree, must interest himself in having it annulled or altered. It was already said that Malaspina would be recalled. It was only with great difficulty that he succeeded in settling the dispute with the Emperor, who was much offended by the difficulties which had arisen in Rome, when the outbreak of plague caused an unexpected set-back.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime the recall of Malaspina took place. The real reason for this step is by no means clear, but there can be no doubt that a decisive factor in many of Sixtus V.'s actions was his opposition to the policy of his predecessor.<sup>2</sup>

The Emperor Rudolph II., with whom Malaspina enjoyed great favour, tried in vain to induce the Pope to change his mind,<sup>3</sup> but in another matter they were more accommodating to him in Rome, namely, in the revocation of the tithes of all the churches of Germany granted by Gregory XIII. for the support of the Elector of Cologne. The Emperor had protested against this measure, as being likely to arouse the suspicions of the Protestants that a league was being formed against them. He was therefore very annoyed when the Pope, in a letter to the Duke of Bavaria, had adduced some such reason.<sup>4</sup> The form, too, of the brief of September 21st, 1585, which dissuaded Rudolph II. from supporting the Huguenots, had not given satisfaction at the Imperial court. In order to contradict the rumours that the Holy See intended to take action against the Protestant Electors, as it had done against

<sup>1</sup> Later on the visitation was entirely suspended. See REICHENBERGER, I., 85 seq., 88, 90 seq., 125 seq., 140 seq., 144 seq., 153 seq., 160 seq., 199 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Hirn in his dissertation on Reichenberger in the *Allg. Literaturblatt der österr. Leo-Gesellschaft*, XVII., 621, doubts whether the recall of Malaspina was caused by his acceptance of the Imperial decree for the visitation, and supposes that the action taken by the nuncio for Papal assistance for Rudolph had undermined his position.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Avvisi in REICHENBERGER, I., 134, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 145 seq.; REICHENBERGER, I., xxix., 143, 172, 193.

Navarre, by deposition, the brief stated that this was not intended; but the words "we will not molest them" did not seem a sufficient guarantee in the eyes of the Imperial ministers.<sup>1</sup>

How great were the fears generally entertained by the Catholics of the Protestants was also shown in the appointment of the successor of Malaspina. The Pope had at first intended to send to Germany a nuncio-extraordinary, in order to induce the Catholic princes to come to the assistance of the Elector of Cologne in recovering Neuss. But Duke William of Bavaria made a protest against this, because such a thing would cause grave suspicion among the Protestants. The Pope therefore agreed that Filippo Segá should be sent, not as a nuncio-extraordinary, but as an ordinary nuncio. On January 18th, 1586, his credentials were prepared, but as he had already been employed upon the negotiations for an alliance, the Emperor feared that his very personality would again give rise to the suspicion that he was aiming at forming a Catholic league.<sup>2</sup> But no attention was paid in Rome to these objections.

Segá, whose departure was hindered by heavy snowstorms,<sup>3</sup> reached Innsbruck at the end of March, 1586, whence he went by way of Vienna to Prague. He reached that city on April 17th. At Innsbruck he received fuller information as to the position of affairs in Germany from the Archduke Ferdinand, and at Vienna from the Archduke Ernest.<sup>4</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Instead of "Non incommodaremus" Rudolph wished for the more precise words "non incommodabimus"; see HÜBNER, I., 449. Cf. REICHENBERGER, I., xxvii., 169 *seq.*, 189 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 219 *seq.*, 223, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Segá, according to the \*report of C. Capilupi of January 18, 1586, was already at that time ready to set out. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 220 *seq.* Galesinus (\*Annales 99b, Vatican Library) praises Segá as "vir in rebus gerendis industrius."

further received detailed instructions from his predecessor.<sup>1</sup> Malaspina had written a full account for the Pope, in which he gave a picture of the conditions which he had found, of the principles which had guided him, and a formal programme of the policy to be adopted for the Catholic restoration in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Sega had been charged by Cardinal Azzolini, the Secretary of State, to urge Rudolph II. to promote Catholic reform in every way and in all circumstances, and "in a special way" to obtain his help in defeating the partisans of Gebhard Truchsess in the question of Cologne. It was principally on this account that the Pope was sending a nuncio, "because there was reason to fear a great conflagration there."<sup>3</sup> For this purpose he was before all things to point out the dangers which would result to the Empire from the intervention of England in these disputes. The nuncio was also to express the special satisfaction of the Pope to those bishops, such as Julius Echter of Würzburg and Johann von Schönenberg of Trêves, who had indefatigably promoted the Catholic cause.

Sega's position at the Imperial court was rendered difficult from the first, because the departure of his predecessor was looked upon with great regret there. The new nuncio could not succeed in dispelling the suspicion that he had been sent to form a new league, or to stir up concerted action against the Protestant Electors.<sup>4</sup> He made his position worse by

<sup>1</sup> (\*Instructione de rebus Germanicis) partially preserved in Borghese, IV., 274, pp. 132-140, Papal Secret Archives. As to whether Malaspina is not the author see EHSes in *Röm Quartlaschr.* XIX., 96 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 211-216.

<sup>3</sup> The instructions missing in Reichenberger were found by me in the original draft in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello, Istruzioni, I., 134 *seq.*: \*Instruttione per Mons. di Piacenza, signed by Cardinal Azzolini, s.d., and beginning with the words: "Continuando le turbulenze di Colonia."

<sup>4</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xxxviii., 224. Cf. *ibid.*, 170, n. 1 for the intentions of the Curia, which were also believed in Rome,

publishing the bull *In Coena Domini* without first coming to an understanding with the Emperor. The indignation which Rudolph displayed on this occasion arose both from his morbid sense of dignity, and from his haunting fear of the Protestants. At first he refused to give Segá an audience, and even thought of asking for his recall. But at last Segá succeeded in obtaining his audience on June 14th, 1586, and in smoothing over the occurrence. He attributed the whole blame to the vice-chancellor, Vieheuser,<sup>1</sup> but as it was only possible to see the Emperor on rare occasions, it was impossible to avoid this man, who had so much influence in all public business. Unfortunately Segá was not able to get on to good terms with him, and in consequence could neither accomplish very much, nor acquire much influence. To this was added the fact that Segá's character, which was easily moved to harshness and rigour, was in sharp contrast to that of the diplomatic Malaspina.<sup>2</sup>

In these circumstances we cannot be surprised that Segá should have painted the situation in much darker colours than his predecessor, who was certainly no optimist.<sup>3</sup> He com-  
 against the Protestant Electors (*cf.* BEZOLD, II., 300), which Sixtus V. resolutely denied. Thus \*Sporeno wrote on January 2, 1586, that the Pope had said, "nunquam se cogitasse de depositione electorum haereticorum" (*cf.* HIRN, II., 133, n. 3). See also the \*report of Sporeno of January 4 and March 1, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. The rumour was again spread in the autumn of 1589: see DROYSEN, *Oratio legati Lotharingici ad Sixtum P.M.*, Jena, 1586. *Cf.* STIEVE in *Abh. der Münchner Akad.*, XV., I, 13 *seq.*; see BEZOLD in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1900, n. 7, p. 541 n.; SCHWEIZER, III., 76 *seq.*; all these three scholars have overlooked the work of Droysen; Schweizer again printed the "Oratio legati Lotharingici ad Sixtum P.M."

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 248 *seq.*, 253 *seq.*, 256 *seq.*, 262 *seq.*, 282 *seq.*, 284 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* HIRN in *Allg. Literaturblatt der österr. Leo-gesellschaft*, XVII., 620 *seq.* See also BEZOLD, *Briefe des Joh. Casimir II.*, 270 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The general descriptions of the situation in Germany, both by the nuncios as well as in the Venetian reports contain inexacti-

plained bitterly of the inaccessibility of the Emperor, of his dependence upon his advisers, and of his many usurpations of the property of the Church. Segna was much deceived as to the spread of the new doctrines, though he rightly looked upon the immorality which had spread among the clergy and the weakness of the Emperor as the principal causes of this. Yet he was not discouraged. His chief hope of improvement lay from the first in the quiet but persevering work of the Jesuits and of the alumni of the pontifical seminaries.<sup>1</sup>

It was disastrous to the work of the nuncio at the Imperial court that the relations between Rudolph II. and Sixtus V. were growing steadily worse. To what lengths this had gone was clearly seen when at the end of the summer of 1586 the customary Imperial commission sent to make the *obedientia* arrived in Rome. In his reply the Pope spoke of the succession to the Empire, complained of the great influence exercised by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, urged the taking of steps against the innovators, especially the Calvinists, insisted that no civil investiture should be given without the Papal approbation, urged the upholding of Catholic interests at Cologne, Aix and Strasbourg, and also enlarged upon the matter of the Imperial fief of Count Landi, Val di Taro, which had been seized by the Duke of Parma, and which had several times occupied the attention of Malaspina. The Emperor had this matter much at heart. The plan which was outlined by the Pope was so little satisfactory to the envoys, already annoyed by the ill-success of their efforts to obtain money for the war against the Turks, that they refused to accept the brief dated August 13th. A copy therefore was only sent to Segna.<sup>2</sup>

tudes and even contradictions. Thus Malaspina in his report to Sixtus V. says that the "nobili del Tirolo e di Baviera sono heretici o inclinati all' heresia," whereas Segna writes: "le manco infette de tutte (le provincie) sono il contado di Tirolo e la Baviera." REICHENBERGER, I., 215 and 244.

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 224, 240 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 264 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I., xl., 227 n. 1, 236, n. 3, 284, n. 1, 301 *seq.*, 309 *seq.*, 24, n. 3; HÜBNER, II., 18 *seq.* The relations between the

The displeasure of the Emperor rendered the position of the nuncio accredited to him 'extraordinarily' difficult, and he saw himself becoming more and more isolated and unable to exercise the influence over the course of religious questions which was desirable. When in 1587 Segá took the necessary steps with the Emperor to save the bishopric of Lübeck, which like that of Verden had been rendered vacant by the death of Eberhard von Holle, who had become a Protestant, he himself had no hopes of being successful. There also followed the loss of Halberstadt, the administrator of which, Henry Julius of Brunswick, had married, and sought by force to obtain the bishopric of Minden as well. Segá advised the encouragement of the efforts of the Archbishop of Cologne to obtain these bishoprics. In March, 1587, the nuncio obtained the election and confirmation of a Catholic, Count Anton von Schaumberg, who, however, did not fulfil the hopes entertained of him. Segá also laboured on behalf of the Catholics to prevent the concession of the regalia to the Protestant Bishop of Osnabrück, as well as in the disputes concerning Augsburg, and in both these matters met with friendly dispositions on the part of the Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

But the attention of Segá, as of his predecessor, was chiefly fixed upon the religious condition of Bohemia and Austria, which for the most part was in a very lamentable state. Segá saw the fundamental reason for this in the neglect of the government, which almost instigated the Protestants to usurpations, and in the old abuse of the interference of the civil officials in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He set this forth in a special memorial which was presented to the Emperor

Emperor and the Pope, which at first had been improved (see PRIULI, 314), became worse on account of other occurrences; see GRITTI, 341; HÄBERLIN, XV., 164 *seq.*, and especially ZÖCHBAUR, Rudolf II. und die Nachfolgefrage, I., Urfahr, 1899, 31 *seq.*, 35 *seq.*

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xlv. *seq.*, and EISES-MEISTER, I., 220 *seq.* For the fate of the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Lübeck, Minden and Osnabrück *cf.* SCHMIDLIN, Kirchl. Zustände, 581 *seq.*, 584 *seq.*, 589 *seq.*, 596 *seq.*

by the Archduke Ernest, the zealous promoter of the Catholic restoration, so much so that he was honoured by Sixtus V. by the bestowal of the blessed sword.<sup>1</sup> In this document a request was made above all for a change of the present ecclesiastical councillors in Austria. But Sega was unable to obtain such drastic measures, though he succeeded in getting these officials supplemented by some Catholics. On the other hand his efforts to get the edict long since issued against the Picards in Bohemia put into force were fruitless.<sup>2</sup> Affairs there were irreparably ruined. Archbishop Medek of Prague was on strained terms with Sega, as he had already been with Malaspina. Medek, Sega reported, hates the nuncios and the Jesuits, and the whole country would rejoice if he were summoned to Rome.<sup>3</sup>

The nuncio at Graz, Caligari, also had to contend with great difficulties. Sixtus V. had warned him to make every effort there that none but Catholics were admitted to the privy council of the Archduke Charles, and the heretics dismissed, as well as to see that at Graz and the other cities of the principality the Confession of Augsburg was prohibited. Finally, the nuncio was to strive, by visitations, warnings and punishments, to bring about the reform of the prelates and the religious.<sup>4</sup> Caligari showed no lack of zeal in carrying

<sup>1</sup> See *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 137.

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., xlv. *seq.*, 239, 264, 267, 286 *seq.*, 310, 341, 343, 347.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, I., xlvii., 356, 367. Cf. KRÖSS, 580. As in other places praiseworthy things are said of Medek (see SCHMIDLIN, 150) Sega's opinion must be modified.

<sup>4</sup> See SCHUSTER, Fürstbischof M. Brenner, 644. With this monograph, which is based on profound researches into archives, and written in classical and eloquent language, the description of LOSERTH, Reformation u. Gegenreformation in den inner österr. Landen im 16 Jahrh., Stuttgart, 1898, and which is also drawn from many archival sources, is in many points in agreement, though it is not always objective, and does not sufficiently use all the material. Cf. the critique of both these works by Dr. Starzer, who as a member of the Austrian Historical Society in Rome, was



out these instructions. It was of great importance for the reform of religious conditions that at the very beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V., they were successful, with the help of the nuncio, in placing in the vacant sees of Lavant and Seckau two bishops who were destined to be the pioneers of Catholic reform and restoration in Central Austria. These were George Stobäus, an alumnus of the German College in Rome,<sup>1</sup> and Martin Brenner, who as early as 1585 had begun a complete visitation of his diocese.<sup>2</sup> As Caligari also found a staunch supporter in the Bishop of Laibach, Johann Tautscher, who, with the permission of the Holy See, had been living at Graz as vicar and president of the government,<sup>3</sup> and also in the Jesuits,<sup>4</sup> there was reason to hope for a progressive improvement in the state of affairs, hitherto so anxious, since almost the whole of the nobles and burgesses were adherents of Protestantism. This was the case, not only throughout Styria, but also in Carinthia and Carniola. the majority of the country folk, however, were almost everywhere Catholic.<sup>5</sup>

The Archduke Charles gave indisputable proofs of his real wish to oppose Protestantism in his dominions, and if possible

deeply versed in the period in question ; see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXI., 531 *seq.* Loserth steadily calls the nuncio " Bishop of Britonoria " (505, 521, 599, 600), an expression which is frequently met with in the acta and correspondence (p. xxxi. and 563). It should read " Bricinorium " (Bertinoro).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. STEPISCHNEGG in *Archiv. f. österr. Geschichtsquellen*, XV., 73 *seq.* ; MAYR-DEISINGER in *Zeitschr. f. allg. Gesch.*, IV., 1887, 124 *seq.* ; ROBITSCH, *Gesch. der Protest. in der Steiermark* 181 *seq.* ; STEINHUBER, I., 337 *seq.* ; REICHENBERGER, I., 444 ; SCHMIDLIN, 104 *seq.* Stobäus is deserving of a monograph, such as Schuster has devoted to Brenner, for the work of Stepischnegg is insufficient, and still more that of Mayr-Deisinger.

<sup>2</sup> See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 197 *seq.*, 247 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See SCHMIDLIN, 33 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 436.

<sup>5</sup> See the report of Caligari, May 20, 1586, in REICHENBERGER, I., 464.

to eradicate it altogether, but the Archduke's councillors, with the exception of the chancellor, showed but little interest in the restoration of the Catholic faith. Many of them were openly favourable to the religious changes, or, like the court-marshal, Count Ambrose of Thurn, sought to promote them secretly. The kindly and unpretentious Archduke for the most part did not resist these tendencies with the necessary resoluteness,<sup>1</sup> and therefore Caligari was unable to attain that success in fighting the Protestant movement which, in his ardent zeal, he had looked for; on the other hand his efforts to revive Catholic life among the Catholics of Graz were more successful. In 1585 the nuncio, before a great concourse of people, administered the sacrament of confirmation in the church of the Dominicans, after it had almost completely fallen into disuse. In the same year the preaching in the capital of Styria was made much more efficient, the procession of Corpus Domini was made solemnly, and the jubilee published by Sixtus V. at the beginning of his pontificate was observed with all pomp. By no means inconsiderable progress was also made with the reform of the clergy, both regular and secular.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of a university at Graz was of great importance for the preservation and restoration of the Catholic religion; this was erected by Sixtus V. on January 1st, 1586, and entrusted to the Jesuits, who were there to train men who should be definitely Catholics, of whom the Archduke could make use for "the good of the state," and especially

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, I., 441 *seq.*, 460. The sentiments of the Archduke Charles were good, but his "ministri" are "per la maggior parte heretici" reports Priuli in a \*dispatch from Rome, August 24, 1585, State Archives, Venice.

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 449 *seq.*, 455 *seq.* Cf. SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 647 *seq.* The exhortation of Caligari to the Archduke Charles concerning the unworthy proposals of Stainz and Vorau, published by LOSERTH in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXIV., 344 *seq.*, had to a great extent long before been published by SUGENHEIM (*Bayerns Volkzustände*, 539 *seq.*).

for the "preservation of the hereditary Catholic religion."<sup>1</sup> About a year later the Archduke renewed the already existing prohibition<sup>2</sup> of studying in other schools.

The usefulness of the university of Graz could only be realized by degrees. Caligari who, in his great zeal, looked for immediate results, seems to have imperfectly realized the importance of this institution. This certainly was due to the fact that his good relations with the Jesuits had changed into feelings of quite another kind. The reasons for this change are fairly clear.<sup>3</sup> The nuncio's position was also made more difficult by the fact that his relations with the Archduke, hitherto so good, had become strained. There can be no doubt that the refusal of Sixtus V. to erect a new diocese at Görz, and to grant money for the war against the Turks contributed to this. The nuncio for his part had reason to complain more and more of the weakness of the Archduke, who under the influence of his entourage, constantly opposed the requests on matters of religion made to him by the representatives of the Holy See. In these circumstances the impetuous Caligari lost courage to such an extent as to ask for his recall in 1587, which was granted.<sup>4</sup> Caligari's action was very precipitate, for it was just at that time that the government at Graz was beginning to work systematically for the repression of Protestantism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See PEINLICH, Grazer Programm, 1870, 29 *seq.*; KRONES, 605 *seq.*; LOSERTH, Reformation, 482; the same, Akten u. Korrespondenzen zur Gesch. der Gegenreformation in Inner-österreich, xxxi. *seq.*; the same, Die protest. Schulen in Steiermark, Berlin, 1916, 79; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 218 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 166 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 453 *seq.*, 467; DUHR, I., 842; LOSERTH, Akten u. Korrespondenzen, 590 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> This too clearly brings out the fact that the documents concerning the nunciature of Caligari at Graz are only preserved in part.

<sup>4</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 448 *seq.*, 457 *seq.* The return of Caligari to Rome is announced by Gritti in his \*dispatch of May 2, 1587. State Archives, Venice.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. LOSERTH in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1897, app. III. 28 and 31.

In the same year 1587 Sega too obtained his recall, which he had repeatedly asked for ; during the last months of his residence at Prague his chief preoccupation was centred round the preliminary intrigues concerning the succession to the throne of Poland.<sup>1</sup>

Like the nunciatures at Prague and Graz, that of Cologne also underwent a change in 1587, though in the latter case the change was brought about by the death of the nuncio, Giovanni Bonhomini, which took place on February 25th, 1587. This distinguished man, the friend of Charles Borromeo, and of like sentiments with him, had displayed great activity, and was therefore held in high esteem by Sixtus V.<sup>2</sup>

The threat to the Archbishop of Cologne which resulted from the capture of Neuss, caused Bonhomini, on May 20th, 1585, to go to the Netherlands, to obtain the help of the Spanish governor, Alessandro Farnese. He stayed there for two months, principally to initiate the much needed reform of religious conditions by holding a provincial synod. The position was more favourable for such a thing there than it was on the Rhine, where for the time being it was impossible to think of holding synods, either at Cologne, because of the fall of Neuss, at Trêves, on account of the disturbances caused by the French wars, or at Mayence, on account of the timidity of the archbishop, Wolfgang von Dalberg. Supported by the vicar-general of Liège, Lavinus Torrentius, Bonhomini was successful in arranging for the convocation of a synod for October 3rd, and in making a beginning with the reform of the clergy and especially in the matter of preventing concubinage.

Bonhomini also started the process against the unworthy

<sup>1</sup> For this *cf. infra*, pp. 163 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> By a brief of October 12, 1585, Sixtus V. not only confirmed the faculties granted to Bonhomini by Gregory XIII., but added to them considerably ; see MERGENTHEIM, I., 270. In addition to what has already been said of Bonhomini in Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 168-185 ; *cf. also Bijdrag v. d. geschied v. het bisdom Haarlem*, XXXIV. (1912), 231 *seq.*, and *Arch. d. Soc. Vercell.*, XII. (1920), 73 *seqq.*

abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Lawrence at Liège, and promulgated in that city the jubilee published by Sixtus V. at the beginning of his pontificate. He did the same later on on the Rhine, hoping in this way to restore religious life and participation in the sacraments of the Church. At Cologne, where Bonhomini passed the first three weeks of August, he strove to impress upon the canons their duty of residence, and laboured to prevent the spread of Protestantism. The indefatigable nuncio also visited the Dukes of Jülich-Cleves, father and son, at Siegburg, and made every effort to induce them to dismiss the pastors and Protestant officials. In September Bonhomini was forced by gout to seek a cure at the celebrated baths of Aix, but his health became worse because during his cure he laboured too hard in administering confirmation and in other pastoral works on behalf of the Catholics of Aix.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of his ill-health he went in the last week of September, 1585, to Liège, where a hard struggle was awaiting him, since the introduction of the decrees of Trent meant to the clergy the giving up of certain privileges and exemptions, and Bishop Ernest feared from the limitation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction the reduction of his revenues, but Bonhomini succeeded, with great firmness coupled with prudent condescension, in overcoming all these obstacles. His joy was great when the synod held at Liège from October 3rd to 5th happily resulted in the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and thus laid the foundations for a lasting reform.<sup>2</sup> How necessary it was to take steps for the moral

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 1-iv., 102, 104 *seq.*, 107, 109 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 114, 116 *seq.*, 122 *seq.*, 143.

<sup>2</sup> EHSSES-MEISTER, I., iv., 150, 152 *seq.*, 161 *seq.*, 166, n. 1; EHSSES in the periodical *Pastor Bonus*, VI. (1894), 236 *seq.*; A. v. HOVE, Les statuts synodaux Liégeois de 1585, in *Anal. p. s. à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, XXXIII. (1907), 5 *seqq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 529. There is also reference to the synod of Liège in a \*letter of Bonhomini to the chancellor of Treves, Joh. Wimpfeling, dated 1585, Cal. oct. (Sept. 26), in Cod. 107, Vol. II., n. 31, in the Gymnasium library, Coblenz.

reform of the clergy was shown by the process against the Abbot of St. Lawrence, in whose punishment and degradation, which was finally decided upon, Bonhomini never lost sight of that gentleness, which was befitting in the representative of the supreme pastor. Even while he was away, he did not lose sight of Cologne, and could not rest until the council had driven the rebellious Calvinists from the city, and forbidden them to return in future. After the end of the synod the zealous nuncio, in spite of his failing health, took part in person in the visitation of almost all the churches and monasteries of the diocese of Liège, in order thus to complete and consolidate the work of reform.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1586 Bonhomini again visited the Low Countries to prepare for a provincial synod of the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai. This was held in October, 1586, at Mons, under the presidency of himself and the Archbishop of Cambrai, Louis de Berlaymont. The decrees showed in all respects the closest conformity with the reforms of Trent; they only differed from those made at Liège in that here not only were the decrees of Trent promulgated, and explained by decrees made by the nuncio, but the entire sphere of religious life, and of the duties of bishops and pastors, was summarized in twenty-four chapters, and regulated by numerous canons.<sup>2</sup> How efficacious was the impulse given by Bonhomini was shown by the fact that in 1589 the new and excellent Bishop of Tournai, Jean Vendeville, followed his example and held a diocesan synod.<sup>3</sup> The indefatigable nuncio, who had fallen ill at Mons, was hardly recovered when he made a visitation of the diocese of Cambrai in order personally to superintend the introduction of the decrees of the synod. The result was a radical change in the morals of

<sup>1</sup> See CHAPEVILLE, III., 540; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lv., 168 *seq.*, 170 *seq.*, 175 *seq.*, 186, 190.

<sup>2</sup> HARTZHEIM, VII., 991 *seq.*; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lvii. *Cf.* GOUSSET, *Les actes de la province ecclési. de Reims*, III., Rheims, 1844, 542 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> HARTZHEIM, VII., 1036 *seq.*

the clergy. It was then that the celebrated monastery of Lobbes was reformed.<sup>1</sup>

From Lobbes Bonhomini went to the Archbishop of Trêves, Johann von Schönenberg, who was closely allied with him by ties of friendship and common ideas, with whom he had dealings in 1585 concerning the convocation of a diocesan synod. To this frail man, accustomed as he was to the climate of Italy, the journey was all the more laborious in that it was made in the depths of winter, which was an especially hard one, and led him through the wild forests of the Ardennes. This proved the final blow to the exhausted body of the nuncio. When, at the beginning of December, Bonhomini reached Liège, his favourite residence, he was a dying man. Like a loyal soldier, wrote Lavinus Torrentius, he did not spare his own life, nor took any care of himself when he could be of any use to the Christian people. Though his physical powers were exhausted, it was not so with his energy. It was while he was preparing the decrees of the synod of Liège for the press, that Our Lord called His faithful servant to Himself (February 25th, 1587). Bonhomini's last days were as edifying as his whole life had been, and his biographer tells us that when he was seriously ill, in spite of the injunctions of his physicians, he would not relax his strict observance of the fast of Lent. Before his death he wished once again to make the Tridentine profession of faith.<sup>2</sup>

Sixtus V., who had taken a close interest in the labours of Bonhomini, intended to confer the purple on the man whose name was intimately bound up with the successful defeat of the most dangerous Protestant attack upon the Catholic territories of the Rhineland. At the consistory of April 6th, 1587, he lamented the death of this man who was only in his fiftieth year, and who, on fire with zeal for the salvation of souls, and refusing no sacrifice of health or goods, had laboured without respite on behalf of the Catholic people, and said

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES, II., 521 *seq.* Cf. PIRENNE, IV., 487.

<sup>2</sup> See *Compte rendu de l' acad. de Bruxelles*, III., 11 (1870), 212 ; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lix. *seq.* ; EHSSES, II., 522 *seq.*

that he would for all time hold an honoured place among the nuncios of Germany. He very justly alluded to the successes that the work of Catholic reform and restoration in Germany might have won if, instead of Ernest of Bavaria and Wolfgang von Dalberg, the archiepiscopal sees of Cologne and Mayence had been occupied by such men as Charles Borromeo and Bonhomini.<sup>1</sup>

Bonhomini had devoted himself to his work of reform in the spirit of self-sacrifice which showed the disciple of Charles Borromeo ; this had been the primary scope of the nunciature at Cologne, when Bonhomini was carried off by death. He found a successor in Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, Bishop of Cajazzo, who, although he was a man of quite different character, and much more of a diplomatist, nevertheless worked for the same end, the renewal of religious life among both clergy and people. His appointment was made on June 13th, 1587. It was probably with only oral instructions that he set out in July, reaching Cologne on August 25th.<sup>2</sup>

The state of affairs in Germany had been until then entirely unknown to Frangipani, who was a Neapolitan. Yet the choice of the nuncio, which proved to be a complete success, was probably due to the initiative of the Pope, who was very independent in such matters. The diplomatic talents of Frangipani were very opportune in the strained conditions existing in the Rhineland. He was able to familiarize himself with the complicated conditions in a comparatively short time, and always to intervene with firmness, prudence and calmness. Unlike his predecessor, with the exception of a stay of a few months in the Low Countries, by reason of a

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lix. *seq.* Cf. COLOMBO, Bonomi, 86 *seq.*, 102 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xvi., xx., 4 *seq.* \*G. Gritti, who had on April 18, 1587, reported the current rumour of the sending of a Cardinal legate to the Diet, announced on June 13 the appointment of Frangipani (State Archives, Venice). For the ample faculties of Frangipani see MERGENTHEIM, I., 273 *seq.* ; for his life see L. V. DER ESSEN, Corresp. d' Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, Rome, 1924, lxvii. *seq.*



theological dispute at the University of Louvain,<sup>1</sup> he remained almost entirely in the capital of the Rhineland. The state of affairs there, even after the crisis occasioned by Gebhard Truchsess had been surmounted, was such as to make the presence of the nuncio very desirable. While Rheinsberg was still in the hands of the adherents of Gebhard, the position in the Rhineland, in spite of the reforms inaugurated by Bonhomini, still presented many lamentable features, although there were not wanting brighter signs. The good people of the Rhineland had for the most part remained true to the faith of their fathers ; they frequented the churches with diligence and piety, and conscientiously observed the Paschal precept. Frangipani also soon formed a good impression of the clergy entrusted with the care of souls, and praised their zeal and hard work. He also noted with special satisfaction among the Catholics of Cologne a keen pursuit of learning. Besides the ecclesiastical historians and scholars, such as Michael Eyzinger, Petrus Suffridius, Michael ab Isselt and Georg Braun, distinguished polemical writers, such as Cornelius Schülting-Steinweg, Johann Nopel and Gaspar Ulenberg, were also very active. The magistracy showed themselves to be sincerely attached to the Catholic Church, even though in some cases, through consideration for economic interests, they were inclined to favour the Netherland heretics. The solemn offices in the cathedral were still suffering from the neglect of the noble canons. On the whole, however, he could, thanks to the work already done by Bonhomini, feel fairly satisfied with the state of affairs in Cologne. On the other hand the position was bad in Westphalia, where Gebhard Truchsess' apostasy had met with a far greater following, and where immorality and ignorance were very prevalent among the clergy.<sup>2</sup>

Frangipani had every intention of fulfilling the duties of his position, and he very soon formed the plan of making a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 186 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See EISES, II., xxiii. *seq.*, 15, 29 *seq.*, 104, 137, 148, 477, 481, 498. For G. Braun cf. *Jahrb. des Kölnischen Gesch.-Vereins*, III. (1916).

thorough visitation of the archdiocese of Cologne. This project was fully approved in Rome, but insistence was laid upon his coming to a better understanding with the archbishop, the clergy and the magistracy of Cologne.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the chief obstacle in the way of Frangipani's plans of reform was the archbishop himself, the Prince Elector, Ernest of Bavaria. Having entered upon an ecclesiastical career without a vocation, this scion of the house of Wittelsbach, who held five other dioceses in addition to Cologne, was anything but a prince of the Church, in the sense of the Catholic restoration.<sup>2</sup> Entirely worldly in his ideas, this Bavarian prince performed his ecclesiastical duties so little that Frangipani soon realized the necessity of associating with him a number of auxiliary bishops. The Elector went but rarely to Cologne, and resided for the most part in Westphalia or at Liège. Although he refrained from the temptation to secularize himself as his predecessor had done, he not only was devoted to banqueting and hunting, but also gave much scandal by his moral conduct, so that Sixtus V. very justly spoke in very harsh terms of him.<sup>3</sup>

Frangipani visited the clever but frivolous Elector of Cologne for the first time in the autumn of 1587 at Bonn, and in the name of the Pope addressed severe rebukes to him, quite frankly but also in an affectionate spirit. But no matter how much the nuncio did so, and in spite of the fact that Sixtus V. did not conceal his great displeasure, Ernest made no attempt to change his scandalous ways. He flatly refused to give up the bishopric of Freising, which Sixtus V. demanded of him, whereupon the Pope even went so far as to threaten him. In the circumstances Frangipani thought it his duty to urge a policy of indulgence, as without the goodwill of the Elector, his efforts at reform would have to remain

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES, II., 9 *seq.*, 24, 28. *Cf. ibid.*, 35 *seq.* the reply that they must radically change the statutes of the chapter concerning the nobility.

<sup>2</sup> Opinion of Bezold in his valuable recension of the Nuntiaturberichte of Ehses in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1900, n. 7, p. 518.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* EHSSES, I., 43, 77, 87 n. 1; BEZOLD, *loc. cit.*

as fruitless as the weaving of Penelope.<sup>1</sup> By his prudent restraint, Frangipani succeeded, in the course of his conversation at Bonn, in persuading Ernest to give him full authority to make a visitation of the archdiocese. The nuncio thereupon at once made preparations on a large scale, and was hoping to begin this useful work before the end of 1587, when, during the night between December 22nd and 23rd, Bonn, the residence of the Elector, was seized by the adventurer, Martin Schenk of Niedeggen, an adherent of Gebhard Truchsess, which occasioned an unfortunate delay.<sup>2</sup> But with the help of Alessandro Farnese, who, by reason of the close relations between the Low Countries and the Lower Rhineland, was deeply interested in the safety of the Catholics of Cologne, it was possible to win back Bonn on September 29th, 1588;<sup>3</sup> but this success, which was due in great measure to the zeal and courage of Frangipani, had its drawbacks, as the Spanish troops had to occupy Bonn, Neuss and Kaiserswerth. It was soon obvious that the fickle Elector Ernest, who, as far as the civil administration of his archdiocese was concerned, was deeply involved in the military disturbances in the Low Countries, left a great deal to be desired in the matter of the ecclesiastical administration.

The electoral principality of Cologne had fallen into such a state of confusion as far as its civil administration and finances were concerned, as to be on the verge of bankruptcy. Frangipani found himself obliged to intervene, and he set himself to this intricate and unpleasant task with the conviction that, until this state of affairs had been cleared up, his activities on behalf of religion could have no lasting results. Since all his energies were taken up by this labour of Sisiphus, namely of putting in order the civil administration and finances of the archdiocese of Cologne,<sup>4</sup> he was unable

<sup>1</sup> See EHSES, II., 22, 41 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 51, 60 *seq.*, 77. How greatly the Pope grieved over the loss of Bonn, to the agent of the Duke of Bavaria, *cf.* the \*report of Gritti, February 6, 1588, State Archives, Venice.

<sup>3</sup> See EHSES, II., 184 *seq.*; BEZOLD, *loc. cit.*, 520.

<sup>4</sup> See the clear account of EHSES, II., xxi. *seq.*

to evolve any systematic or complete plan of reform. " Everything here is going to ruin " he complained on one occasion.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, as far as reform was concerned, the nuncio strove to do all that was possible in the circumstances. At Cologne he succeeded in restoring the solemn offices in the cathedral, in preventing the admission into the chapter of the Protestant Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg, in introducing the Observant Friars Minor, and in working for the establishment of good Catholic primary schools. As the promulgation of the Council of Trent in its entirety was not possible, Frangipani began by introducing it gradually, first by obliging the clergy of all ranks and dignities to make the Tridentine profession of faith, and then by introducing the canons on the administration of the sacraments.<sup>2</sup> He found his most valuable helpers in the Jesuits, whose activity in educational and pastoral works filled him with so great enthusiasm, that he wished to see one of their houses set up in all the more important centres.<sup>3</sup>

Lamentable and unfortunately insuperable obstacles stood in the way of the principal means of ecclesiastical reform, a canonical visitation and a provincial synod, so that Frangipani had to be content with introducing an improvement in certain individual matters. He first set his hand to the removal of the two fundamental evils among the clergy, concubinage and simony. In this matter he allowed no difficulties to stand in his way, and he took severe proceedings against all public transgressions of celibacy. He displayed both severity and gentleness in his visitation of the monastery of Kerpen.<sup>4</sup> Even in that part of the archdiocese which lay within Westphalia, and was equally in danger, Frangipani's efforts,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, lxiii. seq., 50, 72, 76 seq., 123 seq., 200 seq., 280 seq., 313 seq., 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II., xlv., 197, 212, 253 seq., 433, 440. Cf. DUHR, I., 416, 846 seq. For the attitude of the Jesuits at Cologne cf. PFÜLF in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LVIII., 89 seq., where the information in the " Buches Weinsberg " is made use of.

<sup>4</sup> See EHSES, II., xlvi. seq., 187, 249, 282, 316.

which here were backed up by the Elector, effected an improvement in religious affairs.<sup>1</sup> At Cologne itself, as far as man could judge, the Catholic religion was on an assured and lasting basis.<sup>2</sup> Taking all things together it may be said that Frangipani had done all that could be done for the improvement of the archdiocese of Cologne. In Rome he received well-deserved praise for the prudence and zeal which he had displayed, as well as for his perseverance and constancy. Many other things which the nuncio had set before himself, such as the establishment of seminaries at Bonn and Neuss, came to nothing because of the unfavourable circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

One of the principal obstacles in the way of a general visitation was to be found in the opposition of the councillors of the decrepid William IV., Duke of Jülich-Cleves, who were to a great extent timid and vacillating Catholics. Unlike his father, the hereditary prince, John William, who had married Jacobea of Baden, the niece of Albert of Bavaria, was, to the great joy of Sixtus V., a zealous promoter of the Catholic cause. But unfortunately John William, in spite of his good dispositions, was lacking in the necessary self-command, so as to incur the jealousy and displeasure of his father.<sup>4</sup> It was to no purpose that the Pope, in accordance

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, xlix., 291, 326, 435. Cf. PIELER, Fürstenberg, 137; KAMPSCHULTE, Protestantismus in Westfalen, 323 seq., 337 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Thus reports Frangipani to Rome, July 5, 1590; see EHSES, I., 487.

<sup>3</sup> See EHSES, II., 276, 283, 289, 311, 316, 340, 375, 505.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvi., 339, 351, 353. *Ibid.*, 254 seq. the report of Frangipani concerning the custom of communion under both kinds in the villages of the Duchy of Jülich-Cleves; as this "abuso" could not be removed, it was tolerated by Rome (see *ibid.*, 270; cf. TEMPESTI, I., 635 seqq.). For the situation at the court of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves, where the Jesuit Peter Michael laboured with success from 1585 to 1587, see also DUHR, I., 151, and besides the work of STIEVE on the Duchess Jacobea, in *Zeitschr. des bergischen Gesch.-Vereins*, XIII., 1 seqq.; the article by UNKEL in *Annalen des Hist. Vereins f. den Niederrhein*, LIV., 98 seq.; where the reports of Frangipani are also used.

with the advice of Frangipani, sought to bring about a reconciliation between them.<sup>1</sup> An even more unfortunate circumstance was that the hereditary prince, on account of the calamities brought upon his country by the wars, threatened to quarrel with Spain, so that, partly owing to the annoyances caused him by his father's councillors, in the summer of 1589 he showed signs of the beginnings of mental derangement. John William had no children, and thus there arose a serious danger lest after his death the government should pass into the hands of one of his three sisters, who were married to Protestants. Frangipani sought every possible means of avoiding such a danger.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the safety of the Church in the territory of Jülich-Cleves,<sup>3</sup> which was of great importance because of its position, Frangipani also had greatly at heart the protection of the Catholics of Aix. As he was there supported by the Elector Ernest, he was able to bring about a substantial improvement.<sup>4</sup>

Frangipani also found a strong supporter in the Elector Ernest in his efforts for reform in the diocese of Liège, where the establishment of seminaries, both in the episcopal city and at Saint-Trond was of particular importance.<sup>5</sup> The nuncio also turned his attention to Holland, where, in spite of the difficulties of the position, even in the time of Gregory XIII., Catholicism had shown an encouraging development in the diocese of Utrecht.<sup>6</sup> In June, 1589, Frangipani reported to Rome that in Holland many had preserved the

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., 179, 193, 261; HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 286.

<sup>2</sup> See EHSES, II., liv. *seq.*, 228, 250, 306, 310, 329, 335, 337, 348, 382, 389, 420, 467, 471.

<sup>3</sup> See HILIEBRANDT, *loc. cit.*, 284 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EHSES, II., xlix., 48, 68, 211, 281, 355, 364, 376, 434, 444 *seq.*, 469, 479, 516 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See CHAPEVILLE, III., 541 *seq.*; EHSES, II., xxxi., xlviii., 196 *seq.*, 404, 419; PIRENNE, IV., 428 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. FRUIN, De werder opluiking van het Catholicisme in Noord-Nederland, in the *Verspreide Geschriften*, III., 249 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 377 *seq.*

faith, but that owing to the intolerance of the insurgents they could only be ministered to in secret, and that moreover many had returned to the ancient faith, so that the Catholic cause would make still greater progress when the bishoprics of Groningen and Deventer were once more filled. It is true that the last-named city was given a bishop in 1589, but was afterwards lost, as was Groningen, owing to the ascendancy of the rebels.<sup>1</sup> At that time the diocese of Saint-Omer and the archdiocese of Malines, where Cardinal Allen was unable to enter into possession of his office, were also unprovided for.<sup>2</sup> Ghent was again filled in 1588 by an excellent man, William Lindanus, who is celebrated as a writer, but he unfortunately died on November 2nd in the same year, and had no successor until 1590. In the same year the distinguished Jean Vendeville took possession of the see of Tournai.<sup>3</sup> At Antwerp the work of Catholic restoration was hindered by the fact that the bishop, Lavinus Torrentius, met with the greatest difficulties from his chapter. At the time when the city still belonged to the diocese of Cambrai, the chapter had obtained far-reaching exemptions from Popes Alexander VI., Leo X. and Adrian VI.; although Antwerp had been erected into a diocese by Paul IV., and its chapter had become a cathedral chapter, it maintained these exemptions when Torrentius, in accordance with the ordinances of the Council of Trent, asserted his own full episcopal jurisdiction. At the end of 1588 Frangipani succeeded in persuading both parties to leave the settlement of the matter in the hands of the Congregation of the Council in Rome. The latter decided in favour of the bishop, though this did not make the chapter give way, so that Gregory XIV. renewed the decision come to in the time of his predecessor, and took away in perpetuity

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES, II., 291.

<sup>2</sup> See BELLESHFIM, Allen, 183 *seq.*; for Saint Omers see EHSSES, II., 425.

<sup>3</sup> See GAMS, 248, 251. For Lindanus *cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 260; XX., p. 20, n. 4. A much needed monograph on the first Bishop of Roermond is being prepared by W. Schmetz, professor of theology at Koesfeld i W.

from the chapter of Antwerp the privileges in question. Duke Alessandro Farnese worked zealously in Rome on behalf of Torrentius, and also promoted the interests of the Church in every way he could.<sup>1</sup> In a report of June, 1590, Frangipani pointed out that the return of Holland and Zeeland to the Catholic Church depended upon their coming once more under the rule of Spain. The conversions of apostates which had taken place at Delft and elsewhere, he reported later on, was due to the priests who had been sent thither, but they were only able to work in secret.<sup>2</sup>

Very advantageous were the good relations into which Frangipani had entered with the distinguished Johann VII. von Schönenberg, the Archbishop of Trêves, a man filled with the spirit of the Catholic restoration. He esteemed this bishop so highly that he turned to him almost always in questions concerning the examination and appointment of aspirants to ecclesiastical benefices, both in Catholic and Protestant territories.<sup>3</sup> Frangipani frequently had to interfere in the unhappy struggle for jurisdiction between Fulda and Würzburg, in filling of abbatial vacancy at Hersfeld, the existence of which was seriously imperilled, in the conferring of benefices by the Pope, and in the question of the Imperial rights concerning the regalia in the Protestant

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES, II., 190 *seq.*, 213 *seq.*, 226.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, II., 483, 487. According to the \*report of Laurus Dubliul to the Duke of Parma, Rome, February 29, 1589, Sixtus V. praised the proposal to establish Jesuit colleges at Brussels and Groningen. *Négot. de Rome*, I., State Archives, Brussels. *Ibid.*, a \*letter from Cardinal Pellevé to the Duke of Parma, Rome, September 12, 1589, which says: "La St<sup>a</sup> di N.S. et questi miei ill. signori della congregazione sopra la riforma et negotii dei vescovi hanno inteso con molto piacere la domanda che vien fatta dal Senato di Gruninga per haver un collegio de' padri Gesuiti."

<sup>3</sup> See EHSSES, II., xxv., II, 59. For the restoration activity of Johann von Schönenberg *cf.* HONTHEIM, *Hist. Trev.*, III., 49, 146, 165, 170, 174, 180, 185; STIEVE, IV., 143, 183; SCHMIDLIN, 133; *Pastor Bonus*, 1894, n. 9.



territories of the Empire.<sup>1</sup> Frangipani also followed with the same close attention as his predecessor Bonhomini the course of the dangerous disputes in the chapter of Strasbourg. The measures that he adopted in this connexion are a further proof of his diplomatic caution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES, II., xlix. *seq.*, lii. *seq.*, 58 *seq.*, 360. Cf. WINTER in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1890, 136 *seq.* From the documents given here it is clear that the attempt to obtain by subterfuge the Papal confirmation for Kraft von Weissenbach, elected as abbot of Hersfeld on September 9, 1588, by concealing his Protestant views, failed owing to the vigilance of Sixtus V. Twelve years later, however, the annexation of this venerable abbey by the state of Hesse-Cassel took place.

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES-MEISLER, I., lxxxii.

### CHAPTER III.

#### WORK OF THE NUNCIOS IN HUNGARY, BOHEMIA, AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND.

ALTHOUGH Strasbourg belonged to the nunciature of Cologne, nevertheless the dispute between the Catholic and Protestant canons there, fell, in the circumstances, under the jurisdiction of the nuncio at the Imperial court. Here too a change had taken place in the nunciature when Segna was succeeded in 1587 by the Archbishop of Bari, Antonio Puteo. Armed with the customary faculties, the latter left Rome on March 21st, and reached Prague on May 15th.<sup>1</sup> Segna informed him verbally of all that had occurred, and also furnished him with written instructions, in which he explained the general principles to be observed in the work of the nunciature, and dealt with all those matters which were still waiting a solution.

In this interesting document<sup>2</sup> Segna points out as the primary duty of the nuncio, the preservation of the old faith in those parts of the Empire which were still Catholic. For the fulfilment of this task he recommends his successor to keep Rome closely informed, in which he could be especially helped by the Jesuits, to keep on good terms with the Emperor and his advisers, as well as with all the princes and Catholic prelates, to observe dignity and prudence in his behaviour, and to respect the German national customs, which were so different from those of Italy. He need not seek to enter into close relations with the Protestants, but on the other hand he must not avoid them, and must show them no dislike, but rather a paternal interest. Segna was of opinion that he must above all bring home to the Emperor how the

<sup>1</sup> SCHWEIZER, II., cxi. *seq.*, 8, 533.

<sup>2</sup> Published by REICHENBERGER, I., 411 *seq.*

Protestants were trying, in view of the progress of Calvinism as against Lutheranism, to take advantage of the radical tendencies of the time, and how, in spite of the religious peace of 1555, they were aiming at nothing less than the complete destruction of the Catholic religion in the Empire. In this matter he would find very useful the treatise *De autonomia*, published in 1586 by Andreas Erstenberger, which, in answer to the Protestant claims of every kind, not only subjected the question of independence to a learned theological examination, but discussed it principally from the legal point of view.<sup>1</sup> The worst enemy of the Catholics, according to Segá, was the Count Palatine, John Casimir, who was in close relations with Elizabeth of England, and the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries, and was working for the complete extermination of Catholicism in Germany.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the state of affairs in Austria, Segá especially called the attention of his successor to the intolerable usurpations by the Imperial officials over the right to administer ecclesiastical property, to the furthering of reform and Catholic restoration in Bohemia, to the protection of the Catholics at Glogau, and the filling of the vacant sees in Hungary.

Besides the questions concerning Austria, Segá spoke of the dispute about dominion at Fulda, and especially the publication of the ban of the Empire against Gebhard Truchsess, and the protection of the Catholics at Aix, Strasbourg and Augsburg. Segá was of opinion that wherever an opportunity offered of carrying into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent, it should be acted upon. He also spoke at length of the problem of the lack of priests. This was making itself felt in Poland and in the north, as well as throughout Germany and Hungary; the harvest was great but the labourers were few. The best remedy was to be

<sup>1</sup> For the scope and importance of the work of Erstenberger cf. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 461 *seqq.*, where the special literature is noted. The opinion of Segá in REICHENBERGER, I., 353.

<sup>2</sup> For the way in which John Casimir had been for years a friend of all the Calvinist states cf. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 3 *seq.*

found in the seminaries established by the Jesuits, the importance of which he intended to lay personally before the Pope. The instructions only touch briefly upon the Austrian claims to the crown of Poland, because on that matter Puteo was already fully informed in Rome. Yet this question was to absorb the greater part of the nuncio's energies during the next two years.<sup>1</sup> To this was added the Italian territorial disputes and the feudal controversies,<sup>2</sup> as well as the difficult question of filling the vacant episcopal sees in Hungary, where the state of affairs was unspeakably sad. Half that country was occupied by the Turks, while the other half was threatened by the same savage enemies of the Catholic faith. To add to its misfortunes Protestantism was almost everywhere prevalent; the one honourable exception was the diocese of Agram in Slavonia, where religious life was in a flourishing condition.<sup>3</sup>

This state of affairs had been fostered by the fact that many of the Hungarian bishops also held important civil offices, and neglected the interests of religion in favour of the latter. The position became quite intolerable when the Emperor, as his financial straits grew worse, no longer made any appointments to episcopal sees as they fell vacant, in order that he might have their revenues at his disposal. First Malaspina and then Segha had already called the attention of the Holy See to this abuse,<sup>4</sup> which meant the ruin of all care of souls. Puteo also devoted himself to this matter with great zeal, and sought to effect a change in the system of investitures. In Hungary it was the custom that the king (in this case the Emperor) should grant the regalia before Papal approbation.<sup>5</sup> The Holy See on the other hand

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 165 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> E.g. in 1589 the long dispute concerning Novellara; see SCHWEIZER, II., 209, 358, 367, 383 *seq.*, 395 *seq.*, 432 *seq.*, 449 *seq.*, 517 *seq.*

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

<sup>4</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 147, 237, 421.

<sup>5</sup> See FRANKÓI, A magyar királyi kegyűri jog, Budapest, 1895, 71 *seq.*; SCHWEIZER, II., cxxix.

demanded that, as was the case in Germany, Papal confirmation should precede Imperial investiture, and Puteo endeavoured in every way to arrange this, but to no purpose. On the other hand, during 1587 he obtained an Imperial appointment to the vacant sees of Raab, Neutra, Waitzen, Fünfkirchen, Veszprim, Csanad, Agram, Sirmium, Zengg and Knin. After the Holy See, in exact conformity with the canonical regulations, had received the necessary information, the Papal confirmation was granted in the case of all these sees, with the exception of Veszprim, where the bishop-elect had not attained the proper age.<sup>1</sup>

The filling of the vacant sees of Hungary was looked upon in Rome as a great success for Sixtus V., and his biographers could rightly attribute to the energetic Pope the credit for having saved the sees of Hungary from ruin.<sup>2</sup> By filling these sees with capable bishops the first step had been taken towards an improvement of ecclesiastical conditions. In his instructions to his successor Puteo pointed out what this involved for the strengthening of the Church; the immediate convocation of a provincial synod, the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent and their carrying into effect with the help of the Emperor, as well as the making of a general visitation, which was to be entrusted to Cardinal Georg Draskovich, the Archbishop of Kalocsa. Unfortunately the latter died on January 31st, 1587, whereupon the Emperor raised difficulties.<sup>3</sup> Many years had still to elapse before Hungary shared in the benefits of reform and Catholic restoration, a matter in which the Jesuits played a prominent part.<sup>4</sup>

While Puteo was meeting with success in the matter of the Hungarian sees, the other questions at issue in Austria and

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWIEZER, II., cxxix. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See TEMPESII, I., 665.

<sup>3</sup> See SCHWIEZER, II., 504. By the death of the Bishop of Raab, Petrus Heressinki, in June, 1590, who had been Hungarian chancellor, there occurred a fresh vacancy, which was difficult to fill, and was only done in 1592; see SCHWIEZER, III., 178.

<sup>4</sup> A brief account of the spread of the Jesuits in Hungary is given by KRONES, *Gesch. Oesterreichs*, III., Berlin, 1878, 372 *seq.*

the Empire made but little progress. With regard to these we have clear details in the instructions which he prepared for his successor, Alfonso Visconti, who arrived in Prague on July 4th, 1589. In this document, as in the clear Venetian reports, he gave a lucid description of the existing state of affairs, and then went on to make practical suggestions for the furthering of the Catholic restoration.<sup>1</sup>

Puteo's limited success may be partly explained by his personality, which was not calculated to exercise any great influence.<sup>2</sup> But the decisive factor was the timid attitude of the Emperor, who avoided any energetic measures, but who satisfied neither the Protestants nor the Catholics by his vacillations. This was clearly shown during the disputes at Strasbourg, where Gebhard Truchsess, the deposed Archbishop of Cologne, and the Protestant canons of Cologne, who like him had been excommunicated by name, took possession by force of arms of the benefices of the Catholic canons, and forced them to take refuge with their bishop at Zabern.<sup>3</sup> This controversy, as far as the Protestants were concerned, was not only between the canons, but it was the principle of independence that was at stake. The Protestant nobles wished to keep their hold over the cathedral chapters, as a convenient and lucrative way of providing for their younger sons, whom they wished to introduce into them. Thus the Protestant canons of Strasbourg and other places met with a ready support from the aristocracy and princes who were adherents of the Protestant cause, whereas the Emperor showed himself over timid and weak in safeguarding the rights of the Catholics, and in enforcing obedience to his commands.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This interesting document, which formed a kind of final report, and to which EHSSES (II., 511 *seq.*) was the first to call attention, is now published in its entirety in SCHWEIZER, II., 447-556. From this it is clear that the nuncios at this time almost always drew up such retrospective summaries for their successors. For the change of nuncios see SCHWEIZER, II., 440, 472, 474; III., xvi. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., cxli.

<sup>3</sup> See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 114 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxxxiii. *seq.*

The importance of the dispute was aggravated by the geographical position of Strasbourg. The bishop and Duke William of Bavaria urged the Pope to take energetic measures against the attacks of Gebhard Truchsess and his adherents. It would seem that Sixtus V. did not quite realize the importance of this dispute,<sup>1</sup> as the disturbances in France, on the outcome of which the existence of the Catholic Church in western Europe depended, were occupying his whole attention. As a matter of fact he was satisfied with the work being done by his nuncios at Prague, Cologne and Lucerne, without granting the pecuniary subsidies asked for by the bishop. Besides his well-known parsimony, it is certain that he hoped for success from the carrying out of the ban, whereas any warlike action on the part of the bishop, which would only be possible with pecuniary help, was a hazardous undertaking.<sup>2</sup>

In Bohemia Puteo was unable to effect anything, and he had the greatest difficulty in inducing Archbishop Medek of Prague to make a report to Rome of the state of his diocese ; when he did so, the latter drew a picture that was by no means in accordance with the truth.<sup>3</sup> Puteo repeatedly complained of the Archbishop of Prague's negligence in fulfilling his pastoral duties, especially in the matter of visitations, and of his indifference with regard to Protestantism and the Hussites. The attitude of the Emperor and his advisers prevented the improvement which Puteo hoped for. In Lower Austria, too, Catholic restoration made but slow progress during his nunciature, in spite of the efforts of the Archduke Ernest and of Klesl, principally owing to the want of good priests to take the places of the banished Protestant ministers. There the opposition of the aristocracy and the

<sup>1</sup> This is specially brought out by G. WOLF in his discussion of Vol. I. of the nunciature of Cologne in *Mitteil. aus der hist. Lit.*, XXVI., 345.

<sup>2</sup> See EISES-MEISTER, I., lxxvii. and SCHMIDLIN, 403 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> SCHMIDLIN (150 *seq.*) was unable to recognize it because at that time the reports of Puteo were unknown.

cities was more or less passive, but in Upper Austria there were serious disturbances among the peasants, which did not arise only from religious questions. The attitude of the people there was so threatening that the government gave way.<sup>1</sup>

To Puteo belongs the credit for having assisted the Catholic reforming activity of the excellent Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach.<sup>2</sup> The difficulties which stood in the way of Catholic restoration in south Germany were experienced by Duke William of Bavaria in his attempts to establish a Jesuit college at Ratisbon. To effect this he had to fight, not only the Protestant magistracy, but also the administrators and the cathedral chapter, but Sixtus V. supported the duke so energetically that the latter succeeded in his purpose.<sup>3</sup> In this matter important service was rendered by an alumnus of the Germanicum, the cathedral preacher, Dr. Jakob Miller. Sixtus appointed this excellent priest as Papal visitor for the whole of the diocese of Ratisbon, including the exempt monasteries.<sup>4</sup>

The appointment of Klesl by Rudolph II. on February 28th, 1590, as reformer-general falls within the first part of the nunciature of Visconti, Puteo's successor; this was an important sign that at last even the Imperial court thought that the time had come for decisive action against the Protestant propaganda. To this period belongs a memorial from Klesl to the Archduke's governor in Lower Austria concerning the best way to take further action against Protestantism at Vienna and the neighbouring district. In this Klesl makes clear the real desire for the work of reform at the heart of the Hapsburg monarchy, and as time went

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., 262, 266 *seq.*, 269, 305, 405, 432, 461; HUBER, IV., 295 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., 8, 13. For Bishop Urban von Trennbach see SCHMIDLIN, 191 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See DUHR, I., 206 *seq.* Cf. REICHENBERGER, I., 332; SCHWEIZER, II., 157 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., 346 *seq.*



on the methods that he had devised with such great prudence were steadily followed.<sup>1</sup>

The position of Alfonso Visconti, who reached Prague on July 4th, 1589, seemed at first likely to be difficult, because a change in the nunciature was viewed with displeasure at the Imperial court. Although for other reasons the relations between Rudolph II. and Sixtus V. had always been more or less strained, nevertheless the vexed question of the feudal tenure of Novellara had a happy issue owing to the conciliatory attitude of the Pope. On the other hand Visconti was told by the Imperial ministers that the Pope had been guilty of an unjustifiable interference in the interminable dispute about dominion between Fulda and Würzburg. The fresh dispute which had sprung up concerning salt between the Duke of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Salzburg reopened once more at the Imperial court the wounds of the struggle for jurisdiction between the Curia and the Imperial tribunal. The greater part of these controversies were touched upon in the instructions given to Veit von Dornburg when he was appointed ambassador in Rome on September 3rd, 1589.<sup>2</sup> In his reply on December 2nd, 1589, delivered on the arrival of Veit, the Pope thought it his duty to remark that he would have been better pleased if the ambassador had come more quickly.<sup>3</sup> A Papal brief of September 13th, 1589, had urged the systematization of the succession to the Empire, and the nomination as king of the Archduke Ernest, who was a strict Catholic, but this exhortation had been without result.<sup>4</sup>

Like his predecessors, Visconti displayed a vigilant activity in religious matters. During his journey to Prague he had worked in this sense at Munich and Salzburg, and was able to send satisfactory reports of his success.<sup>5</sup> At the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> See BIBL in *Jahrb. f. Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, N.S. VIII. (1909), 157 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Rudolfs II., Epist.*, 82 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See SCHWEIZER, III., xx seq., xxviii., 30, 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III., xxxi. 48. The brief in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 213.

<sup>5</sup> SCHWEIZER, III., 4 seq., 41.

court, in accordance with the instructions of the Cardinal Secretary of State, he devoted his attention in the first place to the interests of the Catholics at Aix and Strasbourg. He also worked against the granting of the investiture of Halberstadt to the Protestant Duke Julius of Brunswick. He was instructed from Rome, without waiting to consider anything further, to press the claims of the Catholic canons of Halberstadt upon the Emperor, so that a Catholic bishop might be appointed.<sup>1</sup>

Much anxiety was caused to Visconti by the sad state of Bohemia, where the death of Archbishop Medek, which occurred on February 2nd, 1590, raised the difficult question of the succession to the see of Prague. Upon this depended the possibility of being able to carry out a canonical visitation, as well as the success in the struggle with the Hussites which Visconti hoped for.<sup>2</sup>

He zealously supported the reforming activities of Klesl in Lower Austria. At the end of 1589 Klesl was also charged with the visitation of the monastery of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon, which was directly subject to the Holy See.<sup>3</sup> The visitation and reform of the neglected Benedictine monasteries of Melk and Göttweih was entrusted to Visconti.<sup>4</sup>

The rise of a new sect in Silesia, and the demands of the innovators in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola caused the nuncio no less anxiety. The dangers to the Catholic faith there were increased by the death of the Archduke Charles, which took place on July 10th, 1590. The Pope recommended the care of these territories to the zeal of the neighbouring Catholics, and had under consideration the restoration of the nunciature at Graz.<sup>5</sup> In all such matters Visconti was entirely dependent upon the good-will of the Emperor, and he was therefore all the more distressed at the slowness with

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, xxix., 23, 72 *seq.*, 79, 93 n., 104, 121 n., 135, 147, 169 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 56, 140 *seq.*, 152, 186, 191.

<sup>3</sup> The brief, December 13, 1589, *ibid.*, 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 137 *seq.*, where is printed the brief of February 10, 1590.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 48, 90, 132, 193, 198 *seq.*

which business was always conducted at the court of Prague.<sup>1</sup> But the caution with which he himself acted even in pressing matters was also characteristic ; before taking a single step he awaited instructions from Rome : this was the case even in the question of the succession to the duchy of Jülich-Cleves, where the Protestants were trying to gain a footing at all costs.<sup>2</sup>

It had already been realized in the time of Gregory XIII. that one of the principal obstacles to the progress of reform and Catholic restoration in Germany<sup>3</sup> was the want of a close understanding with the Holy See, and the inadequate information possessed by the latter of conditions in Germany. Being thoroughly convinced that for this purpose the activities of the nuncios were not sufficient, that great ecclesiastical organizer, Sixtus V., by a bull of December 20th, 1585, laid it as a strict duty on all the bishops that they should within a determinate period of time, either in person or by means of a suitable representative, visit the *Limina Apostolorum*, as the official expression runs, in order to give an account to the supreme head of the Church of their manifold pastoral duties, of all that concerned the state of the churches entrusted to them, of the discipline of clergy and people, and lastly of the salvation of the souls committed to their care, and in return to receive the apostolic instructions. The bishops of Germany were to perform this duty every four years.<sup>4</sup>

The Pope entrusted it to the Congregation of the Council, which he had reorganized on February 19th, 1587, to see to the examination and arrangement of the reports from the various dioceses, and to the Cardinal Prefect of that Congregation to interview the bishops or their representatives, and give them their instructions. Even before this arrangement was made there arrived in Rome, as the first of the bishops

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxi., 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxix., 147 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* the views of 1573 in SCHWARZ, I *seq.*, 20, 23, 39, 42 *seq.*, 48, 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 133 *seqq.*

of the Romano-German Empire, the energetic pastor of Trieste, Nicholas von Coret, who was filled with zeal for reform (1586).<sup>1</sup> His splendid example was followed in the middle of the summer of 1587 by the Bishop of Gurk, Christoph Andreas Spaur.<sup>2</sup> In the following year, besides the Bishop of Chur, there came those of Salzburg and Brixen. The Bishop of Brixen, Johann Thomas Spaur, who had laboured for years at the reform of his diocese, sent his vicar-general,<sup>3</sup> while the metropolitan of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, who had been elected on May 22nd, 1587, when not yet twenty-eight years of age, came in person. Though he had not been invited to make a report, the new archbishop wished to pay homage to the Pope and receive his blessing. Thus his coming was bound to make a very good impression at the Curia. In order to avoid the customary pomp, he arrived in the Eternal City quite unexpectedly on the evening of May 20th, and lodged with his uncle, Cardinal Altemps.<sup>4</sup> While the archbishop's suite were discussing the question whether, as Primate of Germany, he ought to stand or sit during his audience with the Pope, Wolf Dietrich put an end to the discussion by declaring that in his opinion he could get nothing but honour and glory by showing the greatest possible veneration to the representative of Jesus Christ and the successor of St. Peter, and that it would be only in compliance with the repeated command of the Pope that he would rise from his knees. And so did he act when, on May 21st, he was received by the Pope for the first time. Contrary to the ideas of his suite, Wolf Dietrich was quite content that no place of honour above the other patriarchs and prelates should be assigned to him at the pontifical functions. The impression formed in the Curia of the attitude and ideas of the Primate of the Church of Germany was so

<sup>1</sup> See SCHMIDLIN, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 96 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 66, 101 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> For what follows *cf.* the important information given by MARTIN in *Mittel. f. Salzburger Landeskunde*, LI. (1911), 254 *seq.*, 329.

favourable that they saw in this youthful and ardent prince of the Church a veritable warrior of God.<sup>1</sup> The joy of Sixtus V. was increased when he learned of Wolf Dietrich's intention of energetically resisting the religious innovations which had made their way from the neighbouring territories into his diocese, and especially into the wealthy city. For this purpose the archbishop, on his return on July 9th issued a severe "patent of reform" by which all in his episcopal city who would not become Catholics must leave the city and the principality within a few weeks.

Although Wolf Dietrich promoted in like manner the Catholic restoration in the Hapsburg territories which came within his spiritual jurisdiction, he did not dare to adopt so decisive a course of action in his own principality, since this would have endangered his revenues, and also those drawn from the neighbouring mines. In this case it was clear that the civil prince was predominant over the spiritual pastor.<sup>2</sup>

Sixtus V. very quickly, through his Secretary of State and his nuncios, informed the German bishops of the duties laid upon them by the bull of December 20th, 1585.<sup>3</sup> It was owing to the pressure that he thus brought to bear that during 1589, which marked the end of the first period, no less than ten bishops made their reports to Rome. On account of the critical state of Germany and the no small dangers of the journey, all of them, with the exception of the Bishop of Laibach, Johann Tautscher,<sup>4</sup> sent their representatives. The bishops in question were Andreas Jerin of Breslau, Martin Medek of Prague, Stanislaus Pawlowski of Olmütz, Ernest Mengersdorf of Bamberg, Marquard von Berg of Augsburg,

<sup>1</sup> Utinam Germania multos huius mentis ac ingenii praelatos et pastores haberet, quibus adiutoribus et facile et brevi ad suam germanam fidem redire posset," says the note in MARTIN, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> See ERBEN in *Mittel. f. Salzburger Landeskunde*, XLII., 56 *seq.*, and WIDMANN, *Gesch. Salzburgs*, III., 157. Cf. also F. MARTIN, *Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Erzbischof von Salzburg*, Vienna, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. EUSES, II., 47.

<sup>4</sup> See SCHMIDLIN, 36.

Martin von Schaumberg of Eichstätt, Christoph Blarer von Wartensee of Basle, Count Johann von Manderscheid of Strasbourg, and Wolfgang von Dalberg of Mayence.<sup>1</sup> After a short delay the following also made their reports during 1590: Julius Echter of Würzburg, Lodovico Madruzzo of Trent, Grimani, the Patriarch of Aquileia, Georg von Schönenberg of Worms, Johann von Schönenberg of Trêves, the Bishop of Trieste, and lastly the Prince Elector of Cologne, Ernest of Bavaria.<sup>2</sup> Sixtus, who had repeatedly warned the last named, did not live to see the coming of the representative of Cologne.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the bishops of Hungary the Pope was unable to induce them either to make their visit "ad limina" in person, or to send a representative, and had to be satisfied with the information given him by their procurator in Rome, Diotalevi.<sup>4</sup>

By means of the reports of the bishops the Pope obtained detailed information from which to form an estimate of the spirit and breadth of view with which they fulfilled the duties of their office. He also learned in greater detail the state of affairs and progress in the various dioceses. The reports described the episcopal city and its churches, the collegiate institutions, the monasteries and other establishments, the deaneries and parishes of the diocese, the moral and religious state of the clergy and laity, the bishop's own activities, his reforms, visitations and synods, the pastoral care exercised, public worship, seminaries, schools, and even the economic conditions.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of this information the Curia was

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 150, 176 *seq.*, 224, 267, 331, 404 *seq.*, 422, 469 *seq.*, 534; SCHWEIZER, II., 394.

<sup>2</sup> See SCHMIDLIN, 23, 59 *seq.*, 313 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 491 *seq.*, 498.

<sup>3</sup> See EHSES, II., 71, 124 *seq.*, 285 *seq.*, 418 *seq.*, 439, 442, 488; SCHMIDLIN, 499 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See SCHWEIZER, III., xxii., 60 *seq.*, 70, 105 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See SCHMIDLIN, xxxiv. *seq.* The method adopted by the author in agreement with myself, of using the reports of the bishops, which not only illustrate ecclesiastical history, but also that of culture and law, is a middle course between editing and dissertation. This method was not only made a condition of our

in a position to apply the necessary remedies. The Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, Cardinal Carafa, sent everywhere salutary advice concerning the reform of morals, and especially the carrying out of the decrees of Trent, the establishment of seminaries, the holding of synods and the stamping out of religious innovations.<sup>1</sup> It is clear how much the churches of Germany benefited by this exchange of reports with the centre of unity, because almost everywhere it was necessary to take strong measures against the moral and religious decadence, and the falling away from the faith. Whenever the energetic action of the bishops gave occasion

using these reports, but was also rendered necessary by the lack of the means for publishing the literal text, as had been done by F. Dengel in the case of certain Austrian dioceses in 1907. Schmidlin has sufficiently defended himself against unfounded attacks, especially those made by LOSERTH, in *Hist. pol. Bl.*, CXLIV., 375-393; cf. also his work: *Die kirchl. Reform in Oesterreich zur Zeit der sog. Gegenreformation im Lichte der bischöfl. Romberichte, Salzburg, 1910*. The temptation to exaggerate in both directions was natural in the case of the bishops who furnished the reports; thus careful criticism had to be employed, but there was no need to make so little of the reports as Loserth has done. The means for forming a fair judgment is provided by a critical comparative examination of the other sources. Among such are not only the reports of the nunciature, which Dengel supplied in 1907 in *Forsch. u. Mitteil. zur Gesch. Tirols*, IV., 313, but also the special material provided by the documents to be found in the archives of the various dioceses, which to a great extent have not yet been used. It will only be when a special search has revealed all these that we shall be able to have a complete picture of ecclesiastical conditions in Germany at that time. Cf. also the valuable remarks of W. E. SCHWARZ in *Wissenschaftl. Beilage zur Berliner, "Germania,"* 1907, n. 1, and 1910, n. 14, who warmly eulogizes as do many other critics, the permanent services of Schmidlin "in having opened up this new source for the history of the Church in Germany, and for having made it accessible and placed it at the disposal of the scientific world."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SCHMIDLIN, 37, 97, 226, 268, 333.

for praise, the Pope did so whole-heartedly. He and the Congregation of the Council were especially rejoiced at the report of the Bishop of Würzburg, telling of the return of 100,000 souls to the Church.

In the reply of the Congregation, dated May 23rd, 1590, the highest praise was bestowed on the piety of the Bishop of Würzburg, his zeal in stamping out the innovations in religion, his care for the spread of Catholic doctrine, and his loyal devotion to the Holy See, and Julius Echter was held up as an example to be imitated by the other German bishops.<sup>1</sup>

What keen attention was directed in Rome in the time of Sixtus V. to the state of affairs in Germany was also shown by the memorials sent in 1588 by Minuccio Minucci. This Roman diplomatist, who was undoubtedly the best informed as to German affairs in the Curia at that time,<sup>2</sup> gives on the one hand a very detailed summary of the religious conditions in all the German dioceses,<sup>3</sup> and on the other goes into the general state of the Catholic Church in the Empire, and the best means of restoring it to its former splendour.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to the pessimism of some of the Italians, Minucci shows a comforting optimism. On account of the still large number of the German Catholics, and the fervour of their faith so sorely tried by temptations and persecution, he inclined to the opinion of those who, in the midst of the present

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 324. For the restoring activities which Echter von Mespelbrunn displayed, especially in the years 1585, 1586 and 1587, energetically assisted by the Jesuits, and not hesitating to employ severe measures, see JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 235 *seq.* and DUHR, I., 486 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 737.

<sup>3</sup> "Matricula in qua discripti sunt archiepiscopatus et episcopatus Germaniae," Urb. 839, pp. 177-294, Vatican Library, which is also described in copies as "Commentarius ecclesiarum Germaniae" composed in 1588 (not 1586 as Hansen supposes [734]); see SCHMIDLIN, xli., for more details as to the manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> "Stato della religione in Alemagna, pericoli che soprastanno et rimedii" edited by HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 744-785.



evils and in spite of everything, clung to the hope that "from this holy seed there would yet spring such flowers and such fruit that in the end no other Christian country would yield a more abundant harvest."

Minucci did not conceal from himself the enormous difficulties that stood in the way of reform and Catholic restoration in Germany. The physician who hopes to render efficacious assistance, he insisted in his introductory sketch, must first of all understand the organism, in the present case so complex, if he wishes to administer medicines which at least will not kill the patient, and will prevent his becoming any worse, and by means of wise diet to keep him alive until such time as the recuperated natural forces, assisted by divine grace and healthy conditions, will gradually bring about a cure. Minucci saw the principal means for the improvement of religious conditions in Germany, not in the use of force, but in the radical renewal of the old religion, and the prudent use of the privileges which belong to the Holy See, though not so as to withhold blame for the errors that had been committed. He frankly said, with regard to many of the civil and ecclesiastical princes, that after the rise of Protestantism they had turned their backs upon the Church, and that the blame for their doing so was not to be attributed only to material considerations, but rather to their neglect of their religion. Instead of trying to strike terror into those who were hesitating, excommunication and deprivation had only been employed after their apostasy had taken place. The greatest vigilance must be used, as well as all possible charity, in keeping the ecclesiastical princes and the few remaining secular Catholic princes true to the old faith. It was characteristic of Minucci's optimism that he looked upon the winning back of some of the Protestant princes, such as the Count Palatine, Philip Louis of Neuberg, the Landgrave William of Hesse, and Henry Rantzau of Holstein, as possible. But with clear realization of the uncertainty of such hopes, Minucci only makes mention of it in passing. He devotes his chief attention only to the successes which had already been won among the Protestants of Germany, and then

proceeds to inquire into the means of preventing further apostasy, and how it could be combatted.

Minucci distinguishes two ways in which the Protestants in Germany had persecuted the Catholics. This had been done in a peaceful manner by the absorption of bishoprics, benefices and churches, by strengthening their party among the authorities of the Empire, especially in the tribunal of the chancery, and by aiming, with the certainty of success, at the so-called exemption, which made it possible for Lutherans, Calvinists, and the adherents of the other sects, to hold the offices of the Catholic Church. But from the first Protestantism had obtained much success by means of open violence ; in many cities a Protestant minority had succeeded in completely dominating the Catholic majority, as had recently been shown by the occurrences at Aix, Colmar and Glogau. One would never come to an end, says Minucci, if one were to enumerate the churches, monasteries and abbeys which had been violently taken from the Catholics. or to tell of the monks and nuns who have been driven from their property and forced to wander about without a shelter. Against all this the Catholics had for most part contented themselves with acting on the defensive, and often it had seemed as though the Catholic princes had made up their minds to put up with anything. The attempt had been made completely to suppress the Catholic faith in the cities of the Empire no less than in the territories of the Protestant princes, where the Catholics were unable either to perform their religious duties or to educate their children in a Catholic way : relying on the principle *Cuius regio eius religio* (the religion of the country is that of the prince) the Protestant authorities had freely disposed of the consciences of their subjects in such a way that in the Palatinate there were some who had experienced a forcible change of religion five times over.

Referring to the losses of the Church in Germany Minucci points out that of the bishoprics of the Empire twelve had already been made into hereditary principalities, seven were in the hands of avowed Protestants, and the others held by men who were Catholics only in name. The end of this

process could not yet be seen, because, in addition to the cowardice of many of the Catholic princes, there was danger from other causes as well, especially the corruption of the cathedral chapters, the members of which were either Protestant in their leanings or morally corrupt, so that bishops were chosen who were of like sentiments. It was no wonder that, in contrast to earlier times, no attention was paid to the capability, virtue or moral purity of the candidate, but rather to his political and administrative ability, so that men were often merely guided by the hope that he would leave each one free to live as he liked. The candidates for the episcopal sees had no thoughts of the necessity for celibacy, or of the other virtues of the ecclesiastical state, they had no idea of ruling over their dioceses as true pastors, but only of enjoying their revenues and their rights as princes. To this must be added the fact that in very few of the princely houses which had remained Catholic was there anyone who was fitted to obtain possession of a cathedral church. Thus Cardinal Andrew of Austria, the son of Filippina Welser, did not live up to the expectations that had been formed of him, while Cardinal Albert was more occupied with Spanish affairs than those of Germany. Thus there only remained the princes of Bavaria. Another unfortunate circumstance was to be found in the difficulties that were being raised in Rome to the uniting of several bishoprics in the hands of a single person, while another was the buying of votes from the canons openly practised by the Protestants.

Of great interest is Minucci's account of the obstacles to reform and Catholic restoration even in the dioceses of the south, whose bishops had remained Catholics. "In some," he says, "the difficulties arise from the neighbouring princes, in others from the disposition of the subjects, in others from the tepidity of the bishops themselves, and lastly, in others from the chapters, which, after having limited the episcopal authority by unlawful election capitulations, will not hear of reform, and with their head, cannot agree upon any good work. Examples of the first category are Spire, Worms and Basle, where, in spite of the excellence of the bishops

and the chapters, the power and audacity of the Count Palatine on the one hand and of the Swiss heretics on the other is so great that they have to be on their guard against any change, so as not to give an excuse for the seizure of the little that still remains to them of territory or ecclesiastical power in those dioceses. The disposition of the subjects prevents progress especially in the dioceses of Franconia, where the bishops, since the aristocracy is for the most part entirely heretical, very often do not dare to come forward with proposals that would be very useful for the service of God ; although the Bishop of Würzburg has at last succeeded in making a visitation, to the great benefit of his diocese, it cannot be said that he has converted a single noble. The cowardice and weakness of the bishops," Minucci goes on to say, " may be seen in the cases of Cologne, Mayence, Augsburg, and many others, though, as for the first named, on account of the continuous wars, it is not yet possible to say what he might do in time of peace. The disagreement between the bishops and the chapters, and the limitation of the episcopal power by unlawful conventions, may be seen in almost all the dioceses of Germany, and probably more than anywhere else at Salzburg, Ratisbon and Passau. In some places the matter has gone so far that the chapters have become the bishops, and the bishops canons. It may also be remarked that many, and perhaps the majority of the dioceses of Germany, are suffering from all these difficulties together, namely, that the neighbouring heretical princes keep them in a state of fear, the subjects belonging to the aristocracy are opposed to any salutary enactments on behalf of divine worship or the Catholic religion, the bishops devote themselves but little to their duties, and the little zeal they show is almost nullified by the recalcitrancy of the canons, and by the limitation of the episcopal power by the disastrous electoral capitulations."

It cannot be said that the dark picture thus drawn by the Roman diplomatist was exaggerated. He did not, however, doubt the possibility of being able to avoid further losses, and to recover the bishoprics that had been lost, and thus

once more bring back the ancient church of Germany to its former splendour. Every kind of remedy, both internal and external, is then suggested. Much would already be gained, Minucci thought, if the abuse by which the Emperor conferred the regalia before the Holy See had given its approbation were removed. The Emperor also had many other ways of bringing his influence to bear for the appointment of good bishops. Minucci expressly insists that the Holy See must devote the greatest possible care, especially by means of the nuncios, to the matter of filling the episcopal sees, and must always have at hand a list of suitable candidates, in which the alumni of the German College must be given a special preference. As the greater number of the bishops were drawn from the cathedral chapters, a remedy could only be supplied by the reform of those bodies ; but this was a task that would naturally take many years. Minucci did not lose sight of the disadvantage which flowed from the fact that the chapters had come into the hands of the greater and lesser nobility. He discusses the possible ways of remedying this, but prudently pronounces against the complete exclusion of the aristocracy, since, humanly speaking, so radical a change would spell the ruin of the Catholic religion in Germany.

Minucci places his chief hopes in a radical reform of the aristocratic cathedral chapters, in which the Holy See must co-operate by insisting on the making of the Tridentine profession of faith, and by great care in conferring benefices and indults. Here too Minucci speaks quite frankly of the mistakes that had hitherto been made, owing to the want of knowledge of persons and circumstances, and for the avoiding of these in future he makes suggestions that are as exhaustive as they are prudent and well-weighed. Thus he is of opinion that a special Datary should be appointed in Rome for Germany, who should keep a list of suitable noble Catholics, which could easily be kept up to date with the help of the nuncios and the Jesuits, and in accordance with which appointments should promptly be made. This Datary should treat the German nation benevolently, assist it, and above all not burden it with taxes. As one who well understood the

state of affairs in Germany, Minucci discouraged the Pope from refusing to tolerate in the German chapters a plurality of benefices which was not allowed in Italy or Spain. Such a measure in Germany, where the conditions were quite different from those in the countries named, could only bring about serious disasters; on the other hand the Holy See had other means for effecting the moral reform of the German bishops and canons. Above all attention must be paid to the training of suitable young priests, and first by the revival of the Catholic universities; most of these, such as Cologne, Freiburg, Vienna, Trêves, Mayence and Erfurt, were quite poverty stricken; only Ingolstadt, by the generosity of the princes of Bavaria, had sufficient revenues. A similar endowment should also be given to the other higher schools, especially to the university recently established at Würzburg by the energetic Julius Echter, and that at Erfurt, which was so important for the north of Germany. Minucci also suggests the enforcement of the Tridentine decree concerning the doctorate of the bishops, which would give the nobles an incentive for studying at the Catholic universities.

With a just appreciation of the revival of Christian instruction, Minucci speaks in detail of the seminaries and colleges established in Rome and in various parts of Germany under Gregory XIII. He especially recommends their encouragement to Sixtus V., who was inclined to be parsimonious in this respect.<sup>1</sup> The German College in Rome must above all be used for the education of the nobility, and the establishments in German for the ordinary pastoral clergy, in whose case it was less important to produce men of great learning than good and capable parish priests. In order to provide for the poor country parishes which had been deprived of their revenues, popular schools should also be maintained. With regard to the Jesuit colleges, which did so much good work, Minucci advises that they should be encouraged in all those territories which, like Bavaria and Trêves, had been

<sup>1</sup> For Sixtus V. and the seminaries *cf.* EHSSES, II., 245 n., 344 n. 1. For the benevolent sentiments of Sixtus V. for the German College see STEINHUBER, I., 183 *seq.*

kept free from the religious innovations, so that the places which were threatened by Protestantism could thence be provided with capable priests.

Minucci's breadth of outlook is also shown by his advice to make provision for the training of good Catholic higher officials, since it was obvious what a decisive influence these must have in affairs of state. He especially urges the carrying on of the measures which had been taken by Gregory XIII. in this respect. In his next section Minucci turns his attention to the importance of the tribunal of the Imperial chancery. If Protestantism obtained any stronger hold there, the Catholics would never obtain their rights. So as to preserve the Catholic element in that tribunal Minucci makes detailed suggestions; the justiciaries of the Catholic states must be induced to make the Tridentine profession of faith, and all those newly appointed must be made to take an oath that they will not change their religion, and should they do so, resign their office. Minucci also naturally deals with the dangerous movement in favour of independence, which was principally directed against the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*. With regard to this he calls attention to the important treatise by the secretary of the Imperial council, Andreas Erstenberger, published in 1586,<sup>1</sup> which should be translated into Latin.

Like others who had given their views on the question, Minucci places no little hope in making use of the divisions in the Protestant camp, though he is of opinion that, even more than from this discord, great advantages could be derived from a firm alliance among the Catholics. The nuncios should strive to bring this about in every possible way. Of special importance would be the maintenance of good relations between Austria and Bavaria.

At the end of his memorial Minucci once more comes back to the importance for the Catholic restoration of the attitude of the Emperor. The supreme head of the Empire, he thinks, should be spurred on to urge the other Catholic princes, by his authority, and his own example in his hereditary states,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 15-16, 461 *seq.*

not to tolerate in their territories subjects of different faiths, as was the case in those of the Protestants. The bishops above all should aim at this, making use of the authority belonging to them by the peace of Augsburg, as had been shown by the example of the Bishop of Würzburg. They should also prevent the injuries that were being done to the Catholics in the cities of the Empire, and watch over the safety of the clergy and religious, for then the power of the truth, at present violently oppressed by earthly considerations, would be able to proceed victoriously on its way. The threatened danger of united and violent action on the part of the Protestants, who as far as material power was concerned, were far superior to the Catholics, must be met by strengthening the league of Landsberg by including in it the Archduke Ferdinand, the Electors of the Rhineland, and the Duke of Cleves, and by obtaining the adherence of the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy, and of the Catholics of Switzerland.

In this way was the path to be followed in the Catholic restoration of Germany clearly and practically laid down; the religious future of Germany depended upon the way it was followed.

Sixtus V. devoted a no less zealous care to the religious affairs of Switzerland than to those of Germany. As early as May 29th, 1585, he addressed a warning to Peter Rascher, the Bishop of Chur, to act in a worthy manner.<sup>1</sup> What above all called for action was the serious harm done by the almost continual absence of the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Altemps, to whose diocese the greater part of Switzerland belonged.<sup>2</sup> For this purpose the Pope immediately took steps to fill once more the Swiss nunciature, which had been vacant since 1581, though, in consequence of what had occurred in the time of Gregory XIII.,<sup>3</sup> he wished the Catholics of Switzerland

<sup>1</sup> See *Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch.* XXI. 426. Cf. MAYER *Gesch. des Bistums Chur*, II., 183. In 1589 Montalto again called the attention of Frangipani to the diocese of Chur; see EHSSES, II., 376.

<sup>2</sup> See TEMPESTI, I., 444. Cf. SEGESSER, *Pfyffer*, III., 1, 285.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 183.



to petition for this. This was done by the majority of the five Cantons at a Diet of February 26th, 1586. Sixtus V. was all the more ready to restore the Swiss nunciature as the disturbances close by in France pointed to the necessity for the presence of a representative of the Holy See in Switzerland. But, as he stated in consistory, in answer to the rumours of his warlike intentions, what he principally had in view was the preservation and consolidation of the Catholic faith in Switzerland. The religious restoration which had been suspended owing to the vacancy in the nunciature must be carried on,<sup>1</sup> and as the Pope was not fond of half measures, he decided, in accordance with the wish already expressed by St. Charles Borromeo, to establish a permanent diplomatic representative of the Holy See in Switzerland.

On August 17th, 1586, Sixtus V. accredited his *maestro di casa*, Gian Battista Santoni, as ordinary nuncio for the seven Catholic Cantons. Santoni, who was furnished with full episcopal jurisdiction for the Cantons of Lucerne, Zug, Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, which belonged to the diocese of Constance, was to devote himself principally to the work of reform, as Bonhomini was doing at Cologne. He was to bring back the secular and regular clergy to purity of morals and discipline, to revive everywhere Catholic life among the people, to restore to the ecclesiastical authorities their rights and their churches, and take them out of the hands of the cantonal governments. In this last matter he was urged to exercise the greatest prudence, which was all the more necessary as this south Italian, for all his good qualities, had the violent and impetuous temperament of his fellow-countrymen.<sup>2</sup>

Santoni left Rome on August 24th, 1586, visited the Swiss College established at Milan by St. Charles Borromeo, and thence went by the St. Gothard, on the summit of which he visited the hospice inhabited by two Capuchins, to Lucerne, which he reached at the end of September, just in time to witness an important event. This was the formation of the

<sup>1</sup> See TEMPESTI, I., 442. EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 227, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxx. *seq.*, 227.

“ Christian alliance ” which later on was known from the gilt initials as the “ Golden League.”<sup>1</sup>

On October 5th he gave Communion in the parish church of Lucerne to the representatives of all the seven Cantons : Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg and Soleure, after which they all swore to the new alliance.<sup>2</sup> The seven Cantons bound themselves together as true and loyal allies, as fellow citizens and fellow countrymen, as being bound together in the ancient Roman and Catholic religion, and pledged themselves and their descendants to persevere, fully, constantly and firmly in the true, undoubted, ancient, Catholic, Roman and Apostolic faith, and to live and die therein. On account of the alliances formed by their ever growing adversaries, it was also further agreed that if one of the seven Cantons, which God forbid, should apostatize from the Catholic faith, the others were to oppose this with all their power, and to punish the authors of such apostasy. If one of the allies was attacked or injured by an enemy as not being of his religion, or on any other pretext, in such a case the others were to assist him with all their power and without delay, until the danger was removed. No other alliance, new or old, was to stand in the way of this mutual agreement.<sup>3</sup>

It was only fitting that the Pope should participate in this union of all the Catholic Cantons for the preservation of the ancient faith by a special letter, and that Sixtus V. should have expressed in a brief his joy at this event, at which his

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, lxvii. The old idea, still maintained by RANKE (Päpste, II.<sup>o</sup>, 103), that the conclusion of the Golden League was merely connected with the creation of the nunciature of Lucerne, is entirely exploded ; see SEGESSER, Pyffer, III., 1, 148. The name of League of Borromeo probably only came into existence about 1655, after the seven cantons had chosen Charles Borromeo as their patron, after he had been canonized. See DÄNDLIKER, II., 661.

<sup>2</sup> See *Eidgenöss. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 955 *seq.* SEGESSER, Rechts-gesch. von Luzern, IV., 525.

<sup>3</sup> See *Eidgenöss. Abschiede*, IV., 2, 1590 *seq.* ; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 144 *seq.*

nuncio had been present.<sup>1</sup> The view that the seven Cantons by their alliance recognized the Pope as their supreme lord is as mistaken as the other, that Sixtus V. or Santoni had contributed to the formation of the alliance. It is more true to say that it sprang simply and solely from the position in which five of the Cantons at that time found themselves, so that for them it was a matter of their own self-preservation against the struggle that was to be expected from the attempts of Geneva, after the defensive treaty between France and Berne, to induce Soleure and Freiburg to make common political cause with her, to set them free from their pledges to Berne, and to assure them of help in any event.<sup>2</sup>

The completion of this internal defensive alliance of the Catholic Cantons led to the defensive alliance concluded with Spain on May 2nd, 1587, for mutual help in the case of their being attacked from religious or other motives. In this way there was set up a counterpoise to the hitherto almost exclusively French influence in Switzerland.<sup>3</sup>

Both these alliances were the work of the syndic and knight Ludwig Pfyffer of Lucerne, a man of strong Catholic sentiments, and who by his natural superiority and force of character had attained to a quite extraordinary position of influence, in which, however, he carefully avoided any violation of republican forms. The great Swiss statesman

<sup>1</sup> *Eidgenöss. Abschiede*, V., 1, 3; *Archiv. f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 67 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See SEGESESSER, *Pfyffer*, III., 1, 138 seq.; cf. MAYER v. KNONAU in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XLIII., 196 seq.; HÜRBBIN, II., 271 seq.; *Anz f. schweiz. Gesch.*, 1909, n. 1, p. 440.

<sup>3</sup> See SEGESESSER, *Pfyffer*, III., 1, 151, and HÜRBBIN, II., 272 seq. Cf. *Archiv. f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, I., 669 seq. If DIERAUER (III., 376) complains that by the formation of the Golden League and the Spanish Treaty two different confederations came into existence, one Catholic and the other reformed, with conflicting interests and opposite policies, it must be remarked that this was the result of the appearance of reformers in religion, and not the fault of men who wished to remain in the faith of their fathers. Cf. *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXVIII., 624.

also deserves a place of honour in the history of the Popes on account of his constant zeal for the interests of religion, the reform of the clergy, the promotion of divine worship, and the establishment of a Jesuit college and a high-school for the clergy and laity of Lucerne.<sup>1</sup>

Ludwig Pfyffer had already by the end of 1586 conferred with the Papal nuncio concerning the religious needs of the Cantons on the lake which sprang from the fact that the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Altemps, lived far away from his diocese. Santoni agreed with the Lucerne statesman that a remedy must be found. He was of opinion that this could be done best of all by arranging that Cardinal Altemps should appoint a vicar with the necessary jurisdiction in each of the Catholic Cantons, so that he might be able to intervene efficaciously in all abuses in ecclesiastical matters. As for Constance itself Santoni saw its salvation in the establishment of a seminary and a convent of Capuchins, who would give a powerful example of sacerdotal poverty.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Altemps, jealous of his rights, did all he could to prevent the suggested enactments in religious questions, and Sixtus V. thought it his duty to defer to the Cardinal, whose bad health made it very likely that within a short time there would be a new occupant of the see of Constance. He therefore adhered to the instructions which he had given to Santoni in the first instance, that he should combat abuses by his own reforming activity. To this task the nuncio devoted himself with both zeal and success.<sup>3</sup>

However, from that time onwards, negotiations were carried on which in 1589 led to the appointment of Cardinal Andrew of Austria as Bishop of Constance in the place of Altemps, whereupon the work could be really begun.<sup>4</sup> Santoni had

<sup>1</sup> See SEGESESSER, Pfyffer, II., 96 *seq.*; IV., 291 *seq.*, 297 *seq.* Cf. *Geschichtsfreund*, VII., 213 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 211, 215 *seq.*, 231 n. 1, 622.

<sup>2</sup> See the reports of Santoni of December 20, 1586, and January 16, 1587, in EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 235 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxxviii. *seq.*, 236 *seq.*, 238.

<sup>4</sup> HIRN, II., 395 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 361 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 91 *seq.*

prepared the way for this by his zeal. He visited the parishes, reformed convents, and issued a number of salutary enactments for the improvement of the secular clergy. The voluntary self-denial of the nuncio in his pastoral labours on behalf of all classes of the people, his insistent recommendation of celibacy to the clergy, and of the enclosure to the convents, as well as his efficacious arrangements for the training of a good clergy, are rightly highly praised.<sup>1</sup> Besides the Jesuits, he especially favoured the Capuchins. Their introduction was very fruitful in results, especially in the district of Appenzell (1587), where Father Ludwig, a convert from the ancient Saxon family of the Lords of Einsiedel, who had received a thorough theological training with the Jesuits at Lucerne,<sup>2</sup> met with extraordinary successes by his burning eloquence.

Whereas at the Easter of 1587 only some forty or fifty men had confessed and communicated, at Christmas there were already more than 300, including some who had apostatized and returned to the Catholic faith.<sup>3</sup> Father Ludwig preached by preference on the Passion of Jesus, in expiation of the fact

<sup>1</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxi., MAYER, I., 297 *seq.*; II., 99, 236.

<sup>2</sup> See *Chronica prov. Helv. ord. Capuc.*, 20 *seq.*, 50 *seq.* Cf. RITTER, *Die Teilung des Landes Appenzell, Trogen*, 1897. App. II. *seq.*; SCHWEILER in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 241 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See MAYER, II., 223. The attention of Santoni was also attracted by the sedition in the city of Mülhausen, known under the name of "Finningerhandel." The fact that the opposition there sought for support in Catholic districts gave hopes of its being possible to bring back that city to the Church. In this case Sixtus V. promised the Catholic cantons the most vigorous assistance, and placed 100,000 scudi at their disposal. But all these projects came to nothing, on account of the capture of the city of Mülhausen during the night between June 24 and 25, 1587, by the Protestant cantons. Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 602 *seq.*; SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., I, 193 *seq.*; EHSSES-MEISTER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lxi., 253 *seq.*; 257, 263; DIERAUER, III., 278 *seq.*; HÜRBIN, II., 268, 274.

that he had once, when a conceited student, mocked at the procession on Good Friday.<sup>1</sup>

The cause of Catholic reform was also indirectly served by the efforts of Santoni to bring about an agreement between the Bishop of Basle, Jakob Christoph Blarer von Wartensee, and the city and Canton of Basle. By the smoothing over of these difficulties Blarer obtained a free hand to take efficacious action in his diocese.<sup>2</sup>

In his labours for reform Santoni met with generous help from the governments of the Cantons, which fully approved of his severe enactments for the restoration of the discipline of the clergy;<sup>3</sup> on the other hand he met with bitter resistance, especially in Lucerne, in his attempt to take out of the hands of the civil authorities the appointment and confirmation of the beneficed and parochial clergy, and the administration of justice against and the taxation of the clergy. The hot-headed son of south Italy, who was filled with holy zeal, and wanted at once to enforce the canonical ordinances against the abuses that were customary (and easily explained by the long absence of the bishop), was not the man to settle such delicate questions. Fleckenstein, the syndic of Lucerne, resisted him with a violence equal to his own. The devil, so said Fleckenstein, may carry off the nuncio to the place he came from. The Council of Lucerne insisted, with the greatest obstinacy, on burdening the collegiate church with taxes which took away the greater part of its revenues. The nuncio then summoned the Council to the church of the Jesuits, and threatened them with excommunication before the Blessed Sacrament exposed. It is hardly to be wondered at that this proceeding excited indignation. The Council immediately appealed directly to the Pope. The latter, who realized very well that it was not possible to employ force with the Swiss,

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of L. v. Gennep in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 222.

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxxviii., 225 seq., 229, 239 seq., 243 seq., 249 seq.; MAYER, I., 97 seq., 294 seq.; K. GAUSS in *Basler Zeitschr. f. Gesch.*, XXI. (1923). For Blarer cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 137 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> See SEGESSER, *Rechtsgesch. von Luzern*, IV., 467 seq.

saw that the position of his nuncio was untenable. On August 15th, 1587, he ordered the recall of Santoni, which, out of consideration for him, was attributed to his age and inability to bear the climate of Switzerland.<sup>1</sup>

On September 19th, 1587, Sixtus V. appointed Ottavio Paravicini, Archbishop of Alessandria, and a pupil of the learned Baronius,<sup>2</sup> to succeed Santoni.<sup>3</sup> It would be difficult to imagine an appointment so well inspired as this. In spite of the ill-humour which the nuncio met with even in a man who was so loyal a Catholic as Ludwig Pfyffer, his diplomatic ability was nevertheless successful, in an incredibly short time, in entirely restoring the broken relations. Both parties clearly saw that their common aim, the maintenance of the Catholic faith, could only be attained by the closest possible agreement. By meeting quite frankly there soon grew up a complete trust between them, which had the best possible results. The influential Pfyffer became the closest friend of Paravicini, and shared with him all his plans. As a free Swiss Pfyffer spoke without reserve even of the conduct of the Pope, though always showing his unshaken respect for the Holy See and for the interests of the Catholic religion. By his vast correspondence Pfyffer was in close touch, not only with the whole of Switzerland, but also with France and Germany, and thus could give the nuncio every kind of information. Paravicini was also on close terms of friendship with Melchior Lussy of Stans, who after Pfyffer was the most important representative of Catholic Switzerland. After the Catholic assembly the nuncio invited the delegates to dinner, which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. TEMPESTI, I., 541 *seqq.*; RIEDWEG, *Gesch. des Kollegiatstiftes Beromünster*, Lucerne, 1881, 321 *seq.*; SEGESSER, *Pfyffer*, II., 101 *seq.*; III., I, 287; EHSSES-MEISTER, I., lxxi., 266 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 304.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MAYER, I., 309, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The brief of September 19, 1587, in *Archiv. f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 69. Cf. the letter of Montalto in EHSSES-MEISTER, I., 270, and the *acta* in WIRZ, 427 *seq.*, 432.

was so successful that it was recommended to all his successors.<sup>1</sup>

As a skilled diplomatist Paravicini made it his principle to listen rather than speak. Although he was very cautious in putting forward his own views he nevertheless knew how to defend the policy of his sovereign with both prudence and skill. This was especially shown when, in 1588 and 1589, the Pope's prudent attitude of reserve towards events in France caused serious mistrust among the Swiss, who were entirely devoted to the league. It was on that occasion that Pfyffer had direct recourse to the Pope. He frankly set forth the dangerous consequences of the refusal to pay the money promised by Cardinal Caetani to the Swiss regiment that had been summoned to the assistance of the league.<sup>2</sup>

Paravicini had been furnished by Sixtus V. with full powers for the reform of the secular clergy and for the administration of his nunciature.<sup>3</sup> His attention was principally directed from the first to the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline in Switzerland, the state of which he came to understand from every point of view, even in material matters, and so intimately that in reading his reports<sup>4</sup> one is reminded of the celebrated reports of the Venetian ambassadors. Thus the work of reform which was accomplished by Paravicini was very far-reaching. He brought his influence to bear wherever he could, not only in Switzerland, but also at Constance.

<sup>1</sup> See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., I, 289 *seq.*, where use is made of the reports of the nunciature of Paravicini, in the Papal Secret Archives. The assertion which Segesser to some extent adopts from Ranke that the nunciature in Switzerland was observatory in character, does not, according to MEISTER (I., lxxix.) apply to the time of Paravicini. *Cf.* also the extracts from the reports of Paravicini given by MOSSMANN (*Un échec de Henri IV. en Alsace*, 43 *seq.*).

<sup>2</sup> See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., I, 293 *seq.*; IV., 86 *seq.*; MAYER, I., 324 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See WIRZ, 427 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* the report on the financial resources of the various parts of the Confederation in SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., I, 292, n. 3.



He made visitations of parishes and monasteries, insisting on the removal of concubinage and the observance of the enclosure. He also devoted himself to pastoral labours. He many times himself distributed Holy Communion, and at Baden, and later on at Lucerne, conferred the sacrament of Confirmation on many hundreds of people ;<sup>1</sup> he had greatly at heart the support of the Jesuits and Capuchins in Switzerland. The Jesuits, of whom the nuncio also made use for the reform of several convents of nuns, displayed an extremely successful pastoral activity at Lucerne, which was also extended to the country districts and the neighbouring cantons.<sup>2</sup> The development of their school was unfortunately hindered, as the council interfered with their freedom to take pupils, especially foreigners.<sup>3</sup> The laying of the first stone of the new Jesuit church in Lucerne, the expense of which was entirely born by Ludwig Pfyffer, was performed in person by Paravicini in 1588.<sup>4</sup> The sermons of the Jesuits and their catechism at Lucerne were attended by extraordinary crowds, and the fathers were not enough for the administration of the sacraments.<sup>5</sup> No less beneficial was the work of the Capuchins, as to which Paravicini sent frequent reports to Rome. On October 16th, 1588, their church at Wesemlin near Lucerne, which had become celebrated as a sanctuary, was consecrated by Paravicini, and in the following year the fathers obtained the adjoining convent.

During 1588 the Capuchins also obtained a footing at Solcure, and there, as at Appenzell and Baden, the nuncio furthered the building of their convents in every way. On

<sup>1</sup> See MAYER, I., 122 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*, 313 *seq.*, 316 *seq.*, 318 *seq.*; II., 27 *seq.*, 53, 56, 74, 162, 181, 237 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See DUHR, I., 216 *seq.*, 483. Paravicini advised the Bishop of Basle to make use of the Jesuits in Laufen; see his letter in J. BURCKHARDT, *Die Gegenreformation in den ehemaligen Vogteien Zwingen, Pffingen u. Birseck*, Basle, 1855, 138 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See GRÜTER, *Das Collegium zu Luzern unter dem ersten Rektor P.M. Leubenstein* (1905), 56.

<sup>4</sup> See DUHR, I., 622.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

July 2nd, 1590, the consecration of the church of the Capuchins at Appenzell took place ; in 1589 they erected the Confraternity of the Rosary in all their churches. In June of the same year there met at Lucerne the superiors and representatives of the seven convents then existing in Switzerland (Altdorf, Stans, Lucerne, Schwyz, Appenzell, Soleure and Baden) and they elected a provincial and three definitors, thus establishing the Swiss province of the Capuchins.<sup>1</sup>

Paravicini also saw many other results of his labours. When in the spring of 1589 there took place the " great prayer " for their own needs and for those of the Catholics of other nations, the people displayed the greatest devotion, and the nuncio reported to Rome that he had never yet seen anywhere such great fervour.<sup>2</sup> This is also confirmed by the statements of the Jesuits. Whereas in 1575 the number of those who approached the altar in the parish churches, outside the Easter season, was about 300, in 1588 it was more than 10,000, and in 1589 more than 12,000.<sup>3</sup> The communal secretary, Renward Cysat, reports as follows concerning the change in the whole of the public life at Lucerne, which was to a great extent due to the Jesuits : " There has been a considerable reform in the matter of worldly pleasures, and men have begun to give up drinking, dancing and gambling ; people of loose life are no longer to be seen in the streets ; purposeless and tiresome crowds, singing and uproar are forbidden, at night masquerades and fancy dress parades are done away with, and the bonfires at night are abolished. Public women are banished and many have taken the *Vota Castitatis* ; the adultery which was so flagrant, and wrongful possession, which was so common that it was looked upon rather as a

<sup>1</sup> See *Chronica prov. Helv. ord. Capuc.* 26 seq. ; MAYER, I., 321 ; II., 222 seq., 225, 237 seq., 240 seq. ; *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 270 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See MAYER, I., 320. For the " great prayer " cf. LÜTOLF in *Schweizer Geschichtsfreund*, XXII. (1867), 99 seq. and RINGHOLZ in *Zeitschr. f. Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XI., 2.

<sup>3</sup> See FLEISCHLIN, *Aus den Annalen des Gymnasiums in Luzern*, in the *Luzerner Monatsrosen*, XXVI., 135.

habit than a sin, are now strictly forbidden. On Sundays and festival days there are three sermons all the year round, and very often on other days as well. How can I describe the wonderful fruits that this has produced, except by saying that there has been a marvellous change in the public lives of all classes? Evil living people have been changed into devout, like lions become lambs, who before would submit to no authority, civil or ecclesiastical. Thus it seems to everyone as though their eyes had been opened for the first time, and that they have awakened as though from a dream in comparison to their former manner of life, and as though they had found themselves in a new world."<sup>1</sup>

In questions of ecclesiastical politics, where Santoni had met with shipwreck, Paravicini displayed the greatest leniency as to forms, while skilfully avoiding any material concessions. He was scrupulously careful to avoid any sort of conflict with the civil power, and to settle the difficulties already existing, and he was successful in finding the true middle course, and in acting in harmony with the civil authorities. By thus forming such friendly relations with the government, he was able to exert great influence even in political matters.<sup>2</sup>

Paravicini's prudent behaviour was of extraordinary advantage to his work of reform, for the authorities, of their own accord, supported the ordinances of the Council of Trent, on the observance of which Paravicini everywhere insisted, with legal enactments in their own districts. Noteworthy too was the prudence he showed with regard to this matter, which he had so much at heart. When Lussy suggested bringing forward in the general assembly the publication and enforcement of the Tridentine decrees, he rejected the proposal on the ground that the opposition which was to be expected to such a procedure might cause unforeseen difficulties.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See TROXTER, *Luzerns Gymnasium und Luzern* (1823), 38 *seq.*; SEGESSER, *Rechtsgesch. von Luzern*, IV., 572, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, IV., 480 *seq.*, and Pfyffer, III., 1, 288 *seq.* Cf. also MAYER, II., 118 *seq.*, 142 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 289. Cf. also MAYER, I., 319, precautions taken by Paravicini concerning reforming activity in Basle.

Paravicini devoted the greatest attention to events at Appenzell. The innovators in that canton aimed at interfering in those districts which had remained completely Catholic, especially in the chief town, in defiance of the decree of the general assembly in 1524, and confirmed in March, 1587, which had left the decision of the religion of the parishes in the district to the majority of the parishioners. The Catholics, who were closely united by the labours of the prudent and shrewd Capuchin, Ludwig of Saxony,<sup>1</sup> showed themselves determined to maintain their religious unity, in which determination they were supported by the nuncio and the Catholic Cantons. They knew very well that any further spread of the new doctrines would threaten the complete suppression of the Catholic faith. The Protestants of Appenzell turned in 1588 to their co-religionists at Ausserrhoden, and the latter expressed their readiness to come to their assistance. As, however, the people of Zurich refused to mix themselves up in the matter, many of the Protestants of Appenzell had to emigrate to the remote parts of the canton. At last the irritation increased to such an extent that on April 11th both parties took up arms. On April 23rd there was held a general assembly in which the representatives of all the confederated Cantons took part, and on the following day a pact was drawn up confirming the statute of 1524. As a result of this the Protestants who still remained at Appenzell were forced either to recant or emigrate.<sup>2</sup>

Paravicini very rightly saw in this pact, which secured religious unity in Appenzell, an important success, and the conversion of a magistrate in that district filled him with hopes of the return of the whole Canton to the ancient Church.<sup>3</sup> Sixtus V. shared his nuncio's hopes; at a consistory of June 20th, 1588, he informed the Cardinals of the restoration of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 270.

<sup>2</sup> See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, III., 1, 307; RITTER, *Teilung des Landes Appenzell*, 26-38.

<sup>3</sup> See the letter of Paravicini in RITTER, *loc. cit.*, append. lxi. seq. Cf. MAYER, II., 277 seq.

the Catholic Church in the mountains of Appenzell.<sup>1</sup> On July 31st in the following year he once again in consistory spoke of the progress of the Catholic faith in Switzerland, in which he saw a sensible proof that God had not abandoned His Church.<sup>2</sup> Sixtus V. also spoke repeatedly in consistory of the reform work of the Bishop of Basle, Blarer von Wartensee.<sup>3</sup> At Laufen five thousand souls, the Pope reported on November 29th, 1589, had been brought back by that energetic man to the Church.<sup>4</sup> On April 30th, 1590, the Pope again spoke of the progress of the Catholics at Appenzell and in the territories of the diocese of Basle.<sup>5</sup>

Both the Pope and his nuncio were strengthened in their hopes when in 1590 the able Margrave James III. of Baden-Hochberg embraced the Catholic faith.<sup>6</sup> On July 18th that prince, so distinguished for his learning and the purity of his morals, officially informed the nuncio in Switzerland of his return to the Catholic Church, which had taken place three days before, and of his resolve to make use of the reforming rights given him by the religious peace of Augsburg to bring back his subjects as well to the ancient faith.<sup>7</sup>

The conversion of the Margrave James of Baden, which was the result, not of politics, nor done for the sake of a throne as in the case of Henry IV, but of pure conviction, and only

<sup>1</sup> See \*Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. as to this BURCKHARDT, *Gegenreformation* (see *supra*, p. 139, n. 2); VAUTREY, *Hist. des évêques de Bâle*, II., 135 *seq.* See also the monographs already cited by DIERAUER, III., 354, n. 2, among which however MAYER (II., 211, 282 *seq.*) is wanting.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Acta consist. 869 (for *Zuichem* read *Zwingen*). Cf. MAYER, II., 211, and the \*report of the Venetian ambassador, November 11, 1589, State Archives, Venice, and the \*report of the conversion of the cities of Laufen, Thiengen (*Zwingen*) and five others in 1589, in *Miscell. Franciæ*, I., 22, p. 306 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Acta consist. 872.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. JANSSEN-PASTOR V. 418 *seq.* where the abundant special literature is used.

<sup>7</sup> See EHSES II. 490 *seq.*

arrived at after a long struggle,<sup>1</sup> made all the greater impression throughout Germany and Switzerland in that it was the first case of the kind since the outbreak of the religious divisions. Besides the learned Johann Pistorius, Paravicini, and the Duke of Bavaria, William V., the indefatigable and hard-working guardian of the Capuchins at Appenzell, Father Ludwig, played an important part in bringing about this happy event.<sup>2</sup> Sixtus V. announced this important event to the Cardinals at a consistory on August 13th, 1590, and ordered a service of thanksgiving in the German national church of the Anima.<sup>3</sup> Like Paravicini, he attached great importance to it for the spread of the Catholic religion in the margravate, and looked to it to react favourably on the religious conditions in Switzerland. But all hopes of this kind were shattered when James III. died suddenly on August 17th, and his successor and brother, Ernest Frederick, at once drove out the Catholic priests, reintroduced the Protestant religion, and in defiance of the will of his dead brother, had his sons educated in the Protestant religion.<sup>4</sup> It was fortunate for Sixtus V., who had expressed to James III. in a brief of August 18th, his extraordinary joy at his return to the Church,<sup>5</sup> was spared the knowledge of his disappointment.

<sup>1</sup> See EHSES II. lxi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WEECH in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch des Oberrheins*, N.S., VII. (1892), 663 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See the sources given by SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 437 seq. Cf. also the \*letter of Badoer, August 18, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 424 seq.

<sup>5</sup> See *Freib. Diözesanarchiv*, IV., 111 seq. Cf. EHSES, II., 492 n.

## CHAPTER IV.

### PLANS FOR A CRUSADE.—THE POLISH ELECTION.— DEATH OF THE POPE.

A POPE who, like Sixtus V., always kept the general welfare of Christendom before him as his chief care, could not be indifferent as to the Turkish peril. The idea of the struggle between the Cross and the Crescent, which had inspired the immortal verse of his contemporary, Torquato Tasso, appealed to him in a special way by reason of the traditions of his own Order, the members of which alone, after the conquest of Palestine, had remained courageously at their post, maintaining with self-sacrificing generosity the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre.

There is no reason to wonder, then, that among the great projects which occupied the attention of Sixtus V. after his election, a Crusade against the Turks had its place. How unfavourable for such an undertaking the whole political situation of Europe had become, he, who was but a novice in such matters, was only able to realize by slow degrees. At first he only recognized one obstacle: the critical state of the Papal finances. "If I had the necessary money," he said at the beginning of his pontificate, "I would set on foot a great expedition against the infidel." He spoke of it with so great enthusiasm that some people believed that one day he would follow the example of Pius II., and take his place in person at the head of a crusade, in order thus to lead the other Christian princes to follow his example.<sup>1</sup>

When, at the beginning of June, 1585, he pointed out to the Venetian ambassador, Priuli, the greatness of the danger

<sup>1</sup> See PRIULI, *Relazione* 308 *seq.* Cf. the \*letters of Priuli November 30 and December 28, 1585, State Archives, Venice; MUTINELLI, I., 171 *seq.*

threatened by the Turks, he made clear his intention of devoting his special attention to this question. He then stated that he had sent an envoy to the Shah of Persia, who was at that time at war with Turkey, and that he intended to form an alliance with the Tartars of the Crimea.<sup>1</sup>

Cesare Costa, the Archbishop of Capua, who was appointed nuncio in Venice on June 22nd, 1585, delivered a discourse to the Doge, when he presented his credentials, which went beyond the limits of an official oration in a very significant way: "If our Holy Father," he said, "had the opportunity of himself expressing to you his sentiments, you would realize from his words, his looks, and his gestures, the paternal love which binds him to you, and his ardent desire for the grandeur, prosperity and glory of your republic. He will overwhelm you with proofs of his friendship and will call down the blessings of heaven upon you. With the keen sorrow and the tender anxiety of a father he sees you surrounded by powerful enemies, and is ever ready to take up your defence. Against the invasions of the barbarians and the attacks of the infidel, he will gladly open to you the treasury of the Church, and sacrifice the revenues of the Holy See, and even his own life. In return he expects from your Serenity the filial love and zeal for religion which must not be measured by the rules of statecraft and prudence, but must be accepted with simple confidence and the sentiments of the true believer, which are always the same, and cannot be altered by events or by the will of men. It is to its obedient submission to the Holy See, and its faithful observance of the canonical precepts, that your illustrious Republic, so small in its beginnings, owes its greatness, power and glory of to-day. Its close union with the Holy See is a guarantee of the maintenance of

<sup>1</sup> See the \*letter of Priuli, June 1, 1585, *loc. cit.* For the mission to Persia, the reply concerning which only arrived in 1589, see CHARRIÈRE, IV., 571. Cf. also REICHENBERGER, I., 313 *seq.* and ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 57. Negotiations were also begun with the ruler of Georgia concerning a war against the Turks; see SERRANO, Arch. de la Embajada de España, I., Rome, 1915, 54.



peace at home, and of great importance to its good name in Italy.”<sup>1</sup>

In his reply the Doge expressed with enthusiasm his pleasure at the friendly sentiments of the Pope, which he felt all the more sensibly in comparison with the attitude of Gregory XIII. The actions and concessions of the Pope, which gave immense pleasure to the Venetian government, quickly followed upon this exchange of friendly sentiments.<sup>2</sup> Only one thing filled the government with anxiety; the Pope constantly spoke of the Turkish peril.<sup>3</sup> His words on this subject were so impressive that in Venice men feared that the fiery old man who occupied the See of Peter meant to ask of the Republic an enterprise against their powerful neighbour in the East. The Signoria therefore awaited with some anxiety the welcome which the embassy sent to make the *obedientia* should meet with in Rome. This was so composed as to include the most important men whom the Republic had at its disposal: the former ambassador, Leonardo Donato, the learned connoisseur of art, Marcantonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini and Marino Grimani. Filippo Pigafetta, who was of their number, has left a detailed description of the pomp which accompanied this extraordinary embassy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See HÜBNER, I., 409 *seq.* The \*brief appointing Costa, dated June 22, 1585, in Arm. 44, t. 30, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the suspension of the right of sanctuary, which was allowed for three years; see the \*brief to the Doge, September 20, 1585, State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Priuli, September 21, 1585, State Archives, Venice. \*“ Il Papa,” says an Avviso of September 28, 1585, “ ha tuttavia gran voglia di fare un lega di tutti principi cattolici contro tutti li diavoli terrestri.” Urb. 1053, p. 424, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See, *Descrizione della comitiva e pompa con cui andò e fu ricevuta l'ambasceria dei Veneziani al p. Sisto V l' a. 1585 fatta da F. PIGAFETTA, gentiluomo al sequito*, p.p. Giov. da Schio, Padova, 1854 (*Nozze. Publ.*). For Marcantonio Barbaro see the edition de luxe of CH. YRIARTE: *La vie d' un patricien de Venise au 16<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1884. For the entry of the “*obedientia*” embassy into Rome, see the \*report of C. Capilupi, October 9, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

The making of the *obedientia* took place at a public consistory in the Sala Regia on October 10th, 1585. The discourse which was delivered on this occasion by the Nestor of the Venetian diplomatists, Leonardo Donato, moved the Pope to tears.<sup>1</sup> He promised the Republic three-tenths, and granted to it an Auditor of the Rota.<sup>2</sup> After the ceremony on October 10th, the envoys were again received repeatedly in private audience. At these, in addition to Italian affairs, the Turkish question was discussed; to their great satisfaction the ambassadors received from Sixtus V. the express assurance that he did not intend to compromise the "Serene Republic." "We know," he said, "that it is striving to live on good terms with the Sultan, because it is in no position to carry on a war alone against him. At present he is leaving us in peace, because his hands are occupied with the Persians. Use therefore the time that is left to you. Make your preparations in silence, and wait until we are ready to make an attack. Unfortunately the other princes are thinking only of satisfying their own ambitions and even of worse things. They would willingly sacrifice an eye, if only they could thereby put out both those of another. They are hindering each other in well-doing, and their mutual hostility is to the advantage of the common enemy. Let the Signoria therefore dissemble and restrain itself, help us in secret, but wait until the other princes are ready to deliver an attack upon the Turks. Only then can they take part with us. This was our view when we were a Cardinal, but no attention was paid to us. Therefore we urge caution upon the Signoria. Too often Venetian ships are guilty of acts of violence in the Levant; in such cases the Signoria, in order to satisfy the Turks, must punish the guilty, but not too severely; thus for example they must never cut off the head of a Christian to please the Moslem. This was also the view of the good and venerable senators,

<sup>1</sup> See \*Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, and \*report of C. Capilupi, October 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See GUALTERIUS, \*Ephemerides, 49, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

whom we often heard speak on this subject when we were living in Venice."

Passing on to the affairs of Italy, the Pope insisted on the necessity of that agreement between the various states which would assure the peace of Italy. Above all, he urged a good understanding with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He was of opinion on the whole that the Italian princes should be friendly with each other, but without forming alliances or leagues.<sup>1</sup> It is evident how wise Sixtus V. was in insisting on an agreement between the Italian states, yet without wishing for too close an alliance among them, by which the sovereign of the States of the Church might easily have been outweighed.

The Venetian ambassadors for the *obedientia* were created knights by Sixtus, and given many privileges. For their part they were as well satisfied as the Pope.<sup>2</sup> Their principal object, the consolidation of friendship with the new head of the Church, was all the more easily attained in that Sixtus, by reason of his position in Italy, and in view of the preponderant power of Spain, attached the greatest importance to good relations with the Republic of St. Mark.<sup>3</sup> He generously passed over the hostile attitude formerly adopted towards him in Venice, when he was Inquisitor.<sup>4</sup> Since he wished to be on good terms with the governments everywhere, and especially in Italy,<sup>5</sup> he had no intention of making an exception in the case of Venice. Rather was it his desire to be on the most friendly terms with that state which alone in

<sup>1</sup> See HÜBNER, I., 411 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> By a \*brief of October 22, 1585, Sixtus V. thanked the Doge, Pasquale Cicogna, for the *obedientia*: "Fuit nobis eorum adventus actioque ipsa longe iucundissima. Multa etiam apud nos privatim egerunt magna cum testificatione pietatis, prudenti eximiarumque virtutum tuarum." Orig. State Archives, Venice.

<sup>3</sup> See CHARRIÈRE, IV., 402 *seqq.* Cf. BALZANI, Sisto V., p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 342 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. PRIULI, 317 *seq.*; GRITTI, 345; BROSCHE, I., 295. For the relations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany see REUMONT, I., 327 *seq.*, 380. Cf. HÜBNER, II., 62 *seq.*

Italy had, together with the Holy See, still maintained its complete independence.

To this another reason had to be added; as a former Inquisitor, Sixtus V. was particularly on the alert against the danger of the spread in Italy of the religious innovations, and just as for this reason he had supported the ambitious aspirations of Duke Charles Emanuel of Savoy for the conquest of Saluzzo and Geneva, the places of refuge for many Italian Protestants, so did he see in the Republic of Venice a barrier against the penetration into Italy of Lutheran doctrines.<sup>1</sup>

In these circumstances it was easy for the ambassador of the Republic of St. Mark, Lorenzo Priuli, to be on the most

<sup>1</sup> See BALZANI, Sisto V., p. 36 *seqq.* For Saluzzo see Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 303, n. 1. Sixtus V. was already personally well disposed to the plans of the Duke of Savoy against Geneva, "quel maledetto nido d' heresia" (see *Quellen zur schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 432 *seq.*). As early as May, 1585, he declared his readiness to take part in it (see RAULICH, Carlo Emanuele, I., 244) and adhered to his purpose in spite of all the efforts against it on the part of France: he was persuaded to consent to a short delay in March, 1586 (*ibid.*, 256). When the undertaking became impossible, he complained in June 1586 of the dilatory procedure of Philip II. (*ibid.*, 275). At the beginning of 1589 the Duke of Savoy again projected an attack on Geneva, but the Pope, who was at that time entirely occupied with the pacification of France, now looked upon the undertaking as inopportune (see *ibid.*, II., 59). In a \*letter of May 8, 1589, he urgently pointed out to the duke the danger to which he was exposing himself (orig. in State Archives, Turin): in a \*letter of June 6 he promised 100,000 scudi if Geneva was defeated within the current year! (*ibid.*). In August, 1589, considerations connected with the attack of Philip II. on England led the Pope to refuse his support (RAULICH, II., 70). In a letter of October 12, 1589, Sixtus V. advised the duke to be cautious "perchè le cose fatte con poco consiglio tolgono l' honor, la roba et alle volte la vita" (State Archives, Turin). Consideration for France, which overshadowed everything else, led Sixtus V. in March, 1590, once more to urge the duke to his undertaking against Geneva, in order to divert its attention from Provence (RAULICH, II., 138, 156).

friendly terms with the Holy See. But in addition to this he succeeded in winning the full confidence of the new Pope. The latter had so completely lost sight of the former disagreements that Priuli attributed the Pope's kindly feelings to his long residence in the territory of the Republic. During that period, he wrote, (probably quoting expressions made use of by the Pope), Sixtus V. learned to value the greatness of the Republic, its splendid system of government, the piety of its inhabitants, its great history and its traditional friendship with Rome. Whence it had come about that probably no other Pope had given the Venetians, and in so short a time, such proofs of his favour and affection as Sixtus V. Frequently he had granted more than he was asked for, and always with such expressions of benevolence, in spite of the opposite opinion held by most of the Cardinals, that it could be clearly seen how much he valued Venice.<sup>1</sup>

As a principal sign of favour, in addition to the provision of bishoprics and abbacies, Priuli mentions especially his prudent settlement of the controversy with the Patriarch of Aquileia, which had occasioned such difficulties in the time of Gregory XIII., and the extraordinary concession of including the religious in the tithes of the clergy,<sup>2</sup> which was granted in consideration of the threat to Crete and Corfù on the part of the Turks. In the bull by which Venice was given a special Auditor of the Rota, particular mention is made of the services which the Republic had once rendered as a barrier against the Crescent.<sup>3</sup> The important concessions, both political and financial, which Sixtus V. made to the Venetians,<sup>4</sup> were so extensive that several times Priuli asked himself what the

<sup>1</sup> See PRIULI, 319 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 324 *seq.* for the attitude of the Cardinals towards Venice.

<sup>2</sup> See PRIULI, 320. Cf. CECCHETTI, I., 340. The arrangement arrived at by Sixtus V. as to Aquileia, was such that neither the Papal, the Venetian, the Imperial, nor the Austrian interests were injured. Cf. LE BRET, Venedig, IV., 30.

<sup>3</sup> See, I libri commemor. d. repub. di Venezia VII., Venice, 1907, 38 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> The bull concerning tithes, February 27, 1586, *ibid.*, 39.

Pope was going to ask of the Republic by way of return. He was only able to hit upon one thing: an expedition against the Turks, but that, as he says in his final report, is not spoken of *for the moment*, since the Pope has repeatedly stated that in that respect he would have the greatest consideration for the situation of Venice, knowing that the Republic was, on account of its possessions, exposed in a peculiar degree to the attacks of the Porte, and therefore could not put itself forward as the first or only power in a war against the Turks.<sup>1</sup>

The government of Venice for its part sought to show its friendly feelings towards the Pope with equal zeal. As early as the autumn of 1585 the nephews of Sixtus V., had received patents of nobility at Venice.<sup>2</sup> A very great impression was made upon him by the attitude of the Republic in the matter of the struggle against the bandits, which caused the head of the Papal States such anxiety.<sup>3</sup>

Following the advice of Priuli the ambassadors who succeeded him took special pains to maintain friendly relations with the Holy See. This was the case with Giovanni Gritti, who was given the post of ambassador in Rome in April, 1586,<sup>4</sup> and retained it for three years. It fell to him to make frequent reports as to favours and concessions granted by the Pope.<sup>5</sup> The Republic for its part showed its gratitude. At the first rumour of the intention of the Pope of buying, as he had done in Naples, a palace in Venice for his nuncio, so as to increase the prestige of the Apostolic See, Venice acquired from the

<sup>1</sup> See PRIULI, 320 *seq.*; *cf.* 309.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*brief of thanks to the Doge, November 13, 1585. Orig. in State Archives, Venice.

<sup>3</sup> See PRIULI, 321. *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> In his \*brief of April 24, 1586, to the Doge, Sixtus V. praised Priuli and expressed his conviction that G. Gritti would prove equally skilful. Orig. in State Archives, Venice.

<sup>5</sup> See GRITTI, 344. Very characteristic of Sixtus V.'s predilection for Venice was his attitude towards the dispute between the Duke of Parma and the Republic concerning the navigation of the Adriatic; *cf.* the report of Gritti, December 20, 1586, in BRÖSCH, Papst Julius II., 346.

heirs of the Doge Andrea Gritti, for the sum of 25,000 ducats, the palace in the Campo Francesco della Vigna, rented by the nuncio in Venice, and on August 30th, 1586, presented it to the Pope as a mark of its attachment and devotion.<sup>1</sup>

In view, however, of the cesaropapistical tendencies of the Venetians, the period of Gritti's embassy could not pass by quite calmly. Once, in the spring of 1587, it seemed that there must be a serious dispute, on account of the right claimed by the Signoria to nominate the Abbot of San Cipriano at Murano. The Pope's peaceful dispositions, however, succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory compromise.<sup>2</sup> The Pope consented to the Signoria's wish to retain the Julian Calendar in its possessions in the Levant all the more readily because he quite inexplicably completely misunderstood the importance and usefulness of the change introduced by his predecessor.<sup>3</sup> The nuncio, Girolamo Matteucci, Archbishop of Ragusa, who was appointed in November, 1587, in succession to Costa,<sup>4</sup> was in every way a *persona grata* to the

<sup>1</sup> See Acta consist. 844, 847; DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 110 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See GRITTI, 344; besides Acta consist. 850 and TEMPESTI, I., 674 *seq.*, *cf.* the \*letter of Malegnani, February 28, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Santori says on July 16, 1590: \*I interceded on behalf of Pera, Chios, and Albania for the use of the old calendar. "S.S. se ne contentó. dicendo molto male del nuovo, et che tutti se possano servire del vecchio in quelle parti, come anco havrebbe concesso in queste, se ne fusse stato ricerca dall' Imp<sup>re</sup> o da qualche re, et per questo così concesse in Candia ad instantia de' Venetiani, et che io li scriva, che S.S. ce lo concede. Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae." Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19.

<sup>4</sup> In the \*brief to the Doge, November 16, 1587, announcing the appointment, it is said: "Iam dudum perspectam habemus praestantem fidem, prudentiam, integritatem ven. fratris Hieronymi archiep. Ragusini, cuius etiam opera gravissimis in rebus usi sumus." Orig. State Archives, Venice. *Ibid.* \*brief to the Doge, January 8, 1590: Matteucci recalled to Rome, and in his place appointed as nuncio ordinary "Marcellus (Aquaviva) archiep. Hydruntinus"; the \*brief of appointment of the latter, January 8, 1590, in Arm. 44, t. 29, Papal Secret Archives.

Republic.<sup>1</sup> In April 1589 the embassy in Rome was taken over by Alberto Badoer.<sup>2</sup> This diplomatist, who was in every way superior to his predecessor, very soon won the confidence of the Pope as completely as Priuli had done. At the end of 1589 he and Donato were successful in arranging in a satisfactory way the dispute concerning the recognition of Navarre by Venice, which had been embittered by the inconsiderate action of Matteucci.<sup>3</sup>

It was of greater importance for Venice that the Pope took into account the peculiar position of the Republic as regards the Turks, as none of his predecessors had done. He did not in the least degree urge the Republic to make war on the Turks, although, in case this should ever happen, he had promised her his full support.<sup>4</sup> In so acting, however, the Pope had by no means given up the idea of a struggle against the infidel. This was a question that was always before him, and to this end proposals were made to him in writing from many quarters.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On December 5, 1587, Sixtus V. wrote to the Doge: "Gaudemus ita evenisse ut volebamus omne scilicet ex pacto (quod ex tuis litteris cognovimus) satisfactum esse nobilitati tuae in ven. fratre Caesare archiep. Capuano quo apud te nuncio usi sumus. Quae tibi reipublicaeque tuae sunt iucunda, nobis accidunt iucundissima. Prudentiam tuam plurimi facimus, pietatem unice diligimus, tibi reipublicaeque tuae summa omnia a Domino precamur." Orig. State Archives, Venice.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*brief to the Doge, April 10, 1589, Orig. State Archives Venice.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 332 *seqq.* For a struggle concerning the convents in Venice see the report of Badoer, May 17, 1590, in MUTINELLI, I., 184 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See GRITTI, 346.

<sup>5</sup> Only a few of these documents have been printed: e.g. G. PICCA *Oratione per la guerra contro Turchi a Sisto V P.M.*, Roma 1589, and S. AMMIRATO, *Orazione al beat. et sant. padre et signor nostro Sisto Quinto intorno i preparamenti che havrebbono a farsi contra la potenza del Turco*, Firenze 1594; of the unpublished copies I note: Vat. 3614: Iulii Castellani Faventini \**Oratio ad Sixtum V, de bello adversus Turcos gerendo*; Vat. 5518: Ant. Peregrini



While Sixtus V.'s thoughts at first turned to an expedition against Algiers, for which, however, Philip II. showed no inclination,<sup>1</sup> in the autumn of 1585 an extremely daring plan was put forward by the warlike King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. During the latter days of Gregory XIII. the relations of that sovereign with Turkey had become more and more embittered as the result of the murder of his master of the horse, Podlodowski, at Adrianople. Báthory formed the plan of profiting by the disturbances which had broken out in Russia after the death of Ivan IV. to conquer that kingdom, and then to attack the Turks with the united Polish and Russian forces. The importance of this grandiose project was not grasped, either by the nuncio Bolognetti, or by Gregory XIII.<sup>2</sup> but from so enterprising a man as Sixtus V. the King of Poland could well expect that he would be favourably disposed towards the realization of this vast project for the solution of the Eastern question.

Virgilio Crescenzi, who was in the service of Báthory, reported that Sixtus V. had discussed the plan of an anti-Turkish league with Cardinal Medici, and had declared his readiness, if Báthory would put himself at its head, to pay him annually a sum of a million as subsidy. Thereupon Báthory took the initiative, and on October 15th, 1585, he sent to Cardinal Rusticucci, the Secretary of State, a transcript of all the negotiations which had taken place during the last years of Gregory XIII., on the subject of the anti-Turkish league.<sup>3</sup>

Lucens. \*Oratio pro concordia ad principes christ. in Turcos, with dedication to Sixtus V. ; Vat. 5521 : Agostino Quintio, vesc. di Corzola, \*Discorso sopra una lega contra il Turco, and Amelio Marinata, \*Ragionamenti in proposito della lega contra infideli, both dedicated to Sixtus V. ; Vat. 5535 : Giov. Belippi, \*Esortatione a principi christiani contra il Turco et altri in lode di Sisto V. Vatican Library.

<sup>1</sup> See HÜBNER, I., 364 (*cf.* II., 474 *seq.*) ; PHILIPPSON, Granvella 449.

<sup>2</sup> See BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory, 330 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See PIERLING, II., 287 ; KARIUNEN, Possevino, 219.

At the end of March, 1586, Báthory sent his brother, Cardinal Andrew, to Rome; the latter was to explain to the Pope his great plan for an expedition against Constantinople by way of Moscow, there to place upon his head "a more than royal crown," and definitely set Europe free from the Turkish peril. The instructions which the Cardinal received he kept absolutely secret, even from his travelling companion, the Archbishop of Lemberg, Solikowski, who was to make the *obedientia* in the name of Poland, as well as from Cardinal Radziwill.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Andrew reached Rome on June 2nd, 1586.<sup>2</sup> It was unquestionably as the result of his explanation that Cardinal Azzolini wrote by the Pope's command to Báthory on June 24th that the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, who was fully informed as to the plans of the King of Poland, would be very welcome in Rome. Without waiting for the consent of his General, this zealous man at once set out upon his journey to Rome, which he reached at the beginning of September, 1586.<sup>3</sup>

Possevino described the position of Poland with regard to Russia as extremely favourable. In Russia, he said, there were many who resented being ruled by a prince who was mad, and these malcontents were well disposed to having the King of Poland as their sovereign. Another circumstance that favoured the Polish undertaking was the similarity of language and customs, as well as other things, foremost among which was the warlike spirit of the fearless Báthory. This information we have from Giovanni Gritti.<sup>4</sup>

Although there are no documents extant dealing with the negotiations between Possevino and Sixtus V., which were probably carried on orally, nevertheless the most recent

<sup>1</sup> See PIERLING, *Le St. Siège, la Pologne et Moscou*, 160 *seq.* KOLBERG, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Kard. A. Báthory*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* The Papal brief of thanks for the "*obedientia*" in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 2. Radziwill received the red hat on July 4, 1586; see *Acta consist.* 846.

<sup>3</sup> See PIERLING; II., 295 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, *Possevino*, 221 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See HASSENCAMP, *Sixtus V. poln. Politik*, 52 *seq.* Cf. PIERLING, II., 302 *seq.*

biographers of the celebrated Jesuit think that it may be gathered from a mass of other testimonies that a complete agreement was arrived at on the subject of the far-reaching project of a great war to be waged by Báthory against the Turks, in which, above all, Persia was to co-operate, while, as far as the Pope was concerned, the expedition against Moscow was of secondary importance.<sup>1</sup> The expressions made use of by Sixtus V. after the death of Báthory, to the effect that he had large sums of money in readiness for his part<sup>2</sup> show that such a conclusion is justifiable. There were two motives which decided Sixtus V. to assure Báthory of his support against Russia. The first was that Báthory had described the situation to the Curia in such a way as to make it apparent that there were only two possibilities: either Russia would become the prey of Turkey, which would be the ruin of Europe, or it must become Polish, and the Pope fell in with the plans of the King of Poland. His second motive was the hope that he would in this way secure the submission of the Russian schismatics, a thing which so far had not been able to be brought about by diplomatic means.<sup>3</sup>

If no more is known, it is because the negotiations were carried on in complete secrecy. This was again seen when, at the beginning of December, Possevino was sent back to Báthory in company of Annibale da Capua, Archbishop of Naples, who had been appointed nuncio in Poland. In the official letter which the indefatigable Jesuit was given for his return journey, he was in the first place charged to bring about an agreement between Poland and Russia in the matter

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 307 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 222 *seq.* Santori, to whom Sixtus V. related his plan for fighting the Turks with the help of Báthory and Persia, has unfortunately recorded no details; see *Autobiografia*, XIII., 186. Of importance is the description published by REICHENBERGER (I., 351, n. 1) in *\*Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.* Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See HASSENCAMP, 53. Cf. PIERLING, II., 312; see also REICHENBERGER, I., 351, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See ÜBERSBERGER, *Oesterreich und Russland*, I., Vienna, 1906, 502.

of the disputes concerning the territories of Smolensk, Novgorod and Pskow, which Báthory was thinking of seizing if necessary, even by force of arms. Possevino was further charged to promote the Catholic restoration in Livonia, and above all to further the interests of the Jesuit college there.<sup>1</sup>

Possevino and Annibale da Capua travelled together from Rome to Venice, whence the nuncio went on to Vienna, while Possevino travelled by way of the Tyrol to Munich. While crossing the Brenner Pass he received the catastrophic news that Báthory had died on December 12th after a short illness, without leaving an heir. At Innsbruck he had confirmation of this news which put an end to all his far-reaching and daring plans,<sup>2</sup> an event which meant a complete change in the position in the East.

Sixtus V. too was deeply affected by the unexpected death of Báthory. At a consistory on January 7th, 1587, he spoke with tears in his eyes of the sad loss they had sustained, praised the courage, valour and the Catholic sentiments of the dead man, and pointed out the irreparable loss which the death of this man, who was but fifty-four years of age, involved for their plans of war against the Turks. "We had placed great hopes in him, and had already sent him money to help his undertaking of crossing Russia against the Sultan, and at the same time giving assistance to the Persians and the

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, Possevino, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 173 *seq.* To the briefs there cited must be added, for the mission of Annibale di Capua, the letter to Báthory on November 15, 1586, in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 3 *seq.* Two briefs were addressed to the Doge: the \*first on November 15, 1586, announced the arrival of Annibale (Orig. State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*); the second concerned Possevino and is cited in SCHWEIZER, *loc. cit.*, 186, from the minute in the Papal Secret Archives; the date, November 25, is wrong; orig. State Archives, Venice, is clearly dated November 20. His appointment as nuncio had been announced to Annibale di Capua on September 6, 1586; see BIAUDET, *Nonciat.*, 299.

<sup>2</sup> See KARITUNEN, Possevino, 223. For the death of Báthory see PIERLING, II., 314 *seq.*

Tartars. We attribute this blow to our own sins, but at the same time we have not altogether lost our courage, relying upon the promise that Christ will not abandon us."<sup>1</sup> The Pope honoured the memory of the chivalrous monarch by solemn funeral services in the Sistine Chapel.<sup>2</sup>

Sixtus V. knew well what it was that stood in the way of an energetic struggle against the Turks. In 1587 he spoke on the subject in a conversation with the Venetian ambassador, Gritti. "The Turks," he said, "have only to think of their own interests in all their undertakings; but on the other hand the Christians have so many and such diverse interests, that one stands in the way of another. France is afraid of the aggrandizement of Spain; Spain does not wish Venice to become any stronger; Venice entertains similar feelings with regard to all the other powers. Nevertheless these individual passions and enmities affect the interests of the common welfare, and the enemy triumphs."<sup>3</sup> These words afford us an inspired commentary upon all that had happened since Lepanto,<sup>4</sup> and explain why the Pope had to content himself with isolated undertakings. At the same time his former ideas of a war against the barbarians in north Africa regained their ascendancy in his mind, though plans of this kind were by no means pleasing to Philip II. In consideration of his strained relations with England, he was unwilling to be drawn into other undertakings, and thought that he must maintain friendly relations even with Turkey.<sup>5</sup> Moreover the King of Spain had no confidence in the independent

<sup>1</sup> See Acta consist., 848; Gritti in PIERLING, II., 315 *seq.* Cf. REICHENBERGER, I., 359, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> January 12, 1587; see \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2814, p. 294, Vatican Library. Cf. \*Avviso of January 14, 1587, Urb. 1054, p. 11b, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See BROWN, Cal. of State Papers, Venet., 1581-91, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Opinion of BROSCHE, Gesch. dreier Grosswesire, Gotha, 1899, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Besides the reports used by HÜBNER, I., 365 *seq.*, see also the letter of G. Gamberini of May 10, 1586, *Scelta di curiosita lett.*, CXCVIII., 218, and the \*letter of Brumani, August 22, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

mode of action of the Pope, while for the most part his attention was becoming more and more absorbed by events in France.

Sixtus V. had sought ever since 1586 to interest the Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany in the undertaking against north Africa.<sup>1</sup> He dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of Egypt, if only he had the necessary money, as he said to the Venetian ambassador when discussing this daring project with him.<sup>2</sup> In February 1587 it was said that the Pope was planning to buy the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks.<sup>3</sup> When he spoke of this to the Venetian ambassador, Gritti, in the following year, he showed him a plan of the sanctuary, saying that he had no intention of acquiring it for money, because

<sup>1</sup> Cf. besides Priuli, 317, HÜBNER, II., 475 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Gritti, August 9, 1586, State Archives, Venice, and his report of August 30, 1586, published by NARDUCCI in *Atti dell' Acad. dei Lincei*, IV., 1, Rome, 1885, 302. The letter of Gritti of August 23, 1587, which is cited by RANKE, II., 136, n. 1, and on the strength of which he says that the Pope had, according to Gritti planned to open a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, does not, as far as the researches of Narducci show, exist in the State Archives, Venice, this is a further proof of how often Ranke's archival statements are false. If RANKE (p. 135) speaks of the "fantastic" plans of Sixtus V., HASE (*Vorlesungen über Kirchengesch.*, III., 1, Leipzig 1891, 372) very justly remarks as to this that "fantastic things are not infrequently attempted by those who actually accomplish great things; and what they have done if they had not accomplished it, would have seemed fantastic to us." Evidence of Sixtus V.'s caution is afforded by his attitude towards Venice in the Turkish question, and his unwillingness to impose on the Signoria any premature disturbance of its trade in the Levant.

<sup>3</sup> " \*Si va dicendo, che 'l Pontefice ha un pensiero gloriosissimo di volere, cioè redimere di mano del Turco il santo sepolcro et servirsi in questo traffico delli più onnipotenti mezzi, senza riguardo di qual si voglia somma di denari, che la Porta di Costantinopoli adimandi, et di quali si voglia eccessiva spesa, che ci vada per havere quel felicissimo sasso, che fu arca del nostro Redentore." Avviso of February 18, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 56, Vatican Library.

he did not wish the idea to get about that he was unable to win the Holy Sepulchre by force. "In our days," he added, "that is impossible, and we should fear to commit a sin were we to wish to bring the Sepulchre to Rome, since it was the will of Our Saviour to be born at Bethlehem." The Pope then went on to express his sorrow that pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre were so often maltreated by the Turks. "We must have patience," he added, "until it shall please Our Lord to send us a man, who, to the glory of the Divine Majesty, shall reconquer the Holy Land." The King of Spain, he said, has the necessary means for this, but not the will. Christianity needs a prince like Constantine, but he, the Pope, would not give up hopes that such a one would arise. For his own part he had three millions in readiness. He spoke bitterly of Philip's slowness in taking up arms against England; thirteen millions had already been expended to that end, and nothing yet was done. Yet in spite of his complaints Sixtus V. fully realized the importance of the King of Spain. "He is seventy-three years old," the Pope said, "and though he is unwilling to appear to be ill, yet he is so. May God preserve his life, which is so precious in these times."<sup>1</sup>

From a conversation which Matteo Brumani had with Sixtus V. at the end of August 1588 it is clear that the Pope would have preferred the undertaking against Algiers to that against England. Although he would have wished for such a crusade after the expedition against Elizabeth had proved successful,<sup>2</sup> the great Armada actually met with a terrible defeat. Then there followed the crisis in French affairs.

<sup>1</sup> See the report of Gritti, August 20, 1588, in HÜBNER, I., 389 *seq.* According to the \*report of the same of June 13, 1588, the Pope was speaking at that time of a journey to Loreto and Padua "et soggiunse che vorria far anco un altro viaggio al santissimo sepolcro" (State Archives, Venice). At that time Sixtus V. sent subsidies to the Franciscans in Jerusalem; see ARTAUD DE MONTOR, *Hist. des Souv. Pontifes*, IV., Paris, 1847, 478.

<sup>2</sup> See in App. n. 27, the \*report of Brumani of August 27, 1588, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

While the latter was occupying the whole attention of Sixtus V. there at length arrived the reply of the Shah of Persia to the brief which had been sent to that monarch at the beginning of the pontificate. The Pope communicated this document to the Cardinals at a consistory on June 26th, 1589, and, under the obligation of secrecy, had a translation of his reply read to them.<sup>1</sup> This was the last occasion on which Sixtus V. occupied himself with the matter of the war against the Turks. The murder of Henry III. and the ambitious attempts of Philip II. to turn the disturbances in France to his own advantage, drew his attention more than ever to the west of Europe.<sup>2</sup> In eastern Europe the complications brought about by the death of Báthory entirely overshadowed any thoughts of an undertaking against the Turks.

The premature death of so distinguished a prince as Stephen Báthory was a grave disaster for Poland, because it was followed by a dangerous interregnum, and a violent electoral struggle. The Polish Protestants, who were still of great political importance, at once profited by the interregnum to revive the confederation of Warsaw.<sup>3</sup> This immediately revealed the danger to the Catholic cause of the death of Báthory.<sup>4</sup>

The great attraction exercised by the crown of Poland was shown by the great number of the princes who aspired to it. The nuncio at Prague, Sega, enumerates them in his report of December 30th, 1586; they were Henry III. of France, who had already held the throne of Poland; Anna, the widow of Báthory; the twenty-nine year old hereditary prince of Sweden, Sigismund, the son of Catherine Jagellon; the Voivode Sigismund of Transylvania, the nephew of the dead king; the Duke of Parma; the Margrave George

<sup>1</sup> Acta consist. 867. Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 186.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 320 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> See BERGA, Skarga, 212, 215.

<sup>4</sup> Specially harmful was the reaction in Transylvania, where the aristocracy, who to a great extent adhered to the new faith, rose against the Jesuits in 1588 and obtained their expulsion; see SACCHINI, V., I, 373 *seq.*; EHSSES, II., 270, n. 1.



Frederick of Brandenburg, the administrator of Prussia ; the Grand Prince Feodor of Russia ; Duke Alfonso of Ferrara ; Wilhelm von Rosenberg-Orsini, a Polish born Piast, and lastly, of the House of Hapsburg, the Archdukes Ernest, Maximilian, Matthias and Ferdinand of the Tyrol.<sup>1</sup> According to Orazio Spannocchi, the secretary of Cardinal Bolognetti, who had died in 1585, the aspirations of the following had also to be taken into account : the Emperor Rudolph II., William V. of Bavaria, Cardinal Andrew Báthory, the Duke of Guise, a prince of Saxony, the King of Denmark, and several other Protestant princes. The grand chancellor of Poland, John Zamoiski, also aspired to the throne, though he did not come forward definitely as a candidate.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the above mentioned candidatures were only based upon the suppositions of the diplomatists. The real and serious aspirants were the Hapsburgs and the Grand Prince of Russia, and the hereditary prince of Sweden, Sigismund, who had remained true to the Catholic religion in the midst of a Protestant nation ;<sup>3</sup> his aunt, the widowed queen, Anna Jagellonica, threw all her influence and resources into the scales on his behalf ; the prudent and energetic grand chancellor, Zamoiski, who had been appointed by Báthory, also supported Sigismund, while the party of the haughty and powerful family of the Zborowski which was in opposition to Báthory and his chancellor, declared itself for the Hapsburgs. The Polish Protestants, who hated Sigismund as a pupil of the Jesuits, also declared for the Hapsburgs.<sup>4</sup> Against the latter was the unsettled condition of the dynasty, a thing which made it possible for the four archdukes to put forward their candidature at the same time.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 363 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xiv. *seq.* Cf. Relayce Nunc. Apost., I., 459 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 432 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BERGA, Skarga, 216.

<sup>5</sup> The events after the death of Báthory have recently been much discussed. The work of CARO, Das Interregnum Polens im Jahre 1587 u. die Parteikämpfe der Häuser Zborowski u. Zamoiski

Sixtus V., who fully realized the dangers to which the peace of Poland, as well as the religious future of that nation, was exposed by the death of Báthory, had at once, on January 7th, 1587, appointed in consistory a special congregation to deal with the affairs of Poland, to which belonged Cardinals Farnese, Laureo, Radziwill and Azzolini.<sup>1</sup> To this congregation was presented an opinion by Graziani, who was experienced in Polish questions.<sup>2</sup> Acting upon the advice therein contained, Sixtus V. resolved on January 10th that the briefs sent to the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries of Poland should merely recommend peace and the choice of a Catholic king, without putting forward any particular candidate. Anything further was to be communicated by Annibale di Capua, the successor of Girolamo Bovio in the nunciature of Poland. The Polish bishops were further specially exhorted to see that the confirmation of Protestant religious liberty should be removed from the oath of the new king.<sup>3</sup>

(Gotha, 1861) was very shortly after its appearance recognized as insufficient (see *Hist. pol. Bl.*, LI., 957 *seq.*), and was later on corrected and confuted on many points, by SIENIAWSKI (*Das Interregnum u. die Königswahl in Polen im Jahre 1587*, Breslau, 1869; *cf. Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXV., 440, where there is a good account of the sources, to which must be added the diaries of Sokolowski in *Script. rer. Pol.*, XI. (Cracow, 1887), otherwise very incompletely published (see *Hist. Jahrb.*, X., 249). Valuable material is supplied by E. v. MAYER, *Des Olmützer Erzbischofs Stan. Pawlowski Gesandtschaftsreise nach Polen aus Anlass der Königs wahl*, Krensier, 1861. To these must be added, as based on the sources, the praiseworthy publications of HIRN (*Erzherzog Ferdinand II.*, 263 *seq.*), and especially of SCHWEIZER (*Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xiv-cxxviii.).

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xx.

<sup>2</sup> Printed copy in BIAUDET, *Nonciat.*, 300 *seq.* *Cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 209.

<sup>3</sup> See the briefs in *Relayce Nunc. Apost.*, I., 445 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, and THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 4 *seq.* *Cf. SCHWEIZER in Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 177; A. PRZEZDZIECKI, *Listy Annibala y Kapui*, Warsaw, 1852, app. p. 259 *seq.* For G. Bovio see EHSSES in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, IX., 382.

In the instructions which were sent to the Polish nuncio by Cardinal Azzolini on January 10th, 1587, to the effect that he was to work before all things for the election of a Catholic king, it was added that as far as the Catholic candidates were concerned, he was to seek to maintain a strict neutrality. As Annibale di Capua was well known to be a supporter of Austria, this meant that he was not to let himself be carried away by his zeal for the Hapsburgs.<sup>1</sup> This attitude of the Pope was determined solely by the interests of religion. Just as the schismatic Grand Prince of Russia had from the first been unacceptable to him, so on the other hand, both Maximilian and Sigismund, who both affirmed their reverence for the Catholic Church, were equally acceptable to him. This absolute neutrality of the Holy See towards the two candidates, however, could not be observed as time went on.

Cardinals Madruzzo and Medici, as well as Olivares, worked eagerly in every way at the Curia on behalf of the Austrian candidates, and their united efforts certainly contributed to bringing the Pope to a decided preference for the Hapsburg princes. On March 21st, 1587, Annibale di Capua received orders to favour an Austrian archduke, and even the one for whom the greater number of the Poles should declare themselves. On April 6th Annibale di Capua was again exhorted in a cypher dispatch to concentrate all his efforts on the election of a Hapsburg.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the Emperor was informed by Madruzzo and Medici of this change of policy.<sup>3</sup> Sixtus V. especially took up the cause of the zealous Catholic Archduke Ernest, made arrangements for the honourable recall of Possevino, which was specially asked for by Rudolph II., and sent his maestro di camera, Lelio Orsini, to the archduke to convey to him the blessed hat and sword, and to confer with him orally. But the financial help which was asked for by the Imperial court was refused.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See BIAUDET, Sixte-Quint, 13 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the letter of Medici in SCHWEIZER, II., xxi., n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, xxv., 3 *seq.*, 24. Cf. PAOLO VITI MARIANI, *L'arciduca Ernesto d'Austria e la S. Sede*, Rome, 1898, app. p. 36 *seq.*

A decisive factor in this change in the Papal policy, by which Sigismund of Sweden was excluded, was the question of the war against the Turks.<sup>1</sup> If a Hapsburg were King of Poland he could count on the support of the Emperor and Philip II., whereas Sigismund only had at his disposal the limited resources of Sweden. For this reason Sixtus V. declared against the candidature of Sigismund and abandoned Possevino.<sup>2</sup>

The Pope knew well that the principal obstacle in the way of the success of the plans of Austria lay in the rivalry of the archdukes. The nuncio at Prague worked hard to bring them to a unanimous course of action, but at first without success.<sup>3</sup> When at length an agreement was come to in favour of Maximilian, the best of the sons of Rudolph II., it was already too late. On August 19th, 1587, at the electoral diet which had been assembled since June 30th on the plain of Wolo near Warsaw, Stanislaus Karnkowski, the Primate and Archbishop of Gnesen, together with Zamoiski, proclaimed Sigismund, the hereditary prince of Sweden as King of Poland. The Papal nuncio, Annibale di Capua, who in accordance with the instructions of the Pope, had adhered loyally to the party of Zborowski, which favoured Austria, while his principal orator, the Bishop of Olmütz, Stanislaus Pawlowski, intervened, and in an official discourse to the States, only insisted on the necessity of electing a good Catholic prince.<sup>4</sup> When Sigismund was proclaimed on the evening of August 22nd, the supporters of Austria replied by proclaiming the Archduke Maximilian by the mouth of the Bishop of Kiew.<sup>5</sup>

Thus Poland had two kings, and in the end it became necessary to decide the matter by force of arms. Fortune from the first favoured Sigismund, who had the advantage

<sup>1</sup> See REICHENBERGER, I., 400, n. 3. Cf. *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 177.

<sup>2</sup> See BIAUDET, *loc. cit.*, 17 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., xxv. 9 *seq.*, 15 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See MAYER, 312 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 46 *seq.*; SIENIAWSKY, 26 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*; SCHWEIZER, II., xxxv. *seq.*

in the eyes of the Poles of having sprung on his mother's side from an ancient and revered House of Jagellon. An attack on the strongly fortified Cracow which was made by Maximilian on November 23rd with insufficient forces was repulsed by Zamoiski. The archduke, who was abandoned by almost everyone, was obliged to retire into Silesia, while his rival was crowned at Cracow on December 27th, 1587, by the Archbishop of Gnesen. On January 24th, 1588, Zamoiski succeeded in inflicting a decisive defeat on the archduke near Pitschen, forced him to surrender, and carried him as prisoner to Poland.<sup>1</sup>

Both parties had at once recourse to the Pope; Zamoiski as early as August 26th, 1587.<sup>2</sup> In March, 1588, King Sigismund sent to Rome a detailed report of the double election, and the defeat and imprisonment of his rival, whereas Maximilian only decided on taking a similar step on April 28th.<sup>3</sup> On February 27th Sixtus V. had sent to the Emperor a letter of condolence on the capture of Maximilian, offering to act as mediator, but hinting at the same time that for a long time past there had been no ambassador at the Curia, and that Cardinal Madruzzo, who was often incapacitated by illness, could not be considered as a substitute.<sup>4</sup>

After Sigismund's coronation the Pope had to reckon with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KARGE, *Das österr. Unternehmen auf Polen u. die Schlacht bei Pitschen*, in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Schlesiens*, XXII., 119 *seq.*; GRÜNHAGEN, *Gesch. Schlesiens*, II., 112; C. v. JERIN-GESESS, Bischof Andreas von Jerin, in *Berichten der Wiss. Gesellschaft "Philomatie" in Neisse*, XXX. (1900); NAEGELE, *Der Breslauer Fürstbischof A. Jerin*, Mayence, 1911, 43 *seq.* See also the monograph in Polish by GÓRSKI: *O Korone*, Warsaw, 1888 (with plan). For the coronation of Sigismund see THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 11 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See MENCKEN, *Sigismundi Augusti Pol. regis epistolae*, Leipzig, 1703, 558 *seqq.* The request of the Austrian party is mentioned in *Rerum Poloniae liber singularis*, ed. CIAMPI, Florentiae, 1827, 44 *seq.* Cf. HASSENCAMP, 61 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 28 *seq.*, 32 *seq.* The reply of Sixtus V. to Maximilian in SCHWEIZER, II., 270.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, II., 212 *seq.*

the existing conditions. This he did both speedily and with resolution. Without paying any attention to the displeasure of the Imperial court, on March 12th he instructed the nuncio Annibale di Capua to go to Sigismund and recognize him as king. These instructions were again repeated and with much insistence, on April 9th and May 7th.<sup>1</sup> It is almost certain that Sixtus V. was influenced in taking up this attitude by the hope that Sigismund would favour the reunion of Sweden with the Church.<sup>2</sup> It was significant that just at that moment (May 8th) there arrived in Rome, as a special envoy from Sigismund, Stanislaus Reszka, the former secretary of Cardinal Hosius,<sup>3</sup> who was a staunch Catholic. The Pope received him twice in private audience and was handed by him a letter from Sigismund. He also brought pressure to bear upon the king for the liberation of Maximilian.<sup>4</sup>

In connexion with the efforts of the Emperor and Philip II. for the mission of a legate to Poland, Sixtus V. declared his readiness to act as peacemaker, and to obtain the liberation of Maximilian. It was difficult, however, to find a suitable person. Cardinal Gonzaga the younger, Caetani, Pinelli and Mattei were all thought of, and the difficult mission was even offered to Cardinal Farnese.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, lxxiv., 252 n. Cf. MAYER, 141; HASSENCAMP, 64 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GEJER, II., 268. See also THEINER, Schweden, II., 40; HANISCH, Gesch. Polens, 223 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> J. Czubek has recently published the diary of St. Reszka, which gives us new and important information. *St. Rescii Diarium, 1583-1589, Cracow, 1916.*

<sup>4</sup> See besides SCHWEIZER, II., lxxiii., 243 *seq.*, VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 298. Sporeno reports on May 14, 1588: \**“Huc appulit quidam Resca Polonus a rege Poloniae privatim ad S.D.N. missus (Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). Cf. Cod. 159, p. 160 seq. of the Library of the Jagellon University, Cracow: St. Rescii acta legationis apud Sixtum V.*

<sup>5</sup> See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 299; HÜBNER, I., 461. In his \*report of May 21, 1588, Sporeno was of opinion that either Caetani or Mattei would be given the legation. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

The choice of the Pope, who was accustomed to come to such decisions entirely on his own account,<sup>1</sup> at length, to the great surprise of the Curia,<sup>2</sup> fell upon Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, who was acceptable to both parties. On May 23rd, 1588, his appointment as Cardinal legate to Poland was made in secret consistory, the nuncio there retaining his office.<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Aldobrandini at once put himself into touch with both Madruzzo and Reszka,<sup>4</sup> and was given his credentials, in order to treat with all parties for the restoration of peace in Poland.<sup>5</sup> On May 27th he received the legatine cross with the customary solemnities.<sup>6</sup> Briefs and special letters from the Cardinal Secretary of State announced his mission to the courts and the nuncios. The Pope informed the King of Spain of the appointment of Aldobrandini in an autograph letter, in which he pointed out that the Cardinal was in every respect suitable to mediate a peace, since he had been for many years an Auditor of the Rota, was already more than fifty years of age, was distinguished for his judg-

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of Sporeno, May 14, 1588, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> "Fu fatto legato Aldobrandini con maraviglia della corte ch' aspettava Caetano come ricco, grato di presenza, affabile di conversazione, di casa illustrissima, atto al bere et mangiare per compagnia come ricerca il paese ove vanno" wrote \*Brumani on May 28, 1588. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to the \*report of Ercole Tassoni, May 18, 1588, the appointment was expected on that day. State Archives, Modena.

<sup>3</sup> See Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 132; MAFFEJI, Hist., 28; TEMPESTI, II., 239 *seq.* VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS (298) wrongly places the consistory on May 22. Sixtus V.'s justification of the remaining of the nuncio in Poland in SCHWEIZER, II., 257 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, II., lxxv.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Gritti, May 28, 1588, State Archives, Venice. Cf. HÜBNER, I., 461; HASSENCAMP, 64. For the secondary duties which Aldobrandini had to discharge see SCHWEIZER, II., cxliv. *seq.* A special work on the legation of Aldobrandini is being prepared by the ex-member of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, Dr. Nanke.

<sup>6</sup> See Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 132.

ment and experience, and was an altogether impartial personality.<sup>1</sup>

Aldobrandini was given as his companions a number of distinguished men, among others Monsignor Bastone as datary, Monsignor Lorenzo Bianchetti as auditor, Monsignor Tolesani as abbreviator, and Andrea de Grandi as prelate.<sup>2</sup> After the Cardinal legate had made a pilgrimage to the Seven Churches on May 30th, and had passed the evening with the Cardinal Madruzzo, he was accompanied on the following day by the Sacred College as far as the Porta Angelica. On June 1st he began his journey. He went first to Loreto, where he made a gift of five hundred scudi to the Sanctuary, and thence by way of Florence, Bologna, Venice, Padua, Verona and the Brenner Pass to Innsbruck, which he reached on June 28th, and was welcomed by the Archduke Ferdinand with the honours due to his rank.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, II., lxxv. *seq.*, 253 ; MAYER, 146, n. 3 (instead of "Bunapadulius" read "Buccapadulius"), the original of the \*brief to Duke Vincenzo of Mantua, May 25, 1588, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The original of the \*brief to the Doge, of the same date, in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*. This states : " \*Quod omnino praestari a Nobis posset in rebus Polonicis, de quibus semper fuimus anxii, in tanta voluntatum consiliorumque varietate certum habere nunquam potuimus. Nunc autem quoniam spes aliqua ostenditur, posse aliquid profici nostra auctoritate atque opera, mittimus eo legatum a latere dil. fil. Hippolytum s. Pancratii presbyterum card. Aldobrandinum."

<sup>2</sup> See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 298. The participation of Possevino was refused by the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva ; see ROSTOWSKI-MARTINOW, *Lituanicorum Soc. Iesu hist. libri X.*, Paris, 1877, 155. Cf. *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIII., 182 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 299 *seq.* ; SCHWEIZER, II., lxxv. ; HIRN, *Erzherzog Ferdinand II., passim*. These scholars have overlooked the \*Diary of the journey of Aldobrandini in Cod. N. XXXIV., p. 220 *seqq.*, Vallicella Library, Rome, though RYKASZEWSKY in *Relayce Nunc. Apost.*, II., 4 *seq.*, 20 *seq.* has given some extracts in Polish referring to the journey across Poland. The diary, however, opens with the departure of the Cardinal from Trent on June 20, 1588, and describes the travels



At Linz the Cardinal legate had a conversation with the Archduke Matthias, and at Vienna, which he reached on July 7th, with the Archduke Ernest. The welcome outwardly accorded to him everywhere was honourable in the extreme. So as not to arouse any suspicions among the Poles, Aldobrandini gave up his visit to the Emperor at Prague, being advised to do so by the Archduke Ernest. The legate therefore went direct by way of Olmütz to Cracow. When he made his solemn entry into the ancient coronation city on July 27th, King Sigismund went a distance of two miles to meet him with a grand military retinue, and attired in the sumptuous dress of the country.<sup>1</sup>

Aldobrandini at once realized that the chancellor Zamoiski was more powerful than the king, and Zamoiski, who had viewed the sending of a Papal legate with great dislike, put difficulty after difficulty in his way. The unconditional liberation of Maximilian was refused. Although the nuncio, Annibale di Capua, knowing well that the Pope wished for his liberation, had united his efforts to those of the legate, the two were unable to accomplish anything. Even the grandees of Poland, who were at variance with the chancellor, were in agreement with him in insisting that a complete renunciation on the part of Maximilian and security for his

of the legate in the Tyrol, Austria, Moravia and Silesia. It continues down to May 8th, 1589. RYKASZEWSKI published, again in a Polish translation, the description of the situation in Poland in a letter from Annibale di Capua to P. Guglielmo di S. Clemente, from Cod. Urb. 1113, p. 164 *seq.* Vatican Library, Vat. 3661 contains: Ant. Martinelli \*De Hipp. Aldobrandini card. legati Cracoviam Pragamque adventu introituque narratio, *ibid.*, Reports of Aldobrandini in THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 65-82, 124-129. *Ibid.*, 52-65 and 129-150 part of the report of the nuncio in Poland. More complete editions may be expected from the Academy of Cracow and from the Finland Historical Institute in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in addition to the sources mentioned *supra*, p. 170, n. 2, the good description in MAFFEJI, Hist., 28, and in TEMPESTI, II., 240 *seq.*

doing so should be necessary conditions for the peace negotiations. But when Monsignor Tolesani, Aldobrandini's auditor, reported this to the Imperial court, he received a refusal.<sup>1</sup>

As the difficulties continued to increase, the Cardinal resolved to pay a personal visit to the Emperor at Prague. He made his solemn entry there on December 7th, 1588. In a series of audiences he explained the position to the Emperor Rudolph II., and at last arrived at an agreement by which a commission of ten Poles and ten Austrians should meet on the borders of Poland, and discuss under his presidency the best way to set the peace negotiations on foot. The members of the Polish commission were to meet at Bedzin, the Austrians at Beuthen, while the Cardinal was to take up his residence at Olkusch. Aldobrandini arrived there at the appointed time, but the members of the commission kept him waiting a long time. When it was at last possible to begin the negotiations such difficulties were put forward that the Cardinal legate repeatedly feared the complete shipwreck of his labours for peace. He was nevertheless unwearied in his efforts, and negotiated continually with both parties.<sup>2</sup> His tenacity was at length to be crowned with success.

On March 10th, 1589, Aldobrandini was able to report to Rome, where they were already feeling very depressed, the happy tidings that on the previous day the preliminaries of peace had been arrived at under his presidency. The conditions meant a triumph for the Poles over the Austrians, who might well find reason for dissatisfaction, but in the existing state of affairs not even the most skilful diplomatist could have brought about a different result.<sup>3</sup> The mediation of the Pope was gratefully accepted. The archduke was to be set free where he had been taken prisoner, but he had to

<sup>1</sup> See HASSENCAMP, 65 ; VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 304 ; SCHWEIZER II., xci. *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See MAYER, 157 *seq.*, 164 *seq.* ; VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 306 ; SCHWEIZER, II., c. *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, 344 *seq.*, 351 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*, 371, *seq.*, 373 *seq.*, 379 *seq.*, 381 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Opinion of SCHWEIZER (II., cxlv.).

give up Lublo to the Poles, as well as to renounce his title of king, in addition to all rights to Poland, and this he was to confirm on oath at the frontier. The Emperor was also to swear to the treaty, which contained among other things a clause that in any future negotiations with the Turks, he should agree to nothing that was unfavourable to Poland. A like promise was also submitted to Sigismund.<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal legate's nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini, was sent with the embassy, first to Prague and then to Rome, while the Cardinal himself repaired to Vienna, where he arrived on March 23rd, 1589, as the guest of the Archduke Ernest.<sup>2</sup>

The acceptance of the terms of Beuthen naturally met with no difficulties in Poland. The king sent his secretary to the Cardinal legate and then to the Pope, to thank him orally for what had been done. The Emperor, however, probably at the instigation of the Archduke Maximilian, refused to accept the treaty; what displeased him above all was the attempt to tie his hands in the matter of Turkey. Aldobrandini therefore had to interrupt his return journey to Rome, and for the moment retired to the abbey of Admont; but at last they succeeded in satisfying the Emperor, and the Cardinal was able to resume his journey. He reached Padua on May 12th, 1589, and travelled thence to Rome to make his report to the Pope.<sup>3</sup>

Cinzio Aldobrandini had reached Rome on March 29th, 1589, with the news of the conclusion of peace, and two days later the Pope communicated the news to the Cardinals. Although it was not right, he said, on that day of mourning (it was Good Friday), to rejoice at these happy tidings, it was nevertheless a day of peace and reconciliation between the human race and the Heavenly Father. For this reason he had felt no difficulty about informing the Cardinals of the

<sup>1</sup> See MAYER, 450 *seq.* The letter of Aldobrandini, March 10, 1589, in SCHWEIZER, II., 402 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 308; SCHWEIZER, II., cxxxii, 402, 409 *seq.*, 412 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See VOLTOLINI-MATHAUS, 309; SCHWEIZER, II., cxxiii. *seq.*, 428 *seq.*, 434 *seq.*

success which had crowned the mediation of Aldobrandini. The reports of the legate and the text of the treaty were then read.<sup>1</sup> After the Pope had again referred to this important event on May 5th and 12th<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Aldobrandini made his solemn entry into Rome on May 27th. He was received at the gates of the city by the College of Cardinals, and the crowds welcomed him with every mark of jubilation. On the following day he had an audience with the Pope, who showed the greatest gratification at the success which he had obtained.<sup>3</sup> The solemn reception of Aldobrandini took place at the consistory of May 30th, which was held at the Lateran. The Cardinal afterwards gave a detailed account of his mission at the consistory held on June 5th, in which he praised the prudence of the Pope and the help given him by his companions, but he only spoke briefly and modestly of his own part. Sixtus V. bestowed the highest praise on him and his companions. Any religious celebration was postponed for the time being, as neither the Emperor nor Maximilian had as yet sworn to the treaty.<sup>4</sup> This precaution was quite justifiable, for Rudolph II. took the oath on July 10th, but Maximilian refused to do so until he should feel safe in Austrian territory. It was not until May 8th, 1598, that he carried out his pledge of furthering the conclusion of an alliance between the Emperor and Poland against Turkey.<sup>5</sup>

Such an alliance against the Turks on the part of the two neighbouring states had been aimed at by Sixtus V. and his legates ever since the conclusion of the treaty of Beuthen, but besides this the efforts of the zealous pontiff were at once

<sup>1</sup> See Acta consist., 863; HÜBNER, I., 465 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Acta consist. 865; *cf.* KORZENIOWSKI, 133.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of May 31, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 318, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 133 *seq.*; MAFFEJI, Hist., 34; ORBAAN, Documenti. 425 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* HIRN in *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, 4, suppl., p. 248 *seq.*, and Erzherzog Maximilian der Deutschmeister, I., Innsbruck, 1915, 28 *seq.*

directed to promoting Catholic reform in Poland.<sup>1</sup> As early as April Sixtus V. had sent the king the advice to marry none but a Catholic wife ;<sup>2</sup> Sigismund III. promised this.<sup>3</sup> But the plan formed in Rome to betroth the king to an Austrian archduchess was at first negatived by the obstinacy with which Maximilian refused to take the oath. In spite of this, however, Sixtus V. could regard with satisfaction the diplomatic mediation of his peace legate. If this was held up as a glorious accomplishment of his pontificate,<sup>4</sup> it was all the more justified as Sigismund behaved in Poland as a faithful son of the Church, and as the zealous promoter of the reform and Catholic restoration. In this respect the favour he showed for the Jesuits was significant ; he appointed one of the most distinguished members of the Society of Jesus as his court preacher, in the person of the celebrated Peter Skarga.<sup>5</sup> On July 7th, 1590, his envoy Bernard Maciejowski made his *obedientia* to the Holy See,<sup>5</sup> and on the occasion

<sup>1</sup> The order was sent to Annibale di Capua on August 19, 1589, to hold a provincial synod and to reform the discipline of the monasteries ; see THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 109 *seq.* At the provincial synod at Petrikau it was decided among other things that in future only one who was " vere catholicus, etc." could be elected as King of Poland. Sixtus V. confirmed the decrees of the synod ; see Bull., IX., 140 *seq.* (dated 1589, s.d. but not to be placed in January as Hassencamp (66) supposes, but rather towards the end of the year.

<sup>2</sup> See THEINER, Mon. Pol., III., 99 *seq.* Similar briefs were sent to Zamoiski and others, as was again done later on ; see SCHWEIZER, II., cxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> See the Acta consist. in KORZENIOWSKI, 134.

<sup>4</sup> See the letter of Aldobrandini to Montalto in SCHWEIZER, II., 402.

<sup>5</sup> See BERGA, Skarga, 217.

<sup>6</sup> See the Acta consist in KORZENIOWSKI, 136. Cf. the \*report of Brumani, July 7, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A \*letter from King Sigismund to Cardinal Montalto, dated Reval, September 19, 1589, contains besides the request that he will accept the protectorate of Poland, vacant by the death of Cardinal Farnese, a further request that he will make his excuses to the Pope for

again conveyed his thanks for the peace mediation of the Pope, bringing out the Catholic sentiments of the king, and recommending the Kingdom of Poland to Sixtus V. as the bulwark of the true faith in the east. Marcellus Vestrius answered in the name of the Pope that if Sigismund would go on as he had begun, in deserving well of the faith, in taking the field against error, and proving himself its champion against the Tartars and the Turks, the Holy See would always stand by him.<sup>1</sup>

The consistory at which this discourse was delivered was one of the last acts of the government of Sixtus V. It affords a ray of light in dark days, during which the energies of the aged Pope were shaken by the disturbances in France and the menaces on the part of Spain.

The Pope's state of health down to the last year of his reign had been excellent in every way. He had asked a great deal from his strong constitution; labouring all day and far into the night, the Pope in his zeal for the Church allowed himself no rest, yet in spite of this the ambassadors every year reported that His Holiness was fairly well.

It was only in the spring of 1590 that, under the influence of the terrible anxieties caused to the Pope by Olivares, a change for the worse took place. Overwork and the anxiety which weighed upon the Pope, were bound in time to break down even the strongest constitution. A cold that was not cured developed at the end of April into an intermittent fever.<sup>2</sup> Sixtus V. sought to fight against it with the usual remedies, and, as is still customary in Italy to-day, took more wine than was his wont.<sup>3</sup> The reliance which the Pope's intimates placed in his strong constitution seemed to be justified by the improvement which took place at the end of May.

not having yet sent an embassy for the "obedientia," because the wars with the Turks and the Tartars had kept him entirely occupied. Nunz. di Francia 20, p. 60, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>1</sup> THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 172 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* HÜBNER, II., 364, where there are given numerous contemporary reports. See also the \*letter of Brumani of May 12 and June 2, 1590. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

More shrewd observers, however, marked with anxiety the haggard look and depression of Sixtus V.,<sup>1</sup> who kept on his feet with iron will and continued to fulfil all the duties of his office. When he pontificated on the feast of the Ascension (May 30th) it was seen that he had a fever.<sup>2</sup>

The summer of 1590 was marked by excessive heat, and many people in Rome were ill.<sup>3</sup> Although Sixtus V. moved to the Quirinal, where the air was better, he nevertheless suffered from the extraordinary heat.<sup>4</sup> On July 6th the audiences of the ambassadors had to be curtailed, as the Pope had been attacked by fever and sickness during the previous night. On July 7th, however, he held a public consistory to receive the Polish envoys sent to make the *obedientia*.<sup>5</sup> Four days later the rumour ran through Rome that the Pope was dead, and the Jews, who were holding their Wednesday market in the Piazza Navona, hurriedly took away their merchandise in fear of pillage.<sup>6</sup> But it was soon learned that though the Pope was indeed seriously ill he was still alive. The constant anxiety concerning the state of affairs in France, the threats of the Spaniards and the news of the reappearance of the bandits,<sup>7</sup> could not fail to have a bad effect upon his health.<sup>8</sup>

Sixtus V. had often said that a prince should die in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 194.

<sup>2</sup> See HÜBNER, II., 364.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of August 25, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 428, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of August 11, 1590, *ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Brumani of July 7, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of July 14, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 363, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 88.

<sup>8</sup> The well informed Maffei says in his *Historiae* (64) that Sixtus V. died "non tam senio morbove consumptus quam anini angore curisque ob suscepta recens cum Philippo rege certamina." Cf. also the letter of van Wingham, September 1, 1590, in ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 275.

midst of the duties of his office.<sup>1</sup> Accustomed as he was to spare himself in nothing, the aged Pontiff, weakened though he was by fever, anxieties and worries, even now paid not the least attention to his health. Thus he refused to refrain on August 18th from taking part in the procession to the national church of S. Maria dell' Anima to give thanks to God for the return of the Margrave of Baden to Catholicism.<sup>2</sup> He there caught a fresh cold.<sup>3</sup> After an extremely heated exchange of words on the following day with the Spanish ambassador, the Pope succumbed to a bad attack of fever on August 20th, but in spite of this he assisted at the French Congregation on the 21st.<sup>4</sup> A fresh and serious attack of fever which followed threw the entourage of Sixtus V. into a well justified state of anxiety. The doctors were at once summoned, as well as Cardinal Montalto, and later on the Datary. The doctors spent the night at the Quirinal.<sup>5</sup> Sixtus V. had always been a difficult invalid, and as he had some slight knowledge of medicine he loved to converse and argue with the doctors about his health, and quoted Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna. He had never been wont to follow the advice that was given to him, nor did he do so now. On August 22nd he rose from his bed, ate some melon and drank wine chilled with snow, while he conferred with the Datary and signed petitions. Again on August 23rd, though still seriously ill, he dealt with affairs of state. His entourage was amazed when in the evening of the same day he found himself free from fever.

<sup>1</sup> See CICARELLA, *Vita Sixti*, V.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* Cf. EHSSES, II., 497, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See WEECH in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., VII., 662, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 373.

<sup>5</sup> See the report of Badoer, August 25, 1590, in MUTINELLI, I., 185 *seq.*, which has escaped the notice of HÜBNER (III., 514 *seq.*). The account of Badoer together with that of Cicarella (*loc. cit.*) accurately describes the mortal illness of Sixtus V. See also, besides MARINI, I., 462 *seq.*, G. PINTO, *Sisto V e l'igiene in Roma*, Rome, 1880, 6, n. 4.



Sixtus V. now thought that he had overcome the danger, the more so as on the morning of August 24th he felt better. He left his bed, and expressed his wish to hear Mass, to receive the Cardinals and to preside at the meeting of the Inquisition, which it was usual to hold on that day. He refused to listen to any objections, and, as usual, with complete disregard for himself, worked for four whole hours.<sup>1</sup> At noon he had no appetite, but a great thirst, which he tried to satisfy with cold water. He then signed petitions with the Datary, after which the fever returned. At last he let himself be persuaded to suspend the audiences.<sup>2</sup>

After that the fever never left him, and he was in great pain the whole of the following day.<sup>3</sup> In spite of this he got up, and completely disregarded the instructions as to his diet given him by the doctors, and ate some fruit. On the 26th he had no appetite; four attacks of fever left him very weak and the night before the 27th was very disturbed.<sup>4</sup> In the morning he had Mass said in his room, and was only able with the assistance of his chamberlain Sangalietto to raise himself in bed at the elevation.<sup>5</sup> The sick man, whose inflexible

<sup>1</sup> Badoer (*loc. cit.*) states this expressly. Cardinal D. Pinelli immediately announced the improvement to the Doge on August 24, 1590: " \*N.S. ha havuto et ha tuttavia un poco di alterazione di febre; però si netta et con il buon governo si spera in Dio che non sarà altro et se bene è in 69 anni ha però robusta et buona complessione. Le SS. VV. ill<sup>me</sup> faccino fare orazione a Dio per la salute di S. Beatitudine come si conviene ad ogni principe cristiano." State Archives, Genoa, Lettere cardinali, mazzo XII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of August 25, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 431, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See Badoer, *loc. cit.* \*" La febre del Papa gli è venuta hoggi due hore prima del solito " reports the envoy of Urbino on August 25, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 428, Vatican Library. A. CELLI, Storia d. malaria nell' Agro Romano, Città di Castello, 1925, finds all the symptoms of a tertian fever in the illness of Sixtus V.

<sup>4</sup> See Badoer in MUTINELLI, I., 187. Cf. CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* and the report in TEMPESSI, II., 535.

<sup>5</sup> The report of Sangalietto, August 27, 1590, in HÜBNER, II., 369.

strength of will had thus so long struggled with death, now realized that his end was near. He went to confession and received Extreme Unction; Holy Communion could not be given him on account of the violent catarrh. In the evening he died, while a violent storm broke over Rome. Cardinal Montalto remained to the last by the bed-side of his uncle.<sup>1</sup>

The death of Sixtus V., who had attained the age of sixty-nine, was the signal for his enemies to show their fierce hatred. His rigorous justice and his increasing taxation had aroused great discontent, and the mob at once thronged the streets and an attempt was made to overthrow the marble statue of the Pope, the work of the Florentine Taddeo Landini, which had been set up by the Senate in the Palace of the Conservators in gratitude for the many benefits he had conferred on the Eternal City. It was asserted that the Spaniards had had a hand in this attempt, and the assertion may be looked upon as true when we take into account the infamous calumnies which the representatives of Philip II., Olivares and Sessa, sent to Madrid. Thus, for example, they state, in contradiction to the truth, that the Pope had died without going to confession.<sup>2</sup> Absurd statements were current among the

<sup>1</sup> See the report in *Tempesti*, II., 536.

<sup>2</sup> Against BROSCHE, who maintains (I., 299) that Sixtus V. certainly died without confession, VAST, in the *Revue Critique*, 1880, 326 *seq.*, has already pointed out that there is no sufficient proof of this. Brosche is simply repeating the calumny of the Spanish ambassador (see HÜBNER, III., 517), which, however, is to be found in a dispatch, which he does not place more precisely, of the Marchese Muti, the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, who is as biassed as the ambassadors of Philip II., and concludes emphatically: "Indisputably the greatest Pope that the Church has had for 300 years, and who has been seen by the world from that time to this, has died *in suprema impoenitenta*." That Sixtus V. actually went to confession is on the other hand confirmed by the \*report of Brumani to Tullio Petrozani, dated Rome, August 27, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. That Brumani was reporting conscientiously, is clear from the following: as he had reported that the Pope had received communion, he hastens to correct this in his \*letter to the Duke of Mantua, on September

common folk, which the writers of the *Avvisi*, who had not forgotten the proceedings of Sixtus V. against them, spread far and wide.<sup>1</sup>

The efforts of the Constable, Colonna, and of Mario Sforza, who had been ordered by the College of Cardinals to calm the people, were successful in saving the statue in the Palace of the Conservators and in preventing further disturbances. The feelings of the excited mob were pacified by withdrawing the monument from their sight by means of a partition. A

1, 1590. In this letter Brumani exposes the rumours spread by the Pope's enemies concerning his last hours, with regard to which he says: "La verità è che si confessò et me lo giura Aldobrandino (the Grand Penitentiary), ma per il catarro non si puote comunicare et in un tempo perse li sentimenti onde viene calunniato, etc." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Another \*report, preserved in the Capitular Archives, Modena, says that Sixtus V. was unable to receive Holy Communion "rispetto al molto catarro che in un tratto gli soprabondò." The statement, in itself improbable, of the impenitence of Sixtus V., not even the author of the \**Annali Sixtus V.* in Cod. K. 6 of the Vallicella Library, Rome, who was so hostile to him, had the hardihood to repeat. It is equally certain that the rumour which immediately sprang up (see MAISSE in the *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, XL., 42) that the Pope had been poisoned by the Spaniards, was false. Although HÜBNER (III., 517) had already made this clear, it was nevertheless repeated as true by Roubiquet. LEWIN (*Die Gifte in der Weltgeschichte*, Berlin, 1920) on the other hand rejects it (p. 514); he believes that the Pope died of a cerebral disease.

<sup>1</sup> See \**Avviso* of August 29, 1590, which begins with the following words: "Placatus est Dominus ne faceret malum et miseratus est populo suo!" (Urb. 1058, p. 437, Vatican Library). Cf. also HÜBNER, II., 377, n. The same writer of *Avvisi* reports again on September 5, 1590: "\* Si dice hora che Sisto V avesse un spirito domestico chiamato Dante et che da quello sia stato ingannato circa il tempo che doveva vivere in Pontificato!" (Urb. 1058, p. 450). The gossip of the Romans is repeated by the correspondent of the Duke of Urbino, Gratoso Gratosi, in his \*letter of August 29, 1590, State Archives, Florence, Urbino, p. 145.

decree of the Senate further enacted that in future no statues should be erected to living Popes.<sup>1</sup>

The body of Sixtus V. was taken during the night following his death from the Quirinal to St. Peter's, where it was provisionally buried.<sup>2</sup> His heart was taken to the church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio under the Quirinal,<sup>3</sup> a custom that was henceforward observed in the case of all the Popes down to Leo XIII. The funeral discourse at the obsequies of Sixtus V. was pronounced by Baldo Cataneo.<sup>4</sup>

About a year later, on August 26th, 1591, Montalto conveyed the body of his great uncle with solemn pomp to the tomb<sup>5</sup> which he himself had in his lifetime erected in the chapel of the Presepio in the basilica of St. Mary Major's.<sup>6</sup> The monument of Sixtus V. stands facing that which he had set up to his great benefactor and friend, Pius V. It has the

<sup>1</sup> See the text in CICARELLA, *Vita Sixti V.*; Cf. RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 112; STEINMANN, *Die Statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol*, Rome, 1924, 13. No light has yet been thrown on the disappearance of the statue in question; see SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kuntssamml.*, XXXIII., 265, who, however, relying on RANKE, II., 144, inclines to the erroneous opinion that the statue was destroyed during the disturbances which followed the death of Sixtus V. Cicarella absolutely denies this, saying: "statuam Sixto in Capitolio erectam evertere voluerunt."

<sup>2</sup> "Al lato della capella di S. Andrea"; see Avviso of September 1, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 443, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See FORCELLA, IX., 281.

<sup>4</sup> BALDI CATANEI, *Oratio in funere Sixti V. P.M.*, Romae, 1590.

<sup>5</sup> See P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 482 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See besides the \**Diarium P. Alaleone* (Barb. 2815, p. 187b *seq.*, Vatican Library), BALDO CATANEI, *La pompa funerale fatta dall' ill. card. Montalto nella transport. dell' ossa di P. Sisto V.*, Rome, 1591. Cf. TEMPESTI, II., 545 *seq.* The catafalque in St. Mary Major's was designed by Fontana, the painting was by Giov. Guerra of Modena, the reliefs by Prospero Bresciano; see *Disegno del catafalco per l' esequie di P. Sisto V. a S. Maria Maggiore . . . inventione del cav. Fontana il 27 d' agosto, 1591*, contemporary wood-engraving. Cf. MUÑOZ, *Roma Barocca*, 24 *seq.* For the catafalque see also BAGLIONE, 317.

same form, an antique triumphal arch, as was seen for the first time in the case of the monuments of the Medici Popes. Four precious columns of verde antique support an attic crowned with the arms of Sixtus V., and adorned with three bas-reliefs. In the central niche there is the great marble statue of the Pope, executed by Giovanni Antonio Piacca, known as Valsoldo; vested in cope, he is on his knees in prayer, with his head slightly bent and his hands joined. The tiara is on the ground at his left hand. The simple inscription only states that here rests Pope Sixtus of the Friars Minor, and that his nephew Alessandro Peretti had set up the monument. At the sides of the statue there are two reliefs; that on the left of the spectator, also the work of Valsoldo, has reference to the Pope's care, also eulogized by Silvio Antoniano,<sup>1</sup> for the poor of Rome, and to his work as a builder; that on the right, with the scenes of fighting, and men carrying the heads of the bandits, tells of the inexorable severity of his justice, and of his other measures for the welfare of the Eternal City. Of the reliefs on the attic, which like the others are adorned with inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> that in the middle shows the coronation of the Pope, that on the left the canonization of the Franciscan, Didacus, and that on the right the mediation of peace between the Hapsburgs and Sigismund of Poland.

In the living and expressive statue of the Pope, Valsoldo shows himself to be a skilful realist, but on the other hand, the reliefs, which are the work of Egidio della Riviera (Hans van Vliete) and Niccolò Pippi of Arras,<sup>3</sup> with their crowds of figures, are of little value; they show clearly how the plastic arts had degenerated at the end of the century.<sup>4</sup> Very

<sup>1</sup> *Quaeris cur tota non sit mendicus in urbe?*

*Tecta parat Sixtus suppeditatque cibos.*

<sup>2</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 126, where is also a reproduction, though unsatisfactory, of the monument.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. TEMPESTI, II., 590, and BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 216.

<sup>4</sup> See besides KRAUS-SAUER, 622, SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 271, and R. CECCHETELLI-IPPOLITI, *La tomba di P. Sisto V.*, Rome, 1923.

mediocre too are the statues of the saints of the Order to which Sixtus V. belonged, which are set in the niches on the walls on either side of the monument. That of St. Francis of Assisi is by Flaminio Vacca, and that of St. Antony of Padua by Pietro Olivieri. Thus the style of the monument is closely allied with that of the Medici monuments of Michelangelo, in that it almost completely covers the walls of the chapel as though with a second wall.<sup>1</sup> The change in taste is shown in the use of many-coloured marbles, which, when the sun is shining, is very effective.

When Lelio Pelligrini, at the obsequies held on the occasion of the removal of the body to St. Mary Major's, stood before the artistic catafalque and in eloquent words spoke of the deep religious feeling of the dead man, his purity of life, his splendid but extremely severe government, his incessant labours for Rome and the Papal States, his mighty buildings, his efforts on behalf of France, and his political successes in Poland, Germany and Switzerland,<sup>2</sup> there was a visible stir among those present, among whom there were thirty-nine Cardinals. It was said that now even the Romans realized to the full the greatness of Sixtus V., and that they sincerely grieved the loss of so great a ruler.<sup>3</sup>

What a deep impression had been made upon the imagination of the people by this singular and quite unique personality who had risen from the cottage of a poor countryman to the most sublime dignity on earth, was shown by the fact that very soon legends grew up round his life as well as his actions. "Papa Sisto" still lives on to-day among the Roman people in many anecdotes.<sup>4</sup> If his government, which only lasted

<sup>1</sup> See ESCHER, 105 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 141 *seq.*; TEMPESTI, II., 553 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The \*Avviso of August 28, 1591, speaks of "popolo dolente del perso et non conosciuto Pontefice." Urb. 1060, II., 457. Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ZANAZZO, Tradizioni popolari Romane, Rome, 1907. There is no Pope of whom so many anecdotes are related; see MORONI, LXVIII., 92 *seq.* In addition to Sixtus V. only the following Popes have become a living memory among the Romans, Leo X., Benedict XIV., Pius IX. and Pius X.

for five years and four months, is spoken of, generally the first thing mentioned is his ruthless punishment of the bandits, then the Monti and the treasury, the Congregations and the Vatican obelisk. Then tradition goes on to tell of the various branches of his domestic policy, the administration of justice, the reorganization of the finances, the reform of ecclesiastical administration and the monumental development of Rome.

The earliest historical narratives for the most part confined their attention to these points, but modern historical and critical research has distinguished the reality from legend in the life of this highly gifted Pope, and side by side with his ecclesiastical activities has given due importance to his foreign policy, and especially to his attitude, as prudent as it was efficacious, towards the disturbances in France. The more diplomatic reports are rescued from the obscurity of the archives, the more clearly can we realize what rare lucidity of understanding, what far-reaching and penetrating vision, what breadth of mind,<sup>1</sup> what strength of will and what fearlessness were to be found in Sixtus V.

"It is thought," so the Tuscan ambassador Vinta reported immediately after the election of Sixtus V., "that the new Pope will be neither Spanish nor French, but will retain his liberty for the greater good of Christendom and the Holy See."<sup>2</sup> This was indeed the ideal of Sixtus V., as the common father he wished to take up the most impartial possible position, above all the powers of this world.<sup>3</sup> The well-being

<sup>1</sup> This is even recognized by an author so hostile to the Popes as Brosch; see *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire*, Gotha, 1899, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Report of April 24, 1585, in GALLUZZI, IV., 19.

<sup>3</sup> What a high opinion Sixtus V. had of his position as Pope is shown by the fact that he gave Rudolph II. to understand, in connexion with the disorders in France on October 12, 1589, that he, the Pope, and not the Emperor, must administer justice in France (see SCHWEIZER, III., 71). In consequence of the rumours that were current of the conferring of the title of king on the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Visconti, the nuncio at Prague, was instructed to inform Rudolph II. that the conferring of this title

of the Church and the honour of the Holy See came before everything else with him.<sup>1</sup> Free from all earthly tutelage, it was his wish to employ all his powers for the safeguarding and spread of the faith, which he had preached as a Franciscan and defended as an Inquisitor. This was the fundamental principle of his policy.<sup>2</sup> Like his protector and hero Pius V. he always set the advantage of religion in the first place as the guiding principle of his actions, whether he was dealing with affairs in France, England, Germany or Poland.

Of great importance to the history of the world was his attitude towards the great crisis in France. There, with the exception of a few mistakes, he succeeded in paving the way to the solution which was realized under Clement VIII. : the reconciliation of Henry IV. to the Church, the preservation of France from Protestantism, from serious internal disturbances and from subjection to the world power of Spain. When Sixtus V. not only saved their Catholic faith for the people of France, but defended them from enslavement under a foreign yoke, he at the same time saved the liberty of the Holy See in face of the tutelage, which was daily becoming more and more intolerable, on the part of the King of Spain.<sup>3</sup>

In forming an estimate of the work of Sixtus V. as a civil ruler, it is the task of an impartial judge to correct earlier exaggerations. There can be no question that in this capacity he did great service, and his zeal for the welfare of his subjects and his labours for the common good, earn for him a place among the best rulers. But some things which were attributed to him will not stand the test of critical examination. Thus it is impossible to speak of his *complete* destruction of brigand-

appertained to the Pope and not to the Emperor, because it was evident that the Empire was subject to the Papacy (see *ibid.*, 151 *seq.*).

<sup>1</sup> See the expressions of Sixtus V. in DESJARDINS, V., 13, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Besides HÜBNER (II., 37) this has been very well brought out by HERRE (375, 380). The inscription of 1586 at SS. Apostoli extolls Sixtus V. as *iustitiae vindex, propagator religionis*; see FORCELLA, II., 249.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 3, 368.



age,<sup>1</sup> even though the measures he took broke down the relations between the bandits and the landed gentry in such a way that they could never again be as they once had been.<sup>2</sup> In the same way it is only possible to speak with limitations of the reforming activities of Sixtus V. in the matters of finance and of the political administration of the States of the Church. In this latter respect it may fairly be pointed out that he was only a reformer in the sense that he was able to put life into those things which were already ripe for a systematic change,<sup>3</sup> and that to a great extent he carried the already existing development in ecclesiastical matters to perfection.<sup>4</sup> This, however, does not detract from the credit due to him for having, by his constitution of December 20th, 1585, opened the way to a close union between the universal Church and Rome, for having greatly furthered the work of reform and Catholic restoration, and for having given a stable and definite form to the Sacred College, as he also did to the Congregations. In these matters he showed himself to be an organizer on a grand scale. The administrative reform which found expression in the formation of the Congregations organized that calm, silent, centralized and universal government of the Holy See, the grandeur of which is admired even by its mortal enemies. In this matter too his predecessors had opened the way to Sixtus V., and his successors have added much to it, but all that is essential in the form which he gave to the meetings of the consistory was fixed by him in such a way that his arrangement continued unchanged for centuries. Its characteristic features still remain to-day, even after the changes by which Pius X., himself like Sixtus V. sprung from the people, adapted them to modern requirements.

In like manner the reign of this man, who was born to be a ruler, was of importance by reason of the transformation and beautifying of the Eternal City, which in many respects was given its modern form by Sixtus V., and which, even after

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.* p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> See BROSCHE, I., 288.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 284 *seq.*, 293.

<sup>4</sup> KARTTUNEN (Grégoire XIII., p. 65 *seq.*) brings this out clearly.

the violent changes of recent times, still preserves much of the outward appearance given to it by Sixtus V. When we remember that he accomplished all this in a reign of only five years, one cannot but be overcome by admiration for the great genius, the extraordinary energy and the activity of the Pope who was thus able to give to all his undertakings the imprint of true Roman grandeur. The mind of this highly gifted Pope, and his practical realism is clearly shown in this part of his work. All his building undertakings were of a practical character, and tended to the exaltation of the faith.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The opinion of GREGOROVIVS, *Die Grabmäler der Päpste*, Leipzig, 1881, 151.

## CHAPTER V.

### PATRONAGE OF LEARNING AND ART.—THE WATER-SUPPLY OF ROME.—NEW STREETS.

ALTHOUGH Sixtus V. was a careful administrator he nevertheless extended a general patronage to the sciences and arts, and, as was only to be expected, it was the religious point of view which always came first with him in this matter.<sup>1</sup> This was clearly brought out in the writings which were dedicated to the Pope. For the most part these were of a theological character, though among them there is to be found a number of works devoted to the profane arts.<sup>2</sup> The most

<sup>1</sup> See v. SICKEL, *Sixtinische u. Leoninische Bibliothek*, in *Wiener Zeitung*, 1892, Nr. 269, and D. FREY, *Beiträge z. Gesch. der röm. Barock-Architektur* (extract from the *Wiener Jahrbuch f. Kunstgesch.*, III., 1924), 43.

<sup>2</sup> See CIIACONIUS, IV., 131. Most of these are preserved in the Vatican Library, many being still unpublished. We may here make mention of: Iulii Ferretti (Ravennatis) \*Defensorium fidei, Vat. 8485; Petri Ocariz (clerici Tirasonensis) \*De immaculata virginis Deiparae Mariae conceptione, Vat. 5563, p. 97-110; Annib. de Grassis (episc. Favent.), *De iurisdictione univ. s. Pontificis in temporalibus*, Vat. 5434 (printed in ROCCABERTI, IV. 21 *seq.*); Frat. Alfonsi Giaconi \*Preces sacrae in morem Rom. Eccles. pro navigantibus, Vat. 5681; Consalvi Ponce \*Animadversiones in latinam versionem Epiphaniae, Vat. 5505; Franc. Soares (iuricons.), \*Panegyricus dicatus ad Sixtum V. (especially dealing with the extermination of the bandits), Vat. 5542; Fra Lucantonio Veneruccio (Min. conv.), \*Il magistrato christiano Vat. 5473; *Discorso del principato e della repubblica et del buon governo della chiesa* (anonymous), Vat. 5476; Aurelio Marinati (Dr. da Ravenna), \*Terzo ragionamento in proposito d. s. lega che dovria farsi fra principi christiani contra infedeli e nemici d. si chiesa, Vat. 5531, p. 38 *seq.*; Hieronymi Manfredi \*Tractatus

noteworthy of these is the learned work of the physician, Andrea Bacci, dealing with the thermal springs and baths of all countries and all periods.<sup>1</sup> Among the historical works of which the Pope accepted the dedication the first place belongs to the first and second volumes of the celebrated Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius.<sup>2</sup> The learned Oratorian had already dedicated to Sixtus V. his notes on the Roman Martyrology.<sup>3</sup> After this Sixtus had granted an annual pension of 400 scudi as a subsidy for the work of the Annals

contra Ugonottas, Vat. 5498; \*De summo Pontificatu dialogus ad Sixtum V Picentino auctore, in Cod. Q. 6. 26, Angelica Library Rome. For a work dedicated by the German Jesuit C. Schulting, see EHSES-MEISTER, I., 188. Cardinal Valiero dedicated to Sixtus V. the Sermones S. Zenonis, Verona, 1589. For the dedications of P. Galesini see Appendix No. 38 in Vol. XXI. For the commentaries on St. John by the Jesuit Toledo see ASTRAIN, IV., 47. According to F. LADELEI (Storia d. botanica in Roma, Rome, 1884, 10) the botanist Giov. Fabro found favour with Sixtus V. For the "Prelezioni anatomiche" of the physician Piccolomini dedicated to Sixtus V. see CURATOLO, L' arte di Juno Lucina in Roma, Rome, 1901, 127. The collection of works on natural science collected by Mich. Mercati was placed by Sixtus V. in a special room near the Vatican Library; see LAIS in *Atti dei nuovi Lincei*, 1879; ROSSI in *Studi e docum.*, V., 370.

<sup>1</sup> ANDR. BACCII ELPIDIANI, De thermis libri septem, Venetiis, 1588. Of other works of a profane character dedicated to Sixtus V., I add the names of some that are still unpublished, from the Vatican Library: GIOV. BATT. SCAGLIA, \*Modo proposto a P. Sisto V di far una republica di principi christiani, Vat. 5505; by the same, \*Dichiaratione sopra una supplica data a Sisto V per l' unione de principi sotto nome di republica christiana, Vat. 5537; ANT. NUMAIO, \*Della lode della historia, Vat. 5530; in Cod. E. VIII., 258, Chigi Library, Rome: BART. GUIDOTTI (Brix. can. s. Georgii in Alga), \*Trattato d' arte militare sì per terra come per mare. The explanation of Theophrastos by F. Accoramboni is mentioned by GNOLI (15).

<sup>2</sup> For the Annals cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 183 seqq. For the dedication see CALENZIO, Baronio, 261 seq, *Ibid.*, xlvi. seq. for the editions of the Annals.

<sup>3</sup> See CALENZIO, 222 seq. Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 222.

upon which Baronius had been engaged for twenty years, but which the learned scholar only accepted under compulsion.<sup>1</sup> The Pope further had books and manuscripts brought from Spain for the use of Baronius.<sup>2</sup> In May, 1587, he placed six printing presses at his disposal for the work and associated with him certain experts, who relieved him of the labour of correcting the proofs.<sup>3</sup> When he received the first volume he sent him a gift of money.<sup>4</sup>

In his dedication of the *Annals* Baronius relates the origin of this gigantic work, to which Philip Neri had urged him and indefatigably spurred him on; he also records the help given by the Vatican librarian, Cardinal Antonio Carafa, who put at his disposal, for his unrestricted use, the incomparable manuscript treasures of the Vatican Library. Cardinals Carafa, Silvio Antoniano and Paleotto, who had read the proofs, bestowed the highest eulogies upon Baronius. He, however, very modestly replied that they had formed too high an estimate of his deserts; the praise was due to Almighty God.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1589 Plantin published a new edition of the *Annals* at Antwerp, and a year later the Bishop of Asti, Panigarola, made a summary of them in Italian, which he dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Montalto; Mark von Fugger took in hand a German translation, because the *Annals*, as he said, was the best of all the histories of the Church which had yet appeared, and would do good service in Germany against the Centuriators of Magdeburg.<sup>6</sup> Baronius had abstained from any direct polemics, and to the caricature of the Centuries had opposed a documented history. Scholars, too, who do not share his Catholic views, have appreciated the "extraordinary service" which Baronius

<sup>1</sup> See CALENZIO, 227 *seq.* The two briefs of Sixtus V. to Baronius in the Appendix, *Annales C. Baronii*, Lucca, 1740, 409.

<sup>2</sup> See MERCATI in the commemorative work, *Per Ces. Baronio. Scritti vari nel terzo centenario d. sua morte*, Rome, 1907, 140 n.

<sup>3</sup> See BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 299.

<sup>4</sup> See CALENZIO, 265.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 236.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 250 *seq.*, 253, 265.

has rendered to historiography, in that, as far as was possible with the means then at his disposal, he has given us a "Chronicle of ecclesiastical history on a grand scale," which even to-day can only be described as a "mine" of ecclesiastical history in the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup>

Mention may also be made of other historical works which were dedicated to Sixtus V. : the life of Cardinal Hosius by Stanislaus Reszka, two works dealing with the growth of the Franciscan Order,<sup>2</sup> a fresh source on Gregory IX.,<sup>3</sup> and the biographies of Popes Nicholas IV. and Pius V.,<sup>4</sup> in which Sixtus V. took a lively interest. The practical ideas of the Pope were shown by his interest in the collection of the Decretals and Constitutions of his predecessors.<sup>5</sup>

Of the works dedicated to Sixtus V. relating to Rome,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See REUIER and MIRBT in *Herzogs Realencyklop.*, II., 416 *seq.* For the tribute of admiration for Baronius by J. Fr. Böhmer see my contribution to the commemorative work, *Per Ces. Baronio*, 15 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> P. RIDOLFI, *Hist. seraph. religionis* (see HOLZAPFEL, 579) ; FR. GONZAGA, *De origine seraph. religionis Francisc. eiusque progressibus*, Rome, 1587. Cf. MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, *Bibliografia*, 215 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 134, as also concerning the other works set on foot by G. Voss, at the desire of the Pope. *Ibid.* 340 for the interest taken by Sixtus V. for the printing of the works of O. Panvinio.

<sup>4</sup> HIERON. RUBEL. \**Vita Nicolai IV. Barb. XXXIII.*, 136, Vatican Library. For the *Vita di Pio V.* by Catena see Vol. XVII. of this work, pp. 420 *seqq.* The \*work of Nic. Vincenz. Bonaventura Barolitanus, *Minorita*) dedicated to Sixtus V. Vat. 5531, p. 77 *seq.* Vatican Library, is of very little importance.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 222 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> \*Letter (of Catervo Foglietta) di ragguaglio delle chiese di Roma et opere fatte da Sisto V. S.P. con reflection morali, in *Ottob.* 568 (with dedication dated May 10, 1587) ; Federici et Marini Rainaldorum \**Epistola nuncpat, ad Sixtum V. in librum de imagine Deiparae ad S. Mariam Mai.*, in *Reg.* 2023, p. 288 *seq.* (also in Vat. 3921, p. 72 *seq.* and Vat. 5539), Vatican Library. Poems on the new chapel in St. Mary Major's in *Cod. S. 6, 6* of the

besides the collection of poems adorned with interesting illustrations made by the Oratorian, Giovanni Francesco Bordini,<sup>1</sup> there was another that gave the Pope special pleasure; this was the folio work written by his architect, Domenico Fontana, on the removal of the Vatican obelisk, and the other building works he had undertaken in Rome. The large frontispiece of this work, which is adorned with rich engravings,<sup>2</sup> shows the façade of a temple supported by columns; in the framework appears the dedication to the Pope, whose arms at the top are supported by two angels; in the centre there is a portrait of Fontana, who is holding in his hand a model of the obelisk and a medal bearing the effigy of his patron. The dedication rightly extols Sixtus V. as the author of the transformation in buildings in Rome. This autobiographical narrative of Fontana shows more clearly than any eulogies the administrative genius of the Pope, which was revealed in all his actions. It can clearly be seen how Sixtus V., starting with a magnificent conception, was the guiding spirit of the whole of the activity shown in

Angelica Library, Rome. Cf. NARDUCCI, 498. For the book dedicated to Sixtus V. by Gius. Castalio concerning the column of Antonius Pius or Marcus Aurelius see I. NICII ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., 167. Numerous are the poems on the erection of the obelisk (cf. *infra*, p. 258). An \*Epigram, appertaining to this, by Domenico Berzerra Ispalen. in Ottob. 695, pp. 43-44. Vatican Library.

<sup>1</sup>De rebus praeclare gestis a Sisto V., IO FRANC. BORDINI, Carminum liber I., Romae Iac. Tornerius, 1588 (extremely rare, and not even to be found in the Vatican Library). The thirteen wood engravings reproduced therein give to some extent interesting views of the edifices erected by Sixtus V. in Rome (cf. ORBAAN, Documenti, 422 seq.). A similar work, but of no importance are the \*Epigrammata Iulii Roscii Hortani, Cod. Vat. 5531, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* \*Ad Xystum V. P. M. de restaurando Hortano ponte antiquissimo Iulii Roscii Hortani narratio. To the same category belongs VINC. ROBARDI, Sixti V. gesta quinquennalia, Rome, 1590.

<sup>2</sup>Della trasportazione dell'obelisco Vaticano et delle fabbriche di N. S. P. Sisto V., Rome, 1590.

building. He never degenerated into littleness, and knew how to give free play to genius.<sup>1</sup>

The removal of the Vatican obelisk to the Piazza of St. Peter's also gave an opportunity to the learned poet Petrus Angelus Bargaëus for a work which in like manner extols the Pope as a sovereign.<sup>2</sup> Bargaëus also dedicated to Sixtus V. another epic work, the "Syrias," which develops in Latin verse the same theme as that of Torquato Tasso in his celebrated poem, "La Gerusalemme liberata."<sup>3</sup> Bargaëus, on the strength of the plan formed by the Pope at the beginning of his pontificate for a crusade, wished to offer him a timely gift; in the carrying out of his work he adhered strictly to the intention laid down in his dedication, of writing a "Christian poem."

Tasso was animated by the same ideas in 1587, and in his "Discourses on the art of poetry, and above all on the heroic poem," he maintains the view that "the actions of the Gentiles do not seem to us to be a suitable subject for the making of the perfect epic poem," since, as he goes on to add, "in such poems we either intend to have recourse to the deities adored by the Gentiles, or we do not; if we do not make any mention of them, there is a lack of anything marvellous, but if we do, the poem, as far as that is concerned, lacks verisimilitude."<sup>4</sup>

The work in which these ideas are expressed is dedicated to the titular Patriarch of Jerusalem, Scipione Gonzaga, who received the purple on December 10th, 1587; at the end of October in the same year Tasso was the guest of this prince

<sup>1</sup> See S. BRUNNER, *Italien*, II., 10 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Commentarius de obelisco*, Rome, 1586. Cf. RÜDIGER in *N. Jahrb. f. das klass. Altert.*, I. (1898), 505 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> PETRI ANGELI BARGAËI *Syriados libri sex priores*, Rome, 1585. Cf. TIRABOSCHI, VII., 3, Rome, 1785, 297; RÜDIGER, *loc. cit.*, 498 *seq.*; BELLONI, *Gli epigoni di Tasso*, Padua, 1895 (cf. *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVII., 170); MANACORDA in *Annali d. Scuola norm. sup. di Pisa*, XVIII. (1903).

<sup>4</sup> See *Discorsi dell' arte poetica*, in the *Opere*, ed. ROSINI, XII., 197 *seq.*; BAUMGARTNER, VI., 399.



of the Church,<sup>1</sup> in whose palace in the Via della Scrofa an inscription still records to-day the visit of the celebrated poet.

Sixtus V. successfully maintained the personal liberty of Tasso against the Duke of Ferrara, while on the poet's behalf he took energetic measure against his relatives in Naples.<sup>2</sup> But in spite of the enthusiastic verses which Tasso devoted to the building works of the Pope,<sup>3</sup> the poet's hopes of becoming established in Rome were not to be realized. He was given no audience because it was feared that his disordered imagination might give the Pope displeasure.<sup>4</sup>

Many other poets as well dedicated their works to the Pope.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of Tasso to the Duke of Mantua, November 7, 1587, in *Lettere ined. di alcuni illustri italiani*, Milan, 1856, 45.

<sup>2</sup> See SOLERTI, I., 576, 605; CIAN in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, XXVI., 414 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Opere* (Florence, 1724), II., 560 *seqq.*, 588 *seqq.* (concerning the chapel of the Praeseptium, dedicated to Sixtus V.). A hitherto unknown sonnet by Tasso to Sixtus V. is given by VATASSO from Cod. Vat. 9880 in *Albo offerto dagli Arcadi a Pio X.*, Rome, 1909 31. See also TASSO, *Rime ined.* p.p. Vatasso, I., Rome, 1915, 69.

<sup>4</sup> See SOLERTI, I., 591. Cf. BAUMGARTNER, VI., 3849.

<sup>5</sup> I. A. Peretti, *Sixti V. P. M. creatio; Carmen, Romae, Lauro Badoero, Al S. ed O. Pontefice Sisto V. Canzone*, Rome, 1589; Felice Pannemacher, *\*Sonetto a Sisto V.*, in Vat. 9020, p. 96, Vatican Library; Girol. Sorboli (theol. e modico di Bagnacavallo), *Canzone in lode di Sisto V.*, P., Ferrara-Verona, 1585; *\*De Sixto V. . . . elogium Angeli Rocchensis Augustiniani a Camerino*, in Cod. 6. 6 p. 134, Angelica Library, Rome; *Fratris Leandri Dulciani Placent. (ord. monast. s. Alexii) \*Hymni varii ad Deum et sanctos*, Vat. 5482; Ioh. Matth. Jamundi, *\*De morte D. N. Iesu Christi*, Vat. 5486; *Frat. Nicol. Vincentii Bonaventurae \*De quinque Sixtis summis pontificibus partim carmine, partim soluta oratione*, Vat. 5531, Vatican Library; Feliciano Cotogni (da Foligno), *\*Del sant. parto della b. Vergine libri 3*, in Cod. C. II. 8, Seminary Library, Foligno. The remarkable poem of a Jesuit father to Sixtus V. concerning his cure by means of the Papal blessing, was published by BAUMGARTNER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XX., 200 *seq.* Antonio Costantini undertook a collection of the poems in praise of Sixtus V. (*Rime in lode di Sisto V.*; Mantua, 1611): see MAZZUCHELLI, II., I, 35. Cf.

The Oratorian Bordini, who has already been mentioned, was followed by his fellow Oratorian, Tomaso Bozio.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Aurelio Orsi sang of the Villa Montalto.<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Battista Stella and Antonio Quarenghi wrote of the fleet that had been built at that time.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the heavy burdens of his work Sixtus V. took a lively interest in literary productions of this kind. Thus it is said that when Lelio Zanchi of Verona presented to him his poem on the anger of God, the Pope conversed with him about it for a whole hour. Among other things, the poem develops the idea that the anger of God is justly roused against those who ruin their own souls, as much as in the case of a tyrannical prince.<sup>4</sup> Bartolomeo Ugolini was generously rewarded for his book on the holy sacraments,<sup>5</sup> while the celebrated scholar, Fulvio Orsini, received considerable pecuniary help.<sup>6</sup>

It was characteristic of the changed ideas as to antiquity that Orsini, when he dedicated to the Pope the work of his friend, Pierre Chacon (Ciaconius), on the banquets of the ancient Romans, thought it his duty in a long dissertation to make his excuses for occupying himself with pagan antiquities by pointing out the use that might be made of them in understanding the Holy Scriptures.<sup>7</sup>

*ibid.*, II., 3, 1393 and 1595 for poems on this subject as yet unpublished. For the poems of the Bishop of Grasse, Guillaume le Blanc, dedicated to the Pope, see MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 98, 149.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. VILLAROSA, *Scritt. Filippini*, 74 *seq.*; CAPECELATRO, p. 473 (English ed. 1926).

<sup>2</sup> See MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 230 *seq.*, where the poem is again published. A second edition, Rome, 1837: the original edition of 1588 is to be found in the Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 28.

<sup>4</sup> See *Avviso* of November 25, 1589, in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 310. The \**Tractatus de ira Dei*, poema ad Sixtum V. by Lelio Zanchi, was found by me in Cod. Vat. 5673, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See IANI NICII ERYTHRAEI, *Pinacotheca*, I., *Coloniae Agripp.* 1645, 201.

<sup>6</sup> See NOLHAC, *F. Orsini*, 29.

<sup>7</sup> P. CIACONIUS, *De triclinio Romano Fulvii Ursini*, appendix, *Romae*, 1588.

Sixtus V. also showed his generosity for the Roman University, where he had himself once been a professor.<sup>1</sup> He not only condoned its debts to the amount of 22,000 scudi, but continued the erection of the new building begun by his predecessor.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1586 he proceeded to reorganize the staff of professors, and at the same time increased the salaries.<sup>3</sup> The commission of Cardinals appointed by Julius III. to supervise the studies<sup>4</sup> was replaced in the great administrative changes of 1588 by a cardinalitial Congregation. To this there belonged Prospero Santa Croce, Antonio Maria Salviati, Scipione Lancellotti, Errico Caetani and Alessandro Peretti.<sup>5</sup> The administration of the university was in 1588 entrusted by the Pope to the college of consistorial advocates, from whose number the rector was to be chosen.<sup>6</sup> In the same year he summoned the Minorite Ottaviano da Ravenna, and the Spaniard Bartolomé de Miranda, a Dominican, to the theological faculty.<sup>7</sup>

When there was a question of finding a successor for the celebrated Muret, Sixtus V. at first wished to send for Bargaeus, but in his stead Aldus Manutius, the son of Paulus, was appointed, who, however, did not fulfil the hopes placed in him.<sup>8</sup> A happy choice was that of Pomponio Ugonio, a Roman, who was appointed as professor of the French and Italian languages in 1587. The discourses of Ugonio are

<sup>1</sup> See RENAZZI, II., 171 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, III., 3 *seq.*, 5 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of October 27, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library, and DEJOB, 318.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. XIII of this work, pp. 327 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See RENAZZI, III., 16.

<sup>6</sup> See Bull. VIII., 897. Cf. RENAZZI, III., 11 *seq.*; CURATOLO, *L'arte di Juno Lucina in Roma* (1901), 124.

<sup>7</sup> See RENAZZI, III., 29. The intention of inviting a Franciscan and a Dominican was formed as early as 1585; see \*Avviso of September 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

<sup>8</sup> See the \*letter of G. A. Papio to Aldus Manutius, dated Rome, September 24, 1586, orig. in the Library at Montpellier. Cf. BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 142.

among the best productions of the time.<sup>1</sup> His work on the station churches of Rome, dedicated to the sister of Sixtus V., Camilla Peretti, is of permanent value.<sup>2</sup> The ancient literature cited in it is quite original, and critically selected; of special value are his very clear descriptions of the state of the various churches, and of the changes being made in them at that time. Ugonio also collected materials for a great work on the pagan and Christian monuments of the Eternal City.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose he visited the catacombs, and his name may still be seen at S. Priscilla.<sup>4</sup>

Three universities, those of Fermo,<sup>5</sup> Graz<sup>6</sup> and Quito,<sup>7</sup> owe their origin to Sixtus V. Mention may be made in the same connexion of the Collegio Montalto at Bologna,<sup>8</sup> and of the Collegio di S. Bonaventura in Rome.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See RENAZZI, III., 45. Cf. SCHOTT, *Iter Ital.* ed. 1625, 363 *Bibliografia Rom.*, I. (1880), 236 *seqq.*; SCHUDT, Giulio Mancini, *viaggio per Roma*, Leipzig, 1923, 33 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> "Historia delle stazioni di Roma che si celberano nella quaresima alla ecc. sig. Camilla Peretti, dove oltre le vite de santi alle chiese de' quali è stazione si tratta della origine, fondatione, siti, ristaurationi, ornamenti, reliquie et memorie de esse chiese antiche et moderne," Roma, 1588. Cf. v. SCHLOSSER, *Kunst literatur*, 526.

<sup>3</sup> \*Theatrum urbis Romae, Barb. 1994, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bull. VIII., 593 *seq.*; CURSI, *L' università di Fermo*, Ancona, 1880, 135; DENIFLE, *Universitäten*, 633 *seq.* For the favour shown to the university at Perugia, see *De Perugini auditor d. Rota Rom.*, Perugia, 1786, 112 *seq.*; RIZZATTI, *Perugia*, Bologna, 1911, 150; for the university at Valencia, Bull. VIII., 609; for that of Bologna, *ibid.*, 721 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 571, for Pont-à-Mousson.

<sup>6</sup> Bull. VIII., 563 *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 733 *seq.*

<sup>8</sup> See \*Sixtus V., P.M. 91 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. Bull. VIII., 771 *seq.*

<sup>9</sup> See Bull. VIII., 978. Cf. D. SPARACIUS, *Seraph. D. Bonaventurae de urbe collegii a Sixto V. fundati Synopsis historica. Romae.* 1923.

It was quite in keeping with the practical ideas of Sixtus V. that in the case of the Vatican Library he thought not so much of adding to its treasures<sup>1</sup> as of the utility and safety of the collection,<sup>2</sup> which is so valuable to Catholic learning. In the grand manner which was characteristic of him the Pope concerned himself with the erection of a new and sumptuous building for his library, and in connexion with this, in order to complete its usefulness, with the setting up of the official Vatican press.

The bull of April 27th, 1587,<sup>3</sup> which settled the financial basis of this institution, prescribed its functions in detail. "Among the most outstanding of the many duties of our office," the introduction to this document states, "we have always counted the detection and confutation of the religious errors of the innovators, and the spread of the Christian faith." Since the Protestants in spreading their false doctrines have successfully made use of the press, it is fitting that we should retaliate by the same means, and also by the same means bring the light of the faith to far off peoples by the help of suitable books. This purpose could be served by setting up in the Vatican a press adequate for the publication of corrected editions of the Bible, the Fathers of the Church, the Lives of the Saints, the Decretals, and other religious books, not only in Latin and Italian, but also in foreign languages. In this way the institution would be of use for the salvation of souls in the widest sense, by publishing works

<sup>1</sup> Sixtus V. transferred the manuscript works of Panvinio from the palace of Cardinal Savelli to the Vatican; see *Spicilegio Vatic.*, I., Rome, 1890, 87. For the failure to acquire the library of Cardinal Sirleto see MERCATI, *Per la storia d. Bibl. Apost.*, Perugia, 1910, 66, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Federico and Marino Rainaldi remained the wardens; see \**Rotolo di Sisto V.*, Vat. 7956, Vatican Library. For the catalogue drawn up under Sixtus V. see *Cat. Codic. Palat. lat.*, I., cxi. Cf. CARINI, *Bibl. Vaticana*, Rome, 1892, 65 *seqq.* See also BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 109 *seq.*; BROM-HENSEN, *Romeinsche Bronnen* (1922), 678.

<sup>3</sup> Bull. VIII., 841 *seq.*

for the defence and spread of the Catholic religion, suitable for the salvation of those who have made shipwreck of their faith, the strengthening of those who are wavering, and the instruction of the ignorant.

An experienced printer from Venice, Domenico Basa, was placed at the head of the institution, and one of the fifteen Congregations of Cardinals, to which belonged Antonio Carafa, who had been appointed librarian of the Roman Church after the death of Sirleto, was to superintend it. The total expense came to 40,000 scudi.<sup>1</sup> The way in which the Pope looked upon library and press as one undertaking may be seen from the fact that he appointed the same correctors for both; two each from among Italians, Germans, Frenchmen and Spaniards, who had to be theologians or canonists, and philologists.<sup>2</sup>

Like most of the works carried out by Sixtus V. the idea of the Vatican press went back to the time of his cardinalate. He had at that time been zealously occupied with the publication of the works of St. Ambrose, the first volume of which appeared in 1580.<sup>3</sup> Together with the continuation of this

<sup>1</sup> See ROCCA, *De bibl. Vatic.*, Romae, 1591, 414; BONANNI, I., 432 *seq.*; BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 9 *seq.*, 16 *seq.* and *Neue Kunde*, 104, 109. Cf. STEVENSON, 3; EHRLE, *La grande veduta Maggi-Mascardi del tempio e palazzo Vatic.* 17. The \**Bulla Sixti V. qua Paulo Blado typographie cameralis nova erectio ad vitam conceditur*, dated 1589, Non. Cal. Febr., in *Bandi V.*, 70, p. 180, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See EHSSES, *Nuntiaturreferate*, II., 283, 293, 333 *seq.* (summons of Henricus Gravius); SCHWEIZER, II., 459; III., 12, 30. Cf. *Avviso* in BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.*, 13 *seq.* See also *Bulletin de l'Institut. Hist. Belge a Rome*, I. (1919), 261; BROM-HENSEN, *Rom. Bronnen*, 345 *seq.*, 359 *seq.*, 362 *seq.*, 678 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 42. The appearance of a new volume of the edition of St. Ambrose, which cost 10 scudi, is mentioned by the \**Avviso* of July 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 316, Vatican Library. The \**Ephemerides* of Gualterius state on April 27, 1587: "S. Ambrosii opera ab ipso Pontifice multorum annorum spatio incredibili cura et diligentia ante Pontificatum recognita et emendata pristinoque candori imprimi cepta sunt. Illud enim opus suscepit et absolvit." Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

work there also was published by the Vatican press the complete edition of the works of St. Gregory the Great, edited by Pietro da Tossignano.<sup>1</sup> The trouble taken by the Pope to prepare a good text of the Vulgate has already been described.<sup>2</sup> Sixtus V. also initiated another undertaking which he looked upon as one of the principal tasks of the new Vatican press. This was the publication of the complete works of the great medieval Franciscan theologian St. Bonaventure. The bull dated March 14th, 1588, by which the saint was declared a Doctor of the Church, like St. Thomas, the most celebrated representative of scholasticism, and which strongly recommended the study of his works to all theologians,<sup>3</sup> served as the introduction to the first volume of the new edition, which was published by the Vatican press in 1588, and was dedicated by Cardinal Sarnano to the Pope.<sup>4</sup> Sixtus V. did not live to see the completion of this extremely valuable publication, for which he had manuscripts brought from abroad, as for example from Cologne;<sup>5</sup> the same was the case with the editions of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory the Great. The Pope's plan of publishing the voluminous works of the Augustinian, Onofrio Panvinio, was never carried into effect.<sup>6</sup> In order to give effect to such far-reaching literary undertakings, as well as for the realization of the plans of Sixtus V. for collecting into one

<sup>1</sup> The dedication extols Sixtus V. as the founder of the Vatican Press, *cf.* TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, pp. 198 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cf. ibid.*, p. 138. See also the Briefs of Sixtus V. in S. BONAVENTURAE O. Min. Breviloquium . . . opera et studio Antonii Mariae a Vicentia, ed. 2, Freiburg i. Br. 1881, xi.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 4, 2360; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 328 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See EHSSES, Nuntiaturberichte, 1 *seq.*, 9, 18, 28; BROM-HENSEN, Rom. Bronnen, 325, 348. *Cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, II., 4, 1957. Sixtus V. also obtained a manuscript from Munich; see HARTIG, Gründung der Münchner Hofbibl., 249, 277.

<sup>6</sup> See ORBAAN, Avvisi, 302. *Cf.* Spicil. Vatic., I., 87. The dissertation *De primatu Petri* by PANVINIUS was printed in 1589.

place the ecclesiastical archives of Italy,<sup>1</sup> a longer pontificate was needed than was granted to him.

The short duration of the pontificate of Sixtus V., however, did not prevent the building transformation of Rome from being pushed forward in a way that no one would have thought possible. In more than in any other direction, the assurance, logic, energy and speed with which the Pope acted in this matter, compel us to accept the view of his recent biographer that as a Cardinal, during his involuntary retirement under Gregory XIII., he had made his plans for the future.<sup>2</sup>

Even as a Cardinal, Sixtus V. had had a passionate love for building undertakings on a grand scale. A proof of this was his villa, which he built on the level ground between the Viminal and the Esquiline, and on the neighbouring slopes. For this he employed Domenico Fontana, who was born at Mili on the Lake of Como in 1543, and who, like his master, had sprung from the lowliest circumstances—he had come to Rome as a plasterer in the time of Pius IV.—and had worked his way up by the labour of his hands.<sup>3</sup>

The Villa Montalto, as it was named from the native place

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of February 28 and July 8, 1587, Urb. 1055, Vatican Library. See also the \*report of A. Malegnani of March 11, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Bull. Casin., Venice, 1650, 247. The statute of Sixtus V. for the maintenance of libraries in the convents of the Friars Minor, in Bull., VII., 928 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See REUMONT in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, V., 650, who confirms the opinion of Hübner.

<sup>3</sup> See BAGLIONE, 79. In the first months of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Fontana was described as *muratore* (ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 290, n. 1), later on he became *architetto generale* of the Pope (see FONTANA, II., 1b). Information as to his life is given by the article of ESCHER in *Thieme*, XII., 174 seq., where the special literature is collected. Cf. also ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 130 seq.; A. CAMETTI, *Una divisione di beni tra i fratelli Giovanni, Domenico e Marsilio Fontana* (from *Boll. d' arte*), Rome, 1918. ORBAAN, *Die Selbstvertedgung des D. Fontana*, in *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVI., 177 seq.



of its author, was built upon classic soil. In the time of Augustus there had stood the gardens of the rich and beautiful Lollia Paulina, who was put to death through the jealousy of Agrippina.<sup>1</sup> On the slopes of the Esquiline there are still preserved the mighty remains of the Servian fortifications, which here take the form of a huge bastion. Over against this eminence, at the highest point, and within the city walls, Cardinal Peretti, on June 2nd, 1576, bought from a doctor of Lucca a vigna, once the property of the Rangoni of Modena, and shortly afterwards two others, in order to build a villa there.<sup>2</sup> It was undoubtedly the enchanting site that attracted him; to the north the gigantic Baths of Diocletian, and to the south the Cardinal's favourite church, grown grey with age, St. Mary Major's. The panorama which opened out over a great part of the city, over the wide Campagna and the ring of mountains that surrounded it, was incomparable. In the plan of Rome by Du Pérac-Lafréry of 1577, there is not yet any sign of the Villa Montalto; thus its erection must have been begun later than that date.<sup>3</sup> The central point was formed by the Palazzetto Felice, a graceful country house built by Fontana, with a beautiful entrance loggia. Fontana also made the designs for the large garden and the park, in geometrical form. The Cardinal personally superintended the plantations,<sup>4</sup> a work which took him back to his earliest youth, when he had helped his father in the garden at Grottammare.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. CORSETTI, *Il passato topografico e storico dell' Istituto Massimo alle Terme*, Rome, 1898, 20.

<sup>2</sup> See MASSIMO, *Notizie stor. d. Villa Massimo alle Terme Diocleziane*, Rome, 1836, 23 *seq.* In this work, which is based upon profound researches into archives, by Prince Vittorio Camillo Massimo, who died when about seventy on April 6, 1873, and who rendered such good service in other respects as well to the history of Rome, we find collected all information as to the Villa (*cf.* REUMONT in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1873, Nr. 104).

<sup>3</sup> ESCHER (in *Thiemes Künstler lex.*, XII., 175) puts the date of construction too soon.

<sup>4</sup> See G. GUALTERIUS, *Vita Sixti V.* in MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 26.

In 1581 the Villa Montalto was so far advanced that the Cardinal was able to take up his residence there.<sup>1</sup> In 1655 it passed by inheritance from the Peretti to the Savelli, and in 1696 was acquired by Cardinal Negroni ; it was one of the most splendid in all Rome, and was especially celebrated for its splendid groups of trees. When it had already, after coming into the hands of Negroni, lost much of its beauty,<sup>2</sup> its destruction was decided upon when it was acquired in 1784 by the Tuscan merchant, Giuseppe Staderini, whose aim was profit. The greater number of the statues were sold, and the splendid plantations cut down. Nothing but the imposing avenues of cypresses, in the shade of which Cardinal Peretti had once walked, escaped the woodman's axe. The steady work of destruction only came to an end when in 1789 Prince Camillo Massimo acquired the villa ; mutilated and overgrown though it was, even in this state it remained beautiful and imposing,<sup>3</sup> and carried the visitor back in imagination to the days of Sixtus V., whose arms still appeared everywhere, on the fountains, as well as in the frescoes of the portico, the staircases and the rooms. The end of the villa was at hand when at the beginning of the sixtieth year of the last century the central railway station was built in its immediate vicinity.

To-day the building has entirely disappeared in the sea of houses of the great city, which is continually extending, and only a few cypresses remind the historically minded passer-by of the magnificence of former days.<sup>4</sup> This revealed itself

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FONTANA, *Trasportazione*, I., 31b, where there is a reproduction and plan of the palazzetto, before the accession of Sixtus V.

<sup>2</sup> See KEYSSLER, *Reise*, II., 143. Keyssler also saw the horse which Sixtus V. was accustomed to ride embalmed in the precincts of the palace.

<sup>3</sup> See BURCKHARDT, *Cicerone*, II., 2, 859.

<sup>4</sup> The cypresses may still be seen at the Istituto Massimo, which has preserved many relics of the Villa, among them part of the frescoes of the Palazzetto representing the works of Fontana. Cf. the reproductions in PASTOR, *Sisto V.*, plates 6, 7, 14, 18. The antiquities of the city, by reason of the constant change of proprietors, had hitherto been scattered all over the world. For the gates of the city see *N. Antologia*, CXXXVI. (1908), 413, and *Inventario*, 1908-1912, V.

to the visitor who approached it from S. Maria Maggiore as soon as he had passed the entrance gates.<sup>1</sup> He at once stopped in admiration ; before him there opened out three divergent avenues of splendid cypresses, which were connected at the point nearest to him where they met, as though by two clasps, by two lion fountains adorned with antique statues. Richly adorned with statues, bas-reliefs, and other antique marbles was the central avenue leading to the villa itself, which was of three storeys, and on either side of which, half the height of the first storey, were small " secret gardens ". At the back of the villa, which like the Florentine villas was surmounted by a small tower with a belvedere, there was another avenue of cypresses, crossed by yet another which led to the second entrance, near the Baths of Diocletian. Both these avenues ran beyond the gardens of the villa into the adjoining park ; they ended in small hills from which there looked down statues, on the bases of which were the arms of the Peretti, a lion holding three pears in its claws. Sixtus V. especially loved the summit of the highest of these hills, which was seventy-five metres above sea level ; there, upon a stone seat, he loved to gaze at the panorama of his beloved Rome.<sup>2</sup> His plan for building a palace there was never carried out, but later on his nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, set up on that beautiful spot, among the cypresses and laurels, a colossal antique statue.<sup>3</sup> On account of this statue the hill was named " Monte della giustizia."<sup>4</sup> Thence an avenue 900 metres in length climbed the slope of the hill. The arrangement of these enchanting vistas was a device of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the engravings of GREUTER (LANCIANI, IV., 128), FALDA (Giardini 17 and 18 ; Fontane, III., 18 and 19) and PERCIER-FONTAINE (Les plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome, 27-29) and also GOTHEIN, Gartenbaukunst, I., 320 *seq.*, where, however, the important work of Massimo has been overlooked.

<sup>2</sup> The bench was given the name of " Canapè di Sisto V. " ; see MASSIMO, Notizie, 141.

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, Trasportazione, 37.

<sup>4</sup> See MASSIMO, *loc. cit.* The statue of *Roma* there reproduced (tav. 6) is to be seen to-day at the Villa Massimo at Ascoli.

Fontana which, together with the marvellous views on all sides, was characteristic of the Villa Montalto.<sup>1</sup>

The great impression which the villa made in all its splendour is preserved in an anecdote. According to this, Gregory XIII. expressed his disapproval of a poor Cardinal building so sumptuous a villa, and took away from him the subsidy which he had hitherto allowed him, but the threatened suspension of the work on the villa was averted by Fontana, who put all his savings at the disposal of Peretti. Fontana, however, cannot have possessed the necessary funds, and it is certain that the Grand Duke of Tuscany made up to Peretti the pension which the Pope had taken away.<sup>2</sup> The real foundation for this anecdote was the disfavour into which he had fallen with Gregory XIII. During that long period Peretti had ample time in the solitude of his villa to make plans with Fontana, which were at first merely flights of fancy, but which, with his elevation to the supreme dignity, suddenly received a practical character.<sup>3</sup>

How dear his work on the Esquiline was to the new Pope, the grand scale of which corresponded so well with his natural character, was shown on May 5th, 1585, on the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran. That solemn ceremony had heretofore concluded with a banquet; instead of this, however, Sixtus V. took leave of the Cardinals, and repaired to his villa, where he partook of a frugal meal with his former servants. The rest of the day he spent in walking about the plantations which he had himself laid out. It was only when evening was come that, accompanied by the Cardinals who had waited in the neighbouring vignas, he returned to the Vatican amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people.<sup>4</sup>

Even afterwards the Pope showed an affectionate interest in the Villa Montalto, partly by adding to it by further

<sup>1</sup> See GÖTHEIN, I., 324. Cf. H. ROSE, Spätbarock, 36 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HÜBNER, I., 199.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, II., 156 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of May 8, 1585 ("passando il giorno fra quelle piante da lui inserte et più volte purgate con le proprie mani"); Urb. 1053, p. 199, Vatican Library.

purchases, and partly by gifts made to him by Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati. The whole was surrounded by a high wall.<sup>1</sup> As the palazzetto was too small for the Papal court, especially in the summer when he wanted to stay there,<sup>2</sup> there was erected in the vicinity, near the entrance by the Baths of Diocletian, the heavy Palazzo delle Terme, with two storeys,<sup>3</sup> under the direction of Giovanni Guerra and Cesare Nebbia. Sixtus V. had this decorated with frescoes which in style and subject were similar to those in the Vatican Library. In the main hall there were representations of the principal building achievements of Sixtus V., adorned with verses by Guglielmo Bianco.<sup>4</sup> In 1586 the Pope presented the whole, the most important building of its kind in the Eternal City, to his beloved sister Camilla, who had already bought a vigna of her own near the villa erected by her brother.<sup>5</sup>

At the Villa Montalto Cardinal Peretti was constantly reminded that that district which in the time of the Emperor Augustus had been covered with splendid gardens and buildings, had fallen into a state of complete desolation because, after the destruction of the great ancient aqueducts at the hands of the Ostrogoth Vitiges (537), it had suffered from the lack of the necessary supply of water. In the gardens, where the plantations suffered so much from drought, there still remained the ruins of the aqueduct which had supplied the Baths of Diocletian. When in the evening the Cardinal enjoyed the sunset from his loggia, and the ruins of the neighbouring Baths and the aqueducts glowed with a rosy light, his eye wandered with desire to the mountains gleaming with a magic gradation of colour, whence at one

<sup>1</sup> See ORBAAN, *Conti di Fontana*, VIII., 61 *seq.*, 70.

<sup>2</sup> See FONTANA, *Trasportazione*, I., 31b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 118 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> The frescoes, now preserved in the Istituto Massimo, were described in detail by MASSIMO (*Notizie*, 125 *seq.*) and reproduced by ORBAAN (*Conti di Fontana*, VII., 420, 421; VIII., 62, 65, 69) and by PASTOR (see *supra*, p. 204, n. 4.).

<sup>5</sup> See CORSETTI (*supra*, p. 203, n. 1), 51 *seq.*

time fourteen great aqueducts had brought to the capital of the world plentiful supplies of precious water.<sup>1</sup> But to restore to the Papal capital even a part of such a supply called for difficult and costly works, which Gregory XIII. had already contemplated.<sup>2</sup>

It was characteristic of the courageous spirit of Sixtus V. that at the very beginning of his pontificate he turned his attention to this gigantic task. On the very day of his taking possession of the Lateran he announced his intention of restoring the channel of the Acqua Alessandrina, constructed by the Emperor Alexander Severus (222-225), but now for the most part in ruins.<sup>3</sup> The source of this aqueduct was on the property of the Colonna, in the hills of Pantanelle, near Palestrina. On May 28th, 1585, he bought these abundant springs from Marzio Colonna, the brother of the Cardinal, for 25,000 scudi, and in June expended as much as 36,000 scudi for the cost of the works, in which a part of the ancient aqueduct was to be made use of.<sup>4</sup> A special congregation was set up under the presidency of Cardinal Medici to discuss the undertaking,<sup>5</sup> by which Sixtus V. not only intended to supply the heights of the Esquiline, Viminal and Quirinal with the necessary water, but other parts of the city as well.<sup>6</sup> The preparation of the plans took a certain time,

<sup>1</sup> See A. BETOCCHI, *Le acque e gli acquedotti di Roma*, Roma, 1879, 26. For all the details see LANCIANI, *I commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti* (special number of the *Atti dell' Acad. dei Lincei*, Cl. di sc. 3, serie IV., 215-614), Rome, 1880, which also frequently relate to subsequent times.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 592.

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, *Trasportazione*, I., 43. RANKE (I., 310) erroneously speaks of the Acqua Marcia, which was only completed in 1870, as having been restored by Sixtus V.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. FEA, *Storia d. Acque*, 98 seq., and \*Avviso of June 8, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 243, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of August 24, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 380, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> \*"[Il Papa] ha parimente risoluto di far condurre in Roma un capo d'acqua tanto grosso che potrà servire non solo a Monte

but in the autumn the work was begun under the direction of Matteo Bertolini da Castello. The expenses were very great, and were estimated at 300,000 scudi.<sup>1</sup> But this was no obstacle in the eyes of Sixtus V. He ordered that the new water supply should be called, after his own name, the "Acqua Felice."<sup>2</sup>

This great but very difficult undertaking began to look more hopeful when Sixtus V. replaced Matteo Bertolini da Castello, who was not equal to so great a task, by the clever Domenico Fontana, who was helped by his brother Giovanni.<sup>3</sup> If the work had presented plenty of difficulties in the region of the springs,<sup>4</sup> even more were met with in building the aqueduct across the Campagna. The hills of Palestrina were sixteen miles distance from Rome, but the difficult nature of the ground increased this to twenty-two miles. In the plain the conduit had to be carried to a great extent underground, and to do this rocky elevations in the soil had to be cut away.<sup>5</sup> The works, however, were pushed forward with feverish speed.<sup>6</sup> As a rule 2,000 men were employed, and sometimes three or four thousand. During the summer many fell sick with malaria, but their places were at once filled up. In order to prevent any interruption of the work,

Cavallo, dove disegna condurvela, ma in molti altri luoghi della città, et questi sono li trattenimenti con quali S.S<sup>ta</sup> si va sollevando dalle cure gravi che passano, mostrando in tutte le sue attioni grandezza d'anima." Avviso of September 28, 1585, *ibid.*, p. 420.

<sup>1</sup> See the \*reports of Capilupi, September 16 and October 12, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Gritti, in his \*report of May 10, 1586 (State Archives, Venice), estimates the cost at about 200,000 scudi.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of October 5, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 429, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See BAGLIONE, 123.

<sup>4</sup> See FONTANA, *Trasportazione*, I., 43.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of March 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 79, Vatican Library.

in August, 1586, the Pope forbade the customary burning of the stubble in the Campagna.<sup>1</sup> As the Pope wished to see tangible results as soon as possible, and the expenses were very great, he several times found himself engaged in disputes with Cardinal Medici, who had supreme charge of the undertaking; the Cardinal, however, succeeded in pacifying the Pope, though he showed that an increase in the money to the amount of another 60,000 scudi was necessary, as well as the enlargement of the reservoir.<sup>2</sup>

It was characteristic of the zeal of Sixtus V. that he several times interfered in person. In May, 1586, accompanied by several Cardinals in his confidence, he went to Zagarola to inspect the works. Marzio Colonna entertained the Pope sumptuously, and Sixtus addressed words of encouragement to the directors of the works, bidding them not to desist until the water should flow on the Quirinal.<sup>3</sup>

Sixtus V. would have been glad if by St. John's Day, 1586, it could have been proved that the water had reached the Quirinal.<sup>4</sup> This, however, could not be done until after the new springs had been brought nearer.<sup>5</sup> The work was carried on with the greatest energy all through the summer. In August the Pope's sister brought him a bottle of the new water, from which it was seen that it was less good in quality than the Acqua Vergine.<sup>6</sup>

It was a day of happiness for Sixtus V. when at the end

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of August 16, 1586, *ibid.*, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avvisi of July 16, 19, 26 and 30, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 288b, 295, 302, 307, 313, Vatican Library. See also the \*report of Olivo of July 23, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. \*diarium P. Aleleonis, May 12, 1586, Vatican Library, and \*Avviso of May 14, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 168 *seq.*; the same in part in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 287. See also MUTINELLI, I., 177.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of May 31, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 200, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of August 23, 1586, *ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of August 27, 1586, in ORBAAN, Roma, 289. For the quality of the Acqua Felice cf. PINTO, Sisto V e l'igiene in Roma, 10 *seq.*



of October, 1586, his hope of seeing the water gush forth at the Villa Montalto was realized.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the year the aqueduct was in working order, though at first but slowly, as far as the Strada Pia.<sup>2</sup>

In the following year, 1587, the expenses were still very great.<sup>3</sup> But everything was compensated in the spring by the undeniable and complete success of the undertaking. The volume of water brought by the aqueduct made it possible not only to erect fountains and hydraulic devices at the Villa Montalto, but also to supply water to Cardinal Medici for his celebrated villa on the Pincio.<sup>4</sup> The visit which the Pope paid to Zagarola at the beginning of June resulted in the enlargement of the reservoir. Sixtus V., who visited the whole district carefully, returned to Rome after an absence of five days.<sup>5</sup> In August he gave Cardinal Azzolini, archpriest of St. Mary Major's, the water supply he needed for his villa.<sup>6</sup> The Romans too resolved to avail themselves of the new water supply, but from financial reasons of the projected fountains the only ones carried into effect were those at S. Maria de' Monti, the Campo Vaccino, the Aracoeli and the Piazza Montanara.<sup>7</sup> In the spring, besides the erection of a fountain

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*Avvisi of October 25 and 27, 1586, Urb. 1054, pp. 460, 467, Vatican Library, and the \*report of Attilio Malegnani, October 22, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See Avviso of December 22, 1586, in LANCIANI, IV., 159. The \*Avviso of December 31 reports: "L'acqua della Marana sarà divisa in quell'istesso luogo (strada Pia) et ripartita alli compratori et sboccherà in quel sito come fa quella di Trevio da tre aperture." Urb. 1054, p. 540b, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*report of A. Malegnani, January 24, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the \*reports of Malegnani, April 1 and 8, 1587, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of June 6, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 204, Vatican Library; \*letters of Malegnani of June 3 and 6, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Report of Gritti, June 16, 1587, in HÜBNER, II., 497 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See Avviso of July 22, 1587, in ORBAAN, Roma, 299.

<sup>7</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 159. The fountain in the piazza of the Aracoeli is hidden from sight; it still bears the emblems of

in front of the Quirinal,<sup>1</sup> the Pope took in hand another in the Piazza S. Susanna.<sup>2</sup> In March, 1588, he assisted in person at a test, to see whether the aqueduct would reach the colossal "Horse-tamers" on the Quirinal.<sup>3</sup> The results obtained so far were so satisfactory that at the end of May Sixtus V., on his way to Civitavecchia, took under consideration at Bracciano the plan formed in the previous year for providing the right bank of the Tiber as well with water from the same supply.<sup>4</sup>

The final opening of the Acqua Felice took place in 1589, on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. On that day, which had been chosen by Sixtus V. out of devotion to the Mother of God, the water for the first time flowed from all the fountains.<sup>5</sup> The important occasion was celebrated in poetry by Torquato Tasso in sublime verse, in which he described how the water was brought by hidden ways from the darkness to the light of day, in order to gaze upon Rome the mistress of the world, as Augustus had once seen her.<sup>6</sup>

In the brief space of three years Sixtus V. had accomplished

Sixtus V., viz. the lions' heads and the three mountains from which there gushes a stream of water. Cf. PARASACCHI, *Raccolta d. principali fontani di Roma*, Rome, 1647, tav. 16. *Ibid.*, tav. 35, the Fontana de' Catecumeni alla Madonna delli Monti. See also *Inventario*, I., 15. The \*Avviso of September 3, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 391, Vatican Library, tells how anxious the Pope was for the completion of the fountain near the Aracoeli.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of April 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 134, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the passage from Galesini in LANCIANI, IV., 159, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of March 23, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 113, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avvisi of September 26, 1587, and June 1, 1588, Urb. 1055, p. 370; 1056, p. 222, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> \*"Hierì per il giorno della Madonna fu data l'acqua Felice a tutte le fontane di Roma, che erano preparate a riceverla, facendo bellissima riuscita per la gran calata che evi et si condurrà anco in Trastevere." Avviso of September 9, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 549b, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> Tasso, *Opere*, II., 560.

a work that rivalled that of the Caesars, and assured to him an imperishable memory for all time in the Eternal City.<sup>1</sup> To this day Rome still enjoys the benefits conferred on her by the great Pope. The Acqua Felice daily yields 21,000 cubic metres of water, and supplies twenty-seven fountains.<sup>2</sup> Coming down from the hills of Palestrina it crosses the Campagna, to a great extent underground, to cut across the road leading to Frascati near the so-called Porta Furba, by means of a quite peculiar construction which is really neither arch nor tower.<sup>3</sup> There it runs above the road on heavy arches, and follows the course of the ancient Aqua Marcia, Tepula and Julia, the ruins of these three aqueducts being used for the purpose. After the Acqua Felice has once more gone underground at the Villa Montalto, it supplies the fountains near S. Susanna, and provides with water not only the hills from the Lateran to the Pincio, but also other parts of the city as far as the Capitol.<sup>4</sup>

All that the Acqua Felice implied was summed up by Fontana in the following enthusiastic words: "The higher parts of Rome," he said, "are now placed on the same footing as the lower parts as far as water supply is concerned. With the greatest generosity the Pope has placed the needful water at the disposal of monasteries, Cardinals and nobles for their gardens and villas. Building operations have been begun in places hitherto left desolate, so that a new Rome is rising up, to the gardens of which the court, the Cardinals, the nobles and the people can repair for recreation."<sup>5</sup>

If Sixtus V. felt himself filled with a sentiment of satisfaction at seeing the success of so difficult and useful an undertaking, it is easy to understand his feelings, for this reconquest of

<sup>1</sup> Opinion of RANKE (I., 310). Cf. GOTHEIN, I., 312. Gualterius (\*Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome) calls the aqueduct "opus paene immensum."

<sup>2</sup> See RANKE, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 15. Cf. TOMASSETTI, I., 85 *seq.*, and PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 86.

<sup>5</sup> FONTANA, I., 436.

the hill district meant for Rome one of the greatest achievements since ancient days, and a triumph for the Papacy.<sup>1</sup> For centuries past all building activity had been confined to the banks of the Tiber, because all that part of Rome that lay upon the hills lacked the necessary element of water. Only now were the Romans able to take advantage of their hills, with their pure and fresh air, and their splendid views. While the city was given the opportunity of eventually extending, it was also given that splendid district of gardens which, until the demolitions of the nineteenth century, gave her a beauty of her own.<sup>2</sup> The feelings which animated the Pope after the completion of the Acqua Felice were expressed in inscriptions which may be seen to this day, the lapidary art of which is in no way inferior to that of the Imperial age.<sup>3</sup> At the Porta Furba a double stone, below which is carved the head of a lion, the heraldic bearing of Sixtus V., tells the traveller on his way to Rome, as well as him who is leaving it, that Sixtus V., in order to restore life to the deserted and unhealthy hills of Rome,<sup>4</sup> had gathered together, and conducted by ways in part underground, the waters that passed over that arch, into the city where he dwelt. Inside the walls, near the Porta S. Lorenzo, a great inscription tells how the aqueduct runs for seven miles upon arches overground and for thirteen miles underground, and that it was constructed at the expense of Sixtus V.<sup>5</sup> Still more characteristic are the inscriptions and sculptures on the great

<sup>1</sup> See ORBAAN, *loc. cit.*, 15, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GOTHEIN, I., 312. For further particulars see the volumes of this work for the pontificate of Paul V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. TOMASSETTI, *Quinto centenario dei Marmorarii di Roma*, Roma, 1906, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Arch. Rom.*, XXXVI., 137, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions in FONTANA, I., 43b-44. Fontana (I., 43) places the expense at 270,000 scudi (cf. BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Svizzeri*, Roma, 1886, 13 *seqq.*). With this agrees the \*report of Gritti, June 16, 1587, according to which up to that time 250,000 scudi had been expended (State Archives, Venice). The higher figures given, up to a million, are exaggerations.

fountains which Sixtus V. set up in the piazza near S. Susanna.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas the Roman fountains hitherto erected were of the classical type, with basin or cantharus, Fontana here inaugurated the wall fountain on a grand scale. It was fully in accordance with the ideas of his patron that he should in this erection which was principally intended for the benefit of the people, recall the religious symbolical importance of water, and build the fountain in the form of a great façade of a temple, or, it might be said, of an imposing altar.<sup>2</sup> Four antique Ionic columns divide the travertino wall into three niches. In the central one is the grand, but unfortunately too short figure of Moses, who, striking the rock with his rod, causes the water to gush forth at his feet. If Baglione relates in his life of the artist that the author of this work, Prospero Antichi, died of chagrin on account of the criticisms levelled at it,<sup>3</sup> this is not in accordance with the truth, for Antichi lived until January, 1592.<sup>4</sup> The statue of Moses which gives its name to the fountain is characteristic of the changed ideas of the time; during the Renaissance a Neptune would have been chosen. It is flanked in the two niches at either side by high reliefs of scenes from the Old Testament: Aaron leading the thirsty people to the water which had sprung up miraculously in the desert, by Giambattista della Porta, and Gedeon choosing his soldiers by watching the way they drank the water, by Flamino Vacca.<sup>5</sup> The three streams of water which flow from the plinths of these sculptures fall

<sup>1</sup> See LETAROUILLY, II., 231; MAGNI, Baroccc in Roma, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. SEMPER, *Über Monumentalbrunnen und Fontainen*, in *Zeitschr. des bayr. Kunstgewerbevereins*, 1891, 57, 65. See also RIEGL, *Barockkunst*, 131; GUIDI, *Fontane*, Zurich, 1917, 67 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> BAGLIONE, 41. Cf. *ibid.*, 86 concerning the collaboration of Leonardo da Sarzana in the statue. The idea of the statue was mentioned in July, 1587; see ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 299. It was paid for in September, 1588; see *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232.

<sup>4</sup> See THIEME, I., 555.

<sup>5</sup> BAGLIONE, 68; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232; BERTOLOTTI, *Artisti Lomb.*, I., 220.

into as many basins. These are separated by lions spouting water ; the two Egyptian ones were taken from the Pantheon, and the two medieval ones from the Lateran.<sup>1</sup>

The impression made by the fine proportions of this construction was unfortunately spoilt by the too heavy attic,<sup>2</sup> the centre of which is surmounted by the Pope's arms held up by angels, while above is the Cross upon three mountains, and on either side a small obelisk. Just as the lions have reference to the arms of Sixtus V., so do the mountains refer to his birthplace, Montalto. The inscription on the attic gives a brief history of the work : Pope Sixtus of the March of Ancona has gathered together the rich streams near Colonna to the left of the Via Prenestina, and has brought them here by a winding aqueduct for a distance of twenty-two miles from the springs, and of twenty miles from the reservoir. The aqueduct, which bears his own name, was begun in the first year of his pontificate and completed in the third.<sup>3</sup>

Sixtus V continued to concern himself with the preservation of the *Acqua Felice* during the last years of his life. On February 19th, 1590, he presented to the Cardinals assembled in consistory a bull which met with unanimous approval.<sup>4</sup> In this remarkable document the Pope justifies himself for the undertaking, which was deemed by some to be impossible, and by others too costly.<sup>5</sup> He begins by pointing out that Rome, as the centre of the Christian religion, the common

<sup>1</sup> Cf. LANCIANI, IV., 158.

<sup>2</sup> See ESCHER in *Thiemes Künstlerlex.*, XII., 176.

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, I., 45. Cf. *Arch. Rom.*, II., 231. Commemorative medals of the Fontana Felice in BONANNI, I., 402 *seq.* Under the reproduction of the Fontana Felice in the Villa Montalto were the beautiful verses :—

Currite felices felice principe fontes  
Nulla Quirinali notior unda iugo.

See MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 130.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Acta consist. in Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> The bull "Supremi cura regiminis" in Bull. Rom., IX., 177 *seq.*

fatherland of the faithful, and the safe place of refuge for men of every nation, must enjoy not only spiritual, but also temporal advantages. It was for this reason that from the beginning of his pontificate he had taken thought for the needs of the inhabitants, and had sought to glorify the city by means of restorations and new buildings, to the glory of God and the Holy See. He then goes on to show how, in the days of antiquity, the quarters of the city which stood upon the heights had been covered with splendid palaces, theatres, baths and marvellous aqueducts, and how, later on, in the Christian era, it had been made remarkable by basilicas and churches, but had afterwards fallen into a state of complete desolation when the aqueducts had been partly destroyed by the barbarians, and partly fallen into ruin by reason of storms and the lapse of time. This state of affairs, which had lasted for several centuries, had, Sixtus went on to say, attracted his attention, all the more so as the lower quarters of the city, so thickly populated, were damp, unhealthy, and exposed to the frequent inundations of the Tiber. It was therefore necessary to bring a sufficient water supply once again to render habitable the hill districts, which enjoy such excellent air and so beautiful a position. Neither the difficulties of the undertaking nor the heavy cost could discourage us.

The bull goes on, as though in illustration of the inscriptions, the words of which are given verbally, to give a detailed history of the making of the *Acqua Felice*. After this introduction there come the enactments required for the preservation of this great work. The care of it is entrusted to the cardinalitial congregation set up in 1587 to superintend the water supply, the streets and the bridges, and the congregation is given all the necessary powers as well as a suitable sum of money. The Pope further orders that every year two Roman citizens are to be chosen who shall every three months make a careful inspection of the aqueduct and the fountains. Their report is to be made to the cardinalitial congregation, and by them to the Pope. There follows a series of detailed ordinances for the preservation and protection of the *Acqua Felice* from

any damage or injury, and finally grave penalties are inflicted on those who shall do such injury.

The bull on the *Acqua Felice* also makes mention of the new streets constructed by Sixtus V., which were to a great extent intended to serve the same purpose of restoring life to the deserted districts of the upper city.

It was above all motives of religion which guided the Pope in the radical changes which he effected in the appearance of the city; he wished to facilitate the access of pilgrims to the celebrated basilicas and other churches situated outside the inhabited districts. The pilgrimage to the Seven Churches had been revived, especially by the labours of Philip Neri, and was frequently made, not only by strangers but also by the Romans.<sup>1</sup> Sixtus V. took an important step to further this devotion. By a bull of February 13th, 1586, he ordered in the first place that the functions of the stations,<sup>2</sup> which had completely disappeared since the fourteenth century, and which only took place at that time in St. Peter's, should be revived, and that the Papal choir should attend in the case of the other basilicas as well, substituting for the too distant church of St. Sebastian on the *Via Appia* that of S. Maria del Popolo. In this bull the Pope expressly states that in order to facilitate visits to the venerable basilicas, he had already made broad and straight roads.<sup>3</sup> A fresco in the Vatican

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> By this was meant the processions of penance, already ordered in detail by Gregory the Great, which were held on certain days in definite churches, in which there was afterwards a high mass.

<sup>3</sup> See Bull. Rom., VIII., 663 *seq.* Cf. also Gualterius, \*Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. The bull of February 13, 1586, was published on the 15th; cf. \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, where it is remarked as a "res nova" that the Pope had on that day announced: "Dominica proxima, quae erit in quadagesima, sacram stationem celebrabimus apud S. Mariam de Populo, ut quae pia devotione precamur, eiusdem Dei Genetricis suffragantibus meritis et intercessionibus impetrare valemus" (Barb. 2814, Vatican Library). Cf. the eulogy, so characteristic of the times, by Panigarola, of the revival of the custom of the Stations, in BERTHIER, S. Sabine, Rome, 1910, 89 *seq.*



Library<sup>1</sup> gives a bird's eye view of the new Rome. This clearly shows the dominant idea in Sixtus V.'s system of streets : “ a great net-work of streets, connecting and affording distant views of the principal churches of Rome which were illustrious on account of their antiquity, is stretched throughout the city, with the nodal points impressively marked by obelisks. We have here the idea of an intelligent transformation of Rome, the principal sanctuary of all Christendom, which lies at the root of the great building programme for the city.”<sup>2</sup>

It was the spirit of Catholic restoration, then showing itself in every direction, which gave the impulse to this great transformation of Roma Eterna, which at that time, even externally, and for the third time in the course of its long history, stood out as the capital of the world.<sup>3</sup>

It was a special piece of good fortune that, for the carrying out of his vast designs for the transformation of Rome, the Pope should have had in his service so versatile a man as Domenico Fontana. He had already, in the building of the Villa Montalto, proved himself a master in creating wide vistas, rendered full of effect by their starting points and endings. What he had already done on a small scale at the villa, he could now set his hand to on a grand scale. It was to the credit of the Pope that with ready understanding he accepted all the plans of his adviser, appointed him his principal architect,<sup>4</sup> and by his marvellous energy made it possible for him to carry them out in the brief space of five years.

Until that time Rome had been substantially a medieval city ; irregular in plan, with streets and alleys that were narrow and tortuous, cutting across each other with sharp corners, and lacking air and sunlight.<sup>5</sup> This medieval

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra.*, p. 227, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> D. Frey on p. 43 of the dissertation cited *supra*, p. 189, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Opinion of RANKE (I., 307). Cf also ORBAAN, Documenti, XVIII.

<sup>4</sup> “ Architetto generale ” ; see FONTANA, II., 16.

<sup>5</sup> The interesting article by A. MORONI, *Vie, voci e viandanti della vecchia Roma*, in *N. Rassegna*, 1894, I., 407 *seq.*

character had been substantially retained until the middle of the sixteenth century, as is shown by the celebrated panorama of the Netherlander, Marten van Heemskerck, of 1536.<sup>1</sup> There still rose in many places square fortress towers, with loop-holes and surmounted by battlements, such as at one time had been a feature of all the houses of the nobles, and especially of the Cardinals. The greater number of the churches still had their medieval bell towers. The few domes that dated from the time of Sixtus IV. could hardly be seen because they were so low. The houses too for the most part were low, but everywhere among them there rose the palaces of the Renaissance, above all the new Vatican and the Cancelleria. In building the Roman palaces architects had in most cases to be contented with crooked and awkward building sites, but they succeeded in overcoming these difficulties, and to erect noble and monumental buildings on narrow and irregular sites. A splendid example of the way in which it was found possible to use a curved frontage and produce a great work of art was given by Baldassare Peruzzi in his construction of the Palazzo Massimi. The true type of Roman palace only developed by degrees, and until the fourth decade of the sixteenth century Rome remained the principal field for architectural experiment. A great influence was exerted by the Palazzo Farnese, begun in 1534, and if one must speak of the type of a Roman palace, it may be said to have been expressed for the first time in this. The court rivalled it with the most beautiful in the city, that of the Cancelleria; its staircase was the first to be really broad and convenient, as was fitting for the city of ceremonial.<sup>2</sup>

One peculiar feature of the city of Rome must be specially insisted upon. In the case of all the cities of Europe at that time the boundaries were fixed by the bastions that surrounded them, and inside this protective ring were the houses, for the most part small and huddled together. It was quite different

<sup>1</sup> See tav. 1-2 in PASTOR, *Rom zu Ende der Renaissance*, fourth edition, Freiburg, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> See BURCKHARDT, *Gesch der Renaissance*, 199 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*, 205 *seq.*, 207.

in the case of Rome. Of the wide extent of ground round which ran the mighty Aurelian Walls, still maintained as fortifications, a good two-thirds was almost entirely uninhabited. The city proper was densely packed into a comparatively small space in the level ground between the Tiber, the Pincio and the Capitol.<sup>1</sup> The reason why the houses as far as possible clung to the Tiber was that the river was not only an important means of communication at that time, but also supplied the population with the necessary water.<sup>2</sup> The city properly so called stretched along the left bank of the Tiber ; on the right bank were the Trastevere, the Leonine City, with the church of St. Peter's and the residence of the Pope.

At the time of the Renaissance men were no longer satisfied with the medieval form of the city. The researches of the humanists had made men familiar with the regular plan of the city in ancient times, and as was the case with all that they could learn concerning antiquity, this regularity of plan seemed to be the model to be aimed at. It was perhaps even more important that the whole tendency of the new buildings in the time of the Renaissance was towards regularity, and therefore called for straight streets, crossing each other at right angles, with corresponding open spaces. The use of straight lines seemed to be suggested, not only by these considerations, but also by the question of utility, and therefore during the whole of the fifteenth century in all the more important cities of Italy there was a strong tendency to widen and straighten the narrow and twisting streets, as well as to form new piazzas and enlarge those already existing. Side by side with the levelling of the streets we have the beginning of regular paving.<sup>3</sup>

On account of the exile of the Popes at Avignon and the disturbances connected with the great schism the Eternal

<sup>1</sup> See PASTOR, *Rom zu Ende der Renaiss.*, 88 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 90 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See W. WEISBACH, *Stadtbaukunst*, in *Preuss. Jahrb.*, CLVII., 81 *seq.* ; BURCKHARDT, *loc. cit.*, 299 *seqq.*, and WEISBACH, *Die ital. Stadt der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1923.

City was affected by this tendency comparatively late. Another influence was the contrast between the successive pontificates and the brevity of each of them. Thus the great plan for the complete transformation of the Leonine City into a monumental place of residence formed by Nicholas V. in the spirit of the Renaissance was never carried out.<sup>1</sup> It only fell to Sixtus IV., with whom generally speaking a new epoch may be said to have begun, to set on foot the transformation of the Eternal City, and to introduce some light and air, and consequently better sanitary conditions, into the labyrinth of streets which made up the crowded medieval Rome. He had the more important streets paved and widened, and removed the outbuildings and projecting houses. Besides the Via del Pellegrino, which led to the Campo di Fiore, to the two ancient streets in the Leonine City he added a third which originally bore his name, and extended from the moat of the Castle of St. Angelo to the great doors of the Papal palace (now the Borgo S. Angelo).<sup>2</sup> As even this was not enough in view of the great crowds that flocked to the Vatican and St. Peter's, Alexander VI. added a fourth parallel street, the Via Alessandrina, now the Borgo Nuovo.<sup>3</sup> Julius II. completed this street, which has remained to the present day the principal artery in that quarter. The vigorous Rovere Pope also improved other streets and piazzas in the city properly so called, where to-day a splendid inscription glorifies his labours and attempts to remove the narrow and irregular streets.<sup>4</sup> But his principal work was the construction of the Via Giulia, which ran in an absolutely straight line from Ponte Sisto parallel to the Tiber, which it reached near the ruins of the ancient Pons Triumphalis. Thanks to this linking of the old city with the church of St. Peter's and the Vatican, the capital of the Popes was given the first imposing street of the Renaissance on a grand scale, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. II. of this work, pp. 169 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. IV. of this work, pp. 455 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. VI. of this work, pp. 166 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss. 26 *seq.*

dignity of which was to be emphasized by new monumental buildings.<sup>1</sup>

Leo X., who renewed the ordinances of Sixtus IV. for the removal of out-buildings, began in the southern part of the Campo Marzo the construction of three streets leading to the Piazza del Popolo, which were completed by Clement VII.<sup>2</sup> In like manner Paul III. after he had repaired the damage done by the sack of 1527, made two other streets alongside the one main road of communication between the Ponte S. Angelo and the interior of the city, the Via di Panico and the Via Paola, which opened into the Via Giulia, so that at that point three streets led in different directions into the city. The later efforts of Paul III. and his adviser, Latino Giovenale de'Manetti, to rearrange the streets of Rome, especially by means of the Via Triumphalis, constructed in 1535 on the occasion of the visit of Charles V., from the Porta S. Sebastiano across the Forum and thence to the Piazza of S. Marco, was of even greater importance than the undertakings of Sixtus IV.<sup>3</sup> The pontificate of the Farnese Pope also witnessed the transformation of the Capitol by Michelangelo; this had hitherto been entirely medieval in character, but now came to have an importance as a model for municipal building.<sup>4</sup> It is true that the narrow ideas of the Roman Conservatori hampered to a great extent the carrying out in full of the plan of Michelangelo, in which, so as to give the impression of complete unity, all the various parts "were placed in relation with each other, and connected in various ways, taking into account the site, the views and their disposition, and the effects of light and shade." The broad steps of approach, intended to form part of the

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. VI. of this work, pp. 494 *seqq.* Cf. also H. VOLKMANN, Roms Strassenanlagen seit der Renaissance, in the periodical *Der Städtebau*, IV., Berlin, 1907, 87.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. VIII. of this work, p. 127; Vol. X., p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 566. See also Lanciani, II., 236.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 569. Cf. BERGNER, Das barocke Rom, 40.

ensemble, and designed in relation to it, led directly to the summit.<sup>1</sup>

This principal approach, the Cordonata, was carried out under Pius IV. ; Gregory XIII. gave the Palace of the Senators its slender campanile.<sup>2</sup>

Michelangelo, who made plans for many of the gates of Rome, increased their importance as terminal points for the streets by decorating the inside as much as the outside in the case of the Porta Pia, erected under Pius IV. The pontificate of Pius IV. was of like importance in the matter of improving the streets. The Via Pia, which led from the Quirinal to the Porta Pia, became one of the most splendid highways in the whole city.<sup>3</sup> Rome owed to Gregory XIII. a new and radical building ordinance,<sup>4</sup> as well as various improvements in the streets, the most important of which was the Via Merulana, which led in almost a straight line from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran.<sup>5</sup>

Sixtus V. carried on and completed what his predecessors had done in the matter of making streets and piazzas. It was he who employed in his vast plans for the transformation of Rome the architecture of the baroque, and who carried out the happy idea, conceived long before his elevation to the Papacy, of connecting the heights of the Esquiline, Viminal

<sup>1</sup> See WEISBACH, *Stadtbankunst*, 82, who also says: "The conception belongs to the transition from the Renaissance to the baroque. To the latter belongs the idea of making the mass of a palace appear larger by allowing by means of the arrangement of the perspective, the facades of the palace to spread towards the base, and not constructing a mass that is at all points equally distant from the central axis, but in carrying out an ideal symmetry on the basis of this." Cf. also MICHAELIS in *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, N.S. II. (1891), 190 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 439 *seq.* ; Vol. XX., p. 595. The fresco in the Vatican Library, showing the Piazza of the Capitol, in PASTOR, Sisto V. tav. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 436 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 594 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 594.

and Quirinal with the lower city, thus giving new life to the districts which had been deserted since the devastation carried out by the troops of Robert Guiscard, and which even in the second half of the sixteenth century contained only a very few scattered houses.<sup>1</sup>

Sprung from a mendicant Order like Sixtus IV. and Julius II., Sixtus V. was the third Franciscan Pope to set himself, with the large ideas that characterized him, to the task of beautifying the city of the Seven Hills. For the central point of the new Rome he chose his favourite church, S. Mary Major's, where he wished one day to be buried. This was to form the starting point for the new system of roads, which were calculated to cover long distances and to afford wide views towards their terminal points, which were to be adorned by monuments.<sup>2</sup> He had in his mind a central starting point in the shape of a star, like to that of the ideal city in the architectural work of Maggi, published in 1564.<sup>3</sup> The plan in the collection of poems by Giov. Francesco Bordini was also derived from Maggi;<sup>4</sup> this, like the fresco in the Vatican Library,<sup>5</sup> shows the church of S. Mary Major's as the central point,<sup>6</sup> from which five roads start like rays, towards the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the detailed work of ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 180 *seq.*, based on the plans of the city.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WEISBACH, *Stadtbaukunst*, 82.

<sup>3</sup> "Della fortificazione." Cf. BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 164.

<sup>4</sup> BORDINI, *Carmina*, 51; "De viis amplissimis quas Sixtus V. P. M. ab Esquilino monte in syderis formam ad loca diversa aperuit et stravit," with a plate of the plan of the streets which has recently been reproduced by MUÑOZ (*Roma barocca*, 15). The reproduction of the medal with the inscription *Cura pontificia* is not successful; see ARTAUD DE MONTOR, IV., 490. Cf. BONANNI, I., 426.

<sup>5</sup> See STEVENSON, *Topografia*, tav., IV., n. 1; *Mél. d'archéol.*, XX., 297; ORBAAN, *Documenti*, lxxviii. *seq.*; PASTOR, *Sisto V.*, tav. 5. In the fresco executed in commemoration there is also a sixth road leading from S. Pietro in Vincoli to the Colosseum, which was planned, but not carried out. Cf. also FULVIO-FERUCCI, *Antichità*, 27 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> In Bordini's poem it is said: "ut centrum residet dirigitque vias."

Porta S. Lorenzo, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the Lateran, Trajan's Column, and the Trinità dei Monti. Only one of these roads, that leading to the Lateran and called the Via Merulana, dates from the time of Gregory XIII., all the others being the work of Sixtus V. and his architect, Domenico Fontana.

The work was begun in the summer of 1585 and continued throughout the pontificate.<sup>1</sup> The first thing to be taken in hand was the great highway leading from the Esquiline to the Pincio, which was pushed forward so rapidly that in spite of the difficulties of the ground it was already in use in March, 1586.<sup>2</sup> In the autumn it was opened to ordinary traffic.<sup>3</sup> The new road led to the lower city at the point where the houses came to an end (whence we have the name Via Capole Case).<sup>4</sup> The first part was called the Via Sistina, and the second the Via Felice. In a very short time there sprung up along the new road many houses and a few palaces, such as that of Muzio Mattei (later on Massimi, Albani, and del Drago). "In three years," said the Venetian ambassador

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the detailed account taken from the \*Avvisi (Vatican Library) in the Appendix. See also LANCIANI, IV., 129 *seq.*; PANSÀ, 79; *Inventari*, I., 347.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of March 26, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Roma, 290. Cf. FULVIO-FERRUCCI 171 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, 172. That the Pope, in order to connect one of his new streets with the lower city, also began the construction of the so-called Scala Spagnuola is due to a tradition which is quite destroyed by a passage of Gualterius in RANKE, I., 310. Gualterius writes: 'scalasque ad templum illud ab utroque portae latere commodas perpulcrasque admodum extruxit.' This does not refer to the steps leading to the Piazza di Spagna, but to the great steps directly below the church; the so-called Scala Spagnuola was only projected by Sixtus V. Cf. in App. Nos. 7 and 8, the \*Avvisi of July 30 and October 1, 1586, Vatican Library. Orbaan, Conti di Fontana VIII., 64; L'Arte XVI. (1913), 93 *seq.* See also in App. Nos. 2, 17 the \*reports of Capilupi of September 28 and of Malegnani, July 8, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.



in April, 1587, "the whole district will be inhabited."<sup>1</sup> In order to encourage the zeal for building, owners of houses on the Via Felice and the Via Pia were given special privileges in the autumn of the same year.<sup>2</sup> The building, however, went on but slowly, though an important step had been taken towards the settlement of the central point of life in the city,<sup>3</sup> a thing that made itself felt in the middle of the sixteenth century, and which found expression in the transference of the principal inns from the Banchi and the Campo di Fiore to the Piazza di Spagna.<sup>4</sup> The point where the Via Felice reached the summit of the Quirinal, and where it crossed the Via Pia, leading from the Porta Pia to the Quirinal, was marked by the Quattro Fontane,<sup>5</sup> erected at the corners in 1587, and supplied by the Acqua Felice. The wide views that could be obtained from here excited universal admiration;<sup>6</sup> at the different hours of the day and with the changing light they are always affording something new, and are among the most beautiful in the Eternal City. Towards the north the eye follows the road, which first drops and then rises again to the Trinità dei Monti, with Monte Mario crowned with pine trees as a background. To the south there may be seen beyond the Viminal the summit of the Esquiline, where the basilica of St. Mary Major's forms a majestic end to the vista. To the west the view ends in a most effective manner with the group of the horse-tamers near the Quirinal. To the east lies the Porta Pia.<sup>7</sup> The fountains at this magnificent

<sup>1</sup> See in App. No. 12 the \*report of Malegnani of April 29, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See Bull., VIII., 914, and *Studi e docum.*, II., 145, n. 3. Cf. the \*Avvisi of October 7 and 10, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 376, 388, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 402.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. CERASOLI in *Studi e docum.*, XIV., 398.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. LANCIANA, IV., 132, Cf. M, GUIDI, *Le Fontane Barocche di Roma*, Zurich, 1917.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*letter of C. Foglietta in Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> A fresco in the Hall of Consistories at the Lateran represents the panorama from the Quirinal towards the Porta Pia; see PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

position, which afforded a view of the city, such as at that time only Rome could boast,<sup>1</sup> were designed and in part carried out by Fontana; above each of them there rises a simple niche in the wall. The decoration consists of rocks and life-sized reclining figures carved in travertino, and representing Fidelity with a dog as her symbol, Strength resting on a lion, the Tiber and the Anio. Later on the whole central part of this great thoroughfare, which was continued beyond St. Mary Major's as far as S. Croce in Gerusalemme, was named after these four fountains (Via Quattro Fontane).<sup>2</sup>

Quite straight too were the roads that led from S. Mary Major's to the Lateran on one side, and to Trajan's Forum (Via Panisperna)<sup>3</sup> on the other, as well as that between the Lateran and the Colosseum. In March, 1588, the Pope personally inspected them when they were thrown open. New roads were also to lead from the Colosseum to the Capitol,<sup>4</sup> and from Trajan's Forum to St. Peter's.<sup>5</sup> The road connecting the Colosseum and the Quirinal also owes its origin to Sixtus V.<sup>6</sup>

Besides these main highways many others were also made, such as that from S. Lorenzo to S. Maria degli Angeli, from the Piazza de' Cerchi to S. Sabina, from the Capitol to S. Maria della Consolazione, from the Porta Pia to the Porta Salara, and from the Porta Settimana in the Trastevere to the Ripa Grande. For the most part the Pope's aim was to render

<sup>1</sup> The Quattro Fontane in Rome were imitated in 1611 in the Quattro Canti at Palermo.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. FULVIO-FERRUCCI, *Antichità*, 25. The fountains were transformed under Clement IX.; see BELLORI, I., 165. Cf. MAGNI, *Barocco e Roma*, 28.

<sup>3</sup> See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See in App. No. 23, the \*Avviso of March 2, 1588, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See PANSA, 79, who remarks: "e perciò furano buttate molte case a terra, ma non si vede però fin' hora. [March, 1590] altra mutatione." Pansa also gives the inscriptions of the new roads.

<sup>6</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 304.

access to the churches more easy.<sup>1</sup> Mention may also be made of new streets near S. Pietro in Montorio, Trajan's Forum, and S. Silvestro.<sup>2</sup> Changes in the streets were also made in the Borgo.<sup>3</sup> This quarter, which had hitherto had a municipal administration of its own, was added as a fourteenth to the other thirteen Rioni of Rome, and granted as its special distinction the arms of the Pope's family.<sup>4</sup>

The Master of Ceremonies of Sixtus V. relates how very often the Pope would leave the Quirinal early in the morning in order to assist at Mass, on one day in one church, and on another at another church, and how it was his custom on these occasions to inspect the rising buildings and plan new streets.<sup>5</sup> Contemporaries often speak of these plans of his. Thus we are told that new streets were to be made from the Lateran to S. Croce in Gerusalemme and St. Paul's outside the walls, from the Porta Maggiore to S. Lorenzo, from the Piazza de' Termini to S. Vitale, from S. Andrea delle Fratte

<sup>1</sup> See FONTANA, I., 89, and the \*letter of C. Foglietta in Ottob. 568, Vatican Library. Cf. also the inscriptions in PANSA, 79, and the \*Avvisi of January 14, 1587, and January 30, 1588, in App. Nos. 10, 22, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. LANCIANI, II., 126 seq.; IV., 136 seq., and the \*Avviso in App. No. 26, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the Conti di Fontana in LANCIANI, IV., 136, and the inscription in the *Inventario*, I., 326. Cf. *Arch. Rom.*, V., 656, and the \*Avviso of June 4, 1586 (Vatican Library), in App. No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> The ancient Augustan division of the city into 14 Rioni was retained unaltered until the eleventh century; later on we find 12 and at the beginning of the Fourteenth century 13 Rioni (cf. C. RE in *Studi e docum.* X., 349 seq.). The bull by which the Borgo was made into the 14th Rione is dated December 1, 1586; see Bull., VIII., 807 seq. Cf. also ROCCHI, *Piante*, 97 and BARACCONI, *I Rioni di Roma, Città di Castello*, 1889.

<sup>5</sup> See \**Diarium P. Alaleonis* (Vatican Library) in App. No. 31. Cf. *ibid.* No. 33, the \*Avviso of March 22, 1589, Vatican Library. See also the \*report fo Malegnani of September 5, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Sixtus V. twice visited the hospice of the Mendicants in 1587; see the \*Avvisi of May 30 and October 31, 1587, Urb. 1055, pp. 197, 415, Vatican Library.

to the Scrofa, from S. Pietro in Vincoli to St. Mary Major's and the Porta S. Paolo, from the Arch of Constantine to St. Mary Major's, from S. Balbina to the Lateran, and lastly from S. Pietro in Montorio to the Ponte Sisto.<sup>1</sup> Again, at the beginning of 1590 the Pope was planning the making of a new street near the Cancelleria, where houses were to be bought to the value of 100,000 scudi.<sup>2</sup> Plans were made for the construction, near the little Porto di Ripetta, of a bridge across the Tiber, whence a road was to lead to the Belvedere.<sup>3</sup>

Even though all these plans were not carried out, the work accomplished in making streets by Sixtus V. during his short pontificate is nothing less than marvellous. It is estimated that the length of the roads he made was more than 10,000 metres.<sup>4</sup> The Via Felice, with its continuation, is 2,787 metres in length, and this queen of the new roads has never yet been surpassed by any other in Rome. It is further worthy of admiration to point out that all these works were carried out with such wisdom and insight into the future

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FONTANA, II., 20, PANSA, 80, and the reports in the \*Avviso in App. Nos, 6, 28, 32, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> "Ordinò appresso due strade dalla porta grande di essa Cancelleria a drittura fino in piazza degli Altieri et dalla porta piccola di S. Lorenzo in Damaso alla Pace importando la rovina delle case più di 100,000 scudi." Avviso of January 27, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 33, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See in App. No. 28 the \*Avviso of October 12, 1588. An \*Avviso of October 26, 1588, reports: "La fabrica del nuovo ponte a Ripetta sta sospesa per esser stato posto in consideratione a N. S. che questo sarebbe un levare la franchigia a castello S. Angelo et un render facile la ispugnatione di questa mole in tempo di guerra che Iddio guarda. Si parla in oltre che N. S. habbia commesso che si faccia altre strade nuove dentro Roma" (Urb. 1056, p. 488, Vatican Library). Fr. Tromba proposes in a \*letter to Cardinal Rusticucci of December 17, 1588, the construction of a bridge near the Hospital of S. Spirito, which would relieve the bridge of St. Angelo. Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 129.

conditions of the city that they still to-day constitute the principal arteries for traffic. It was entirely fitting that the city itself should have been made to share the expense.<sup>1</sup>

The new system of streets led to an important development of carriage traffic;<sup>2</sup> hitherto for the most part horses and litters had been employed. Sixtus V. carefully watched over the maintenance of the new streets; proof of this was not only the cardinalitial congregation set up in 1587 for the water supply, the streets and fountains,<sup>3</sup> but also the increase in the number of the superintendents of the roads. This authority had hitherto consisted of two persons; Sixtus V. added twelve more, so that now each of the fourteen Rioni of Rome had its own superintendent.<sup>4</sup> The Via Flaminia outside the Porto del Popolo was improved, as was the connexion between the Quirinal and the Porta Pia. Many of the streets were repaved.<sup>5</sup> In the matter of paving the Pope at first followed the example of his predecessor, but the use of pebbles not having proved satisfactory, these were removed and paving stones substituted. In February, 1588, it was resolved to employ this method throughout the Via Felice.<sup>6</sup> The large scale on which Sixtus V. carried out such works may be gathered from the fact that during the first half of 1587 no less than 121 streets were repaved.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 131 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* the Avviso of March 7, 1580, in BELTRAMI, *Roma*, 22. See also WOLFLINN, *Renaissance und Barock*, 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* *supra*, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> The information in MORONI, *XLI.*, 224, is too general. Definite particulars in the \*Ordinance of March 7, 1588: "Erectio magistratus 14 magistrorum viarum Urbis," in *Editti*, V., 74, pp. 67-68b, Papal Secret Archives. The literature concerning these officials (*Magistri viarium*) in LANCIANI, I., 47.

<sup>5</sup> See PANSÀ, 80.

<sup>6</sup> See the *Avvisi* in ORBAAN, *Avvisi* 292, 303. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 136; ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 110, 153. See also *Discorso del mattonato o selicato di Roma* by GUIDO BALDO FOGLIETTA in *Arch. Rom.*, I., 371 *seq.*

<sup>7</sup> See CERASOLI in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun. di Roma*, XXVIII. (1900) 342 *seq.* The advantage of the *mattonati* is

Sixtus V. also took care to embellish Rome with piazzas. In the autumn of 1585 he was occupied with the enlargement of the piazza near Trajan's Column.<sup>1</sup> Three years later a plan was under consideration for the isolation of the column of Marcus Aurelius in the Piazza Colonna,<sup>2</sup> and for the enlargement of the Piazza Navona.<sup>3</sup> The piazza near the Ponte S. Angelo and that in front of the Quirinal were put into a better state, and that in front of S. Lorenzo outside the walls was enlarged.<sup>4</sup> A huge piazza was also formed

brought out by Franc. Tromba in a \*letter to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated, "Di casa, 19 December, 1588," namely that "per li mali tempi non se potea se non con grandissima difficultà et lordura praticare per la città" (Miscell. Arm. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives). In this letter Tromba suggests connecting the Leonine City with the centre of Rome by means of a bridge near the Hospital of S. Spirito; this would facilitate access to St. Peter's, especially in times of Jubilee, and would safeguard the Castle of St. Angelo, because then the bridge of St. Angelo could be completely closed during the night. Julius II. and Pius IV. had already projected such a new bridge. The cost, which was estimated at about 100,000 scudi prevented the carrying out of the scheme, which was only recently carried into effect.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of October 12, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 442b, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Roma, 307.

<sup>3</sup> \*" Si parla per ampliare piazza Agone di buttare a terra tutte le case che sono di mezzo tra detta piazza et il palazzo di Altemps." Avviso of November 5, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 506, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> The \*Avviso of March 23, 1588, reports: On Sunday the Pope held a cardinalitial capella at S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, ordinando S.<sup>St</sup>a all' uscire che fosse ampliata la piazza dinanzi a quella chiesa per commodità della corte sicome fa hora quella di ponte S. Angelo riducendosi per i contorni di essa piazza tutti quei bottegari e rivenditori d' herbe, frutti, pane et simili come disegnò parimente di tirarsi ramo d' acqua Felice. Urb. 1056, p. 113. Cf. *ibid.*, 134, and 143 \*Avviso of April 2, 1588: S' abbassa la somità della piazza di Montecavallo di ordine del Papa per tirasi un ramo d' acqua Felice et farsi una bellissima fontana facendo nettare d' orni intorno quelle scabrosità che rendevano quel bel sito inornato. Vatican Library. Cf. ORBAAN, Roma, 304.

near St. Mary Major's,<sup>1</sup> and another near the Baths of Diocletian, and great basins were set up there for washing.<sup>2</sup> This last piazza was intended to serve both for the weekly general market, and for the fair which had so far been held near the ancient Benedictine abbey of Farfa.<sup>3</sup> The Pope also formed another project, which equally was not carried out; according to this the Piazza de Termini was to contain the basin of the great canal which was to bring the waters of the Anio from Tivoli to Rome. The construction of this gigantic work would have enormously facilitated the transport of the travertino and lime needed for the buildings, and would have supplied water for the works.<sup>4</sup>

Other undertakings of a hydraulic character also occupied the attention of the Pope; near the Porto di Ripetta a branch stream was to be carried from the Tiber, taken behind the Castle of St. Angelo, and brought back into the main stream near the Hospital of S. Spirito. By this means Sixtus V. aimed at increasing the safety of the fortress and of the treasure kept there, and at the same time putting an end to the inundations of the Tiber.<sup>5</sup> Another plan was devised by the Pope after the flood at the beginning of November, 1589. According to this a wide and deep trench was to be taken under the Ponte Molle from the Tiber to the Valle

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*letter of C. Foglietta, Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the fresco of the Villa Massimo in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See MERCATI, Obelisehi, 259; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, III., 376; PLATNER, III., 2, 346; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 288, 303. Cf. in App. No. 5, the \*Avviso of March 29, 1586, Vatican Library, and LANCIANI, IV., 127.

<sup>4</sup> See FONTANA, I., 88b; \*Avvisi of May 3 and October 19, 1588, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library (cf. App. No. 25, Vol. XXI.); MORONI, LXVII., 96, and the brief to the engineer Pompili Eusebi da Perugia, in MASSIMO, Notizie, 249 seq. Cf. C. BORGNANA, Dell' Aniene e del breve Sistino, "Cum, sicut accepimus," Rome, 1861; ROSSI-SCOTTI, Pompili Eusebi da Perugia e Sisto P. V., Perugia, 1893.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the interesting article, based on the Avvisi, by P. M. BAUMGARTEN, Rom als Seehafen, in *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1909, n. 707.

dell'Inferno, and thence back into the Tiber across the hills. The floods were also to be controlled by protective works.<sup>1</sup> A preliminary estimate showed that this work would have cost about 200,000 gold ducats.<sup>2</sup>

Although these plans were not carried out, Sixtus V. nevertheless successfully accomplished another great work; the improvement of the means of communication in the Eternal City. This was only made possible by energetic intervention, but that a nature like that of Sixtus V. was not going to let this be lacking was seen from the orders given to Fontana, which gave him powers to break his way ruthlessly through every obstacle that stood in the way of the Pope's plans.<sup>3</sup> Houses, chapels and convents were as little spared as the precious ruins of antiquity.<sup>4</sup> A fresco in the Vatican Library shows the great demolitions by means of which the link between the Via Felice and the Via Gregoriana leading from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran was made possible.<sup>5</sup> At first complaints were not wanting,<sup>6</sup> but intelligent people realized that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. Poets boasted that the city was doubled in size, and had recovered its ancient area.<sup>7</sup> In 1587 Panigarola in a Lenten sermon gave great praise to the Pope

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of November 4 and 5, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library; the \*report of the Venetian ambassador, November 4, 1589, State Archives, Venice, and the \*letter of Brumani of the same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BAUMGARTEN, *loc. cit.* A \*Discorso sopra la inundatione del Tevere del presente a. 1589 (Instr. miscell., n. 4586, Papal Secret Archives) places its hopes in the assistance of Sixtus V.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ADEMOLLO, L'opera edilizia di Sisto V., in *Rassegna Settimanale*, 1879, n. 80, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Plentiful information in LANCIANI, IV., *passim*. Cf. also *Arch. Rom.*, II., 229 *seq.* and in App. No. II the \*report of Malegnani of April 15, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the reproduction in BIASIOTTI, La basilica Esquilina, Rome, 1911, 31-32.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of August 17, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> RANKE, I<sup>8</sup>., 310.



not only for his many building works, but also because by means of his roads he had facilitated the visit to the Seven Churches.<sup>1</sup> There were still, however, some who looked upon all this with disfavour. One of these was the agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who in May, 1587, lamented that in consequence of the making of the new roads houses had disappeared, and even venerable sanctuaries. "Here," so his report ran, "buildings are being tortured like men, only the Castle of St. Angelo triumphs in exchanging gold for stones."<sup>2</sup> This venomous remark refers to the fact that, in order to obtain the necessary funds, Sixtus V. had sold properties which, owing to lack of water or because they were covered with stones and ruins, were quite uncultivated. No man of intelligence can agree with this criticism, and Sixtus is deserving of the highest praise for having been able in this way to supply the funds required for his efforts for the common good.<sup>3</sup> In the same way it was folly to blame the Pope for the traffic difficulties rendered inevitable by the making of the new roads.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand it is only fair to deplore the inconsiderate attitude adopted towards the ruins of antiquity, though as to this the ideas of the time must be taken into consideration.

Even at the height of the Renaissance the great enthusiasm for antiquity had not been able to prevent the vandalism committed on all sides against the medieval monuments from being extended to antiquities, for which at that time there was such general veneration.<sup>5</sup> If all the Popes of the Renaissance took without scruple from the ruins of antiquity in Rome the materials they needed for their new buildings, such as travertine and marble, as well as columns, and even destroyed the records of early Christian days,<sup>6</sup> similar action

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of Malegnani, February 11, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 32. Cf. HÜBNER, II., 134 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See HÜBNER, II., 166 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. KRAUS-SAUER, II., 2, 688 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Vol. II. of this work, pp. 179 *seq.*; Vol. III., pp. 302 *seq.*; Vol. IV., p. 78; Vol. VI., p. 478; Vol. VIII., p. 132.

on the part of Sixtus V. can hardly cause surprise.<sup>1</sup> A further excuse for the Pope may be found in the fact that his architect, Fontana, as had once been the case with Bramante, saw no harm in the destruction of the remains of early days. Of much significance in this connexion is a passage in the description given by Fontana of the buildings of Sixtus V., in which the celebrated architect does not hesitate to make specific mention, among the useful works of his benefactor, of the demolition of important ruins at the Baths of Diocletian because they prevented access to S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>2</sup> In the same work Fontana quite calmly, as though it was fully justifiable, speaks of a plan for transforming the Colosseum into a cloth factory. "The Pope," he says, "not only intended to promote industry, but also to provide free lodging for the beggars: if he had lived for another year Sixtus would have carried out this useful undertaking."<sup>3</sup>

The indifference for ancient ruins shown by the artists of that time was also a result of the increased sense of their own importance.<sup>4</sup> It was in no sense the artists, but the Conservators of Rome, who took under their care certain monuments of antiquity which were threatened by the building activity of Sixtus V. Appealing to the bull issued by Pius II. for the protection of the monuments of antiquity, they decided in the first place to have recourse to Cardinal Santori.<sup>5</sup> In his autobiography the latter records that in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the many proofs given in LANCIANI, IV., *passim*; see also II., 145 *seq.*; III., 12 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See FONTANA, *Trasportazione*, I., 88b. Cf. also the \*Avviso in App. No. 26 (Vatican Library).

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, II., 18 *seq.*, where Fontana explains by means of a design a complete plan for the transformation of the Colosseum. Cf. ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 311; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, *Topographie*, I., 3, 286; CLEMENTI, *Il Colosseo*, Roma, 1912, 196 *seq.* In the last year of his pontificate Sixtus V. removed the ruins that had accumulated round the Colosseum; see *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXX. (1902), 305 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, *Les monuments antiques de Rome encore existants*, Paris, 1920, 127.

<sup>4</sup> WÖLFFLIN, *Renaissance und Barock*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. LANCIANI, III., 12.

1588 representatives came to him in the name of the Roman people and begged him to dissuade the Pope from the proposed destruction of the Septizonium, the Arch of Janus and the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. Santori fell in with their request, and accompanied by Cardinal Colonna, had recourse to Sixtus V. The Pope's reply was that it was his intention to destroy ugly antiquities and to restore others if necessary.<sup>1</sup> Of greater importance than any aesthetic considerations in this petition was the fact that the Romans looked upon themselves as the heirs and direct successors of the "Senatus Populusque Romanus," and the commotion aroused among the representatives of the Eternal City decided the Pope not to touch so popular a monument as the Tomb of Cecilia Metella. But he did not spare the ruins of the Septizonium built by Septimus Severus at the south-west corner of the Palatine, when some columns of the three-storeyed portico were thrown down. The precious marble and granite of these characteristic and picturesque ruins, called by the people the "Scuola di Virgilio," were used for new buildings.<sup>2</sup> We are expressly told that there was general distress in the Eternal City at the disappearance of the remains of this monument, which had already once before been destined for destruction in the eighth century, because it was remembered that

<sup>1</sup> SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 181. This does not state that the tomb of Cecilia Metella had served as a hiding place for the bandits, as is often said on the authority of PAPANCORDT (*Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, Paderborn, 1857, 356).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HÜLSEN, *Das Septizonium des Sept. Severus*, Berlin, 1886; JORDAN-HÜLSEN, *Topographie*, I., 3, 100; STEVENSON in *Bullett. Com.*, XVI. (1888), 268 seq.; BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 87 seq.; BARTOLI in *Bollett. d'arte*, III. (1909); PETERSEN in *Röm. Mitteil.*, XXV. (1910), 56 seq.; LANCIANI, IV., 17 seq.; HÜLSEN in *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. der Architektur*, V., 1 seqq.; there (p. 23 seq.) a printed copy, newly compared with the manuscript in the Papal Secret Archives of the: "Misura et stima della disfatura de tutta la fabrica della Scuola de Vergilio over Settizonio," which Fontana and Prospero Rocchi presented to the Apostolic Camera on May 15, 1589. See also TH. DOMBART, *Das Palatinische Septizonium zu Rom*, Munich, 1922, 14, 57.

Bramante once had said that there were no better models for architects than the Septizonium and the Colosseum.<sup>1</sup>

That Sixtus V. did not entirely despise the relics of ancient Rome is shown by the fact that immediately after his accession to the throne he appointed an energetic commissary to watch over antiquities in the person of Orazio Boari.<sup>2</sup> The Pope also acquired "imperishable merit" in the case of certain ancient monuments.<sup>3</sup> It was he who turned his attention to the colossal triumphal columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, by isolating the one and saving the other from certain destruction, by having it restored by Fontana, and providing it with a new pedestal.<sup>4</sup> Extraordinarily characteristic of the ideas of Sixtus V. is the fact that at the same time he sought in a sense to Christianize these two great monuments which owed their origin to the deification of the Emperors. In his description of the building works of Sixtus V. Fontana explains how the Pope aimed at the glorification of the Cross, and therefore wished to erase the memory of paganism; accordingly, for the Column of Trajan which once had borne the statue of the best of the pagan Emperors, he destined the statue of the prince of the Apostles, the counterpart of which was to be that of St. Paul on the other. The placing of the two bronze gilt statues of the princes of the Apostles, which was directed by Fontana, was specially difficult in the case of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The models of the statues were made by Tommaso della Porta,

<sup>1</sup> See the Avviso of September 14, 1588, in ORBAAN, Roma, 305 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 123.

<sup>3</sup> Opinion of O. RICHTER (Topographie der Stadt Rom, Munich, 1901, 76). If it had not been for the energy of Sixtus V. the column of Marcus Aurelius would have fallen, says LANCIANI (III., 146).

<sup>4</sup> See FONTANA, I., 86; LANCIANI, II., 127 *seq.*; III., 146 *seq.*; ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 267 *seq.* A reproduction of Trajan's column, from a fresco in the Villa Massimo, in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 7. *Ibid.*, tav. 8, a reproduction of the column of Marcus Aurelius from a fresco in the Vatican Library.

Leonardi Sormani da Sarzana assisting him with that of St. Peter, and Costantino de'Servi with that of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup>

Sixtus V. looked upon the monuments of antiquity with quite different eyes from the men of the Renaissance. in their regard he always remembered, like Tasso,<sup>2</sup> that the kingdom of Christ has conquered paganism and made it tributary ; therefore by his orders the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were no longer in future to bear witness to the empty triumph of pagan Rome<sup>3</sup> over the Dacians and the Marcomanni, but were to be changed into monuments which told of the victory of Christianity. In the place of the images of the Emperors which once had crowned the two columns, there were placed the standing statues of those who were now the masters of Rome, the princes of the Apostles. On September 28th, 1587, there was placed on the top of Trajan's Column the statue of the holy Apostle Peter ;<sup>4</sup> the Emperor who had furthest spread the boundaries of the Roman Empire gave place to the poor fisherman of Galilee,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FONTANA, I., 86 ; BAGLIONE, 144 ; GAYE, III., 473 seq. ; BONANNI, I., 393 seq. ; FEA, Miscell., II., 9 ; BERTELOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 75, 80 seq., 201, 219 ; *Art. Bol.*, 79 ; STEVENSON, 18, 23 ; *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXIV. (1896), 179 seq. ; LANCIANI, II., 128 ; III., 147 seq. ; IV., 153 seq. ; ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 299 seq., 305, 306, and CONTI DI FONTANA, VII., 423 seq. ; CERRATI, 18 ; *L' Arie*, X. (1907), 136 ; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 270 ; BARTOLI, *Cento vedute di Roma antica*, Florence, 1911, 39. The \**Avviso* of August 29, 1589, reports : " Lunedì il papa ha visitato quella mole Antoniana restaurata di commissione della S.S. così bene con le sue iscrizioni [see FORCELLA, XIII., 129] nella base et in cima, che rende maraviglia et stupore ad ognuno." Urb. 1057, p. 535, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. TASSO, *Opere*, II., Florence, 1724, 480.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the collection of poems by G. F. BORDINI, p. 25, dedicated to Sixtus V.

<sup>4</sup> \**Diarium P. Aleleonis*, p. 339b, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Prosper Aq., *De ingratis*, I., 40 seq. (MIGNE, *Patr. lat.*, LI., 97) :  
Sedes Roma Petri ; quae pastoralis honoris,  
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis  
Religione tenet.

whose spiritual overlordship had even in the fifth century spread far beyond that of any victorious Roman army, and whose successor had in recent times received the homage of seas and nations, of whose existence the age of Trajan had had no suspicion.<sup>1</sup> A year later, on October 27th, 1588, the statue of Marcus Aurelius, the violent persecutor of the Christians, the philosopher and writer, was replaced on the top of the column bearing his name by that of the Apostle Paul;<sup>2</sup> for a long time past indeed the persecutor had had to yield place to the martyr, the half forgotten writer, Marcus Aurelius,<sup>3</sup> with the empty introspection of his philosophy, to the Apostle, who by the force of his written word had become a true teacher of the nations, and a shining sun in the kingdom of the Spirit.<sup>4</sup> After a High Mass at S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the dedication of Trajan's Column was performed with solemn ceremonial by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Gonzaga, and of that of Marcus Aurelius by the Patriarch of

*Cf.* De vocat. omnium gentium, 2, 16 (MIGNE, *loc. cit.*, 704) brings out the same idea in the prayer of blessing of Trajan's column (with the words of Leo the Great, Sermon. 82, c. 1, in MIGNE, LIV., 423). Praesta, . . . ut sicut per sacram b. Petri Sedem dissolutis terrenae sapientiae vantatibus eiectisque daemonum cultibus Urbem hanc caput orbis effici, ac latius tua religione, quam dominatione terrena praesidere voluisti, ita nullis eam permittas perturbationibus concuti etc. (\*Diarium P. Alaleonis, p. 341, *loc. cit.*). *Cf.* also the rare work composed by P. GALESINUS and dedicated to Cesare Speciani: Dedicatio columnae cochlidis Traiani Caes. Augusti ad honorem s. Petri, Romae, 1587. At the end is printed the "Ordo dedicationis in honorem s. Petri."

<sup>1</sup>The Japanese embassy left Rome on June 3, 1585; *cf.* Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup>\*Diarium P. Alaleonis, p. 408 *seqq.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup>At that time his column was taken for that of Antonius Pius.

<sup>4</sup>*Cf.* the prayers for the blessing of the column of Marcus Aurelius: \*Concede, . . . ut Urbem istam, quam olim vanitatum errorumque magistram coelestis eloquii sui radiis b. Paulus illustravit, discipulamque veritatis effecit etc. [*cf.* Leo the Great, *loc. cit.*; quae eras magistra erroris, facta es discipula veritatis.] Diarium P. Alaleonis, p. 410, *loc. cit.*

Alexandria, Camillo Gaetano. By this change of pagan monuments into Christian ones the wisdom of the Christian humanists made it apparent in a sensible and almost personal way to the eyes of all the world that, under the guidance of Providence, all the actions of pagan antiquity, in war and in peace, in science and in art, had served only to set up the pedestal on which was to be erected the edifice of Christianity, and that all the creations of human power belonged to the Creator and to the Christ God, and must be made to serve Christianity, receiving therefrom their greatest honour.<sup>1</sup>

In the prayers with which the two columns were dedicated to their new purpose another idea comes out, which shows what a change had been introduced into the appreciation of antiquity by the Catholic restoration. At the height of the humanist period men had been lost in admiration before the works of ancient Greece and Rome; in them they saw nothing but the wonderful manifestations of the development of a power that had conquered the world, and of art and civilization that had been evolved with insuperable force. But now attention was turned to the reverse of the medal; to understand this it is enough to remember that the proud buildings of antiquity owed their splendour to the labour of slaves. Their splendid trappings, as St. Jerome, the favourite writer of Sixtus V., says,<sup>2</sup> were woven with the sorrows of the unfortunate and the penal labours of the condemned, while tears and perchance blood stained the magnificent cameos and jewels, and the artistic capitals, carvings and statues. Moreover, men could not forget that all this magnificence was intended to minister to pride, a fierce spirit of war, and

<sup>1</sup> Under the reproduction of the column of Trajan, which was adorned with the statue of St. Peter, in the Villa Montalto, were the verses :

Quid Traiane doles quod te Petrus aeneus urget ?

Desine nobilior hinc tibi surgit honor.

MASSIMO, Notizie, 130.

<sup>2</sup> " Domus miserorum poenis et damnatorum labore vestitae. Epist. 46 (Paulae et Eustochii ad Marcellam) n. 10, in *Corp. script. eccl. lat.*, LIV., 341.

sensuality, and thus to serve the forces hostile to God. But now, according to Christian ideas, just as man was degraded by sin to become the slave of Satan,<sup>1</sup> so too the creatures of God, of which he had made use to sin, were, as it were, tainted by misuse and fallen into a kind of slavery.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, before the two columns were deemed worthy of bearing the blessed bronze statues of the princes of the Apostles, they were exorcised, that the evil spirit might be driven out. "I exorcise you," we read in the prayer of dedication, "O stone created by God, in the name of the Almighty Father, in the name of Jesus Christ, His Son Our Lord, and in the power of the Holy Ghost, that you may be cleansed to bear the image of the Prince of the Apostles, and may remain free from every taint of paganism, and from the enmity of evil spirits."<sup>3</sup>

How wide-spread the spirit of Catholic reform, which found expression in manifestations such as this, had become, is shown by the numerous declarations of contemporaries which speak with enthusiasm of the transformation of pagan monuments into Christian ones effected by Sixtus V.<sup>4</sup> Among the poets who spoke in this sense<sup>5</sup> was Torquato Tasso, who

<sup>1</sup> Hieron. In ep. ad Rom. 8, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Similar exorcisms were in use in the Church, on the authority of the Gospel (Mark, 16, 17) from the first days of Christianity. Cf. *Dict. de théol. cath.*, V., 1770.

<sup>4</sup> Besides the \*passage from Galesinus in App. No. 38, Vol. XXI. Cf. the passage from the "Relatione al Papa Sisto V." in RANKE, III., 77\* (without note of the source), the passage in TEMPESTI, I., 411, and MAFFEI, *Hist. ab excessu Gregorii XIII.*, ed. 1753, 3. C. Foglietta remarks in his \*letter cited *supra* (p. 192, n. 6): Et era dovere che Roma già ricettatrice di tutti gl' errori del mondo fatta poi maestra de la verità non ritenesse più memoria di quel male, anzi da quel male ne cavasse Sisto V. questo bene d' honorare Dio con quello che quelli lo dishonoravano. Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> In the work of Galesinus mentioned in preceding note there are some poems on the blessing of Trajan's column in honour of St. Peter, edited by Guil. Bianco (St<sup>a</sup> cubiculi intimus),



sang in burning words of the Cross at that time being set up on the obelisk at the Lateran, as the symbol that overcomes death.<sup>1</sup> Sentiments of this kind come everywhere into the mind of the Christian who visits the Eternal City; but perhaps most of all when from the Palace of the Caesars he contemplates the dome of St. Peter's and the countless other churches; here at his feet is death, there is life. No one who does not possess the Christian outlook can rightly appreciate the course taken by Sixtus V., though perhaps he may realize that it would have been difficult to have adopted any other. It is indeed a fact that for the most part monuments which recall some definite event or some particular person are irretrievably doomed if those for whom they were intended and who have an interest in their preservation have themselves disappeared. If, generally speaking, the monuments are the splendid expression of fixed ideas, with the disappearance of which they too must disappear, it is difficult to think of any way of preserving them except that of despoiling them of their original character, and of bringing them into harmony with prevailing ideas.<sup>2</sup> This Sixtus V. did on other occasions as well. In this connexion he was able to associate himself at the Capitol with his benefactor, Pius V., who in a very characteristic inscription had dedicated to the true God that spot which is perhaps the most important in the history of the world.<sup>3</sup> By no means in accordance with this was the conduct of the Senate, which,

by Silvio Antoniano, by Hier. Badesius (Romanus) and by P. Angelus Camers a Roccha. Cf. the poems of P. A. Bargæus in CIACONIUS, IV., 118. The collection of poems by G. F. Bordini (*supra*, p. 193, n. 1) are inspired by the same sentiment; cf. especially the poems on the Vatican obelisk (19), on that of St. Mary Major's (23), and on the statue of St. Peter on Trajan's column (25).

<sup>1</sup> TASSO, *Opere*, II., 466. G. F. BORDINI (*Carmina*, I., 23) expresses a similar idea in his poem on the obelisk near St. Mary Major's.

<sup>2</sup> See RIEGL, *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, Vienna, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 135.

in the time of Gregory XIII., had placed upon the tower of the Capitol<sup>1</sup> an antique statue of Jupiter, between Minerva and Apollo. When he was a Cardinal, Sixtus V. had been scandalized at this, and when he had become Pope he gave the municipal authorities of Rome to understand in forcible words that he was not prepared to tolerate the presence of these statues which so strongly recalled paganism and its idolatry. Jupiter and Apollo had to be removed, and Minerva alone was allowed to remain after her heavy lance had been changed for a great cross of bronze. By this action Sixtus V. wished to show that there was but one who was master in the Eternal City: the God-Man and Redeemer, Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup>

The scrupulous attention that was paid at that time to the Christian character of Rome was also shown by the consultations held concerning the removal of pagan names from the titles of some of the cardinalitial churches, as for example S. Maria sopra Minerva, but Sixtus V. did not approve of this.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, on the ground that it is not right to mingle the sacred with the profane, he wished to change the name of the street near Macello de' Corvi, which was known as *Spoglia Christi*. He also wished to rename

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 599.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.* in PLATNER, *Beschreibung, Roms*, I., 702; GALESINUS, *\*Annales Sixti V.*, Vat. 5438, p. 85, Vatican Library; GAULTERIUS, *\*Ephemerides*, Vittorio Emanuel Library, Rome; the *\*letter of C. Foglietta in Ottob.* 568, Vatican Library. Cf. *Riv. Europ.*, XXII. (1880), 385; ORBAAN, 283 *seq.* For the coins in question see MARTINORI, II *seq.* The Trofei di Mario were removed to the Capitol in 1590; see RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 83. Cf. *ibid.*, 92 *seq.* for the erection of the fountain at the Capitol, and p. 105 for the restoration of the prison there.

<sup>3</sup> In the *\*Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae* it is stated on March 18, 1587: "In audientia consistoriali: De tollendis nominibus gentilitatis in aliquibus titulis ut S. Maria supra Minervam et similibus: Quod videtur difficile propter designationem certam et substitit ac non visum est ei hoc probare." Papal Secret Archives, LII. 19.

the Piazza Sciarra, because it recalled Sciarra Colonna, the persecutor of Boniface VIII.<sup>1</sup> In keeping with the same idea was the removal ordered by Sixtus V. of an inscription on a statue in front of S. Clemente, which through a misunderstanding had led to the growth of the legend of Pope Joan.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*' S. S. aborrisce anco quel nome della contrada sopra Macello de' Corvi detta Spoglia Christi per non miscere sacra profanis et parimente il nome di piazza di Sciarra perche Sciarra Colonna fece prigione Papa . . . et pero si dice che S. S. imporrà a questi luoghi nuovi nomi." Avviso of January 27, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 36, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See DÖLLINGER, *Die papstfabeln des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1863, 27 *seq.*; TOMASSETTI in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, 1907; ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 247. Cf. also R. ENGELMANN, *Die Päpstin Johanna*, in *Sonntagsbeilage der Voss. Zeitung*, 1907, n. 607, and LANCIANI, *Wanderings through ancient Roman churches*, Boston, 1924, 189.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE OBELISKS.—THE LATERAN PALACE.—THE VATICAN LIBRARY.—THE QUIRINAL.—THE DOME OF ST. PETER'S.

IT is not right to condemn Sixtus V. as being the declared enemy of antiquity. When he was a simple Franciscan he had possessed the work of Marliani on the antiquities of Rome ; as Pope he was on intimate terms with the learned Fulvio Orsini, and accepted the dedication of a work on the ancient monuments.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the Pope was able to appreciate, even as such, the works of ancient art which did not specifically recall paganism. Thus he caused to be removed to his villa on the Esquiline, whence in the time of Pius VI. they passed to the Vatican Museum, the statues of Posidippus and Menander which had been discovered near S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.<sup>2</sup> Even more noteworthy was the care he devoted to the colossal marble statues of the horse tamers, which a late inscription attributed to Phidias and Praxiteles. This

<sup>1</sup> See ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 248 *seq.*, 250, where there are further particulars as to the work of Demontiosius (Louis de Montoise), *Gallus Romae hospes*, dedicated to the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> See MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 172 *seq.* In his otherwise so correct article, Michaelis writes concerning the Cortile of the Statues of the Belvedere (*Jahrb. des Deutschen Archäol. Instit.*, V., 48) ; " Sixtus V. planned nothing less than to remove to the Vatican the Laocoon and the Apollo together all their pagan company," and he relies for this upon RANKE, *Päpste*, I., 312, who for his part cites a passage in the *\*Vita Sixti V. ips. manu emend.*, which is printed in PLATNER, I., 702 *seq.* But this says nothing about the statues in the Belvedere. On the other hand an *Avviso* of February 10, 1588 (in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 303) says : " Si dice che si tramuteranno in luogo di miglior vista quelle belle statue che sono in cima alli corritori di Belvedere di marmo."

work of art, which fully expresses the nobility of antiquity, had given to the Quirinal its name of Monte Cavallo ; it stood there on an awkward and low base of a later date. Sixtus V. ordered that the magnificent horses should be restored by the sculptors Flamini, Vacca, Leonardo Sormani, and Pier Paolo Olivieri, and that the group should be removed to the piazza he had made on the Quirinal, where, set upon a lofty pedestal corresponding with the Porta Pia, it found a worthy setting.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of the triumph of Christianity over paganism which was responsible for the crowning of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius with statues of the Princes of the Apostles, as well as aesthetic considerations, led to the erection of the four obelisks surmounted by the victorious symbol of Calvary, whereby Sixtus gave Rome an adornment which no other city in the world could boast.<sup>2</sup>

Of the many tall, rectangular, pointed columns, ending in a small pyramid, which had been brought to Rome in the time of the Emperors, and which the Romans called "obelisks"<sup>3</sup> and the Middle Ages "guglie"<sup>4</sup> the only one that had remained

<sup>1</sup> See *Arch. Rom.*, II., 232 ; BERTOLOTTI, Art. Svizzera, Bellinzona, 1886, 19, and Art. Lomb., I., 77 ; *Bullett. d'Istit. Germ.*, XIII., 260 seq., XXVI., 318 seq. ; *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXIV. (186) ; BONANNI, I., 421 ; LANCIANI, IV., 155 seq. The inscriptions in FONTANA, I., 87 seq. ; cf. the fresco in the Lateran Palace in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See in App. No. 38, Vol. XXI., the passage from the \*Annales of Galesinus, Vatican Library. That the placing of the cross was Sixtus V.'s own idea is expressly stated in FULVIO-FERRUCCI (172). The credit due to Sixtus V. for having realized the value of the obelisk as an ornament to the city, was first brought out by C. Foglietta in his \*letter, Ottob. 568, Vatican Library, cited *supra*, p. 192, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> MERCATI, Degli obelischii di Roma, Roma, 1589 ; GORRINGE, Egyptian Obelisks, London, 1885 ; O. MARUCCHI, Obelischii egiziani di Roma, Roma, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> The name of *Aguglia* or *Guglia* which the Romans still use for the Vatican obelisk is probably derived from the French *aiguille* (needle).

in its original position was the graceful and red granite monolith, twenty-five and a half metres in height, which Caligula had brought to Rome from Heliopolis and set up in the centre of the *spina* of the Circus which he had commenced and which Nero completed. A stone in the pavement of the first street connecting the church and the sacristy of St. Peter's marks the spot, more or less hidden, and partly concealed by ruins, where this remarkable monument, rich with legend and round which the horses and chariots once had raced, watched over the little houses in the shadow of St. Peter's, which had fastened themselves on to the great basilica like swallows' nests.<sup>1</sup>

The first Renaissance Pope, Nicholas V., had already intended to place the Vatican obelisk in the middle of the Piazza of St. Peter's, in front of the church of the Prince of the Apostles, resting upon colossal bronze standing figures of the Evangelists, and surmounted by a statue of the Saviour with a cross of gold in His right hand,<sup>2</sup> but neither he nor his successors Paul II., Paul III., and lastly Gregory XIII., who had in view the translation of the obelisk,<sup>3</sup> had the courage to attempt this difficult undertaking. It needed a man like Sixtus V. to take up the project once more and carry it out.

What a difficult thing it was to lift from its position so great a mass of stone, more than twenty-five metres in height, to lower it gently to the ground, to transport it to another place, and there re-erect it, was realized from the account given by Pliny of the removal of the Vatican obelisk, and the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus of the erection of the obelisk of Constantius in the Circus Maximus. For more than a thousand years no such problem had been set to any architect, nor could there be found anywhere models of the mechanism

<sup>1</sup> The inscription states : Sito dell'obelisco sino all'anno 1586. How deeply the obelisk was planted in the ground is shown by the illustration of Dosio-Cavaliere of 1569, reproduced by ERSILIA CAETANI-LOVAIELLI in *Roma, Rassegna illustr. dell'Esposizione del 1911*, n. 5, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. II. of this work, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. IV. of this work, p. 75, and Vol. XX., p. 598.

to be employed for the purpose. Consequently the most famous architects of the Renaissance, Michelangelo and Sangallo, had declared the plan to be impracticable. But nothing was impossible in the eyes of Sixtus V. He remained firm in his intention of carrying it out, all the more so, because, as is stated in his life, which he himself revised, he wished to see the monuments of paganism subjected to the Cross in the very places where once the Christians had been fastened to the cross.<sup>1</sup> Only four months had elapsed since he had assumed the supreme dignity, when the Romans saw in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter's a wooden model of the obelisk.<sup>2</sup> It was said at the same time that the Pope had set up a special commission for the undertaking, consisting of Cardinals Cesi, Guastavillani, Medici and Sforza, of four important prelates, among them the grand treasurer, Benedetto Giustiniani, some of the Conservatori, and six experts.<sup>3</sup> The commission called to its assistance architects, engineers and mathematicians, and did not conceal from the Pope the enormous difficulties of the task, especially insisting on the weight and size of the obelisk, and the unexampled nature of the undertaking. As the Pope persevered in his intention, a concursus was announced, which produced the

<sup>1</sup> See the \*passage in App. No. 40, Vol. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> "Hanno eretto una piramide di legno nell'istesso luogo su la piazza di S. Pietro, ove ha da esser condotta e posta quella di marmo [sic], che è dietro la sacrestia dell'istessa chiesa, nella quale dentro un pallone di metallo stanno rinchiusi le ceneri di Cesare primo imperatore." \*Avviso of August 24, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 380, Vatican Library. Cf. also the \*report of Capilupi of August 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, *Trasportazione*, I., 5. This great work is the principal authority for what we are about to say. Cf. also FULVIO-FERRUCCI, *Antichità*, 216 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *De secret.*, II., 925; III., 1101, 1115 and tav. 3-5, which further names other contemporary writers; HÜBNER, II., 127 *seq.*; BRUNNER, *Italien*, II., 10 *seq.*; LANCIANI, IV., 144 *seq.*; ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 144 *seq.* Nothing new is given in the works of A. MAZZONI (*Sisto V. e l'innalzamento dell'obelisco Vatic.*, Roma, 1886) and A. BUSIRI (*L'obelisco Vatic.*, Roma, 1886).

most various suggestions, which their authors defended, partly in writing and partly in person, with the help of plans and models.<sup>1</sup> The ideas were of many different kinds, but may be divided into three principal groups according to their fundamental principle. Some, and they were the majority, thought that the removal of the obelisk should be effected without taking it out of the perpendicular; others thought that it should first be lowered and then re-erected; others again put forward the suggestion that the best course would be to incline it at an angle of forty-five degrees, move it in that position, and then bring it upright again. Fontana maintained that it should be lowered, moved and then re-erected, explaining his plan by means of an artistic model, in which the obelisk was of lead, the mechanism of wood, and the cords of thread. Although Cardinal Medici declared himself in favour of another method, also explained by a model by the architect Francesco Tribaldesi,<sup>2</sup> the Pope decided in favour of that of Fontana. The commission bowed to the commands of Sixtus V., but gave way to the many enemies of Fontana to the extent of entrusting the execution of the plan to the aged master Bartolomeo Ammanati, as being the most experienced.<sup>3</sup> Eight days later Sixtus discussed the matter with Fontana, who pointed out that no one was better fitted to carry out a plan than the man in whose brain it had been conceived. The Pope realized the justice of this, and placed the difficult task exclusively in the hands of

<sup>1</sup> The statement of FONTANA (I., 6), that the plans of 500 architects were submitted, is as much an exaggeration as the other, that architects, not only of Italy, but of Rhodes and Greece, took part. The difficulty of the task, even with our technical knowledge, and the help of steam and electricity, is brought out by DURM, *Baukunst der Renaissance*, Stuttgart, 1903, 46.

<sup>2</sup> I found this hitherto unknown information in the \*letter of Capilupi of September 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and printed in App. No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See BERTOLOTTI in *Arch. stor. Sicil.*, N.S. IV. (1979), 145 *seq.* Cf. the same in Art. in *relaz. coi Gonzaga*, Modena, 1885, 22.



Fontana. This decision was arrived at on Wednesday, September 25th, 1585. It was then remembered that Sixtus V. had become a bishop, and later on Pope, on a Wednesday.

Fontana, who was given as his assistant his elder brother Giovanni,<sup>1</sup> at once set to work to excavate the foundations in the centre of the Piazza of St. Peter's, but met with an unexpected difficulty, which made it impossible to hope, as the impatient Pope desired,<sup>2</sup> that it would be possible to erect the obelisk in its new position by Christmas; the soil was found to be marshy as the water penetrated there. Accordingly a wooden fence of oak and chestnut was constructed, held together by boards. A carefully prepared cement was used instead of loose stones. In these foundations two caskets containing medals of Sixtus V. were deposited.

The task to which Fontana next set himself was a careful examination of the obelisk and the erection of a wooden scaffolding to take the weight of the heavy stone until it could be lowered on to the wooden platform. It was discovered that the necessary materials for this purpose were not to be obtained in Rome. Once again Sixtus V. intervened by giving his architect full powers on October 5th, so that he might quickly obtain in the Papal States, by favour or payment, all the wood and iron he required. Fontana at once sent his agents everywhere. He obtained from Foligno the hemp for the 44 ropes, each 100 ells in length, which were made in Rome. From the forests of Campo Morto in the Roman Campagna he obtained beams of oak so enormous that it required a team of 14 oxen to draw each of them. Terracina supplied the boards, and other wood came from Santa Severa. All the smithies in Rome were not enough to prepare the ironwork, and Ronciglione and Subiaco had to be called upon for help. At the approach of spring the buildings that stood near the obelisk were demolished in order to make

<sup>1</sup> See BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Svizzera*, 12, Bellinzona, 1886; HÜBNER, II., 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. \*Avviso of September 25, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.*

room for the scaffolding, which looked like a veritable castle, as Fontana says in his description. The obelisk was first enclosed in matting and boards, and bound with strong bands of iron, to which were attached a number of iron pulleys. This covering and the whole of the other mechanism was carefully weighed, as the strength of the ropes, which were as thick as a man's arm, and of the scaffolding had to be equal to the weight of the obelisk. Fontana had calculated this carefully and found that it was about a million Roman pounds. In his description he explains the procedure he adopted in several folio pages. There, in a number of engravings, one may see the "Castello" for dragging the obelisk, the wooden platform on which the obelisk, once it had been taken down, was to be carried, and the forty windlasses for the ropes for lifting and lowering the great mass.<sup>1</sup>

At length, after six months' work, everything was so far advanced that it was possible to fix April 30th, 1586, for the raising of the obelisk. In order to keep the expected great crowd of sight-seers in check, it was forbidden under pain of death to set foot on the site of the works, and the police were at hand to carry this threat into effect.<sup>2</sup>

Fontana had done everything that human foresight could suggest to ensure the success of the work, but now, with the true Christian spirit, as the fateful day drew near, he recommended the matter to the powerful protection of God. On the day before, Fontana and all those who were taking part in the undertaking received Holy Communion; on the morning of April 30th he caused three Masses of the Holy Ghost to be celebrated.

The undertaking was blessed with splendid weather, and a magnificent spring day displayed the Roman sky in all its azure beauty. A great part of the population of Rome as well as many strangers from all parts of Italy had flocked into the Piazza of St. Peter's: all the windows and roofs were

<sup>1</sup> FONTANA, I., 18-20. Two of the windlasses used on this occasion are preserved in the Museo di S. Pietro.

<sup>2</sup> This explains the origin of the later legend that a gallows was erected near the scaffolding.

packed with spectators. In the neighbouring streets the mass of human beings was so dense that the Swiss Guard and the cavalry had hard work to keep order. Special tribunes had been set up for Cardinal Medici and the other members of the Sacred College, for the Governor of the Borgo, Michele Peretti, for the Pope's sister, Camilla Peretti, for the Roman nobles and for the ambassadors.

In the midst of the works, separated by a palisade, a lofty place had been prepared for Fontana, from which he could survey the whole scene. He and his fellow craftsmen recited a short prayer, and then a blast from a trumpet gave the signal for the forty windlasses to be set in motion. A deathly silence prevailed, broken only by the commands of Fontana and the creaking and shrieking of the windlasses. All followed the new and extraordinary spectacle with anxious tension, as to the joyful wonder of everyone the enormous mass was raised from the base on which it had rested for a millenium and a half. At the twelfth pull it had been raised two and three quarter palms, that is to say enough to enable it to be gently placed upon the wooden platform on which it was to be conveyed to the Piazza of St. Peter's.

At five in the afternoon this work was finished, and immediately the Castle of St. Angelo announced the news to the whole city. Fontana at once proceeded to remove the metal blocks by which the obelisk rested on its pedestal. Two of them were not very firmly fixed, and Fontana had one of them taken, as the first fruits of the undertaking, to the Pope,<sup>1</sup> who was in a state of joyful emotion. The other two were so firmly embedded in the stone with rivetted clamps, swallow-tailed in shape, that it took four days and nights to remove them.

The hollow bronze ball on the top had already been removed by Fontana on the previous day. An examination of it proved the falsity of the view that had been held from the Middle Ages onwards, that it contained the ashes of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*report of Gritti in MUTINELLI, I., 176.

Caesar,<sup>1</sup> for it was found that there was no aperture and that it was quite empty. In the small holes in it Fontana thought he saw the traces of the bullets of the Imperial soldiers who, on the occasion of the Sack of Rome in 1527, had entered the city near the obelisk.<sup>2</sup>

The still more hazardous task of lowering the giant was completed on May 7th, this time too with complete success, and amid the jubilation of the Romans. Fontana was conducted in triumph to his lodging with drums and trumpets. The Pope was highly delighted.

As the site of the obelisk was higher than the Piazza of St. Peter's, a causeway had to be constructed,<sup>3</sup> along which on June 13th the colossus began to move on rollers to the spot where it was to be re-erected. By reason of the heat of the summer this part of the work, the greatest and most serious, was postponed to the autumn. When the foundations were completed with blocks of travertino, in addition to the first stone bearing the name of Sixtus V., there were included medals of his as well as of Pius V. It was seen from this how faithfully the Pope cherished the memory of his benefactor whom he had taken as his august model.

The success which had so far crowned the undertaking had silenced all doubts and fears.<sup>4</sup> Sixtus V. had paid as little attention to these as to the witticisms of Pasquino,<sup>5</sup> being fully persuaded that God would bless the work undertaken in His honour.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this and other fables connected with the obelisk see, besides PLATNER, II., I, 39 *seq.*, 157, the detailed information of ERSILIA CAETANI-LOVATELLI in *Roma, Rassegna illustr. dell'Esposizione del 1911*, n. 5, p. 17 *seq.* See also DE WAAL, *Der Campo Santo der Deutschen*, 93 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The sphere is now to be seen in the Sala dei Bronzi, in the Capitoline Museum, where C. Maes was the first to identify it; see *Romana Tellus*, I. (1912), 158.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduction in FONTANA, I., 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BREMOND, *Jean de Vivonne*, 201; MUTINELLI, I., 176.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. as to this the \*Avviso of November 16, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 491, Vatican Library.

In order to set up the obelisk another great scaffolding of wood had to be constructed.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the heat of the summer the Pope insisted that the work should be pushed forward in all haste.<sup>2</sup> September 10th was fixed for the erection. Here too we can see the essentially religious ideas which guided Sixtus V. in the whole undertaking. September 14th was the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, on which the obelisk was to be dedicated. Yet another circumstance contributed to the choice of that date; Jean de Vivonne was to resume his interrupted embassy, while at the same time news was received of the coming of the Duke of Luxemburg as the envoy for the *obedientia* on the part of Henry III. When the Pope saw Vivonne, who first made his appearance incognito at a function at S. Maria del Popolo, he formed the idea of letting the two representatives of France be the witnesses of his triumph, the triumph of his own strength of will and of the courage and skill of his chosen architect. Therefore the master of ceremonies was given orders that, contrary to the usual custom, the envoys should make their entry, not by the Porta del Popolo, but by the Porta Angelica, which led direct to the Piazza of St. Peter's.<sup>3</sup>

Fontana and his fellow-labourers received Holy Communion on the previous day, and had two Masses celebrated on the morning of September 10th. Before they took up their positions they said a special prayer that God would bless the work. All eyes were turned towards the wooden castle. At last Fontana gave the signal for the work to commence, and at once the forty windlasses were set in motion by 800 men and 140 horses. Slowly the stone colossus moved, and rose up majestically. Towards noon the great task was half accomplished, and the workmen calmly took a meal before

<sup>1</sup> Reproduction in FONTANA, I., 24.

<sup>2</sup> " \*Dicesi hora che'l Papa non partirà da Palazzo fin' a tanto che l'obelisco di Cesare non sia eretto sopra la sua base già loro luogo collocata che sarà per tutto Agosto lavorandosi a furia intorno a questa impresa." Avviso of July 5, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See HÜBNER, II., 131 *seq.*, and BREMOND, *loc. cit.*, 202.

continuing their labours. In the meantime the French ambassadors appeared in the Piazza of St. Peter's, where for a time they joined the great crowd of spectators, many of whom had given up all thought of eating or drinking, and remained at their posts all day long.

It was necessary to pull the cables fifty-two times before the obelisk, with its mystic inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> and gilded by the rays of the setting sun, happily stood upon its pedestal.<sup>2</sup> At that moment there rose from the multitudes gathered there a mighty shout of applause, with which there soon mingled the salvos of the Castle of St. Angelo. Fontana became the most popular figure in Rome, and in the evening all the trumpeters of Rome serenaded the director of the works, thus crowned with glory.

The salvos of the Castle of St. Angelo informed the Pope, who had at his own expense borne the cost, which amounted to 37,975 scudi,<sup>3</sup> as he was going from the Quirinal by the Banchi to the Vatican, where the reception of the French envoys was to take place. The satisfaction of the Pope was as great as it was justifiable, and he expressed it openly. Fontana was loaded with favours. The Pope appointed him

<sup>1</sup> M. MERCATI in his work *Degli obelischi di Roma* (Roma, 1859) has vainly attempted to decipher the hieroglyphics; cf. VOLK-MANN, *Die Bilderschrift der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1923, 11.

<sup>2</sup> In the description given by Fontana there is no mention of the anecdote, once more repeated by HÜBNER (II., 130) as "historical," that the machine employed to raise the obelisk suddenly stopped, and the obelisk threatened to fall, and that this was averted by the sailor, Bresca of San Remo, who cried out: "Acqua alle funi," and that Sixtus V. in consequence granted to Bresca the privilege of supplying the Pope with the artistically woven palms at Eastertide. This alone would not bring suspicion upon the story but more serious is the fact that neither the \*Avvisi, nor any of the contemporary accounts say anything about it. Cf. ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 165 and HÜLSEN in the periodical *Roma*, I. (1923), 412 seq.

<sup>3</sup> The cost of the cross at the top, which was undertaken by the Apostolic Camera, was not included; see FONTANA, I., 31. Cf. BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 75.

a Knight of the Golden Spur and a citizen of Rome, gave him a chain of gold and ten prebends at Loreto, which brought him in several thousand scudi, as well as a pension of 2000 scudi from ecclesiastical goods, which, although he was married, he was able to enjoy in virtue of the privileges of the Knights of Loreto. Sixtus V. also gave orders that he should receive another valuable gift, by handing over to Fontana the materials used in the work.<sup>1</sup> Of greater importance still was the influence which Fontana acquired in Rome and with the Pope: "the knight of the obelisk" became the man of the hour, and Sixtus placed all his building undertakings in his hands,<sup>2</sup> with the exception of St. Peter's. In view of the variety of these works it is impossible to suppose that Fontana was in all cases the architect who actually carried them out. It was already an almost superhuman work that he should have made the plans and superintended and inspected the works in general. In this he was loyally assisted by his brother Giovanni.<sup>3</sup> In Fontana technical skill exceeded his artistic powers, but even the most critical judges have bestowed unqualified praise on his talents as an organizer.<sup>4</sup>

Just as, according to the account of Pliny, in ancient times the removal of the Vatican obelisk caused the greatest excite-

<sup>1</sup> See the report of Gritti of October 4, 1586, in MUTINELLI, I., 177, and the *Avviso* in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 289 *seq.* A special distinction was the fact that Sixtus V. placed upon the lowest base of the obelisk the inscription: "Domenicus Fontana ex pago Milis Novocomensis transtulit et erexit." The work was not completely finished until the end of October: \*"La guglia è finitfi e netta che fa una bella vista" reports A. Malegnani on November 1, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The obelisk was surrounded by a balustrade, as may be seen from the fresco in the Palazzo Massimo (see the reproduction in *L'Istituto Massimo*, Roma, 1904, 11), and in that in the Vatican Library (see PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BAGLIONI, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 123, and THIEME, XII., 175, 179.

<sup>4</sup> See KALLAB in *Jahrb. der kunsthist. Samml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 276. Cf. the opinion of REUMONT, III., 2, 735.

ment in the civilized world,<sup>1</sup> so was it now with its erection in the Piazza of St. Peter's. Proofs of this are the contemporary reports of this great engineering triumph of that time,<sup>2</sup> and the letters of the diplomatists, most of whom sent home reproductions of the mechanism employed by Fontana.<sup>3</sup> The number of poems written on the occasion was extraordinarily large; one of these is printed in the form of an obelisk. Tasso as well dedicated verses to the "guglia." In the pictures and plans of the city published for the use of foreigners, as well as in guides to Rome, and books of travel, the obelisk, the proportions of which were often exaggerated, played a great part.<sup>4</sup> The re-erection of this colossus of stone,

<sup>1</sup> See PLINIUS, *Hist. nat.*, 16, 201.

<sup>2</sup> See *Familiaris quaedam epistola G. P. Petro Vallejo e Roma in Hispaniam missa, in qua quid actum sit in translatione obelisci explicatur. Brevis item rerum in hoc primo anno a S.D.N. gestarum enumeratio. Romae, 1586* (copy in State Library, Munich). Other works in CANCELLIERI, *Il Mercato*, Roma, 1811, 175.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*report of Sporeno, July 19, 1586, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. Sporeno probably sent the large wood engraving by Bonifacio de Sebenico.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LANCIANI, IV., 147 and ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 166 seq. See also HÜLSEN in *Collect. L. Olschi oblata* (1921), 137. P. GALESINUS published many poems under the title *Obeliscus Vaticanus Sixti V.*, Romae, 1586-87. See also J. B. AGUILAR, *Epigrammata in dedicat. Obelisci Vatic.*, Romae, 1586; *Epigrammata GUGL. BLANCI in obeliscum*, Romae, 1586; *Poemata ad Sixtum V.*, Paris 1588. For the world-wide fame of the obelisk see especially the *Deliciae urbis Romae*, Aug. Vindel., 1600. For the plans of the city cf. HÜLSEN, *Saggio di bibliografia d. piante di Roma*, Roma, 1915, 18 seq. Of the guides to Rome the most wide-spread was that of FRA SANTI DI SANTO AGOSTINO: *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma col movimento delle Guglie e gli Acquedotti, le strade fatte da Sisto V e le chiese rappresentate in disegno da Girolamo Francino*, Venezia, 1588, and Roma, 1595, which was also translated into Spanish: *Las cosas maravillosas de la S. Ciudad de Roma*, etc., Roma, 1589. Cf. Also *Reisen des S. Kiechel*, published by HASSLER, Stuttgart, 1866, 167 seq.



accompanied as it was by such great difficulties, was looked upon as so important that it was perpetuated not only by models, but also by a fresco in the Vatican Library.<sup>1</sup> Together with the poem by Pomponio Ugonio,<sup>2</sup> special mention may be made of a work by Petrus Angelus Bargaesus,<sup>3</sup> in which he extols in burning words the energy and sagacity of the head of the Church in removing everything that recalled the pagan era. Bargaesus sets forth as a noble example and worthy of imitation the attitude of the Pope in contrast to the professed cultus of the Renaissance with its setting up of antique statues. This eulogy has special reference to the festival celebrated on September 26th, which opened with a Mass in honour of the Holy Cross said in St. Peter's by Bishop Ferratini. After the mass, the Pope, accompanied by all the clergy of the basilica, went in procession to an altar erected in front of the obelisk, where Ferratini blessed the great gilt bronze cross, which by the orders of Sixtus V. was to crown the summit of the obelisk. There then followed a ceremony which appeared to be necessary because the obelisk had served for the pagan worship of the Emperors. In order to free it from all demoniacal influence, it was purified and exorcised, and then, so as to show Whom the obelisk was to serve for the future, during the singing of the *O Crux, ave spes unica* and the *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, the Cross which was to crown the summit in the place of the ball was set up. The granting of an indulgence and the *Te Deum* concluded the ceremony, after which the Swiss fired their muskets and the cannon of St. Angelo fired salvos. A decree of Sixtus V. granted a special indulgence to all who

<sup>1</sup> The medals in BONANNI, I., 412 seq. Cf. FREY, Michelangelo-Studien, 118. Reproduction of the fresco in the article, p. 18 of ERSILIA CAETANI-LOVATELLI, cited *supra*, p. 254, n. 1, and in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 12.

<sup>2</sup> De cruce obelisci Vaticani, Romae, 1587.

<sup>3</sup> Commentarius de obelisco, Romae, 1586. Cf. *Neues Jahrbuch f. das klass. Altertum*, II., 50 seq.

should venerate that Cross, and pray for the Church and the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

Even more clearly than by these ceremonies, which were prescribed in detail by Sixtus V. himself,<sup>2</sup> his intention in setting up the Vatican obelisk was made known by the masterly inscriptions of sublime import which he had placed on the granite pedestal. These, which are among the most beautiful in Christian Rome, all have reference to the sign of our Redemption which, above the arms of Sixtus V., the three mountains and the star, crowns the summit.<sup>3</sup>

On the base of the obelisk,<sup>4</sup> the Pope left the ancient inscription by which Caligula had dedicated the monument to his Imperial predecessors, the "divine Augustus" and the "divine Tiberius."<sup>5</sup> But above this, on the side facing St. Peter's, he engraved in large and easily visible gold letters the declaration that he had taken away the obelisk from those Emperors and dedicated it to the Most Holy Cross.<sup>6</sup> The same idea of the victory of Christianity over paganism is again

<sup>1</sup> Besides FONTANA, I., 28b *seq.* see P. GALESINUS, *Ordo dedicationis obelisci, etc.*, Romae, 1586, the report of the Rector of the German College, M. Loredano, in the *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1897, 461 *seq.*, the \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Vatican Library, and the \*Diary of a gentleman of Cardinal Aldobrandini, in Borghese IV. 145, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> In the \*Diarium P. Alaleonis (*loc. cit.*), it is stated: "Ordo dedicationis a Pontifice visus, correctus et approbatus."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the collection of poems of G. F. BORDINI, p. 19, dedicated to Sixtus V.

<sup>4</sup> The shaft rose upon four supports concealed by as many bronze lions. The models for these lions, which referred to the armorial bearings of Sixtus V., were, according to BAGLIONE (140) designed by Prospero Bresciano. Cf. ORBAAN, *Conti di Fontana*, VIII., 65 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See *Corpus inscript. lat.*, n. 882.

<sup>6</sup> This and the following inscriptions, already in FONTANA, I., 31, and later in almost all the guides to Rome, in FORCELLA, XIII., 123 *seqq.* That they were *lettere d'oro* is stated by Lanciani in his description of Rome published in the *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 495.

expressed in the inscriptions on the lower part of the base. Those on the north and south sides announce in concise words the translation carried out by Sixtus V., and the happier and more righteous destiny of the monument, once dedicated to pagan worship, but now cleansed from all impure superstitions, in the second year of his pontificate. On the side may be read the following beautiful words :

ECCE CRUX DOMINI  
 FVGITE  
 PARTES ADVERSAE  
 VINCIT LEO  
 DE TRIBU IVDA

The inscription on the west side, which has become famous, expresses the triumph of Christianity over paganism in even more effective words. They are as follows :

CHRISTVS VINCIT  
 CHRISTVS REGNAT  
 CHRISTVS IMPERAT  
 CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO  
 PLEBEM SVAM  
 DEFENDAT<sup>1</sup>

There are few spots in the Eternal City where the historian must feel such deep impressions as in front of the obelisk in

<sup>1</sup> The inscription "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat," is taken, as WYMAN, *Hist Jahrb.*, XXVII., 79, points out, from the *laudes*, in litany form, used in Rome at Imperial coronations. In this imposing and majestic triple asyndeton, rendered yet more solemn by the anaphora of the subject, Wymann sees an indication that this text was based upon a yet older model. He claims to have found it in a passage in Quintilian. Wymann further rejects the strange opinion of HAUCK (*Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, II. <sup>3-4</sup>, 798) that the specifically German conception of Jesus is to be seen in the formula. Cf. also HÖFLER, *Deutsche Päpste*, I., 285.

the Piazza of St. Peter's. If ever stones speak, it is surely there. Transported by Caligula to Rome, the capital of the world, from the mysterious land of Egypt, as a sign of the triumph of victorious earthly power, the obelisk had witnessed from its height the first Roman martyrs when Nero drove his chariot between the files of living torches, all fire and smoke. Not far from it the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, had suffered martyrdom. Untouched by time or by the struggles of men, this colossus of stone had been a silent witness of the most important events in the history of the world. It had seen the decline of Imperial Rome with her magnificent palaces and temples of idolatry all glittering with gold, it had seen the slow transformation of Rome into a Christian city, the dedication of the burial place of the Prince of the Apostles as a church by Constantine, the rise of the Cross to dominion over the Roman Empire destroyed by the barbarians, the growth of the Roman Primacy, the beginnings of the Papal States, the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor, the anarchy of the nobles in the XVth century, the degradation of the Papacy and its restoration by Gregory VII., the struggle, so fraught with vicissitudes, between the Church and the Empire, the zenith of the medieval Papacy under Innocent III., the celebration of the first Jubilee under Boniface VIII., the great Schism, the last Imperial coronation by Nicholas V., and the laying of the first stone of the new St. Peter's by Julius II. The obelisk had further witnessed the destruction of religious unity in the West, the foul savagery of the Sack of Rome, and lastly the Saints of the reform and Catholic restoration. That great period of renewed and reinvigorated Catholic consciousness, of the power and rejuvenation of the ancient Church, had now set its seal upon the obelisk itself, subjecting to the Cross of the Galilean that in which the ancient Imperial worship had been perpetuated, and had made it into a symbol of the Church which outlives all the changes of time. As Christ is for all time Conqueror, King and Master, so His Church can never perish.

How deeply penetrated he was by this truth was repeatedly shown by Sixtus V. in his allocutions to the consistory. On

January 23rd, 1587, for example, at the canonization of the Spaniard, Diego, he spoke in enthusiastic terms of the divine grace and mercy which gave saints to that Church which was so harassed by the heretics and infidels, and seemed in the eyes of man to be abandoned.<sup>1</sup> In another consistorial allocution he spoke emphatically of Divine Providence, which directs all things, and grants protection to the Church at all times.<sup>2</sup>

Merely by reading these discourses one can well understand the inscriptions on the obelisk on the everlasting and triumphant reign of Christ, whose Cross stands out in the limpid air on the summit of the monument in token of triumph over all hostile powers. This should be seen even from afar by all the pilgrims to the tomb of the first Pope, and therefore, Sixtus V. conceived the vast plan of extending the Piazza of St. Peter's as far as the Tiber.<sup>3</sup>

Just as the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles now had its obelisk, so Sixtus V. now intended to give similar adornment to the other six principal basilicas of Rome.<sup>4</sup> As symbols of the victory of the Crucified, the obelisks were to excite the hearts of the pilgrims going to those sanctuaries to prayer and devotion. The sign of the Redemption, to which the Eternal City owed its new position in the world, was to be set up in the more important piazzas of Rome.<sup>5</sup>

Immediately after the erection of the Vatican obelisk Sixtus V. gave orders for the excavation of the obelisk which

<sup>1</sup> See \*Acta consist. in Barb. XXXVI., 5, 11, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, October 25, 1589.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in App. No. 6, the \*Avviso of June 4, 1586, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*report of A. Malegnani, July 22, 1587 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 18.

<sup>5</sup> " \*Consentaneum enim arbitratus est, ut cuius virtute Roma caput est universae rei christianae publicae et arx divinae religionis et lux totius christiani orbis terrarum et domus christianarum virtutum, illius signum fere ubique in ipsa urbe praesertim in locis celebrioribus excitaretur." Galesinus, Annales Sixti V., Vat. 5438 p. 83, Vatican Library.

the Emperor Constantius had once set up on the *spina* of the Circus Maximus.<sup>1</sup> In the February of the following year the monument was completely cleared. In April they excavated in the Circus Maximus, at that time a kitchen-garden, the obelisk set up there by Augustus, the base of which had come to light in the time of Gregory XIII. This it was intended to place in front of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, while the larger one was to decorate the piazza in front of the Lateran.<sup>2</sup> For the piazza at St. Mary Major's, which had been cleared at great expense, the Pope destined the obelisk from the Mausoleum of Augustus, which, broken in two pieces, was lying near the Porto di Ripetta, where the timber was unloaded.<sup>3</sup> In March 1587 the foundations for this were dug,<sup>4</sup> and Sixtus V. insisted that the monument must be quickly repaired and set up for the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. In spite of the great heat of summer, the work, again under the direction of Fontana, was pushed forward; during August they were at work day and night,<sup>5</sup> so that on the 11th of that month it was possible to set upon the obelisk the victorious Cross.<sup>6</sup> The dedication took place on the feast of the Madonna.<sup>7</sup> The inscriptions on the pedestal here too record the Divine power, which had brought about the victory

<sup>1</sup> See Avviso of September 17, 1586, in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 289.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, 292. Cf. FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 140; LANCIANI, IV., 148. In the collection of poems of G. F. Bordini reproduced the obelisk near S. Croce, with the remark: "ante aedem S. Crucis in Hierusalem propediem erigendum" (p. 63).

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, I., 67.

<sup>4</sup> See ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 293. Cf. MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 86 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See the \*reports of Malegnani of August 1, 5 and 13, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. App. No. 17 in Vol. XXI.

<sup>6</sup> \*Report of Malegnani, August 12, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also BERTELOTTI, *Art. Lonib.*, I., 92; *Art. Bologn.*, 30, and the anecdotes in MASSIMO, *Notizie*, 242 *seq.* The fresco in the Villa Montalto in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 14, shows the then state of the piazza.

<sup>7</sup> \*Report of Malegnani, August 15, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of Christianity over paganism. Mention is cleverly made of the Crib, preserved in St. Mary Major's, in which at the time of the general peace under Augustus, the Saviour had been born. There is also mention of the legend connected with the interpretation of the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, that Augustus had adored the infant Jesus, who had appeared to him in a vision, and that henceforth the Emperor would no longer suffer himself to be called Master.<sup>1</sup>

Fontana had placed the obelisk in front of the apse of St. Mary Major's in such a way that it formed the beginning of a very effective vista for the great and straight road leading to the Trinità de' Monti.<sup>2</sup> In the same way the obelisk destined for the north side of the Lateran basilica was to form the end of the long road leading thither from St. Mary Major's. This obelisk seemed to be specially suited to adorn the temple which bore the title of Mother of all Churches, not only because it was the largest of the Roman obelisks, but was also the most ancient, and was richly adorned with hieroglyphics. The Pharaohs Thutmosis III. and IV. had set up this monument, thirty-two metres in height, in the fifteenth century B.C., in the temple of Ammon at Thebes. The Emperor Augustus had wished to transport this obelisk to Rome, but had been deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking. The Emperor Constantine took up the project, which was actually carried out by Constantius. A special ship had to be built for the purpose manned by 300 rowers. Ammianus Marcellinus has described in his history of the Emperors<sup>3</sup> the transport and erection; it is not known when the obelisk fell. It was very difficult to excavate it because it lay in three pieces twenty-six feet below the surface of the arena of the Circus, and in marshy ground.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the autumn of 1587 Fontana had successfully removed it to the

<sup>1</sup> See FONTANA, I., 67b-68.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in App. No. 20 the \*Avviso of September 19, 1587, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> 17, 4, 12. G. Farina has recently treated of the hieroglyphics of the Lateran obelisk in the periodical *Bessarione*, 1906.

<sup>4</sup> See FONTANA, I., 60b; FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 139b seq.

piazza of the Lateran.<sup>1</sup> He had also succeeded in joining the pieces together. For erecting it on the spot where hitherto had stood the so-called Torre degli Annibaldi,<sup>2</sup> on a new base in the place of the old one which was damaged, and which because of its inscription was removed by the Pope's orders to the collection of the Belvedere,<sup>3</sup> Fontana employed the same means as in the case of the Vatican obelisk, and in exactly the same way the dedication took place on the feast of St. Lawrence, August 10th, 1588.<sup>4</sup> This monument, too, was naturally adorned with the diadem of the Cross, as the symbol of the Church of Christ triumphant.<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions on the pedestal referred to the same thing. In that at the side we may read: *Constantinus, per Crucem victor, a S. Silvestro hic baptizatus, Crucis gloriam propagavit.*<sup>6</sup>

Sixtus V. destined for the Piazza del Popolo the other obelisk excavated in the Circus Maximus, which bears hieroglyphics of the time of Seti I. and Rameses II., the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews, and which Augustus had brought to Rome from Heliopolis. It was set up in the spring of 1589, and crowned with the Cross; on the vigil of the Annunciation of Our Lady, March 24th, the ceremony of its purification and blessing took place.<sup>7</sup> To the ancient inscription of Augustus, Sixtus V. added two more: one records the history of the monument and its dedication to the Holy Cross, the other has reference to the fact that Augustus had once dedicated it to the Sun. It runs as follows: *Ante sacram illius aedem,*

<sup>1</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvissi, 301. Cf. Conti di Fontana, VIII., 64.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the letter of a contemporary in LAUER 324, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 141b.

<sup>4</sup> See FONTANA, I., 61; ORBAAN, Avvisi, 304. Cf. PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Under the arms of Sixtus V. four more lions are placed on this obelisk.

<sup>6</sup> See FONTANA, I., 63b seq.

<sup>7</sup> See the Avvisi in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 309, and the \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, March 24, 1589, Vatican Library. Cf. also in App. No. 34 the Avviso of April 26, 1589, *ibid.*



*augustior laetiorque surgo, cuius ex utero virginali, Augusto imperante, Sol Iustitiae exortus est.*<sup>1</sup> Fontana expressly informs us that in setting up this monument the Pope intended above all to adorn S. Maria del Popolo, which he had not only made into a cardinalitial title, but had included in the number of the Seven Churches in the place of St. Sebastian's.<sup>2</sup> A further reason was the fact that the Porta del Popolo was the principal entrance for all pilgrims to Rome, and that from that point started the "three most beautiful, longest and straightest streets" of the lower city.<sup>3</sup> To the obelisk there was added a beautiful fountain, designed by Fontana,<sup>4</sup> and in this way Rome was given an entrance gate that was unequalled in impressiveness.<sup>5</sup> The premature death of the Pope prevented the carrying out of a further plan of adorning with obelisks the Piazza Navona,<sup>6</sup> and the piazzas before St. Paul's outside the Walls,<sup>7</sup> and S. Maria degli Angeli.<sup>8</sup>

This extraordinary architectural adornment of the piazzas which Sixtus V. gave to the Eternal City by means of the ancient obelisks, was rightly commemorated by medals,<sup>9</sup> because it signified a supremely important artistic innovation, and one characteristic of the baroque period.<sup>10</sup> As was shown by the two granite columns erected in the Piazzetta at Venice as early as 1180 the Middle Ages had been

<sup>1</sup> See FONTANA, I., 65 *seq.* Cf. BONANNI, I., 418.

<sup>2</sup> See PANCIROLI, Tesori nascosti, 452.

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, I., 65b.

<sup>4</sup> Reproduction in FALDA, Fontane, I., tav. 14. Cf. WÖLFFLIN,, Renaissance u. Barock, 118.

<sup>5</sup> See the fresco in the Vatican Library in PASTOR, Sisto V. tav. 16.

<sup>6</sup> This piazza was to have two obelisks, according to the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 309.

<sup>7</sup> For this project of the Pope's, which is also mentioned by Gritti (in HÜBNER, II., 496) cf. in App. No. 18 the \*report of Malegnani of July 22, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>8</sup> LANCIANI (IV., 127) cites as to this MERCATI, Obelischi, 259.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BONANNI, I., 412 *seq.*, 417, 419.

<sup>10</sup> See BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 163.

accustomed to the erection of such antique columns: the Renaissance too had confined itself to the same thing. Thus in 1563 Cosimo had placed in the piazza of S. Trinità at Florence a granite column from the Baths of Caracalla. In its two great Imperial columns Rome already possessed such a decoration for its piazzas, but now, in the obelisks, the Eternal City was given an entirely characteristic form of decoration, which was perfectly adapted to the locality. Since at that time artists aimed before all things at perspective effects, the obelisks of Sixtus V. were adapted in an incomparable way to the lines of the streets by giving them an effective ending. They afford the eye a resting point in the great distances and amid the mass of the buildings. The obelisks at St. Mary Major's and the Lateran each form the end of a great highway, and that in the Piazza del Popolo of three great streets. Here, therefore, the effect is even greater.<sup>1</sup> The development in other directions of urban architecture in the baroque period, and its carrying out of the ideas of the Renaissance<sup>2</sup> is also shown by other works of Sixtus V., in which we can see how, in the erection of monumental buildings, every effort was made to harmonize them with the lines of

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 163, 165, who remarks concerning the Piazza del Popolo: "the rising shape of the obelisk seems to gather to itself the confluent energies of the open space, gently rising towards it, thus rendering the piazza itself more impressive. Piazza and obelisk combine to produce a single grand effect. At the same time, being in itself graceful in form, it offers no hindrance to our admiration of the varied panorama, disappearing as it were before the surrounding buildings." Cf. also RÖSE, *Spät-Barock*, 96, who however erroneously attributes the obelisk in front of the Trinità de' Monti to Sixtus V.

<sup>2</sup> In this connexion mention must be made before all else of the great plan of Michelangelo recorded by Vasari. According to the latter the so-called Farnese bull was to have been placed as a fountain in one of the inner courts of the Palazzo Farnese, in such a way that it would have been possible to see from the entrance court the heights of Trastevere beyond the river; see VASARI, VII., 223 *seq.* Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, p. 582.

the streets. Thus the Via Pia was levelled all along its length, and, in accordance with the plan of Fontana, was raised in such a way that from the Quirinal it was possible to see the Porta Pia, a mile away.<sup>1</sup> In the same way we have the heavy gateway which Sixtus V. caused Fontana to add to the entrance of the Cancelleria,<sup>2</sup> after the appointment of his nephew Montalto as vice-chancellor, because baroque taste required that the building should be in harmony with the street which ran in front of it. In the same way, in the case of the great street leading from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran, Fontana erected, between 1586 and 1588, the beautiful Loggia of benediction in two storeys near St. John Lateran, which, with its five dark arches on each story, with Doric pillars below and Corinthian ones above, is so effective from a distance.<sup>3</sup>

The erection of this beautiful loggia, which is adorned within with paintings,<sup>4</sup> was connected with the demolition and destruction of the extensive and irregular mass of buildings, which had grown up round the basilica since the fourth century.<sup>5</sup>

Coming from the Colosseum and entering the piazza of the Lateran, one saw on the right the Baptistery of Constantine

<sup>1</sup> See FONTANA, I., 87b. Cf. the fresco of the Lateran Palace in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See LAVAGNINO, Il Palazzo della Cancelleria, Roma, 1925, 32.

<sup>3</sup> FONTANA, 46 seq., 89. The inscription in Fontana's engraving: "1588 A. IV.," does not correspond with the existing one, "1586 A. II." (see FORCELLA, VIII., 44). Cf. also EGGER in *Beiträge zur Kunstgesch.*, dedicated to Wickhoff (1903), 155: GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 213; NOHL, 186; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 152. See also SITTE, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, Vienna, 1889, 84 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See the mandate in *Arch. Rom.*, II., 230.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for the description that follows REUMONT, III., I, 15 seq. and the great works of Rohault and Lauer. Lauer gives numerous illustrations and the description of the ancient Patriarchium by Ortensio de Fabiis (p. 325 seq.) and P. Ugonio (p. 576 seq.). See also the fresco in the Vatican Library in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 17.

surrounded by chapels, especially the oratories of the Holy Cross and of St. Venantius, and immediately facing one the lateral façade of the basilica facing north. This façade, which terminated the right transept, had been decorated by Gregory XI. with a Gothic marble portico. This formed the side entrance into the church, and was flanked by the two antique marble lions which Sixtus V. removed to his fountain in the piazza near S. Susanna. Above this lateral façade there rose two small campanili, which had been restored by Pius IV. To the left of the façade there stood, coming out at right angles, the ancient residence of the Popes, the so-called *Patriarchum Lateranense*. Like the Vatican this was a conglomeration of buildings of many different centuries, which, however, were all connected with each other. In the first place, running along the west side, was the great Sala del Concilio, which had also been used for Imperial coronations, with its three doors supposed to have been brought from the Praetorium at Jerusalem. Next, standing out to the north, was the Loggia of benediction erected by Boniface VIII. in the year of Jubilee, 1300. With this graceful marble building, which Giotto adorned with three paintings,<sup>1</sup> there was connected, at right angles, a great corridor with a portal, at the end of which was the Oratory of St. Sylvester and further on the Scala Santa. To the left of these could be seen the entrance, the staircase and portico of the ancient Papal palace, the portico leading to the Sancta Sanctorum, and the sanctuary itself. The most important building of the eastern part of the Papal palace was the great triclinium constructed by Leo III. (795-816), in order that he might there carry out, in conformity with the ancient and beautiful custom of the Popes, his apostolic hospitality. The southern part of the Patriarchum, the centre of which was formed by a great square court-yard, joined on to the extreme right of the portico of the principal façade of the Lateran basilica.

<sup>1</sup> One of these, the proclamation of the Holy Year by Boniface VIII., is now to be found on the back of the first pilaster of the central nave in the Lateran basilica.

Since the end of the thirteenth century the ancient palace of the Lateran had not been inhabited for long by any Pope. During the Avignon period it had fallen into complete decay ; the burning of the church of the Lateran in 1308 had also damaged the palace, and only such repairs as were strictly necessary had been carried out ; its deplorable condition was the reason why on their return the Popes took up their residence at the Vatican, and in consequence of the unhealthy climate of the district, which was almost destitute of houses, of all the Popes of the Renaissance only Sixtus IV. had seriously thought of restoring the ancient place of residence of the successors of St. Peter. Leo X. had resided there for a few days after he had taken possession of the church, and like Julius II., he had held the Council of the Lateran in the Patriarchum. After that, however, the palace fell into still greater decay, and only a few scholars, such as Panvinio, interested themselves in those buildings and ruins which were bound up with the memories of eleven centuries. The words with which Fontana begins his account of his new buildings at the Lateran Palace, show with terrible clearness how little appreciation there was in the time of Sixtus V. of the sculptures, mosaics, inscriptions and other monuments of every kind, which still existed there in great numbers. "On account of the state of St. John Lateran, the true cathedral of the Bishop of Rome " Fontana states, "Sixtus V. resolved to construct a new Loggia of benediction, and a new palace, not only to provide there a suitable residence for the Popes, but also to adorn that district which was covered with ' ancient buildings of no value.' The greater part is in a state of ruination, there are no amenities, and it is so dismal and filthy to look at, as to be quite unsuited to so holy a spot." On the other hand, Fontana praises the palace which he had erected as the most splendid of all in Rome.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> FONTANA, I., 48. Catervo Foglietta writes (see *supra* p. 192, n. 6) in his \*letter that Sixtus had destroyed "alcune casette et cappellette tanto vecchie che più tosto erano occasione agli impii che senza rispetto alcuno entrano le case di Dio di far male " (Ottob. 586, Vatican Library). Guido Gualterius too has no word

The new building was ordered by Sixtus V. immediately after his election, and the reason he gave was that it was unfitting that the bishop should have no suitable residence near his cathedral. The work was being actively prosecuted in June, 1585.<sup>1</sup> The first part to be finished was the Loggia, from which Sixtus V. blessed the people at Easter, 1587, although the pictorial decoration was not yet completed.<sup>2</sup>

In May, 1587, the number of workmen on the new palace was doubled.<sup>3</sup> The want of consideration shown in pulling down the ancient Patriarchum, one of the most precious monuments of antiquity, is deplorable in the highest degree.<sup>4</sup> When the time came to lay hands upon the Chapel of the Holy Cross erected by Pope Hilary (461-468) near the baptistery, the chapter of the Lateran made a protest, but in vain.<sup>5</sup>

of blame in his \*Ephemerides (p. 127b, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome. See App. No. 38 in Vol. XXI.) for the demolition of the Hall of Councils in the old Lateran Palace. But that he and others as well felt the mistake of such an act of destruction, is clear from the words of Guido Qualterius in the Vita Sixti V. concerning the general displeasure caused by the destruction of the Oratorium S. Crucis, cited by RANKE (III., 75\*) and from the report of Ugonio. See WILPERT, Die röm. Mosaiken u. Malereien II., Freiburg, 1917, 727.

<sup>1</sup> See in App. No. 1 the \*Avviso of June 8, 1585, Vatican Library, and that of June 28, 1585, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 283.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Malegnani of April 1, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A description of the pictures is given by FONTANA (I., 46). Cf. S. ORTOLANI, S. Giovanni in Laterano, Roma, 1925, 100.

<sup>3</sup> See in App. No. 14 the \*Avviso of May 13, 1587, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the harsh remarks of ROHAULT (273 seq.) and LAUER (319 seq.). In LAUER (643 seq.) there are also the accounts of the demolition works. V. VANNUTELLI (Mem. sacre Lateranensi, Rome 1900, 46) seeks to excuse Sixtus V., on the ground that the old palace was reduced to ruins, which could not be saved.

<sup>5</sup> See in App. No. 13 the \*Avviso of May 9, 1587, Vatican Library. For the Oratorium S. Crucis at the Lateran see GRISAR in *Civ. Catt.*, 1895, III., 727 seq. and *Gesch. Roms.*, I., 333 seq. Cf. EGGER, Verzeichnis der Sammlung architekt. Zeichnungen der Hofbibl., I., Vienna, 1903, 36.

This oratory, which was adorned with magnificent mosaics, much damaged it is true, stood in the way of the new road towards St. Paul's, and was sacrificed, as were the oratories built by Popes Sylvester I., Theodore I., and Adrian I.<sup>1</sup> It was fortunate that Sixtus V. also employed the learned Fulvio Orsini on the work at the Lateran, and that at least some precious things were saved, especially Giotto's famous fresco "the promulgation of the first year of Jubilee by Boniface VIII."<sup>2</sup>

Characteristic of the Pope's impatience were the repeated visits he paid to the building operations. In the last week of July, 1587, he appeared there to urge the hastening of the work.<sup>3</sup> A month later he repeated his visit, and this time the directors of the work were sharply reprimanded for their dilatoriness. On his way back Sixtus V. inspected the obelisk which had been excavated in the Circus Maximus and gave orders for the construction of a road from the Capitol to the Lateran.<sup>4</sup> Men wondered at the youthful energy of the Pope when, at the end of October, 1587, he made a detailed inspection of every part of the new building.<sup>5</sup> In April, 1588, he imparted the blessing from the new loggia in a clearly audible voice.<sup>6</sup> In June 1588 he again inspected the palace,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See STEVENSON, 25 ; LANCIANI, IV., 140. *Ibid.* 139 *seq.* for the gold coins found in the foundations of the Patriarchum. Cf. also the \*report of Malegnani of June 27, 1587 (Gonzaga Archives. Mantua) referred to in the bull of December 1, 1587 (Bull. VIII., 966 *seq.*). The Pope presented one of the coins to the Bolognese numismatist Tommaso Cospi, who left it to the church of S. Petronio, where it still is ; see A. GATTI, *Catalogo del Museo di S. Petronio*, 1893, 36.

<sup>2</sup> See NOLHAC, F. Orsini, 24.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Malegnani, July 22, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the \*Avviso of July 22, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 273b, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 293.

<sup>5</sup> See the Avviso *ibid.*, 301.

<sup>6</sup> See in App. No. 19, Vol. XXI., the \*Avviso of April 20, 1588, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, No. 24, the \*Avviso of June 18, 1588.

but, although the works had been pushed forward with all possible speed,<sup>1</sup> they were not completed until the summer of the following year.<sup>2</sup> Quarters were then allotted there to the Rota and the Apostolic Camera.<sup>3</sup> The mighty edifice, in which all the Cardinals in the Curia were to have lodgings,<sup>4</sup> was completely finished at the end of August, 1589,<sup>5</sup> but it had already been possible to hold a public consistory there on May 30th.<sup>6</sup> The expenses came to 172,884 scudi.<sup>7</sup>

The Lateran Palace of Sixtus V. with its three storeys, is imposing because of its great proportions : its height is equal to that of the new six-storeyed buildings recently erected in the neighbourhood. But it is a cold edifice ; its three façades give it a uniform but gloomy appearance : " the great proportions and the regal calm of the grand unbroken lines of the cornice enhance them in a way, and the courage with which the windows are placed in an unbroken line, only in the upper floors alternating with angular and curved pinnacles, tell us at once that we are still in the Rome of Bramante and Peruzzi. The principal cornice, which stands out strongly, produces a magnificent effect."<sup>8</sup> Three great doorways lead to the piazza and two to the basilica. The windows over the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. UGONIO, *Stazioni* (1588), 44.

<sup>2</sup> See in App. No. 37 the \*Avviso of July 26, 1589, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Avviso, of June 3, 1589, Urb. 1057, p. 322, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Avviso of February 24, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 76, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*Avviso of August 29, 1589 (Vatican Library) in App. No. 26, Vol. XXI., and that of August 30, 1589, in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, XXXVII. (1909), 14.

<sup>6</sup> See BONANNI, I., 315.

<sup>7</sup> LANCIANI, IV., 139. Cf. BONANNI, I., 244 *seq.* The inscription on the façade : Sixtus V. Anno IV. (1589), in the *Inventario*, I., 14.

<sup>8</sup> See GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 216 *seq.* ; LETAROUILLY, *Édifices*, I., 224 *seq.* Cf. also BERGNER, *Das barocke Rom*, 28 *seq.* ; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 56 *seq.*, 67.



principal entrance to the south display the name of its builder, and his shield with the lions.<sup>1</sup> The great square interior cortile has seven arches on each side, and is of two storeys, with Doric pilasters below and Corinthian ones above. Around this cortile, which is modelled upon that of the Palazzo Farnese, the apartments are placed on three sides, while on the fourth is the long principal staircase. It is one of the largest in Rome, and more than seven metres in width, so that the Pope could conveniently go down to his cathedral with all his court. Other staircases as well provide for the traffic, and a winding one leads from the ground floor to the graceful loggia on the roof.

The arcades and rooms on the ground floor were vaulted, while the great halls on the first floor had ceilings of gilt and painted wood. The staircases as well as the arcades and all the apartments on the first floor Sixtus V. caused to be painted with arabesques, landscapes and other subjects, and richly adorned with stucco and gold. The plan of the decorations was made by Giovanni Guerra of Modena, Cesare Nebbia of Orvieto drew the designs, while other painters such as Cesare Santarelli and the Netherlander Paul Brill, carried out the work.<sup>2</sup> The ensemble forms a counterpart, though on a less splendid scale, to the decoration of the Vatican Library.

The principal hall on the first floor, with a magnificent gilt coffered ceiling, besides two large frescoes representing the institution of the primacy, contains the seated figures with inscriptions of nineteen Popes of the first centuries. Another series of frescoes in this hall, also explained by inscriptions, represent the works of Sixtus V.; the extirpation of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 30 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BAGLIONE, 110, 151; MAYER, Brill, 2, 23 *seq.*; GERSTENBERG, *Die ideale Landschaft smalerie*, Halle, 1923, 72 *seq.* The paintings described by FONTANA (I., 48 *seq.*) have almost entirely fallen into oblivion, on account of the difficulty of access to the greater part of the apartments of the palace. Although they are of no great importance artistically (though NOHL, *Skizzenbuch*, 179 *seq.* forms a more favourable judgment of them) they are nevertheless interesting in understanding the intellectual ideas of the court of Sixtus V.

bandits, his care for the provisioning of Rome and the safety of the Papal States, the treasure laid up in the Castle of St. Angelo as well as the Vatican Library are represented, the harbours of Terracina and Civitavecchia, the cities of Loreto and Montalto, the Acqua Felice and the fountain in the Piazza S. Susanna, and the Quirinal Palace<sup>1</sup> with the view towards the Porta Pia. These last two frescoes are larger than the others.

The great Papal hall intended for the holding of consistories is adjoined by the Imperial hall<sup>2</sup> with portraits of the fourteen Emperors whose coins were found while building the palace.<sup>3</sup> Here a special fresco represents the veneration shown for the Church by the Christian Emperors. Next comes a small hall with scenes from the Old Testament ; this leads to the private chapel of the Pope, which is decorated with scenes from the Life of Our Lord. The four other apartments also contain frescoes, representing scenes from the Old Testament. All these have inscriptions. The first floor also contains two other large halls ; one with scenes from the life of the Emperor Constantine,<sup>4</sup> the other, the Sala dei Paramenti, scenes taken from the Acts of the Apostles. The ceilings and loggie of the new Lateran Palace and the corridor of the staircase leading to the basilica,<sup>5</sup> are decorated with scenes from the Sacred Scriptures, with landscapes and allegorical figures. The inscriptions speak of the fourth year of the pontificate.

In all these apartments one may constantly see the arms and devices of Sixtus V., as well as numerous allegorical figures, which are all draped. In this we can see the strict

<sup>1</sup> See PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10.

<sup>2</sup> This officially bears the name *del Concilio*, evidently in memory of the Sala del Concilio in the ancient Lateran Palace.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 273, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> In this, the only hall now accessible, there is in the pavement the large antique mosaic of " the Athletes," which was discovered in 1824 at the Baths of Caracalla.

<sup>5</sup> At the establishment of the Museo Lateranense Cristiano the corridor was intended by Pius IX. to receive the collection of sarcophagi.

Franciscan, who would have nothing to do with the cultus of the nude which had become common during the Renaissance, and still prevailed at secular courts.<sup>1</sup> In the account-books there is a payment to Cesare Nebbia and his companions for draping the nude figures in the Loggia della Cosmografia of the time of Pius IV.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the triclinium of Leo III. the destruction of the ancient Lateran Palace left intact the Papal chapel, the Sancta Sanctorum, which in addition to precious relics contained a venerated image of the Redeemer.<sup>3</sup> On either side of this famous sanctuary, which had suffered much in the sack of Rome, Sixtus V. erected two other chapels, and caused Fontana to construct a portico in front, of two storeys with arcades. Thither he transferred, as the central one of the five staircases leading to these three chapels, the Scala Santa, which had become almost forgotten and neglected. Ferraù Fenzoni of Faenza and Paul Brill of Antwerp took part in the fresco decoration ;<sup>4</sup> here, as in the Lateran Palace, the work of the latter is still quite free from Italian influence, and is purely Netherland in feeling. The inscription on the façade<sup>5</sup> tells us that Sixtus V. constructed the portico and placed the Scala Santa in a more sacred place.<sup>6</sup> By this new building the

<sup>1</sup> A painter was whipped on account of obscene pictures ; see *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII., 36.

<sup>2</sup> See BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Mod.*, 32 ; LANCIANI, IV., 163.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. GRISAR, *Die röm. Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum u. ihr Schatz*, Freiburg, 1908, and WILPERT, *Röm. Mosaiken u. Malereien*, II., 1101 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See MAYER, Brill, 27 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> The various designs for the façade may be seen in the frescoes in the Vatican Library ; see LAUER, Pianta, 26-27.

<sup>6</sup> See FONTANA, I., 60, II., 2 *seq.*, where there are a plan and illustrations. The name of Sixtus V., and a brief inscription on the façade (see *ibid.*) is also over the doors of the lateral chapels. Cf. PASTOR, *Sisto V.*, tav. 18 ; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, I., 507 *seq.* ; L. MAZZUCCONI, *Mem. d. Scala Santa*, Roma, 1840 ; LÉFAROUILLY, *Edifices*, I., 197 *seq.* ; GRISAR, *loc. cit.*, 12-16 ; LAUER, 321 *seq.* See also in App. Nos. 3, 4, 30, the \*Avvisi of

Pope aimed at bringing into greater veneration the venerable sanctuary of the Sancta Sanctorum, which after the spoliations of the Sack of Rome had become deserted, but the devotion of the faithful was more attracted by the Scala Santa, which since the Middle Ages had been looked upon as that ascended by Our Saviour, than by the chapel beyond, whose treasury of relics had become so far forgotten that it was left for modern research really to discover it.<sup>1</sup> In the last year of his pontificate Sixtus V. entrusted the guardianship of the Scala Santa and the Sancta Sanctorum to four chaplains.<sup>2</sup>

It was fortunate that at that time the Lateran basilica remained intact,<sup>3</sup> since the transformations carried out by Sixtus V. in ancient churches proved fatal to antiquities, whether pagan or Christian. Besides the widespread indifference to such remains another special circumstance contributed to this. In the liturgical functions to which the Pope had given renewed life, or which were celebrated in

March 1 and 15, 1586, and October 26, 1588, Vatican Library. Giov. Baglione, the author of the *Vite de' pittori*, shared in the painting of the new chapel; see THIEME II., 356. For Fontana and Brill cf. Voss II., 506, 534. The frescoes were restored in 1922.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GRISAR, *loc. cit.*, 26.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*bull "Dat. in monte Quirinale Non. Iun. 1590." The chapel Sancta Sanctorum is there described as "illa insignis ac praeicipua sanctitate toto terrarum orbe inter omnia Urbis et orbis sanctiora loca celeberrima." Therefore the Pope had transferred thither the Scala Santa, which formerly was "propter temporum iniurias, Urbis excidia, direptiones et alias calamitates quodammodo in loco abiecto, situ et squalore ac sordibus obsito, vetustate pene collapsa." Arm. 44, t. 29, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> An \*Avviso of Nov. 9, 1588, reports concerning the Baptistery, in connexion with the visit of the Pope on the previous Sunday: "Ordinó, come giunse alla basil. Lat. che si riducesse in isola S. Giovanni in Fonte et si trasportasse la effigie della gloriosa vergine dalla cappella contigua che va gittata in terra in una delle cappellette che sono dentro quel oratorio di S. Giovanni." Urb. 1056, Vatican Library.

certain churches on definite days in the presence of Cardinals, it was thought necessary that the eye should be able to travel unimpeded to the seats placed in the apse. To this end in the basilica of St. Paul's outside the Walls, the transverse nave of which was provided with a new wooden ceiling,<sup>1</sup> the columns between the altar and the apse, which were for the most part of porphyry, and a relic of the primitive Constantinian basilica, were sacrificed.<sup>2</sup>

How little men felt the loss of such remains is shown by the account given by Pompeo Ugonio in his work on the Roman Station churches. In this book the transformation thus inconsiderately carried out, and intended to render the basilica of St. Paul's more spacious, is mentioned as one of the Pope's titles to fame!<sup>3</sup> So too the removal of the balustrade from the choir of Eugenius II. and of the ambos of Alexander III. from S. Sabina is eulogized by Ugonio with the remark that the church had recovered under the fifth Sixtus that grandeur and splendour which it had lost under his namesake, Sixtus III.<sup>4</sup> The ancient crypt too was destroyed, though fortunately the principal features of the basilica were preserved, so that it has recently been possible to restore it to its appearance in the IXth century.<sup>5</sup> Certain small churches were entirely destroyed, such as S. Andrea della Colonna,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Foglietta, in his \*letter cited p. 192, n. 6, praises its richness and beauty. Ottob. 568, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See GRISAR, *Gesch. Roms.*, I., 362 and *Studi Rom.*, I., Roma, 1913, 409. Cf. also in App. Nos. 9, 19, the \*Avvisi of November 22, 1586, and September 2, 1587, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See UGONIO, *Stationi*, 8 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, 10b. Cf. BERTHIER, *S. Sabine*, Rome, 1910, 89 *seq.*, where is to be seen the bombastic discourse of Panigarola. See also *Arch. dell'arte*, 1896, 195 *seq.*; ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 287, *Conti di Fontana*, VIII., 60; GRISAR, I., 374; LANCIANI, IV., 167 *seq.* The inscription on the restoration of 1588 in FORCELLA, VII., 300.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. STYGER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1915, *Archäol. Feil.*, p. 24; MUÑOZ, *S. Sabina*, Roma, 1919, 13 *seq.*; MUÑOZ, *L'Eglise de S. Sabine à Rome*, Rome, 1924, 16 *seq.*; TAURISANO, *S. Sabina*, Roma, s.d. 10 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 169.

and S. Gregorio in Palatio, near the Teutonic cemetery.<sup>1</sup>

Although we must deplore these works of destruction, we must on the other hand remember with gratitude that Sixtus saved other churches of Rome which were in need of restoration from ruin. Mention may be made of SS. Apostoli,<sup>2</sup> the convent adjoining which, and where Sixtus V. had once lived, was added to,<sup>3</sup> S. Giovanni in Capite, near S. Silvestro, S. Giovanni in Agno in the Via Monserrato, S. Pellegrino al Vaticano,<sup>4</sup> and SS. Nereo ed Achilleo.<sup>5</sup> In the new building of S. Andrea in Valle the Pope took care that a record should be preserved of the little church of S. Sebastiano de Via Papae.<sup>6</sup> Among the Cardinals there vied with the Pope above all Cardinal Farnese, whose liberality was displayed at S. Lorenzo in Damaso and the Gesù of the Jesuits.<sup>7</sup> Cardinal Carafa restored SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Cardinal Caetani S. Pudenziana,<sup>8</sup> Cardinal Azzolini S. Matteo in Merulana,<sup>9</sup> and Cardinal

<sup>1</sup> See DE WAAL, *Der Campo Santo der Deutschen*, 26, 28 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* in App. No. 10 the \*Avviso of January 17, 1587, Vatican Library. For the convent of SS. Apostoli, and on the fountain dei Leoni there, constructed by Sixtus V., see FR. SANTILLI, *La basilica dei SS. Apostoli*, Roma, 1925, p. 23 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Avvisi of April 30 and October 5, 1588, and July 5, 1589, Urb. 1056 and 1057, Vatican Library. See also LETAROUILLY, *Edifices*, I., 363 *seq.*, 366 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 171. *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 251.

<sup>5</sup> See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 177. *Cf.* also \**Diarium audient. card. S. Severinae*, March 11, 1587. Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19, and the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 308, for the interest taken by Sixtus V. in S. Marco.

<sup>6</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 171. *Cf.* the \*Avviso of November 8, 1586 (Vatican Library) in App. No. 10 in Vol. XXI.

<sup>7</sup> *Cf.* the \*Avvisi of April 8 and August 12, 1587, and March 4, 1589, Vatican Library (see App. No. 21, Vol. XXI., *cf.* No. 25) and the \*report of Malegnani, August 13, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>8</sup> See PLATNER, III., 1, 488 *seq.*; III., 2, 257 *seq.*, 261.

<sup>9</sup> See ARMELLINI, 465.

Joyeuse the French national church of S. Luigi.<sup>1</sup> At S. Maria in Trastevere Cardinal Mark Sittich had the chapel which he had erected on the left side of the apse painted by Pasquale Cati.<sup>2</sup> Camilla Peretti, the Pope's sister, built at S. Susanna a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence.<sup>3</sup>

The restoration of the national church of the Slavs dedicated to St. Jerome not far from the Porto di Ripetta was almost a new building; Martino Lunghi the elder worked on this and Sixtus V., who venerated that Father of the Church in a special way,<sup>4</sup> caused a radical reconstruction on an enlarged scale by Martino Lunghi in 1588 of that church which had been his own cardinalitial title, but was in a ruinous state, decorating it with frescoes by Giovanni Guerra and others.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avviso of October 14, 1589, in Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, Ferd. 83, fasc. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*contract in Atti orig. 162, p. 397 *seq.* of the Arch. Notarile Comun. in Rome, entered into by Quirinus Zurla Cremonens. as representative of Cardinal Mark Sittich, with Pasquale Cati pictor, on January 30, 1588. The inscription concerning the completion of the chapel in 1589, in FORCELLA, II., 349; reproduction of the frescoes in MUÑOZ, Roma barocca, 28.

<sup>3</sup> See ANGELI, Chiese, 578. A \*Descrittione di tutte le chiese di Roma con l'inventario delle reliquie of 1586 in Cod. 131 of the Bibl. Civica, Padua.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. BARDENHEWER, Patrologie, Friburg, 1901, 400, and *infra*, p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BAGLIONE, 34; *Arch. Rom.*, II., 231; BERTELOTTI, Art, Lomb., I., 69; G. BIASIOTTI and J. BUTKOVICH, S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni in Roma, Rome, 1925. Cf. also the \*Avvisi of July 4 1587, July 6 and October 12, 1588, April 26, June 4 and 13, July 29, September 30 and October 7, 1589 (Vatican Library); see App. Nos. 16, 28, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40. For the paintings cf. THII, Descriz. d. pitture in Roma, Rome, 1763, 396 *seq.* See also GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 98 *seq.* and POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 140, n. 1. Vat. 5440 contains the original copy, adorned with miniatures, of the \*Liber bonorum hospitalis . . . et ecclesiae S. Hieronymi Illyric. built by Sixtus V.; there, p. 7: "Robba donata da N.S. Sisto V. quando era cardinale" (Paramenti, palio di altare). Vatican Library.

The façade, which was finished in July, 1589, and the church, which was richly endowed, still show that strictly simple style which also may be seen in S. Caterina dei Funari, S. Spirito, the Gesù, and later on S. Maria de' Monti: a later style is only to be seen in the windows and the doorways.<sup>1</sup> The interior, which is in the form of a Latin cross has a single nave with three chapels on each side and a square apse. The tower is similar to that of the Capitol. The Pope's love for his former title led him to erect there a chapter, consisting of an arch-priest, six canons and four vicars. His nephew, Michele Peretti, was appointed the patron.<sup>2</sup>

Sixtus V. who deeply venerated the Mother of God, loved no church in the Eternal City so much as the Liberian Basilica, St. Mary Major's, enthroned upon the Esquiline, in which while still a Cardinal he had caused to be set up by Alessandro da Cioli a marble monument to his compatriot Nicholas IV., who also belonged to the Franciscan Order (1288-1292).<sup>3</sup> This church of the Madonna, the largest and most splendid in the world, had been according to an inscription still preserved known since the sixth century as S. Maria *ad Praesepe*, because it contained a reproduction of the grotto at Bethlehem, which probably went back to Sixtus III. (442-440). This small oratory was behind the principal choir of the basilica, at the spot where now a great flight of steps leads to the Esquiline. There the Popes were wont to pontificate on Christmas night, and on that occasion Gregory VII. had been surprised and taken prisoner in 1075. In consequence of the changes made by Nicholas IV. in the apse of the basilica built by Sixtus III., the chapel of the Crib, of which some traces still remain, was moved and

<sup>1</sup> See GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 194; BRINCKMANN, *Baukunst*, 64, 160; PASTOR, *Sisto V.*, tav. 19

<sup>2</sup> See the bull in [Ivančič], *La questione di S. Girolamo de schiavoni in Roma*, Rome, 1901, 98 *seq.* Cf. RATTI, *Sforza*, 355, 363.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BAGLIONE, 86; ESCHER, *Barock* 104; LANCIANI in *Ausonia*, I. (1906), 96 *seq.*



was at the same time decorated in marble by Arnolfo di Cambio.<sup>1</sup>

Among the many lovers of this venerable oratory, in which, as may be proved, relics of the Crib had been preserved since the twelfth century, and where in 1516 Gaetano da Tiene, the founder of the Theatines, had celebrated his first Mass, Sixtus V. was one of the most zealous. Three months before his election as Pope, to the left of the High Altar, adjoining the side nave, he had begun the construction of a new chapel, of such a size as to be like a new church.<sup>2</sup> When he had ascended the throne of St. Peter, Sixtus at once gave orders for the carrying on of the work in that basilica which he loved so dearly, and which he also treated with so much honour in other ways,<sup>3</sup> that Girolamo Catena openly calls it the basilica of Sixtus V.<sup>4</sup> His interest in the new chapel was very great ; he visited the works in September and October 1585,<sup>5</sup> and at Christmas 1586 celebrated High Mass in the new church, although there was still scaffolding everywhere.<sup>6</sup> In the following year the chapel was given a provost of its own and four chaplains.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See GRISAK, *Archeologia del "Presepio"* in Roma, in *Civ. Catt.*, 1908, IV., 703 *seq.* Cf. also ADINOLFI, *Roma nell'età di mezzo*, II., 185 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See FONTANA, I., 33. Cf. the \*letter of C. Foglietta, *Ottob.* 568, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> In June, 1585, Sixtus V. held a Papal Capella in St. Mary Major's, a thing that had not been done for thirty-five years ; see the \*report of Malegnani, June 15, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> CATENA, *Lettere*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*Avvisi of September 21 and October 5, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 291, and Conti di Fontana, VIII., 63. Cf. Report of Malegnani, Decemb r 24, 1586, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Avvisi* of June 24 and August 19, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 227, 323, Vatican Library ; TACCONE-GALLUCCI, *S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1911, 122 *seq.* ; P. M. DI LUCIA, *L'Abbadia di S. Giovanni Siro unita da Sisto V alla capella del Presepe*, Roma, 1700.

In the building of the new chapel, which was named after its founder the Capella Sistina, precious materials from ancient buildings, and especially from the ancient Lateran Palace, was employed.<sup>1</sup> Reverence for the relics of antiquity, which on this occasion as well left a great deal to be desired, was fortunately displayed in a high degree in the case of the ancient oratory of the Praeseptium. "So as to maintain the veneration and memory of this" he ordered that the original walls and the whole construction should be preserved and transported to the new chapel, and there placed under an altar which was to be erected in the middle. It was Fontana who carried out this task, which of its kind was perhaps more difficult than the removal of the obelisks. The chapel was indeed made up of many different fragments: its ancient walls were still there with many cracks, and broken by a window and the marble arch which formed the entrance. With justifiable conceit in his achievement Fontana describes the mechanism he devised to save the sanctuary for posterity. The chapel was enclosed in a covering of wood and iron, and strengthened with timbers on the inside in such a way as to appear like a solid block. It was then detached from the foundations and transported by means of rollers for a distance of seventeen metres to its new position. There it was first raised up and then lowered on to its new foundations.<sup>2</sup>

The Capella Sistina, which forms as it were the arm of a lateral nave, breaks the line of the magnificent antique columns of the central nave of the Liberian Basilica and the entablature by an arch inserted into it, and recalls at first sight the form of the splendid chapels of the height of the Renaissance, but a closer examination shows the manifest influence of the new style of building of early baroque.<sup>3</sup> It forms a perfect Greek cross. The dome surmounted by a well-lit drum, shows such

<sup>1</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 164 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See FONTANA, I., 40 *seq.*, and the reproductions given there. Cf. also the reproductions in CIACONIUS, IV. 144. See also ORBAAN, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 63, and PASTOR, Sisto V. tav. 20.

<sup>3</sup> See GURLITT, Barockstil, 210; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 39.

a gradation as it rises that it completely dominates the whole, and the four short arms with their barrel vaulting serve only the purpose of supporting it. On either side of the entrance, in the corners, there are two small square chapels: in that on the right hand Sixtus V. placed under the altar dedicated to S. Lucy the relics of the Holy Innocents, in an antique marble Christian sarcophagus, bringing both relics and sarcophagus from St. Paul's outside the Walls.<sup>1</sup> The chapel on the left was dedicated to St. Jerome, for which Sixtus V. vainly sought to discover the mortal remains of the saint, which had been, it was supposed, buried not far from the ancient oratory of the Praeseptium.<sup>2</sup>

On the outside of the Capella Sistina everyone admired<sup>3</sup> the elegant and harmonious proportions, which recalled the period of the Renaissance, easily to be recognized everywhere, even in the interior, in spite of the wealth of its detailed decoration. Wherever one looked, one saw precious marbles of every colour,<sup>4</sup> alabaster, jasper, breccia, gilt stucco and paintings in bright colours. The ornamentation shows, in a few cases on the exterior, but more frequently in the interior, the arms and device of the founder,<sup>5</sup> while the paintings, which were executed by Paris Nogari, Andrea Lilio and other painters of note,<sup>6</sup> are for the most part devoted to the mystery

<sup>1</sup> See *Studi Rom.*, I., Roma, 1913, 406 *seq.* The removal of the relics is described in the \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, November 1, 1586. Vatican Library. Sixtus V. had a special veneration for St. Lucy, because he had been born on her feast; see CATENA, *Lettere*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 291. Cf. *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXV. (1915), 29 n. 2. See also BIASIOTTI in *Miscell. Geronimiana*, Roma, 1920, 242.

<sup>3</sup> UGONIO (Stationi, 69) was the first to describe in 1588 the sanctuary while it was being built. A second description in BENCI, *De sacello Esquilino a Sisto V. condito*, Roma, 1592. It has recently been described by JOZZI, *Storia di S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 194, 4 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> For this innovation see MUÑOZ, Roma, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 32.

<sup>6</sup> See BAGLIONE, 36 *seq.*, 83. Among the painters there also appears the Venetian Salvatore Fontana; see THIEME, XII., 187.

of the Incarnation.<sup>1</sup> The altar, which stands in the centre, under the dome and over the chapel of the Praeseptum, bears a tabernacle in gilt bronze, intended for the reservation of the Most Holy Sacrament. This work of Bastiano Torrigiani and Lodovico del Duca is in the form of the chapel which it adorns: it is supported by four angels, holding cornucopias in their left hands, in which are placed candles.<sup>2</sup> From the altar a double staircase leads to the chapel of the Praeseptum. In the lateral niches of the back wall Sixtus V. placed marble statues executed by Leonardo da Sarzana from designs by Prospero Bresciano,<sup>3</sup> of the Princes of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. On the wall of the left arm of the chapel the Pope erected a splendid monument to Pius V., his friend and deeply venerated benefactor, while, to the surprise of his entourage, in 1587 he gave orders that facing it, in the right arm, his own place of burial should be prepared.<sup>4</sup> The principal wall was destined for the Papal throne, approached by marble steps.

When, in the summer of 1586, Sixtus V. gave orders for the construction of the tomb of Pius V., he set aside no less than 25,000 scudi for the purpose.<sup>5</sup> This made possible the erection of a monument of two storeys and of great size, which completely discovers a great part of the walls, as though with a second wall. This work became the model which prevailed in the case of Papal monuments in the pontificates which immediately followed. The connexion with the Medici tombs

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CATENA, *Lettere*, 9. Andrea Lilio executed the frescoes in the ceiling, with the four Evangelists in the lateral nave in front of the chapel; see VOSS, II., 503, 504.

<sup>2</sup> See BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Bologn.*, 78; KRAUS-SAUER, III., 2, 680; SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.* XXXIII., 269 seq; BRAUN, *Der Altar*, II., 640.

<sup>3</sup> See BAGLIONE, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 43.

<sup>5</sup> See the *Avviso* of July 16, 1586, in ORBAAN, *Roma*, 289, where, however, July should be read instead of June. The same *Avviso*, dated July 19, 1586, in State Archives, Brussels, *Négot. de Rome*, I.

of Michelangelo can readily be seen, a thing also shown in the fact that the sides are of the same height and width as the central niche, which, however, is to some extent marked off by means of a pinnacle. At the same time other points of difference characteristic of baroque art may be noted. The plinth is low "being no longer intended to serve as the background for a sarcophagus with reclining figures: the principal face is therefore much brought forward and is nearer to the spectator: the attic forms a second plane, filled with reliefs and caryatids, and the entablature above projects; reliefs also fill the side niches in the lower part, while to balance the proportions the artists had to have recourse to slabs of various coloured marbles."<sup>1</sup>

The seated statue of Pius V., with his right hand raised in benediction, is the work of Leonardo da Sarzana,<sup>2</sup> and is worthy of admiration for the faithfulness of the likeness and for the drapery of the sumptuous pontifical vestments, which recalls antiquity. Sixtus V. went to see this statue intended for the central niche in the workshop of the master at the end of September 1586,<sup>3</sup> and was present at its erection in June 1587.<sup>4</sup> He also certainly shared in the composition of the inscription, which extolls Pius V. because, in imitation of the saintly Popes of old, he had propagated the Catholic religion and restored ecclesiastical discipline, until, after a glorious reign, and while meditating even greater things, he was carried off by death at the age of sixty-eight to the loss of the whole of Christendom.<sup>5</sup>

Under the statue of the Pope there is placed on gilt bronze ornaments, like a sepulchre on brackets, the sarcophagus of verde antique; it stands between the plinths of the two

<sup>1</sup> See ESCHER, Barock, 106. Cf. BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II., 598 seq. and *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, N.S. XXV. (1914), 230. ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 47; PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> See BAGLIONE, 86. A good reproduction in *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 173.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of October 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*Avviso in ORBAAN, Roma, 297. Cf. Gualterius, \*Ephemerides, Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

<sup>5</sup> See FONTANA, I., 58.

magnificent centre columns. The bas-relief to the right of the statue of Pius V. represents the giving of the standard of the crusade to Marcantonio Colonna when he was appointed to command the league against the Turks. As a pendant to this on the other side the Pope is giving the commander's baton to the Count of Santa Fiora when he was sent to help the French Catholics against the Huguenots. To these two bas-reliefs, which were executed by the Netherlander, Hans Van den Vliete,<sup>1</sup> and which are effective for their light and shade, there correspond two smaller ones on the upper level, recording the victories over the Turks and the Huguenots, while in the centre is the coronation of Pius V.<sup>2</sup> The apex is crowned by the arms of the Pope.

In the niches on either side of the monument, Sixtus V., in reference to the Order from which Pius V. had belonged, placed marble statues, on the left of St. Dominic, by Giambattista della Porta, and on the right St. Peter Martyr, by Giov. Antonio da Valsoldo.<sup>3</sup> In like manner for the niches on either side of his own monument he chose saints of the Order to which he himself belonged: on the right St. Francis of Assisi,<sup>4</sup> and on the left St. Antony of Padua.

What importance Sixtus V. attached to the monument of Pius V. appears from his consultations with Cardinal Santori,<sup>5</sup> as well as from the solemnity which he gave to the translation, on January 8th, 1588, of the body of the great

<sup>1</sup> BAGLIONE (65) calls him Egidio della Riviera. Cf. ORBAAN, *Sistine Rome*, 49; *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII., 28, n. 36; the periodical *Roma*, I. (1923), 168.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BRINCKMANN, *Barocksculptur*, II. 215 seq. The predilection for war-like subjects in the reliefs was probably due to Catena, who made use of similar subjects in his frontispiece to his *Vita di Pio V.*, published in 1586.

<sup>3</sup> See BAGLIONE, 70, 75.

<sup>4</sup> By Flaminio Vacca; see *ibid.*, 67.

<sup>5</sup> See SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 177, 181. Cf. also \*Audientiae card. S. Severinae, February 18 and 25, 1587, Papal Secret Archives.

Pope from St. Peter's to St. Mary Major's.<sup>1</sup> On January 11th the Pope was present with forty-four Cardinals at a Mass of Requiem, at which he himself gave the absolutions: the discourse delivered on that occasion by the Secretary of Briefs, Boccapaduli, aroused general admiration.<sup>2</sup>

When the Pope went to St. Mary Major's for Mass on July 30th, 1589, the statue of himself, which was not quite completed, and was the by no means satisfactory work of Valsoldo, was unveiled: it shows the Pope on his knees in prayer, with his eyes turned towards the tabernacle.<sup>3</sup> To look upon his own place of burial with his own statue must have aroused special emotion in a man of the temperament of Sixtus V., who from the time he attained to the Papacy had only counted upon a short pontificate, a conviction which caused the feverish activity with which he pushed forward the carrying out of his artistic undertakings.<sup>4</sup>

Sixtus V. did not allow the great church building works which he had carried out at St. Mary Major's<sup>5</sup> to lead him to forget the needs of Rome from the secular point of view. We

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avviso of January 9, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 12, Vatican Library, and \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, *ibid.* Cf. the fresco in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 25. A printed poem on the translation of Pius V. in Ottob. 2445, p. 108, Vatican Library. Cf. GALESINUS, De translatione Pii V., Romae, 1588; GUILIK-EUBEL, III, 54; TACCONI-GALLUCCI, S. Maria Maggiore, 119 *seq.*; on January 27, 1588, Sixtus V. also moved the body of F. Peretti from S. Maria degli Angeli to his own chapel, and on January 30, 1588, that of the mother of Cardinal Montalto to the chapel of the Praeseptum; see the \*Avvisi of January 27 and 30, 1588, Urb. 1056, pp. 36, 45, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Vatican Library. Cf. the \*Avviso of January 13, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 15, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The tabernacle was erected at Christmas in the same year; see the Avvisi in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 310 *seq.* Reproduction in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 24. Cf. R. CECCHETELLI IPPOLITI, La tomba di Sisto V. nella Basilica Liberiana, Roma, 1923.

<sup>4</sup> See ORBAAN, Sixtine Rome, 44.

<sup>5</sup> For the further plans for the basilica see \*Avviso of June 14, 1589 (Vatican Library), in App. No. 35.

have already spoken of the great services rendered by the Pope, who was also careful in other ways for the health of the Romans,<sup>1</sup> by his aqueducts, streets and piazzas. To these may be added a large number of buildings of public utility, which earned for him a grateful memory in the Eternal City. Such were the assignment of a new building to the Monte de Pietà near the Via de' Coronari,<sup>2</sup> and the great work-house built in 1587 near the Ponte Sisto to get rid of the plague of mendicity, which was endowed with 150,000 scudi, and in which 2000 men and women could be employed.<sup>3</sup> Not content with this the Pope set on foot other projects, such as the erection of a new market,<sup>4</sup> the setting-up of sundials at the two obelisks,<sup>5</sup> and the completion of the great palace commenced by Bramante in the Via Giulia under Julius III., for the housing of the mint.<sup>6</sup> The walls of the city<sup>7</sup> and the Villa Magliana<sup>8</sup> were also repaired.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. PINTO, Sisto V. e l'igiene di Roma, 14 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of January 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 1, Vatican Library. Cf. LE BRET, Statistik, 274; FORCELLA, XIII., 175; TAMILIA, Monte di pietà, 103.

<sup>3</sup> See Vat. 9003, Vatican Library; FONTANA, I., 70b seq., with a reproduction of the portal and its inscription. Reproduction of the building in G. F. BORDINI, Carmina, I, I, 39, and PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 26. Cf. ORBAAN, Conti di Fontana, VIII., 63, 68; BONANNI, I., 391; HÜBNER, II., 496; LANCIANI, IV., 74; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, II., 227, XXIV. 52 seq.; PINTO, *loc. cit.*, 19. The Pope himself visited this first modern "workhouse"; see Avviso of May 27, 1589, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 296. For the plague of the mendicants cf. *Rassegna ital.*, 1882, II., 197 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See in App. No. 21 the \*Avviso of September 26, 1587, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See the Avviso in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 308; cf. Sixtine Rome, 71.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*report of Malegnani of April 22, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the Avviso of June 24, 1587, in ORBAAN, Roma, 297, and in App. Nos. 24, 36, the \*Avvisi of June 18, 1588, and July 1, 1589, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See NIBBY, Le mura di Roma, Roma, 1820, 342; BORGATTI, Mura di Roma, Roma, 1890, 368; *Inventario*, I., 345. Cf. *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXX., 339.

<sup>8</sup> See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXII., 486. The restoration of the



The interests of learning were also served by the completion of the Roman University,<sup>1</sup> and above all by the construction of the Vatican Library. The locality which Sixtus IV. had formerly assigned to this purpose not far from the Sistine Chapel<sup>2</sup> was on the ground floor and therefore suffered considerably from the dampness of the soil of Rome. Gregory XIII. had already contemplated the removal of the library elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> and Sixtus V. had hardly ascended the throne when he began to consider for this purpose the gallery of the Belvedere,<sup>4</sup> which had also been suggested to his predecessor.<sup>5</sup> After much consultation, however, he decided, with characteristic magnificence, to create a splendid home for the precious collection, which should be more spacious and better lit, by constructing an entirely new building.

The library of the Popes had indeed to be kept in the Vatican Palace, but the unfortunate idea was entertained of placing it across the great cortile of Bramante,<sup>6</sup> thus destroying its great impressiveness. Sixtus V. adopted this proposal, undoubtedly because he wished once and for all to make it impossible to hold tournaments there, as had been the case even in the time of Pius IV.<sup>7</sup> Such worldly spectacles in the palace of the head of the Church were as abhorrent to him as to Pius V.

palace of the Inquisition is shown by an inscription on the corner of the palace giving upon the Campo Santo, which, however, has no date, but only the name "Sixtus V. P. M." Fr. Tromba mentions an "augmento al Palazzo del S. Offizio notabilissimo" in a \*letter to Cardinal Rusticucci, December 17, 1588, Misc. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>1</sup> See in App. No. 29 the \*Avviso of October 19, 1588, Vatican Library. Cf. RENAZZI, III., 4; ESCHER, 15 note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. IV. of this work, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> See NOLHAC in *Studi e docum.*, 1884, 267.

<sup>4</sup> See the AVVISO in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 285.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*Memorial in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, D. 5, n. 20.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. VI. of this work, pp. 485 seq.

<sup>7</sup> See Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 392, 415.

There was general dismay in Rome when in May, 1587, work was begun on pulling down the great double staircase with which Bramante had connected the two parts of the Belvedere.<sup>1</sup> But very soon men's minds accustomed themselves to the idea, all the more so when, in November, 1589, the great new building of Fontana aroused general admiration : this was extolled as one of the best works of the Pope,<sup>2</sup> who had visited the works in the February and May of the same year.<sup>3</sup>

In building the new library Fontana accommodated his work to the great difference between the two parts of the cortile of the Belvedere, by giving his building on the south side, which was lower, one storey more than on the north side. The fourteen rooms on the upper floor were intended for students, and the eight on the third floor for the custodians. Above these rose the great hall of the Library, into which when it was ready, the codices and printed books, at that time looked upon as equally important, were transferred. Since, in spite of its great size, this hall proved to be too small, even in the time of Sixtus V. a part of the collection was placed in the adjoining gallery on the east side. Afterwards, all along its length, every time it received an addition through the munificence of the Popes, the Vatican Library has been extended both on the right and left sides, until, when even this was not sufficient, other rooms at a greater distance had to be made use of.

<sup>1</sup> In the Avviso of May 13, 1587, in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 296, the demolition is only mentioned. There is also an \*Avviso of May 22, 1587, in which it is stated : " Quanto dispiace a tutta Roma la ruina del *theatro*, fusse per bono quel loco per la *libreria* manco mal seria (the words in italics in cypher). Urb. 1055, p. 176b, Vatican Library. Cf. in App. No. 15 the \*report of Malegnani, May 30, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*Avviso of February 8, 1589, Urb. 1057, Vatican Library. Information from the account books in the Papal Secret Archives concerning the construction of the Vatican Library in STEVENSON, 7 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the *Avvisi* in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 13.

Over the entrance door to the Library, in the Galleria Lapidaria, may be read the name of its founder. Two marble inscriptions in the entrance hall at once attract attention: one gives a short account of the history of the Library and of the new building which was completed in 1588, and the other pronounces excommunication reserved to the Pope for the removal or theft of books and codices.<sup>1</sup>

The great hall of the Library (*Salone Sistino*), which covers almost the whole of the upper floor, presents a surprising vista.<sup>2</sup> The whole space, which is well lit on three sides by tall windows, measures seventy metres in length, fifteen in breadth and nine in height. Six heavy pilasters divide it into two fine halls, with cruciform vaulting. The visitor asks himself in surprise: where are the books and codices?

<sup>1</sup> FONTANA, I., 72a *seq.* There, besides a short description, are collected all the inscriptions of the frescoes. Cf. also CICARELLA, *Vita Sixti V.*; BONANNI, I., 428 *seq.*; PANSA, *Della libreria Vatic.*, Roma, 1590, 34 *seq.*; ROCCA, *Bibl. Vatic.*, Romae, 1591, 3 *seq.*; DUMESNIL, *Hist. de Sixte-Quint*, Paris, 1869, 392 *seq.* In STEVENSON, *Topografia* the frescoes are reproduced: tav. 1 the coronation with the façade of old St. Peter's and the Vatican; tav. 3 the removal of the Vatican obelisk, the Piazza Colonna with the column of Marcus Aurelius; tav. 4 the church and palace of the Lateran before Sixtus V., and the plan of Rome with a relief of the line of the streets of Sixtus V. In *Sistine Rome*, Orbaan gives excellent reproductions of the translation of the body of Pius V. (p. 43), of the "Possesso" by Sixtus V. (p. 91), of the pontifical galleys (p. 95) and of the Piazza Colonna (p. 109). In the *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVIII., are reproductions, p. 197 the coronation of Sixtus V. by A. Tempesta, p. 199 the lateral view of old St. Peter's and the piazza with the recently erected obelisk. The apse and façade of St. Mary Major's in *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXXV. (1915), Pl. 1 and 2. The most recent reproduction of the frescoes in MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 2 *seq.*, 11, 17, 23, and in PASTOR, *Sisto V.*, tavv. 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 25, 26, 29. It has not hitherto been noticed that some of the frescoes have been retouched; thus the arms of Alexander VII. are to be seen on the Porta del Popolo.

<sup>2</sup> See PASTOR, *Sisto V.*, tav. 28.

In accordance with a proposal made by Vitruvius<sup>1</sup> in the time of Gregory XIII., for the sake of safety these treasures were placed in forty-six small closed presses,<sup>2</sup> architecturally adapted to the walls and pilasters, the remaining parts of the wall surface being adorned with paintings. According to the account books these cost 4582 scudi, and the whole building 42,077 scudi.<sup>3</sup> Federico Rainaldi, the custodian of the Library, drafted the plan, and the arrangement was settled by Silvio Antoniano, who, with the assistance of Pietro Galesini, also composed the inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> The paintings were designed and executed by Cesare Nebbia of Orvieto and Giovanni Guerra of Modena,<sup>5</sup> who employed a large number of collaborators for the different parts of the work, among them Paris Nogari, Antonio Tempesta, Andrea Lilio and Ventura Salimbeni.<sup>6</sup>

Not only the walls, but also the other parts of the hall, including the pilasters and the vaulting, were covered with paintings explained by Latin distichs. The fresco decorations, which are unusually rich, though varying a good deal in quality, together with the good light, give the celebrated library of Sixtus V. a very splendid appearance, though not

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Memorial addressed to Gregory XIII. in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, D. 5, n. 20.

<sup>2</sup> As the presses for the manuscripts are spread over a wide space, and their shelves are separated by considerable intervals, no fire on a large scale can develop at any one point. Therefore EHRLE (*Köln. Volkzeitung*, 1903, n. 953) says that the Vaticana surpasses "as far as the isolation and safety of its treasures are concerned, all the other libraries of Rome, and most of the modern libraries known to me."

<sup>3</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 163.

<sup>4</sup> See ROCCA, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 272; MERCATI, *Bibl. Ap.*, 70.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. BAGLIONE, 83, 110, 151. See also ORBAAN, *Conti di Fontana*, VIII., 67 seq.

<sup>6</sup> For the frescoes of A. Lilio and Salimbeni cf. VOSS, II., 504, 518, as well as Voss, *Gesch. der Barockmalerei*, Berlin, 1925, 458, 466. The fresco in the Lateran palace, representing the Salone Sistino while the painting was being executed, in PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 27.

restful and too highly coloured. The whole of the decoration is characteristic of the over-hasty pictorial ornamentation which was customary under Sixtus V., always so anxious for the speedy completion of his undertakings. How different they are from the creations of the true Renaissance! "In place of the principle adopted in the ceilings of the Sistine Chapel and the Hall of Constantine, we here find a varied scheme of painted surfaces and grotesques, which covers both walls and vaulting with ornamentation, but no longer, as in the time of Raphael, is this rigidly subordinated to the architecture, but on the contrary even serves to disguise the purpose of the architectural members, and transforms the whole surface into a fantastic tangle of line and colour."<sup>1</sup> Although from the artistic point of view they are unequal in merit and to a great extent worthless, these frescoes are nevertheless very interesting on account of their subjects. They are like the open pages of an illustrated book, which at once transport the spectator to the times of Sixtus V., and afford a vivid picture of his tastes and achievements. They almost all of them have reference to the purpose of the place and to its founder. There are but few productions of decorative art in which books play so important a part as in this.

The nine frescoes on the left wall represent the most celebrated libraries of all times and places. Among them may be seen the Library of the Pisistratidi at Athens, the celebrated creation of the first Ptolemy; the Museion at Alexandria, the Library of Augustus on the Palatine, the ancient Christian libraries of Jerusalem and Cesarea, and lastly the collection of books of the Popes in Rome.

On the right wall sixteen frescoes commemorate the

<sup>1</sup> See POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 130. Cf. also BERGNER, *Das barocke Rom.*, 113, who compares some of the representations to modern water-colours for their "light and masterly touch which is very far from Roman." Bergner believes that F. Barocci must have shared to some extent in the execution of the paintings in the Library. See also FRIEDLÄNDER, *Kasino Pius IV.*, and MUÑOZ, *Roma barocca*, 20.

ecumenical councils, beginning with that of Nicaea and ending with that of Trent. The second and third Councils of the Lateran are omitted, as well as the Council of Basle, which may easily be understood. Near to some of these frescoes are depicted scenes relating to them, as for example, near the Council of Nicaea, the burning of the Arian books at the hands of the Emperor Constantine. By the side of the fourth Council of the Lateran are shown the war against the Albigenses undertaken by Count Simon de Montfort at the instance of St. Dominic, and the dream of Innocent III., to whom St. Francis appears as the supporter of the tottering Church ; by the side of the Council of Lyons are the reunion of the Greeks with the Roman Church, and the baptism of the King of the Tartars ; alongside the picture of the fifth Lateran Council may be seen the Emperor Maximilian and Francis I. of France.<sup>1</sup>

On the pilasters, beginning with Adam, are depicted the supposed inventors of letters and languages, Abraham having ascribed to him the invention of the Chaldaean characters Moses and Esdras the Hebrew, " Queen Isis " the Egyptian, while Chrysostom is included as the inventor of the Armenian, and Jerome and Cyril of the Illyrian languages. On the last pilaster may be seen Christ, and in His hand an open book with the letters Alpha and Omega ; the beautiful inscription describes Him as the supreme master and author of sacred learning ; on his right hand is shown a Pope as the Vicar of Christ, and an Emperor as the defender of the Church of Christ.

Much the most noteworthy part of this vivid chronicle of the Church and of learning, in each case explained by inscriptions, are the frescoes referring to the pontificate of Sixtus V. These are to be found over the entrance doors, and above the windows, in the lunettes of the principal hall and the two adjoining rooms. The whole of the pontificate of the builder of the Library is here placed before the eyes of the spectator.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See FR. PISTOLESI, *I concili ecumenici illustrati, con riproduzione degli affreschi della Biblioteca Vaticana e prefazione di L. de Pastor, Montalto Marche, 1925.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. supra*, p. 293, n. 1.

There are the coronation of Sixtus V., the taking possession of the Lateran, the jubilee procession from the Aracoeli to St. Mary Major's at the beginning of his reign, and the translation of the body of Pius V. Naturally we find also an allegorical representation of the punishment of the bandits, and of the great galleys built for the protection of the coasts. Specially interesting is the picture of the *Possesso*, which shows the Pope on a white palfrey followed by the two Japanese princes; this shows the state of the Capitol at that time, and of the Lateran before the great changes effected by Sixtus V. Of great value too is the picture of the coronation, on account of the information it affords of the new building of St. Peter's, which at that time already rose high above the ancient basilica, although the dome was hardly half finished. Two frescoes record the Pope's care for the provisioning of Rome, and the establishment of moral discipline in the Eternal City. These show us many monuments and parts of the city in their primitive state, extraordinarily picturesque, and enlivened by representations of the life of the streets. Thus in the frescoes devoted to the obelisks we see the former state of the piazzas before St. Peter's, St. Mary Major's, S. Maria del Popolo and the Lateran. In the background of the picture of the Piazza Colonna,<sup>1</sup> we can see a large part of the city of that time. Then follow the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, adorned with the statues of the Princes of the Apostles, with the houses then surrounding them, the hospital for the poor, the Acqua Felice and the chapel of the Praeseptium. A picturesque plan of the Rome of Sixtus V. gives a good idea of the streets which he had made. Very interesting too for the topography of Rome are such pictures as the following: S. Girolamo and the Scala Santa, the hospital for the poor, the colossi on the Quirinal, and the fountain near the Capitol. Other frescoes refer to the decoration of Loreto and Montalto, the new aqueduct near Civitavecchia, the draining of the Pontine Marshes and the treasure of the Castle of St. Angelo. A special and very noteworthy picture, with a characteristic

<sup>1</sup> See PASTOR, Rom zu Ende der Renaiss., Fig. 82.

inscription,<sup>1</sup> is devoted to the removal of the obelisks. Another, immediately facing the latter, shows the dome of St. Peter's completed according to the design of Michelangelo.<sup>2</sup> Two other frescoes record the canonization of Diego and the elevation of St. Bonaventure to the dignity of a Doctor of the Church. The other Fathers and Doctors of the Church are depicted on the pilasters. As there was plenty of space, and as no part was to be left unpainted, a number of other subjects were also introduced. Thus rhetoric is symbolized by Cicero, history by Livy, arithmetic by Pythagoras, geometry by Euclid, physics by Aristotle, politics by Justinian, economics by Xenophon, astronomy by Ptolemy, logic by Zeno, grammar by Donatus, poetry by Virgil, music by Boethius, ethics by Plato, and theology by the Master of the Sentences, Peter Lombard.

The ceiling too is richly decorated with gold, stucco, grotesques and other paintings, among which may be seen landscapes and the national churches. Here, as elsewhere, there are numerous allusions to Sixtus V., and the lion and other heraldic emblems, as well as the devices of the founder may frequently be seen; very magnificent are the figures of some of the angels, who look down with open books in their hands.

Besides these frescoes the Library possesses near the original entrance an oil painting which is one of the best portraits of Sixtus V. The Pope, who is surrounded by his nephews, Michele Peretti and Cardinal Montalto, the Cardinal Librarian, Antonio Carafa, and some of the officials of the Library,

<sup>1</sup> *Saxa agit Amphion, Thebana ut Moenia condat.*

*Sixtus et immensae pondera molis agit.*

*Saxa trahunt ambo longe diversa sed arte,*

*Haec trahit Amphion, Sixtus et arte trahit.*

*At tantum exsuperat Dircaeam Amphiona Sixtus,*

*Quantum hic exsuperat caetera saxa lapis.*

In FONTANA, I., 83.

<sup>2</sup> See PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 29. For the representation of St. Peter's on the medal for the erection of the Vatican obelisk, see FREY, Michelangelostudien, Vienna, 1920, 119.



among them Federico Rainaldi, is seated in an arm-chair, while Fontana presents to him the plan of the Library.<sup>1</sup>

It will always be one of Sixtus V.'s special titles to fame that for the most precious of all collections of manuscripts he provided the most magnificent setting that the world has ever seen.<sup>2</sup>

The painters who were employed in the decoration of the Vatican Library were also employed in various ways in the embellishment of the ancient Vatican Palace.<sup>3</sup> Tommaso Laureti, the professor of perspective at the academy of S. Luca,<sup>4</sup> who was at that time leading his own life there, carried out the fresco decoration of the ceiling of the Hall of Constantine,<sup>5</sup> which had been begun in the time of

<sup>1</sup> An excellent reproduction as frontispiece in Sixtine Rome, ORBAAN. This author (89) as well as BESSONI-AURELI (Dizion. de' pittori ital., Città di Castello, 1915 (248), and MUÑOZ (Roma, 20) attribute the painting, which used frequently to be described as a work of Scip. Pulzone, to Pietro Facchetti, who is also mentioned in the most ancient guides to Rome. For Facchetti *cf.* the article by ELSHEIMER in *Kunstchronik*, 1910, n. 32. See also *Jahrb der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIV., 118.

<sup>2</sup> Opinion of DURM, *Handbuch der Architektur*, 347, who also says that the Vaticana is not surpassed in beauty and artistic value except by the Library of the Cathedral in Siena (*cf.* Vol. VI. of this work, 204) constructed by the order of Cardinal Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius III. ORBAAN (Sixtine Rome, 78) rightly says of the Vaticana of Sixtus V.: "It is one of the monuments of Sixtine Rome, which bear the characteristics of this Pope's taste in its most appealing form." BLUME (*Iter. ital.* III., Halle, 1830, 80) observes that the Vaticana owes the magnificent voluntary gifts of the seventeenth century to a great extent to nothing but its magnificent quarters, which are a guarantee of order and security, and which were the creation of Sixtus V.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* MISSIRINI, *Mem.*, d. Rom. Accad. di S. Luca, Rome, 1823 23 *seq.* HOOGEWERFF, *Bescheiden en Italië*, The Hague, 1913, 6. See also SCHLOSSER, *Materialen zur Quellenkunde der Kunstgesch.*, VI., Vienna, 1919, 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* BARBIER DE MONTAULT, II., 55.

Gregory XIII., in accordance with the new ideas ; the principal picture, the removal of the idols by the Emperor Constantine, and characteristic of the ideas as to antiquity in vogue at that time, gave very little satisfaction even to his contemporaries. It shows the interior of a church with a broken idol lying before the Crucified. The whole is too like an example of an academic essay in perspective.<sup>1</sup> In the corners the Pope had four devices painted, a lion, three mountains with a star, St. Francis of Assisi and the barque of St. Peter with Christ at the helm.<sup>2</sup>

Fontana also constructed a great new staircase adorned with frescoes, leading from the Vatican to St. Peter's, and also carried out various restorations in the Palace itself.<sup>3</sup>

In the spring of 1589 the Pope decided—he had been thinking of it since 1586,<sup>4</sup>—to make Fontana construct, in accordance with the ideas and needs of the times, a new residence in front of the ancient Vatican Palace, on the east side of the Cortile of S. Damaso. He was led to this great undertaking, which had to be carried out on steep and difficult ground, not only by his wish to enjoy from his windows a complete view of the city and of the Piazza of St. Peter's with its obelisk, but even more by hygienic considerations ; the apartments on the north of the old Vatican Palace had been found to be unhealthy, whereas the new ones gave full access to the sunlight so necessary in Rome, besides which their elevated position was more healthy.<sup>5</sup> This construction,

<sup>1</sup> See BAGLIONE, 68 *seq.* ; POSSE in *Jahrb. der preuss Kunstsammml.*, XL. (1919), 132 *seq.* Cf. VOSS, II., 572.

<sup>2</sup> See the AVVISO in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 284.

<sup>3</sup> See FONTANA, I., 5, 88, 89b ; ORBAAN, *Roma*, 290 and *Conti di Fontana*, VII., 422 *seq.* ; 424, VIII., 59. The name of Sixtus V. is also over the small door in the Stanza d'Eliodoro.

<sup>4</sup> “ \*Si dice che S. B. voglia in ogni modo abbellire il Vaticano et rimediare con abbassare il colle et riempire il piano accio non vi sia piu quell'aria cattiva et stendersi con la fabrica delli corritori verso la piazza sui fondamenti di Nicola V.” Avviso of November 1, 1586, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the inscription in TAJA, *Descriz. del Palazzo Apost. Vaticano*, Rome, 1750, 492 ; FONTANA, I., 5 ; MAFFEJI, *Hist.*, 3 ;

which was at once taken in hand, and was on a very large scale, forms a somewhat elongated square, and encloses a courtyard and joins on to the massive tower of Nicholas V. The façade facing south almost exactly follows the lines of the Lateran Palace. The palace, the severe character of which was enhanced by the employment in the walls of bare bricks,<sup>1</sup> was pushed on vigorously, but was not completed during the lifetime of the Pope.<sup>2</sup>

Thus it came about that Sixtus V. passed his last days at the Quirinal, where Cardinal Este had completed the palace begun there by Gregory XIII.<sup>3</sup> Sixtus looked upon the Cardinal as its owner,<sup>4</sup> all the more so as he was the lessee of the property which still belonged to the Carafa. In July 1586 he accepted the invitation of the Cardinal to exchange the Vatican, which was situated in a hot and unhealthy district, for the more airy heights of the Quirinal.<sup>5</sup> When Cardinal Este died (December 30th, 1586), Sixtus V. at once formed the idea of obtaining possession of the property on the Quirinal.<sup>6</sup> As soon as the contract of purchase was concluded in the spring of 1587,<sup>7</sup> he at once set to work with great activity on the new property, which was added to by further purchases. The façade facing the Via Pia was completed, and the piazza

ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 102, 202 *seq.*; EHRLE, *La grande veduta Maggi-Mascardi del tempio e palazzo Vatic.*, 112. See also the \*letter of Sixtus V. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, November 16, 1586, in which the Pope says: " Questa indisposizione crediamo che habbiamo fatta dall'aere temperato di Montecavallo a questa di S. Pietro ch'è humido." State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3, 715.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FONTANA, II., 11 *seq.*; GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 216; LETAROUILLY, *Vatican*, II., tavv. 28 and 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of June 23, 1590, Urb. 1058, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 284.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of May 8, 1585, Urb. 1053, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of July 9, 1586, Urb. 1054, p. 273b, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of January 7, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 4, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> See LANCIANI, IV., 97 *seq.* Cf. *Arch. Rom.*, II., 227; ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 294.

in front of the Quirinal was enlarged and adorned with the colossal statues of the horse-tamers, while plans were also made for erecting a fountain.<sup>1</sup> Here too Fontana was in charge of the works.<sup>2</sup>

When Sixtus V. went to take up his residence at the Palace of the Quirinal in June 1587, his quarters were so small that at a consistory he held there some of the Cardinals had to remain standing.<sup>3</sup> Although pressed forward with all energy the works had not been completed, though they advanced so far that in June 1590 he was able to offer accommodation to his more intimate Cardinals.<sup>4</sup> As had been the case in the previous year, so the Pope once again moved to the Quirinal Palace at the beginning of May, 1590,<sup>5</sup> and died there on August 27th.

The building work which Sixtus V. carried out with such force and energy in Rome during a reign of scarcely five years has rightly been described as marvellous and gigantic.<sup>6</sup> But this activity of his can only be properly understood if it is looked at in connexion with the Catholic restoration. The whole of the ideas of that period, the grand lines along which the policy of the Holy See was developing at that time, are reflected in the monumental conceptions of Sixtus V., whose

<sup>1</sup> Cf. FONTANA, I., 87b, 100; PASTOR, Sisto V., tav. 10; RODOCANACHI, *Antichità di Roma*, Paris, 1912, 37; GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 216. See also the \*reports of Malegnani, Apr. 29, June 20, 24, 27, 1587. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; \*Avviso of June 10, 1587, Urb. 1055, p. 208b. Vatican Library, and in App. No. 20 the \*Avviso of September 19, 1587, *ibid.*; also the Avviso of April 16, 1588, in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 304; cf. *Sixtine Rome*, 256 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. DE BENEDETTI, *Palazzi e ville reali d'Italia I.*, Florence, 1911, 16 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Malegnani, June 10, 1587, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Acta consist., June 18, 1590, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avvisi of June 3, 1589, and April 22, 1590, Urb. 1057, pp. 322, and 1058, p. 197, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See HÜBNER, II., 124. Cf. LANCIANI, II., 236, and N. TOSCANELLI in *N. Antologia*, CLIV. (1911), 276.

patronage of the arts recalls the grandiose ideas of Julius II.<sup>1</sup> Like the Rovere Pope, Sixtus V. was rarely content with a middle course. Nothing but outstanding undertakings satisfied him. His enthusiasm easily fired, he at once wished to see his ideas carried into effect. For him his architects always worked too slowly.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the drastic reductions which he made in the expenditure<sup>3</sup> the sums he expended for this purpose reached a million scudi by 1589,<sup>4</sup> without taking into account the expenditure on St. Peter's.

From the artistic point of view the feverish activity displayed by Sixtus as a patron of the arts certainly gives

<sup>1</sup> See TIEtZE in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of February 24, 1590, Urb. 1058, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the information from the account books of Fontana for the restoration of Trajan's column in *Bullett. d. Commiss. Archeol. Comun.*, 1896-1897. See also BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Lomb.*, I., 220.

<sup>4</sup> Exactly: 1,002,245 scudi 15½ Bol.; see BERTOLOTTI, *Art. Svizzeri*, 13 *seq.* and *Art. Lomb.* I., 75 *seq.* Cf. Gritti in HÜBNER, II., 497; STEVENSON, 6 *seq.*, 26. MÜNTZ (III., 244) calculated that this sum was equal to about 5 million francs in 1895. The statement of Paruta of more than four million scudi (in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 410) is an exaggeration. Detailed information from the "Libri I-XI. of the Conti del cavalier Domenico Fontana, architetto di N.S.," beginning on August 24, 1585, formerly in the State Archives, Rome, and now in the Papal Secret Archives, is given by ORBAAN in *Bollett. d'arte*, VII., 422 *seqq.*, VIII., 59 *seqq.*; cf. *Sistine Rome*, 171 *seq.* According to this the Acqua Felice cost 255,341; the chapel of the Praeseptium at St. Mary Major's about 90,000; the erection of the Vatican obelisk 37,000; the Vatican Library 38,000; the erection of the obelisk at the Lateran 24,611; the erection of the obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo 10,337; the erection of the obelisk near St. Mary Major's 3,000; the Hospice of the Mendicants and the Quirinal Palace 31,500 each; the Loggia of Benedictions at the Lateran 11,000; the Lateran Palace more than 30,000; the restoration of S. Sabina 717; the staircase from the Vatican to St. Peter's more than 600; the Villa Montalto 30,000 scudi. 12,000 scudi are set down for the various streets.

occasion for justifiable criticism;<sup>1</sup> yet in spite of this he must be given the credit, by the way in which, with the energy of the ancient Romans, he carried on the glorious traditions of Papal patronage of the arts, for having introduced into Rome, though he lacked the services of any great masters, the art of the baroque period and of having traced out the path for his successors. The Eternal City owes to him that character of grandeur and severe majesty which, developed by the great Popes of the sixteenth century, together with the bringing out of her spiritual character, gave for three centuries to the residence of the successors of St. Peter the special characteristics which marked it off from all the other capitals of the world.<sup>2</sup> And to this external transformation of Rome there corresponded the internal change effected by the Catholic restoration.<sup>3</sup>

Contemporaries passed over the unfortunate state of art during that time of transition:<sup>4</sup> their accounts express nothing but unconditional admiration for the new Rome

<sup>1</sup> See KALLAB in *Jahrb. der Kunstsamml. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 276, and VOSS, I., 6, II., 431.

<sup>2</sup> See LANCIANI, *Sulle vicende edilizie di Roma*, Roma, 1878, 41. Cf. MÜNTZ, III., 243 *seq.*; ESCHER, 12; ORBAAN, *Sixtine Rome*, 173 *seq.* D. ANGELI in *N. Antologia*, CXX. (1905), 21. The example set by Sixtus V. also influenced the plans of Henry IV. for Paris; see LAVISSE, VI., 2, 479.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*Raggioni per i collegii, p. 28, Propaganda Archives, Rome.

<sup>4</sup> In this connexion D. Angeli rightly observes: "Quel periodo fu, più d'ogni altro, un periodo di transizione. Posto fra gli ultimi aneliti del Rinascimento e i primi vagiti del grande secolo barocco, non sentiva più la grandezza del Buonarrotti, nè aveva ancora l'impeto e la passione di Gian Lorenzo Bernini. I suoi artisti—pittori e scultori soprattutto—parteciparono di quella incertezza e di quella stanchezza, producendo un arte corretta, ma freddissima, abile, ma senza sentimento (L'Istituto Massimo, Roma 1904, 10)." Cf. also the severe criticism of MUÑOZ (*Roma barocca*, 10 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*), who, however, places the art of this period in correspondence with the *contrariforma*, which does not seem to be quite justifiable.

created by Sixtus V.<sup>1</sup> "O happy Rome" (Roma Felix) exclaims Catervo Foglietta at the end of his description of the works of Sixtus V.<sup>2</sup> The Venetian ambassador Paruta says: "Anyone who sees the many and extraordinary works of Sixtus V., the long aqueducts and the public fountains, the streets and palaces and churches, could hardly believe that all this had been brought into being in so short a time."<sup>3</sup> No less a man than Tasso extolled the merits of "the great Sixtus" in enthusiastic verse,<sup>4</sup> which does not seem exaggerated when we remember that since the day of the Empire no such extensive and radical changes had taken place in the Eternal City. The Benedictine abbot, Angelo Grillo, gave enthusiastic expression to his views, writing soon after the death of Sixtus V. to Alessandro Spinola: "Here am I in Rome, and yet I cannot find the Rome I know: so great are the changes in the buildings, the streets, the piazzas, the fountains, the aqueducts, the obelisks, and the other marvels with which the glorious memory of Sixtus has beautified this old and ruinous city, that I cannot recognize nor find, so to speak, any trace of that old Rome which I left ten years ago, when I came away; and so would it seem to your lordship if you saw it in its new guise. If I had the leisure to play the poet, it would be to say that at the imperious summons of the dreaded trumpet of that great-hearted pontiff the limbs and venerable bones of its huge and half-buried body, broken and scattered throughout the Latin Campagna, had been

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Epigramma of Julius Roscius, "De nova Rom. urbe sub Sixto V. P. M.," Vat. 5531, Vatican Library; PARUTA, *Relazione*, 410; \*Letter of Fr. Tromba to Cardinal Rusticucci, dated di casa 19 dicembre 1588. *Miscell. Arm. XV.*, 37, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> \*Letter of May 10, 1587, *Ottob.* 568, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> PARUTA, *Relazione*, 410. Cf. also ANDREAE BACCII *Elpidiani, civis Romani, apud Sixtum V. P. M. medici De Thermis libri septem, Romae*, 1622, 373.

<sup>4</sup> *Quante le stelle in ciel, in mar l'arene*

Tanti sono del gran Sisto i meriti e i pregi.

TASSO, *Opere*, II., 560.

gathered and joined together, and that by the power of that fervid and living spirit, this new Rome had risen like the phoenix from its ashes."<sup>1</sup>

On this new Rome Sixtus V. also set its final and distinctive seal by his completion of the gigantic dome of St. Peter's. If in other things he had in many ways departed from the steps taken by his predecessor, in the building of St. Peter's Sixtus V. made no change of any kind: the direction of this work was left in the experienced hands of Giacomo della Porta,<sup>2</sup> who first devoted his attention to the removal of the temporary choir of Bramante, and the construction of the new tribune for the choir.<sup>3</sup> The fresco in the large hall of the Vatican Library shows the appearance of the ancient and the new basilicas still standing side by side at the beginning of the pontificate of Sixtus V. Here too the monuments of former ages were not spared: thus in 1586 the tomb of Callixtus III. was destroyed.<sup>4</sup>

During the summer of that year difficulties were encountered, which, however, Sixtus V. was able to overcome by obtaining

<sup>1</sup> See lettera dell' Ab. te Angiolo Grillo, pub. by Pietro Petracchi, Venice, 1608, 379.

<sup>2</sup> \* "Giacomo della Porta hora tiene il primo luogo poichè ha la cura della fabrica di S. Pietro e quella delle fabriche del popolo Romano" reports C. Capilupi, September 6, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the documents published by O. POLLAK in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVI., 69 seq. and FREY, *Bramantes St.-Peter-Entwurf*, Vienna, 1915, 69. A reproduction of St. Peter's in 1585, with the provisional choir of Bramante in *Arch. d'arte*, VI. (1893), 125.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LANCIANI, IV., 160 seq. *Ibid.*, 162, for the further, decoration of the Capella Gregoriana by Sixtus V. A. Buchelius describes in his report of his travels (in *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 56), how the ancient monuments of St. Peter's were lying scattered about and neglected. Cf. also GRISAR, I., 432, and the Avviso in ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 296. The discovery of the tomb of Cendwalla is described in a report of 1588 in DE ROSSI, *Inscript.*, II., 288.



the necessary funds.<sup>1</sup> He was already urging the completion of the dome of Michelangelo,<sup>2</sup> which no one yet had dared to face on account of the difficulties connected with so vast an undertaking: the diameter of the drum is forty-two metres. It was the general opinion in Rome that it would take at least ten years and a million ducats to carry out the work,<sup>3</sup> and that it would be impossible to do this in a single pontificate. But as had been the case with the construction of the aqueduct, with which he began his pontificate, Sixtus V. did not let himself be dismayed by the magnitude of the task; as had been the case with the setting up of the obelisk, its difficulties only spurred him to greater efforts.

In the autumn the Venetian ambassador was able to report "It has been decided to complete the vaulting of the dome."<sup>4</sup> In January 1587 the Pope was in close consultation with the engineers and architects,<sup>5</sup> but a year later no decision had been come to. Nevertheless the rumour was current that the Pope was determined that the work should be begun in February,<sup>6</sup> but it was only in the middle of July 1588, twenty-four years after the death of Michelangelo, that a start was made upon the great work.<sup>7</sup> The necessary funds were in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in App. No. 7 the \*Avviso of July 30, 1586, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of August 23, 1586, Urb 1054, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See BONANNI, Numismata, 76.

<sup>4</sup> See the \*letter of Gritti, October 25, 1586, State Archives, Venice.

<sup>5</sup> See the Avviso of January 21, 1587, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 291.

<sup>6</sup> See the \*Avviso of January 23, 1588 (Sixtus V. desires that at the beginning of February "con ogni sollecitudine si attenda alla perfettione della cupola della chiesa Vaticana"), Urb. 1056, p. 30, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the accounts beginning July 21, 1588, published by ORBAAN in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVIII., supp. (1917) 189 *seqq.* from the archives of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro, completed with explanations and contemporary designs, and illustrating the successive progress of the building. *Ibid.*, p. 207, is given the passage from Grimaldi, stating that the building operations were begun on July 15, 1588.

readiness, and the Pope wished to have daily information as to the great undertaking.<sup>1</sup> It was said in Rome that the Pope had assigned 1500 scudi a week to the purpose.

The view that Giacomo della Porta did not altogether follow Michelangelo's design for the exterior lines of the dome has wrongly been called in question.<sup>2</sup> On the evidence of the detailed description of Vasari, of the engravings in du Pérac, and of contemporary Papal medals, it is possible to identify the changes introduced by della Porta, which affected the elevation of the cupola, the windows and the lantern.<sup>3</sup>

As in the case of his other building works Sixtus V. urged the speedy completion of the vaulting of the dome, characteristically saying in August 1588 that there were still other great works to be done.<sup>4</sup> The vaulting of the dome was begun on December 22nd, 1588.<sup>5</sup> Giacomo della Porta, who was assisted by Fontana,<sup>6</sup> did all they could to satisfy the Pope's wishes. From March 1589 800 workmen<sup>7</sup> were employed there day and night, even on feast days, with the exception of Sundays. It was as though the Pope had a presentiment of his approaching end; he nevertheless hoped to see the work

<sup>1</sup> See the letter published by ORBAAN in *Mél. d'archéol. et d'hist.*, XLII. (1925), 111 seq. Cf. also BONANNI, *Numismata*, 76; \*Avviso of July 20, 1588 (Vatican Library), in App. No. 25; ROCCA, App. Bibl. Vat., 418.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. GEYMÜLLER, *Ursprüngl. Entwürfe*, 244; DURM, *Die Domkuppel in Florenz u. die Kuppel der Peterskirche in Rom.*, Berlin, 1887 (from *Zeitschr. f. Bauwesen*); MACKOWSKY, *Michelangiolo*, 339.

<sup>3</sup> This especially on the authority of Dagobert Frey, whose account I follow.

<sup>4</sup> \*" Il papa sollecita la fabrica di S. Pietro dicendo che restano oltre grande opere da farsi ancora." \*Avviso of August 24, 1588, Urb. 1056, p. 367, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See Grimaldi in ORBAAN, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVIII., 207. Cf. STEVENSON, 17.

<sup>6</sup> See FONTANA, I., 5, 88.

<sup>7</sup> See ROCCA, 417.

finished. The progress made was extraordinary, and so great that men counted on its completion by Christmas, 1590.<sup>1</sup> Yet Sixtus V., in his ardent zeal, entertained the hope of even greater speed. In November 1589 he expressed his hope of being able to celebrate the first mass under the new dome within a few months.<sup>2</sup> If he had lived longer the energetic Franciscan would have carried out his further intention of completing the new façade of St. Peter's.<sup>3</sup>

On May 21st 1590 Rome was informed that "to his everlasting glory and the shame of his predecessors our holy Pope Sixtus V. has completed the vaulting of the dome of St. Peter's." On May 14th, 1590, a magnificent day in spring, after a solemn mass of thanksgiving in St. Peter's, the last stone, adorned with the name of Sixtus V., and already blessed, was placed in the dome.<sup>4</sup> It was a day of triumph for the aged Giacomo della Porta: none but a Roman, it was said, could have accomplished so great a work, which threw into the shade even the creations of the ancients.<sup>5</sup> In a poetic glorification of the works of Sixtus V. published at the time, Vincenzo Robardi devoted enthusiastic verses to the dome.<sup>6</sup> Angelo Rocca in his work on the Vatican Library extols it as being unique in all the world.<sup>7</sup> In spite of the heat of the summer the work was carried on, and thus before he died Sixtus was able to admire from the Quirinal Palace the most beautiful and noble outline that architecture has ever produced.

<sup>1</sup> See in App. Nos. 22 in Vol. XXI., 34, the \*Avvisi of March 15 and April 26, 1589, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See Avviso of November 1, 1589, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 310.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. STEVENSON, 22.

<sup>4</sup> See the Avvisi of May 12 and 19, 1590, in ORBAAN, Avvisi, 311 seq.; cf. Sixtine Rome, 222, where the date (March 19) is wrong. See also BONANNI, Numismata, 77.

<sup>5</sup> See BAGLIONE, 76.

<sup>6</sup> "Tollitur aetherias tholus admirandus in auras etc." V. ROBARDI, Sixti V. gesta quinquennalia, Romae, 1590. Cf also the poem of Silvio Antoniano in TEMPESTI, II., 25.

<sup>7</sup> ROCCA, 417.

All that remained to be done was its covering with lead, the interior mosaics, and the lantern.<sup>1</sup>

In the history of the church of St. Peter's we have a reflection of the vicissitudes of the Papacy in modern times. Commenced on the eve of the great schism which cut off from the centre of unity vast territories of Europe, the zeal for its completion grew cold by reason of the stormy times, only to be taken up again with renewed energy under Paul III. after the beginnings of the internal reform of the Church. While the Council of Trent was once more consolidating, uniting and purifying the deeply shaken Church, the new St. Peter's was solidly growing up under the disinterested direction of Michelangelo, and when the Catholic reform in the south of Europe had been effected, and the state of the Church consolidated even beyond the Alps, in Germany, the Low Countries and France, this victory of the Church again found its expression in art. The miracles of architecture had found their ideal completion in seeing the Pantheon as it were carried into the air, and it fell to the most energetic of the Popes of the Catholic restoration to put the finishing touch to the aspirations of the artists of the Renaissance, and to bring to completion the greatest and the most imposing work of Michelangelo.<sup>2</sup> Free and light as a celestial globe the gigantic cupola stands with the solemn majesty of a mistress of the world against the blue of the southern skies. Words cannot describe the dignity, the harmony and the imposing ascent into the empyrean of this work, perhaps the most daring of all time. At every hour of the day and year the dome of St. Peter's presents new beauties: whether it be that the windows of its drum are pierced by the first rays of dawn, by the burning heat of noon, or by the sun as it sets, or whether it be overcast by the heavy clouds of storm and rain, it produces an effect quite its own, even when the leaden skies of the scirocco hang over the Eternal City. It is most beautiful when in spring, after a day of rain the skies

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ORBAAN, *Avvisi*, 312.

<sup>2</sup> See DURM, *Baukunst der Renaissance*, 496.

have cleared, and the sun setting behind the Janiculum paints the firmament blood-red, until houses and churches slowly merge into darkness, the first lights are lit, and the great mass stands out clear and detached against the sky all strewn with glittering stars.

As it is the most beautiful, so the dome of St. Peter's is the greatest work that the Eternal City can show. From every point of view it gives the impression of grandeur. Seen from the Pincio or the Janiculum, from the Palace of the Caesars or from the heights of the Alban Hills, it stands forth as mistress among all the buildings of Rome. Wherever one goes in the melancholy stretches of the Campagna, everywhere there rises up the dome of St. Peter's; when all the palaces and churches, the houses and the hills have disappeared, this marvellous creation may still be seen rising tall and majestic in the air.

A royal symbol of the city of the Seven Hills, which conveys to the traveller the first greeting and the last farewell of the city of the Popes, the dome of St. Peter's is also the symbol of the universal Church, and of its centre, the Papacy. With the majestic circle of columns that surround it, like a splendid coronet, it adorns the tomb of the Fisherman of Galilee. The promise made by the Divine Founder of the Church to the Prince of the Apostles has dethroned Jupiter from the Capitol and Caesar from the Palatine, and made the occupants of the Chair of Peter the rulers of a world-wide and ever growing spiritual kingdom, assured of an existence that will have no end. Such thoughts fill the mind of the pilgrim with exultation when, kneeling at that august tomb, he lifts his eyes to the dome all flooded with light. Above the intersection of the naves he reads in letters of gold mosaic the charter of foundation of the Papacy: TU ES PETRUS, while at the summit near the lantern there shine in the same gold letters the words: SANCTI PETRI GLORIAE SIXTUS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS V. ANNO 1590.

Artistically a monument of the height of the Renaissance, which reached its completion in the midst of the Catholic restoration, in virtue of its renewed enthusiasm for religion,

the most beautiful of the domes created by the hand of man has become for all time an incomparable symbol of the ancient Church restored after the storms of the religious schism, and of her unceasing care for the spread of the kingdom of Christ among all the peoples of the world.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE PONTIFICATE OF URBAN VII.

SIXTUS V. had watched with iron severity over the peace and quiet of the Papal States, but no sooner was he dead than the elements of disorder raised their heads. Although, thanks to the steps taken by the Cardinals, the period of the vacancy was not so disastrous as was at first feared, lamentable excesses were by no means wanting. The great number of foreigners who were in Rome caused a notable scarcity of provisions.<sup>1</sup>

At their first congregation the Cardinals confirmed the dead Pope's grand-nephew, Michele Peretti, as general of the troops of the Papal States, while, in accordance with the proposal of Cardinal Montalto, Duke Onorato Caetani was associated with him as lieutenant-general, with the task of at once enrolling 2,000 infantry for the protection of Rome. In the meantime the Romans devoted themselves to the task of keeping guard. The College of Cardinals made lavish use of the money of Sixtus V., and the 1,150,000 scudi which had not been tied up by Sixtus V. were almost completely spent: 400,000 scudi were given to the city of Rome to purchase grain, and another half million to the other cities of the Papal States: the remaining 250,000 scudi were devoted to the expenses of the conclave.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the \*Avvisi of September 1 and 5, 1590, Urb. 1058, pp. 441b, 449, Vatican Library, and the \*report of Sporeno, ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol (cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 128 *seq.*), September 8, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, fol. 96, n. 83, fasc. 3. See also \*Memorie d'alcuni fatti accaduti durante il conclave di Urbano VII essendo generale di S. Chiesa Onorato Caetani, Gaetani Archives, Rome, 79, n. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See the report of A. Badoer, September 1, 1590, in HÜBNER, II. 379. Cf. \*Avviso of August 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 437b, Vatican Library.

The Cardinals at once turned their attention to the affairs of France. With regard to the question whether Cardinal Caetani was to be recalled to Rome, or was to remain in Paris, it was unanimously resolved to leave the decision to the legate himself. On the other hand there was a great divergence of opinion as to whether the death of Sixtus V. was to be notified to all the French Cardinals, and whether they were to be summoned to the conclave. Bonelli maintained strongly that this should not be done, as the Cardinals who adhered to Navarre had by that very fact become schismatics. But the majority did not agree with this view, and it was resolved against the opinion of Bonelli, that a summons should be sent to all the French Cardinals to attend the conclave. A decisive factor in this decision was the fear lest otherwise the validity of the election should be impugned. For this reason even Cardinals of pronounced Spanish leanings, like Deza, gave their votes in this sense.<sup>1</sup>

In the days immediately following the death of Sixtus V. many different names were put forward as *papabili*, or as having good hopes of being elected. From September 5th, 1590, the Roman, Giambattista Castagna, was looked upon as the candidate with the best chance of success;<sup>2</sup> the only things that were prejudicial to him were the great number of his relatives, and the open support of the Spanish party.<sup>3</sup> A few days later his chances were estimated in financial circles at 22 per cent. After him there came the aged Giovanni Serbelloni with 15 per cent., Sfondrato with 11 per cent., Colonna with 10 per cent., Valiero and Laureo with 9 per cent., Galli with 8 per cent., Santori with 7 per cent., and Paleotto, Albani and Montelparo with 4 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 149 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> \*Avviso of September 5, 1590, Urb. 1008, p. 449, Vatican Library. Cf. the \*report of Brumani, September 7, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of September 1, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 441, Vatican Library. Cf. the report of Vinta in PETRUCELLI, II., 283.

<sup>4</sup> \*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 454, Vatican Library.



Although the pontificate of Sixtus V. had only lasted for five years, the aspect of the Sacred College had nevertheless during that short time entirely changed its aspect. No fewer than twenty-four Cardinals had died,<sup>1</sup> among them some, such as Sirleto, Cesi and Farnese, who at preceding elections had been in the first rank. Of special importance had been the death in 1589 of the grandson of Paul III., for the "great Cardinal" as Alessandro had been called, had for years past determined the grouping of the parties in the Sacred College.<sup>2</sup> After the death of this outstanding personality, the traditional division of the Cardinals had once more come into being, namely that which grouped together the creations of each Pope. This was clearly manifested at the conclave, which began on September 7th. Out of the sixty-seven Cardinals forming the Sacred College, fifty-four took part in this.<sup>3</sup> Among the electors only six foreigners took part: two Germans, Altemps and Madruzzo, two Spaniards, Deza and Mendoza, one Frenchman, Pellevé, and one Englishman, Allen.

The principal parties in the sacred College were three: the Spanish, the Gregorian and the Sixtine; the number of

<sup>1</sup> Niccolò Gaetani, Guido Ferreri, Alberto Bolognetti, Georges d'Armagnac, Alessandro Riario, Guglielmo Sirleto, Matteo Contarelli, Michele della Torre, Filippo Boncompagni, Ant. Granvella, Pietro Donato Cesi, Luigi d'Este, Georg Draskowich, Charles d'Angennes, Giov. Franc. Gambara, Filippo Guastavillani, Decio Azzolini, Charles of Lorraine, Jacopo Savelli, Louis of Lorraine, Stefano Bonucci, Alessandro Farnese, Prospero Santa Croce, Charles Bourbon; see CIACONIUS, IV., 200 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 395, 415. Cf. NAVENNE, Palais Farnese, 673 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 59. Of these who were absent 8 (Gaspare di Quiroga, Albert of Austria, Rodrigo de Castro François Joyeuse, Georg Radziwill, Charles de Bourbon, Andrew of Austria and Andrew Báthory) belonged to the Cardinals of Gregory XIII., 5 (Errico Caetani, Philippe de Lenoncourt, Pierre Gondi, Hugh de Loubenx and Charles of Lorraine) to the Cardinals of Sixtus V. The complete number 67 is given exactly in PETRAMELLARIUS, 340; in CIACONIUS, IV., 203 *seq.* A. Carafa is missing.

Cardinals who owed their elevation to Sixtus V. was twenty-five: Gimbattista Castrucci, Federico Cornaro, Domenico Pinelli, Ippolito de' Rossi, Ippolito Aldobrandini, Girolamo della Rovere, Girolamo Bernieri, Antonio Maria Galli, Costanzo Sarnano, William Allen, Scipione Gonzaga, Antonio Sauli, Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta, Juan de Mendoza, Giovan Francesco Morosini, Mariano Pierbenedetti, Gregorio Petrochino Montelparo, Alessandro Peretti Montalto, Girolamo Mattei, Benedetto Giustiniani, Ascanio Colonna, Federico Borromeo, Agostino Cusano, Francesco Maria del Monte and Guido Pepoli.<sup>1</sup> Of the Cardinals of Sixtus V. only two were looked upon as *papabili*, Ippolito Aldobrandini and Girolamo della Rovere. Aldobrandini had especially attracted attention to himself by his successful legation in Poland, but in itself there was but little likelihood of one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V. being elected. Rovere, as the candidate favoured by the Duke of Savoy, had against him all the friends of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; nor were the Spaniards favourably disposed to him on account of his relations with France.<sup>2</sup>

The real candidate of Montalto, the leader of the Cardinals of Sixtus, was Marcantonio Colonna, though the latter, on account of his worldly life, did not seem to be at all fitted for

<sup>1</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 203. HERRE (415, n. 2) has given three lists, giving information about each of the Cardinals and their chances of election. \*Memoria de los cardenales que en esta sede vacante de Sixto quinto se hallan en Roma y cuya hechura y criatura sea cada uno dellos y lo que se debe advertir sobre la elecion del sumo pontefice [September 14, 1590] (besides the copy in the Simancas Archives, used by Herre, there is another in the archives of the embassy of Spain in Rome. II. \*Relazione of Dr. Tirante Bongiovanni to Rudolph II., July 27, 1591, State Archives, Vienna, Rom., 42. III. \*Discorso per la sede vacante di Gregorio XIV. del mese d'ottobre 1590. Besides the copy used by Herre in Cod. Milich. 389, pp. 39-42, in the Library, Görlitz, this Discorso, many points in which call for a serious critical examination, is also to be found in Cod. 6322, pp. 126-145 of the State Library, Vienna, and in Cod. 112 of the Capilupi Library, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 418.

the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.<sup>1</sup> He had, moreover, many enemies among the Cardinals of Sixtus V. In spite of this the young nephew of the dead Pope was resolved to work with all his might for this relative of his. When, on September 3rd, Montalto promised Vinta, the representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was working on behalf of Castagna, that he would concur in the election of his candidate, he still insisted on first making an attempt on behalf of Colonna.<sup>2</sup>

Besides Colonna, the eight Cardinals of Pius IV. included in their number four other *papabili*: Serbelloni, Galli, Gesualdo and Lodovico Madruzzo, all of whom, however, had to reckon with powerful opponents. Of the six Cardinals of Pius V., Bonelli, Pellevé, Rusticucci, Albani, Carafa and Santori, only Santori had any serious chance, but on account of the great number of his opponents his success was not likely.<sup>3</sup>

Of the fourteen Cardinals of Gregory XIII., Deza, Facchinetti, Castagna, Alessandro Medici, Canani, Sfondrato, Salviati, Valiero, Laureo, Spinola, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Lancellotti, Vincenzo Gonzaga and Francesco Sforza, several were strongly inclined to Spain, and it seemed that they were likely to play all the more decisive a part as they were more closely united. The leadership of the Gregorian Cardinals was in the hands of the young and energetic Sforza, with whom Laureo, Salviati, Valiero and Medici were in close alliance. Sforza himself was very worldly in his ideas; he combined an ardent spirit and a gift for negotiation with great courage.<sup>4</sup> He was resolved to do all in his power to secure the tiara for one of the Gregorian Cardinals. This was in accordance with the tradition by which the creations of

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Vinta, that Colonna had illegitimate children (PETRUCELLI, II., 284) is confirmed by a \*report of Brumani, s.d. in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which certainly belongs to the beginning of September 1590.

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 428 *seq.*, 436.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 419, 430.

<sup>4</sup> See the opinion of Maretta, *ibid.*, 429, n. 2.

the last Pope but one had the first claim on the supreme dignity. The *papabili* among the Gregorian Cardinals were in the first place Giambattista Castagna, the declared candidate of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, and who was at the same time very acceptable to the Spaniards;<sup>1</sup> then came Facchinetti and Sfondrato, but these had to reckon with more opponents than Castagna, though their hopes of success were nevertheless outstanding. Much less favourable were the prospects of Lancellotti, who was opposed to the Spaniards, and of Laureo, whose candidature was principally supported by the Duke of Savoy.<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish party consisted of twenty-two Cardinals: these were the two Colonna, Galli, Madruzzo, Pellevé, Santori, Rusticucci, Deza, Sfondrato, Spinola, Paleotto, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Simoncelli, Facchinetti, Carafa, Allen, Mendoza, Andrew of Austria, Cusano, the two Gonzaga and Caetani.<sup>3</sup> In spite of its large numbers, the Spanish party was weak, as it lacked solidarity, so that, as Olivares, the representative of Philip II. quickly realized, it was quite unable to deliver any decisive blow. Those who were unconditionally devoted to the King of Spain were only Deza, Mendoza, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Spinola and Madruzzo.<sup>4</sup> To the latter, who was generally respected, fell the leadership of the Spanish party, because all had a high opinion of his capability and experience of the affairs of the conclave;<sup>5</sup> Olivares, the ambassador of Philip II., was all the more anxious for the arrival of the Cardinal of Trent, as in spite of his requests, he had received

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 416, 420 *seq.* Cf. FUSAI, B. Vinta 44 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 416, *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua the \*list sent by Cataneo on November 10, 1590.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Conclave di Gregorio XIV. composto da Lelio Marettil gentilhuomo Sanese, Library of the Servites, Innsbruck.

<sup>5</sup> \*"Cardinale accettissimo al Re per l'affetto havuto sempre alla casa d'Austria, per la gravità de' costumi et per l'opinione che havevano li Spagnuoli della sua prudenza in questi maneggi particolarmente dove egli era con sua molta lode intervenuto più volte," says Marettil, *loc. cit.*

no fresh instructions from Madrid, and was therefore obliged to make use of those he had received in 1585. These excluded all the candidates favourable to France. As those most worthy of support Madruzzo and Santori were named in the first place, and then Castagna, who was praised on account of his zeal for religion and his great experience. Facchinetti, della Torre and Sfondrato were also mentioned as acceptable candidates. The candidature of Marcantonio Colonna, although the latter was one of the Spanish party, inspired little confidence in Olivares,<sup>1</sup> and his opinion of the danger of putting forward that Cardinal was fully shared by the Duke of Savoy and Madruzzo. The three representatives of Philip II. finally decided on a kind of compromise, and Madruzzo was instructed to present, not only to the Spanish party, but also to the whole Sacred College, Cardinals Paleotto, Galli, Santori, Facchinetti and Castagna as the candidates acceptable to Philip II.<sup>2</sup> This was done, notwithstanding the fact that a number of the Cardinals displayed a justifiable indignation at the preponderant influence exercised by Spain in Papal elections.<sup>3</sup>

Without the help of the Spanish party, or of the party of Cardinal Montalto, thought the ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, no Pope could be elected, as neither of these parties was in a position by itself to secure the necessary majority of two-thirds; the decision therefore lay either with the Gregorian Cardinals or with those of Sixtus V.<sup>4</sup>

While the Jesuits exposed the Blessed Sacrament in their church for the Forty Hours in order to obtain the election

<sup>1</sup> See HERRE 323 *seq.*, 423 *seq.* Of significance is the statement of the \*Avviso of September 1, that until the arrival of Madruzzo and of Vinta, the trusted agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, nothing could be said. Urb. 1058, p. 441, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 441 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Sporeno, September 15, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

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

of a good Pope,<sup>1</sup> the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in St. Peter's on the morning of September 8th, 1590, after which Antonio Boccapaduli delivered the customary discourse to the Cardinals. In this discourse he spoke of the importance of the office of the Pope, whose duties had been increased in consequence of the losses which the Church had suffered, and by the complicated state of the political situation. He specially alluded to the fact that one of the most important parts of the Church, France, was a prey to the horrors of war, while almost everywhere else there were wounds crying out to be healed. Hence it was their sacred duty, putting aside all private interests, to effect a wise Papal election.<sup>2</sup>

After Boccapaduli's discourse the Cardinals repaired to the conclave, which had been made ready in the Vatican. Before it was closed the diplomatists once more presented themselves. The Spaniards displayed special eagerness, for to them the result of the Papal election was extremely important because of the disturbances in France, and they continued their activities up to the last moment at the window which afforded the sole remaining means of communication with the outside world.<sup>3</sup> The leader of the Spanish party, Madruzzo, only arrived in the afternoon of the following day in the conclave, where an indecisive ballot had already taken place in the morning. When he was asked by his followers what their attitude should be towards the candidature of Colonna, the Cardinal of Trent left the matter entirely to their judgment. But even so it was seen only too clearly how great was the influence of Philip II. It was inferred from Madruzzo's attitude of cautious reserve that the King of Spain would not welcome the election of Colonna, and this was itself enough

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 455, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> The discourse, which was much praised (\*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 454, Vatican Library) is inserted in the \*Diaria caerem. of Joh. Paulus Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives, and Cod. 12547 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It is also found in Cod. F. 39 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See Vinta in PETRUCCELLI, II., 291; HERRE, 445.

to ruin his chances.<sup>1</sup> Nor did Galli, who was put forward by Bonelli, meet with any better success, since Madruzzo was unwilling to pledge himself to his support in face of the opposition of Montalto and del Monte. When, after this, Bonelli suggested Aldobrandini, Madruzzo rejected him unconditionally. Fifty-one Cardinals were present at the opening of the conclave, to whom three more were added during the days that followed, thus bringing the number of the electors up to fifty-four.

From September 9th to the 13th the days were occupied by the zealous efforts of the friends of Colonna to obtain his elevation,<sup>2</sup> but these met with the greatest difficulties. A vain attempt was made to win over Madruzzo to the cause of Colonna, but the Gregorian Cardinals opposed him solidly.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand the attempts to obtain the tiara for one

<sup>1</sup> See the notes in diary form of a conclavist of Cardinal Colonna in "Conclavi" (1667) 213-224 (in Latin in *Tria conclavia*, Frankfurt, 1617), the great reliability of which HERRE (445) rightly points out. The description by Herre is the most complete and best of all recent ones; he was the first to use, besides the reports of the embassies, which had been consulted by Petrucelli, the \*reports of Dörnberg to Rudolph II. (State Archives, Vienna, Rom, 42) as well as the \*reports of Olivares (Simancas Archives). WAHRMUND (101 *seq.*) combats the descriptions of the conclave of Urban VII. given by Ranke and Gindely, though he is wrong in reducing the Cardinals of Gregory XIII. to seven. For Gindely see also HERRE, 458, n. 2. A \*Sonetto sul conclave after the death of Sixtus V. in Cod. 21382, British Museum, London.

<sup>2</sup> The statement of Dörnberg that many armed men with the badge of Colonna were to be seen in the city (HERRE, 446), in order to support the claims of Colonna, is confirmed by the \*Avviso of September 12, 1590. According to this the leader of these bands was Marzio Colonna. In the Avviso we find the following: "Motto gustoso: Colonna per pratiche, S. Quattro [Facchinetti] per ragione di canonici, Como [Galli] per ragione di Stato, Mondovì [Laureo] per Spirito Santo et Albano per modum provisionis." Urb. 1058, p. 461, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*report of Fed. Cataneo, September 15, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the two candidates chosen by Philip II., Facchinetti and Santori, met with no success. As far as Santori was concerned, not only did the Spaniards give him their united support, but it also seemed that the majority of the Cardinals of Sixtus V., in spite of Montalto, were disposed to give him their votes. The hopes of Santori rose so high, that the Florentine party and Montalto found themselves obliged to resolve on his definite exclusion ; they also declared themselves equally definitely against Facchinetti.<sup>1</sup> Montalto tenaciously continued his efforts on behalf of Colonna, but was filled with chagrin and displeasure as it became more and more evident that not only was the lukewarmness of the Spanish party fatal to his candidature, but that in consequence of the continued secret activity of the Florentines, he was unable even to count upon the support of his own followers. Montalto, however, continued to resist so strongly that fears were entertained of a long conclave.<sup>2</sup> He only gave up Colonna when Madruzzo told him that he could not give him his vote, while at the same time Federico Borromeo declared that his conscience forbade him to vote for Colonna. To all this was also added the opposition of Cardinal Sforza, the leader of the Cardinals of Gregory XIII. In the end Colonna had the sense to withdraw of his own accord.

It was at that moment that there came upon the scene that Cardinal "as to whom alone the interests of the parties in whose hands the decision lay were not divided,"<sup>3</sup> Giambattista Castagna. He had already at the scrutiny of the morning of September 14th obtained twenty votes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See HERRE, 448 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> "Vuole star duro in una sua creatura et crepare in conclave" says the \*Avviso of September 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 455, Vatican Library. The envoy of Urbino remarks concerning the \*Avviso of September 15, 1590 (*loc. cit.*, 463) that in the conclave there were so many "scartafacci et scritte, che si prevede con grande scomiglio per questa elettione." Cf. also \*Diaria caerem. of Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> See HERRE, 451.

<sup>4</sup> According to Fed. Cataneo in his \*report of September 15, 1590, there were only 18, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.



The Spaniards and the Florentines had already declared for him, and now Sforza and his followers, and lastly the Genoese Cardinals of Sixtus V. did the same. But Montalto still resisted. If in the end he withdrew his opposition, this was due, not only to the pressure of the Florentines, but also to the fact that Sforza, Altamps, the two Gonzaga and the two Colonna pledged themselves to vote at the next conclave for one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V.<sup>1</sup> It was in the evening of September 14th that a decision was come to, and on the following day Castagna was unanimously elected Pope. When he was asked by the Master of Ceremonies, Mucantius, what name he wished to take, he replied that as he desired to bear an ancient name of the Popes, he wished to be known as Urban VII.<sup>2</sup>

The new Pope<sup>3</sup> was a sympathetic personality, of middle height, and dignified bearing.<sup>4</sup> He came of an ancient noble

<sup>1</sup> For this reason the \**Discorso dei cardinali* of 1621, in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, could state that Montalto had in a sense obtained the tiara for Urban VII. Cf. MARETTI \**Conclave* (*supra*, p. 318, n. 4) Library of the Servites at Innsbruck; HERRE, 452. The \**letter of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga*, September 15, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, tells of the share taken by the two Gonzaga.

<sup>2</sup> \*'A Francisco fratre seniore ex magistris caeremoniarum interrogatus quo nomine vellet nuncupari, respondit renovanda esse nomina antiquorum s. pontificum, et sic elegit sibi nomen Urbanum VII, quod nomen cum ipsius pontificis benignitate et natura maxime conveniebat, nam et urbanus erat et de urbe ac urbanitatis plenus.' Ioh. Paulus Mucantius, \**Diaria caerem.*, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> See CICARELLA, *De vita Urbani VII.*, in the later editions of Platina. This biography is as insufficient as that of LORENZO ARRIGHI, *Urbani VII. P.M. Vita*, Bologna, 1614. Cf. also CIACONIUS, IV., 70 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*; NOVAES, VIII., 229 *seq.*; MORONI, LXXXVI., 36 *seq.*; HANSEN, *Nuntiatuerberichte aus Deutschland*, II., 198 *seq.*; *Studi stor.*, IX., 229 *seq.*; SERRANO, *Corresp. dipl.*, I., xxii. *seq.* A special work on Urban VII. is to be published by B. RICCI in *Atti d. Soc. scient. e lett. del Frignano*.

<sup>4</sup> See the engraving of Geille; cf. *Portrait Index*, ed. WILLIAM COOLIDGE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 1472.

Genoese family, which had settled in Rome,<sup>1</sup> and had been born there on August 4th, 1521. On the other side, by his mother, Costanza, he was related to the noble Roman families of the Ricci and Jacobazzi. Giambattista Castagna was of calm and serious character; moderate and prudent, and of keen intelligence, he seemed to be a man made for the study of law, to which he had zealously devoted himself, first at Perugia and afterwards at Padua. After he had obtained his doctorate at Bologna, he returned to Rome, where his uncle, Cardinal Girolamo Verallo, took him into his house and service. He accompanied him to the conclave of 1550, when Julius III. was elected Pope.<sup>2</sup> When in the autumn of the following year Cardinal Verallo was sent as legate to Henry II. of France,<sup>3</sup> Castagna accompanied him as his auditor, and there was initiated into diplomacy, at the same time becoming acquainted with the conditions of a non-Italian nation.

Castagna remained all his life closely connected by ties of gratitude to his uncle, who had thus laid the foundations of his own brilliant diplomatic career. When later on, he himself attained the dignity of Cardinal, he constructed for himself a tomb at S. Agostino, alongside that of his uncle.<sup>4</sup> On his return from France to Rome Castagna was given by Julius III. the office of referendary of the Segnatura di Giustizia, and in 1553 the archbishopric of Rossano in Calabria.<sup>5</sup> It was only then that the young man of thirty-two

<sup>1</sup> The ancient idea that the family of Urban VII. came from Genoa, has been shown to be true by A. NERI in *Boll. stor. d. Svizz. ital.*, XXVII., 130, against Vegezzi. Cf. also v. LIEBENAU in *Kath. Schweiz., Bl.*, N.S., III., 270, who rejects the view of Vegezzi that Urban VII. was a Swiss from Lugano, and will only admit that the family of the Pope was connected with the Castagna of Lugano. See also PASINI-FRASSONI, *Armorial*, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Castagna, however, was not present at the whole conclave; see *Concil. Trid.*, II., 124.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 135 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 210. Cf. MORONI, LXXXVI., 38; FORCELLA, V., 99.

<sup>5</sup> See UGHELLI, IX., 309 *seq.*

was ordained priest.<sup>1</sup> After being for a short time governor of Fano under Paul IV., he returned to his diocese. There, by his serious manner of life, and by the zeal with which he devoted himself to the ministry of preaching, he showed that he belonged to the party of Catholic reform.<sup>2</sup>

The Popes frequently made use of the services of the distinguished archbishop. In March, 1559, Paul IV. sent him as governor to Perugia, where Castagna displayed great zeal in very critical circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Pius IV. entrusted to him the task of settling the boundary dispute between Terni and Spoleto. After this, the reopening of the Council summoned him to Trent, where he arrived on November 14th, 1561.<sup>4</sup> He remained there until the conclusion of the Council, taking part in its discussions with equal zeal and success. Together with Ugo Boncompagni, the future Gregory XIII., he was a member of a commission for the reform of the Church,<sup>5</sup> and distinguished himself in the discussions concerning matrimony, as well as in those concerning the duty of residence and the concession of the chalice to the laity. Everyone was surprised when this calm and gentle man spoke with unaccustomed severity against the concession on June 6th, 1562; his arguments on the subject were both clear and profound.<sup>6</sup>

After the Council was ended, Castagna, who had been in close relations there with Charles Borromeo,<sup>7</sup> returned to his diocese of Rossano. But he was not suffered to stay there long, for Pius IV. appointed him in 1564 to accompany Cardinal Boncompagni on his legation to Spain, and then

<sup>1</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 71; MORONI, LXXXVI., 37.

<sup>2</sup> See SERRANO, Corresp. dipl., I., xlvi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 230. Cf. FUMI in *Boll. stor. d. Umbria*, XIII. (1907), 81 seq.

<sup>4</sup> See Cocil. Trid., II., 360.

<sup>5</sup> See PALLAVACINI, 22, 4, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See Concil. Trid., II., 479, 481 seq., 782, 825 seqq.; PALLAVICINI, 17, 1, 3; 18, 4; *Studi Stor.* IX., 229 seq. See Vol. XV. of this work, pp. 295, 335.

<sup>7</sup> See GRISAR, Jacobi Lainez disput. Trid., I., 409, 448.

nuncio in Madrid.<sup>1</sup> It was seen in the reign of Pius V. that in him the right man had been chosen for that office. In spite of the great difficulty of the position, Castagna filled the office to the complete satisfaction of the Pope as well as of the King of Spain, until 1572. The conclusion of the Holy League against the Turks, which resulted in the victory of Lepanto, fell within his term of office.<sup>2</sup> When Gregory XIII., soon after his election, decided to replace him in the nunciature, Philip II. was very unwilling to see this prudent and moderate man, whose calmness and seriousness were specially sympathetic to him, leave the court.

Gregory XIII. would have liked to have sent Castagna to Bologna, but in spite of the honour attaching to this position as head of the most important of the provinces of the Papal States, Castagna refused the office, because he feared that on account of the many relatives of the Pope at Bologna he would be unable to act with that strict impartiality which he thought it his duty to display in all circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Castagna gave a proof of his disinterestedness when in 1573 he resigned his archbishopric without accepting any pension. Gregory XIII. then intended to employ him in the visitation of the Patrimony, but afterwards changed his mind, sending him in June, 1573, to further the war against the Turks as nuncio in Venice, where he was a witness of the splendid welcome accorded to Henry III.<sup>4</sup> When the plague broke out in Venice Castagna went to Bologna, where he was obliged to accept the office of governor.<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 334, 371.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. XVIII. of this work, Chaps. IX. and X. A letter of condolence from Castagna to Vespasiano Gonzaga, dated Madrid, June 24, 1570, and signed : L'arcivescovo di Rossano, in CAMPORI, CIII., lettere ined., 29 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 323, n. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 62. The \*brief of his appointment as nuncio at Venice, June 15, 1573, in Arm. 44, t. 22; his \*instructions, June 18, 1573, in Varia polit., 117, p. 152 seq.; the \*reports of Castagna in Nunziat. di Venezia, V., VI., Papal Secret Archives.

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

1578 the Pope entrusted to him the difficult task of acting as the representative of the Holy See at the negotiations for the peace in the Low Countries, which were to take place at Cologne. His appointment was made at the end of August, after a consultation with the Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga.<sup>1</sup> Castagna left Rome on September 9th, but when, in order to get fuller information, he went to the Emperor at Prague, he discovered at the end of October that his mission was unacceptable to Rudolph, because the latter feared difficulties from the States General on account of the close relations between Castagna and Philip II.<sup>2</sup> On February 28th, 1579, Castagna left Prague to go, by way of Munich, to Cologne. He reached that city on April 1st, and lodged with the Carthusians,<sup>3</sup> and remained in the capital of the Rhineland until the beginning of December, 1579, keeping, in accordance with his instructions, in close touch with the Spanish plenipotentiaries.<sup>4</sup> When the negotiations at Cologne had broken down at the beginning of 1580, he returned to Rome where he became consultor of the Inquisition and of the Congregation for the affairs of the Papal States. As a reward for his indefatigable activity on behalf of the Holy See Gregory XIII. conferred the purple on him on December 12th, 1583.<sup>5</sup>

The new Cardinal, whose titular church was S. Marcello al Corso, became a member of the Roman Inquisition, and afterwards legate at Bologna, where he remained until the death of Gregory XIII.<sup>6</sup>

On account of his wide experience, his great prudence, and his strict religious principles, Castagna quickly acquired an honoured position in the Sacred College. These qualities,

<sup>1</sup> See HANSEN, *Nuntiatuerberichte*, II., 223. *Ibid.*, 218 *seq.* the instructions for Castagna, August 29, 1578.

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

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 200, 274.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, lii. *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 274-370 the reports of Castagna from Cologne and the letter from Galli to him.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 230, 232.

<sup>6</sup> See PASTOR, *Dekrete*, 47, February 21, 1591.

as well as his former close relations with Philip II. caused him to be counted among the *papabili* from 1585. It was said that the King of Spain, soon after the admission of Castagna to the Sacred College, had said of him that it would be more easy for him to obtain the tiara than it had been for him to obtain the red hat.<sup>1</sup> It was a fact that at the conclave of 1585 Castagna was put forward as the candidate of the nephews of Gregory XIII.<sup>2</sup> Although he was not at first well disposed towards the election of Sixtus V., the latter nevertheless showed him great favour. He confirmed him as legate of Bologna, where Castagna met with considerable success,<sup>3</sup> and employed him on the Congregations of the Inquisition, of Bishops, and of the affairs of the Papal States. Rumour in Rome attributed to Sixtus V. anecdotes according to which he saw in him his own successor.<sup>4</sup>

The election of Urban VII. gave the Grand Duke of Tuscany the greatest satisfaction, as may easily be understood. Philip II. too was highly delighted, and caused the election of this old friend of the Spanish monarchy to be celebrated in an extraordinary way.<sup>5</sup> In Rome, where the people were not at first altogether satisfied with the result of the conclave,<sup>6</sup> the new Pope very soon won all hearts. His gentleness and kindness of heart, and the dignity of his bearing, made a deep impression on all who saw him, and very soon all were convinced that the best was to be expected

<sup>1</sup> See the report of the Lucca envoy edited by PELLEGRINI in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 192. Musotti in his \*notes (see Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 609 *seqq*) calls Castagna "soggetto di tanto valero quanto tutto il mondo sa." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See REICHENBERGER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 220.

<sup>4</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* If Sixtus V. dies, reports an \*Avviso of November 12, 1586, then Castagna will become Pope. Urb. 1054, p. 486, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See HERRE, 453. Cf. Contarini in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 438.

<sup>6</sup> See HERRE, 453.

from a man who was so intelligent, and as prudent as he was pious.<sup>1</sup>

The new Pope, Federico Cataneo reported on September 19th, 1590, is a serious man, the enemy of innovations and of all useless things, so that great things may be expected of him; he will remove abuses quietly, and will take care to provide Rome with provisions. Cattaneo also praises the careful way in which Pope Urban weighed his plans and actions.<sup>2</sup>

The first thought of Urban VII. was for the poor of Rome.<sup>3</sup> Immediately after his election he generously distributed alms among the poor of the Borgo. The parish priests of Rome were warned to prepare lists of all the poor, and the benevolent institutions were freely endowed with gifts. The Pope declared that to provide Rome with good bread at a fair price he would spare no expense, since the treasure of the Church must be used for the poor.

On the very day of his election Urban VII. had given sums of money to Cardinals Pellevé and Allen, and he also spoke of removing the oppressive imposts of Sixtus V. Cardinals Paleotto, Facchinetti, Lancelotti and Aldobrandini were charged with the reform of the Dataria. On September 20th, 1590, Urban VII. placed Cardinal Pinelli at the head of the Congregation for the States of the Church in the place of Montalto.<sup>4</sup> The reserve which the Pope displayed towards his numerous relatives showed how baseless were the fears

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of Sporeno, September 15, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and the \*letter of Badoer, September 22, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

<sup>2</sup> The \*report of Cataneo, September 19, 1590 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for what follows Mucantius in \*Diaria caelem., Papal Secret Archives; \*Avvisi of September 19 and 22, 1590, Urb. 1058, pp. 474, 479, Vatican Library; CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*; Conclavi, 222 *seq.* See also in App. No. 42, the \*report of Cataneo of September 19, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> Bull. IX., 382. This is the only constitution of Urban VII. contained in the Turin Bullarium.

that he would fall into the sin of nepotism. In the first place, the Pope said, I must take care of the poor, and then of my servants, who, however, have no need for luxury, and lastly of my relatives. During the conclave Cardinal Bonelli had repeatedly spoken violently against Cardinal Castagna, but Pope Urban shamed his adversary by assigning him lodgings in the Vatican, and granting him all the favours he asked for.<sup>1</sup> Very characteristic too of the noble sentiments of Urban VII. was the fact that he ordered Fontana, in completing the palaces of the Vatican and Quirinal, not to set up his arms, but those of Sixtus V. He wished, however, to have the arms of Gregory XIII., which had been removed by Sixtus V., restored in the older parts of the Quirinal. For the rest Urban VII. declared that he did not wish to be involved in any further building undertakings, except of course the completion of the dome of St. Peter's, because his intention was to build upon the rock of St. Peter.<sup>2</sup> Thus the representatives of Catholic reform could look to the future with joyful confidence, all the more so as the Pope, although he was in his sixty-ninth year, enjoyed excellent health. This he owed to his great moderation and his vigorous constitution, so that he could boast that till his fortieth year he had never had to take any medicine.<sup>3</sup>

While everyone was hoping for a long pontificate, the new Pope fell a victim to the dangerous Roman fever. During the month of September this malady frequently occurs in Rome, while the district of the Vatican is especially exposed to malaria. To-day it is well known that this is propagated by mosquitos. From this point of view special interest

<sup>1</sup> \*Avviso of September 19, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 437, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See in App. No. 41 the \*Avviso of September 19, 1590, Vatican Library. Cf. also *ibid.* No. 42 the \*report of Cataneo of same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For St. Peter's see the discourse of P. Ugonio in CIACONIUS, IV., 209.

<sup>3</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.*; HERRE (159, n. 2) rightly combats the view of Gindely that Urban VII. was elected because he was an ailing man.



attaches to the report of the master of ceremonies, Mucantius, that Urban VII. passed a very disturbed night after his election, being grievously tormented by mosquitos.<sup>1</sup> For this reason Urban wished to move on the first day after his election to the Quirinal, but was informed that it was contrary to custom for the Pope to leave the Vatican and show himself in the city before his coronation. In his kindness of heart the Pope gave way to these representations,<sup>2</sup> and in spite of the great heat that prevailed he remained in the Vatican and granted many audiences which fatigued him greatly. The effects were soon seen. By the third day after the election he was laid low by the fever, from which many others in Rome were also suffering at that time.<sup>3</sup> The physicians insisted that Urban should remain in bed, while they sought to relieve the sick man, who was suffering from lassitude, by blood-letting. The Pope was in good spirits; he carefully followed the injunctions of the physicians and showed great resignation. Every day he had mass celebrated in his room, and daily went to confession and received Holy Communion.<sup>4</sup>

The news of the illness of Urban VII. caused all the greater consternation and sincere grief in Rome, as the Pope had won immediate good-will by his generous alms, by his revocation of some of the oppressive taxes, and his care to supply the scarcity of grain.<sup>5</sup> The Forty Hours were held to obtain

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Mucantius (\*Diaria caerem., Papal Secret Archives) says : Aiunt <sup>stem</sup> Suam primam noctem sui pontificatus insomnem fere totam pertransivisse et molestas sibi fuisse musculas nonnullas, quas zampanas vocant, et quia adhuc apud Vaticanum aer salubris non erat die sequente . . . (the rest in Gatticus, 452).

<sup>2</sup> See J. P. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 452.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*Avvisi of September 22 and 26, 1590, Urb. 1058, pp. 480b, 490, Vatican Library; the \*letter of Catanco, September 22, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the \*report of Badoer, September 22 and 23, 1590, State Archives, Venice.

<sup>4</sup> See P. Ugonio in CIACONIUS, IV., 209.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Sporeno, September 26, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

his cure, and a procession was made in which 30,000 men took part.<sup>1</sup> Even the Jews, it is reported, fasted and prayed.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all the remedies the fever did not leave the Pope, and he soon exhausted his strength. On September 24th it was already reported that he was dead. But the news was false, and Urban VII. lived until September 27th. When he woke on that day he wondered to see so many people about his bed. The sick man complained of pains in his stomach; a medicine which had been sent by the Duchess of Olivares was given him, which afforded him some relief. As had been the case during the other days of his illness, so on the 27th Urban VII. had Mass said in his room. At the elevation the dying man tried to raise himself up as best he could, and then fell back with his arms crossed, and had Extreme Unction administered. At the end of the Holy Sacrifice the Pope breathed out his soul. The last words of the dying man to those who stood about were a request that they would remember him in their prayers.<sup>3</sup>

When the will of Urban VII. was opened it was found that he had left all his patrimony of 30,000 scudi to the Confraternity of the Annunziata at S. Maria sopra Minerva, for the endowment of poor girls. In grateful memory of this bequest the confraternity erected in its chapel the monument, the beautiful statue of which was executed by Ambrogio

<sup>1</sup> See the \*Avviso of September 26, 1590, *loc. cit.* Mucantius in GATTICUS, 452, and the \*letter of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, September 26, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of September 26, 1590, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. besides the \*Avvisi of September 26 and 29, 1590 (Urb. 1058, pp. 490 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*, Vatican Library) the \*dispatch of Badoer, September 27, 1590, State Archives, Venice, the \*reports of Sporeno, September 26 and 29, 1590, Prov. Archives, Innsbruck, the \*letter of Brumani, September 29, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the report of Giampietro Rossi, S.J. penitentiary at St. Peter's: "Relazione della morte di Urbano VII.," manuscript in Cod. E. IV. 9, University Library, Genoa, printed in Rome, 1590, German translation, Munich, 1591.

Bonvicino.<sup>1</sup> On September 21st, 1606, the mortal remains of the Pope, which had first been buried at St. Peter's, were removed thither.<sup>2</sup> The eulogies pronounced by the ambassadors in their reports,<sup>3</sup> and by the celebrated Pompeo Ugonio in his funeral discourse at St. Peter's on October 6th, 1590,<sup>4</sup> were well deserved. Although the Pope had only occupied the throne of St. Peter for thirteen days, and only one of these in good health,<sup>5</sup> his memory was nevertheless held in benediction.

The negotiations concerning the election of his successor had already begun during the illness of Urban VII. At first the same names were put forward as *papabili* as before the last conclave, namely, Serbelloni, Colonna, Galli, Paleotto, Madruzzo, Santori, Facchinetti, Sfondrato, Valiero, Laureo and Rovere.<sup>6</sup> It was expressly stated that Sfondrato had the best chances, because he had fewest opponents, and because he was disinterested and in no way outstanding ;

<sup>1</sup> See MORONI, LXXXVI., 40 ; FORCELLA, XII., 483. The Senate too had projected the erection of a statue at the Capitol; see MARTINORI, 59 *seq.* *Ibid.*, for the coins and medals of Urban VII. *Cf.* also CIACONIUS, IV., 210 ; ARMAND, I., 294 ; III., 301 ; SERAFINI, I., 99 *seq.* For the tomb see also BERTHIER, 106 *seq.* *Cf.* also the reproduction in *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 182.

<sup>2</sup> See the report of P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 483. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI in *Effemeridi lett. di Roma*, XII. (1823), 79 *seq.* The discourse delivered by Valerio de Molara, *De laudibus Urbani VII.*, P.M., was printed in Rome in 1614.

<sup>3</sup> See the two \*letters of Brumani, September 29, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in CIACONIUS, IV., 206 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See report by the envoy of Ferrara, in RICCI, Silingardi II., 28 (1907).

<sup>6</sup> Thus the \*Avviso of September 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 496b, Vatican Library. *Cf.* the report of Sporeno of September 29, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and Brumano's report of September 29, 1590, which states : " Niuno vuole Como [Galli] da Spagna in poi, se bene sono che dubitano che realmente non lo vogliono perchè l'hanno per troppo potente di volontà del Granduca." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

against him was the fact that he was entirely Spanish in his sympathies and was scarcely fifty-three years of age though his health left much to be desired.<sup>1</sup> If Montalto, the Mantuan envoy reported on September 29th, cannot succeed with Colonna, he will decide in favour of Sfondrato, who is as acceptable to the Gregorians as to the Spaniards, so that if only the Florentines will also support him, he ought easily to become Pope.<sup>2</sup>

The city of Rome at first remained free from any great excesses, though the inhabitants were repeatedly alarmed and disturbed by the appearance of bandits who infested the neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup> The Cardinals had resolved to enrol 1,000 soldiers,<sup>4</sup> and ordered all the gates of the city, with the exception of three,<sup>5</sup> to be walled up, while they also sought in every way to provide for the scarcity of provisions.<sup>6</sup>

In view of the fact that practically all the same Cardinals<sup>7</sup> were gathered in the conclave as at the election of Urban VII., it was generally thought that the election of the Pope would be quickly and easily accomplished. But the contrary was the case. The discussions were long and stormy. The

<sup>1</sup> \*Cremona si mantiene più alto di tutti come quello che patisce manco difficoltà degli altri; è di poco spirito, buono gentilhuomo et non sanguigno; quello gli nuoce è l'essere giovane de 53 anni et tutto Spagnuolo, ma pero male affatto et che ogni poco che va in cocchio urina sangue. Avviso of October 3, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 506, Vatican Library. Cf. also Maretti in HERRE, 417, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Brumani of September 29, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avvisi of October 3 and 6, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 507, Vatican Library. "The city is tranquil," writes \*Sporeno, September 29, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

<sup>4</sup> See J. P. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 453.

<sup>5</sup> See the \*report of Badoer, September 29, 1590, State Archives, Venice. Cf. FACINI, 7.

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of October 3, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 597, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> On October 5 only Cardinal Cornaro had died; see PETRAMELLARIUS, 344.

conclavist of Cardinal Sforza, Lelio Maretti, who wrote a detailed account of the conclave,<sup>1</sup> attributes the blame above all to the representatives of Philip II., Olivares and Sessa.<sup>2</sup> These at once and continuously made extraordinary efforts to secure at all costs an election that would be favourable to the interests of their king. The violent Olivares especially displayed a zeal and effrontery which went beyond anything that had hitherto been seen. He was determined to revive the hopes, which had been destroyed by the unexpected and sudden death of Urban VII., that the man chosen to fill the Apostolic See should adopt an attitude favourable to Philip II. with regard to the disturbances in France.

<sup>1</sup> The \*Conclave de Gregorio XIV composto da Lelio Maretti gentilhuomo Sanese, states on the accurate information of an eye-witness that he did not conceal his anti-Spanish sentiments; this is the principal authority, together with a report that is equally credible, and for the most part worthy of belief, of another anonymous eye-witness, included in *Conclavi* (pp. 225-280) published in 1667 (in Latin, *Tria conclavia*, Frankfort, 1617). The work of Maretti, who was Sforza's conclavist, was widely circulated in manuscript, as inculcating "prudencia conclavium." I have used the copy in Cod. I. b. 55 of the Servites Library, Innsbruck. Herre used that in the library, Görlitz, Cod. Milich. 389, pp. 113-133. I have seen other copies in the Papal Secret Archives, in the Altieri Library, Rome, in the Borghesiana, I., 279, Papal Secret Archives, in Vat. 9486, Vatican Library, in Cod. 1150 of the Trivulzi Library, Milan, and in Cod. 178 of the Fabronian Library, Pistoia. For Maretti see also SINGER *Das c[apo]. Quia frequenter, ein nie in Geltung gewesenes "Papstwahldekret" Innozenz' IV.*, extract from the *Zeitschr. de Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVII., Kan. Abt. VI., p. 142 seq. The \*Instruzione al card. Medici del modo come si deve governare nella città di Roma, written by L. Maretti, in Cod. Ottob. 2689, p. 142 seq. of the Vatican Library, and in Cod. 38A. 22 of the Corsini Library, Rome. The most exhaustive recent description of the conclave is that given by HERRE (460-532) and FACINI (4-37). The article by BRUZZONI in *Stampa*, 1900, n. 95, is only a repetition of the report in \*Diaria caerem.

<sup>2</sup> See App. No. 43 (Maretti).

Immediately after the death of Urban, Olivares and Sessa put forward as the candidates of the Catholic King seven Cardinals: Santori, Paleotto, Madruzzo, Galli, Colonna, Facchinetti and Sfondrato. Of these, however, neither Colonna nor Galli were seriously wished for.<sup>1</sup>

The Spaniards would have been best pleased to have seen either Madruzzo or Santori elected, and Olivares worked almost passionately on behalf of Santori. That he should have done so was all the more remarkable, as Santori belonged to the party of Paul IV., whom he resembled both in his Neapolitan origin and in his character. Like that Pope Santori was extremely rigorous in his views, a zealous supporter of the Inquisition, and an ardent defender of the rights and liberties of the Holy See. He had many times openly condemned the Spanish claims with regard to the *Monarchia Sicula* and the *exequatur* at Naples.<sup>2</sup> Although Santori shared the Spanish point of view as to the French question, yet that he should have passed over his dislike of the cesaropapistical aims of Philip II. seems so remarkable that it was supposed that Olivares was influenced by personal motives. These were to be found, not only in his long-standing friendship with Santori, but also in the influence of his wife, who, it was said, wished in this way to obtain the purple for her brother Baldassare.<sup>3</sup> As, moreover, Cardinal del Monte hoped to reap advantage from the elevation of Santori, whose party he had openly supported, he was influenced by the fact that the candidate of Spain was also the one specially favoured by Tuscany.<sup>4</sup> Besides del Monte several other Cardinals showed much sympathy for the candidature of Santori, who, however, was not a

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of Cardinal del Monte to the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, September 28, 1590, in PETRUCELLI, II., 302: HERRE, 468.

<sup>2</sup> See *Conclavi*, 229.

<sup>3</sup> See Maretti, \*Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Servites Library, Innsbruck.

<sup>4</sup> \*Maretti, *ibid.*; HERRE, 462 *seq.*

little feared by the ambassador of Venice and still more by the Romans, who remembered the difficult days of Paul IV.<sup>1</sup>

Marcantonio Colonna seemed to have even better chances than Santori, and he did all he could this time to obtain the tiara, which had already been so nearly his in the conclave of Urban VII. On that occasion his candidature had failed because of the opposition of the Spaniards; Olivares had declared himself against him with such vehemence that there was even a danger lest the powerful family of the Colonna should join the adversaries of the Hapsburgs. It was in order to prevent this that Olivares decided to include the name of Colonna among the candidates acceptable to Philip II. On account of Colonna's many rivals this did not seem to present any dangers. Actually, however, this step caused much confusion. The Spanish party complained bitterly of the rash act, which placed them all in an equivocal position, and destroyed their confidence in the real care for the interests of the king being shown by his ambassadors. Sforza, Colonna's ancient rival, sent his confidant, Lelio Maretta, to the two ambassadors, and put before them clearly the danger to which they were exposing the interests of Philip II. Colonna

<sup>1</sup>\*Roma abhorrentissima del suo nome, says Maretta, *loc. cit.* 8, riconoscendolo dipendente da Paolo IV. Napolitano della medesima inquietudine e stravaganza di cervello ne viveva piena di ansietà et mestitia dubitando soto il suo pontificato di haver a sentire di quelli danni ch'ella patì nel pontificato di Paolo, la memoria del quale per questa cagione era gravissima alla maggior parte di questa città. Per questo timore alcuni de principali Romani si raccomandorno supplichevolmente pregandoli che non volessero l'ultima ruina della patria loro conferendo il pontificato a S. Severina, inimico a lei così implacabile et acerbo. Oltre i Romani vivevano in gran gelosia di questa prattica l'orator Venetiano Badoero, il card. Morosini et Verona, nobili di quella republica, se bene Morosini, o persuaso da Monte o dal Granduca o mosso da altri rispetti, con la lunghezza del conclave si mutò di parere procurando di tirare Verona ancora nella medesima sentenza. Servites Library, Innsbruck.

succeeded in winning over Cardinal Vincenzo Gonzaga as well as Scipione Gonzaga, but all his efforts to win over Sforza were in vain.<sup>1</sup>

It was a great advantage to Colonna that the opponents of his rival Santori, Bonelli, Altemps and Sforza, were now joined by Montalto. On the strength of the pledge given by Sforza to Montalto at the conclave of Urban VII., that he would vote at the next conclave for one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V.,<sup>2</sup> the two leaders of the younger Cardinals, with the support of their followers, agreed on united action, and if possible to support a candidate not nominated by Spain. Against this Olivares insisted all the more vehemently on the seven Cardinals he had nominated, and even went so far as to let fall the statement that only these would satisfy his king, and that all the other members of the Sacred College were excluded.<sup>3</sup>

Olivares displayed the greatest vigour in opposing the candidate on whom Montalto and Sforza had agreed. This was Cardinal Laureo. Olivares hated this prince of the Church with all the ardour of his temperament, although well-informed persons recognized that he was a man absolutely suited to receive the supreme dignity.<sup>4</sup> But Olivares paid no attention to this, and by his unrestrained partisanship antagonized both friends and foes. He felt himself all the more confirmed in his attitude as he had a short time before

<sup>1</sup> See \*Maretti, *loc. cit.*; HERRE, 464.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. supra*, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> See HERRE, 470.

<sup>4</sup> Maretti says of Laureo (*loc. cit.*) \*Cardinale Regnicola, nato in Torpia della provincia di Calabria, che di medico ch'era et di basso nascimento si era tirato col valor suo et con la servitù fatta alla Sede Ap<sup>ca</sup> alla dignità del cardinalato datogli da Gregorio XIII. Questo cardinale per la vecchiezza, per la grandezza dell' anima, per le lettere et per l'esperienza grandissima che haveva delle cose del mondo era giudicato da chi lo conosceva accomodatissimo allo stato presente dell'Italia et al bisogno della Sede Apost<sup>ca</sup> et pero in predicamento ragionevole di Papa. Servites Library, Innsbruck.



received the instructions of Philip II. dated September 14th. As well as the Cardinals of Sixtus V., these also excluded all those who were reputed the friends of France, among whom was numbered Laureo. In other respects the king allowed his previous instructions to hold good, by which Madruzzo and Santori were given the preference, and among the Gregorian Cardinals Facchinetti and Sfondrato.<sup>1</sup> The hopes of Sfondrato, though still considerable, had been lessened because the Cardinal of Cremona, as Sfondrato was called, was looked upon by many as unfit because of his phlegmatic disposition and his small experience of public affairs.<sup>2</sup> Del Monte, as the representative of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the two Gonzaga, were openly working against him. Many also believed that the Spaniards had only included him in their list for appearance sake.<sup>3</sup>

In the evening of October 6th, 1590, the conclave was begun, fifty-two Cardinals being present.<sup>4</sup> A short time before, Olivares presented himself, in order to work once more against Laureo, and to recommend the Cardinals nominated by his king. Madruzzo and his followers were expressly forbidden to give their votes to any others.<sup>5</sup> This unusual prohibition, as well as the large number of Cardinals excluded by Spain caused surprise and indignation in the Sacred College. Hitherto one, or two, or even none at all had been excluded : this time there were thirty !<sup>6</sup>

The first important event in the conclave was the attempt

<sup>1</sup> See HERRE, 479 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Thus \*reports Sporeno, October 6, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

<sup>3</sup> See Maretti, \*Conclave 279, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> At first 50. Andrew of Austria and Caetani came later ; see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 59 ; FACINI, 4, 14, 22. According to the \*report of Sporeno, October 12, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, Cardinal Andrew of Austria arrived in Rome on October 11. He entered the conclave on October 13 : see \*Avviso of October 13, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 521, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See *Conclavi*, 237.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*

of Montalto to obtain the tiara for Cardinal Aldobrandini. The nephew of Sixtus V. was already deluding himself with the idea that he had acquired the necessary two-thirds majority of thirty-six votes, but soon was forced to realize that Madruzzo, to whom Aldobrandini was quite unacceptable on account of his attitude towards the French question, was working against him with equal skill and success.<sup>1</sup> After the failure of the candidature of Aldobrandini things remained quiet for several days: there was talk of Rovere, who was also energetically opposed by the Spaniards on account of his attitude towards France.<sup>2</sup> They subsequently also worked against Laureo and two other Cardinals who seemed to be specially worthy of the tiara by reason of their great qualities: Salviati and Valiero.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising that there arose ever increasing complaints of the preponderance of Spain, which was thus attempting to dictate to the Sacred College, and to limit the number of those from among whom the Pope should be chosen, and which presumed to exclude many excellent Cardinals as unworthy. If in this conclave seven

<sup>1</sup> See Maretti, \*Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Servites Library Innsbruck; *Conclavi*, 238 seq.; HERRE, 485 seq.; FACINI, 14.

<sup>2</sup> See Maretti, \*Conclave 45, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> For Salviati and Valiero *cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 231, 329, Maretti says (*loc. cit.*): \*Fra le sette [Spanish candidates] hebbe sempre buon numero Paleotto et fra le cinque [Montalto's candidates] Verona et Salviati. In questi tre si conosceva veramente l'inclinazione universale de cardinali et in Verona in particolare havendo in tutto il tempo, che durò il conclave, avanzato di voti nello scrutinio ciascun cardinale. Faceva desiderabile Paleotto et Verona al collegio la bontà della vita, l'umanità della natura, l'eruditione delle lettere, ch'era in ciascun di loro, se bene di diverso genere, et Salviati oltre alla vita lodevole, ch'egli haveva senpre vissuta, la stima più che ordinario del valor dell'huomo, l'opinione certa, che haveva ciascuno ch'egli havesse l'animo sgombrato da ogni passione et affetto verso li congiunti suoi, qualità sommamente desiderabili in persona, che aspiri alla grandezza del pontificato. Servites Library, Innsbruck. For the candidature of Valiero *cf.* also Carte Stroz. I. 269 seq.

Cardinals were selected as the candidates of the King of Spain, it was said that on another occasion that number might be further reduced, until in course of time the King of Spain would himself nominate and elect the Pope. Many of the Cardinals openly declared that this was tyranny, which no friend of ecclesiastical liberty, of the dignity of the Church, and the maintenance of the rights of the Holy See could in any way tolerate. On the contrary, such a procedure must be resolutely resisted, as it was intolerable that the College of Cardinals should have such a heavy yoke laid upon its shoulders. Some slight comfort was to be found in the supposition that such novel and intolerable measures were due to the ambassadors rather than to the king, to whom such disgraceful steps could only reluctantly be attributed in view of his genuine piety. It was also pointed out that at the previous conclaves of Julius III., Marcellus II., and Paul III. such attempts had not only been ignored, but had even become the principal reason why the very men who had been excluded had obtained the tiara.<sup>1</sup>

In the evening of October 12th the rumour was current in Rome that the election of the aged Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna was certain, and already in some parts of the city the arms of the family were adorned with the tiara and crossed keys. The Colonna were already receiving the congratulations of their adherents.<sup>2</sup> All the greater then was the disappoint-

<sup>1</sup> See *Conclavi* 243 *seq.*, and Maretti in HERRE, 492. One of the passages given here had been published long before by SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbull.*, 252, n. 3, though the latter was not aware that it came from Maretti. For the general annoyance at the behaviour of the Spaniards *cf.* also the \*report of Giulio Maretti to the Duke of Ferrara, October 3, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

<sup>2</sup> \*Alle 4 hore di notte erano usciti avvisi di conclave dalli Colonesi et da altri cardinali et conclavisti della certezza, che si haveva del pontificato del card. Marcantonio. Per Roma s'attaccorno delle arme Colonesi con il Regno et con le chiavi sopra. La sig<sup>ra</sup> Felice, madre del cardinal Ascanio, riceveva le congratulazioni, diede grosse mancie a chi gli portò il primo

ment when the opponents of Colonna, at whose head was once more to be found Sforza, succeeded in shipwrecking the negotiations which had made such great progress.<sup>1</sup>

When the minds of the electors had recovered from the excitement occasioned by the candidature of Colonna, and the efforts of Montalto and Sforza on behalf of Laureo had failed,<sup>2</sup> the Spaniards on October 15th made an attempt to obtain the tiara for their leader, Madruzzo. Although the Bishop of Trent seemed, on account of his many undeniable qualities to be suited for the dignity, he yet had to reckon with so many enemies that his candidature too came to nothing. The two Venetian Cardinals, Valiero and Morosini, especially worked against him, for, both on account of the relations between their republic and Austria, and of the Spanish leanings of Madruzzo, they feared the worst both for Italy and for France if he should be elected Pope. Sforza and Aragona insisted on national considerations, on account of which the Papacy must not be taken out of the hands of an Italian. As Madruzzo was only fifty-four years of age, and as Pope would have filled the Sacred College with the friends of the Emperor and Philip II., there was every probability that his successor would be one of his own family. Attention was also drawn to the fact that Madruzzo, on

avviso di tanta felicità. Il Sig. Martio, nipote di Colonna, haveva la casa piena de amici et di servitori che con parole gravi contro Sforza godevano come certa tanta grandezza. Il cardinal Ascanio fece intendere al Sig. Martio esser bene che invitasse per la mattina seguente più numero dei baroni, che fosse possibile, acciochè portassero sopra le spalle il nuovo Pontefice in S. Pietro, non convenendo che un Papa Colonnese fosse portato sopra le spalle di vili palafrenieri. Maretti, \*Conclave p. 56, Servites Library, Innsbruck.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the enemies of Colonna \*Maretti gives more detailed information than the report printed in *Conclavi*, 241; see the passage in App. No. 43, Servites Library, Innsbruck. Cf. also Facini 15 *seq.*, and the \*report of Giulio Maretti of October 10, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

<sup>2</sup> See *Conclavi*, 241 *seq.*; HERRE, 489 *seq.*; FACINI, 19 *seq.*

account of his gout, would not be able to perform the ceremonies attaching to the Papal office, and also to the large number of his relatives. But Cardinal Pierbenedetti opposed him so resolutely, inveighing against the disgrace of allowing the Spaniards to tyrannize over the conclave, and trying to exclude anyone, no matter how excellent, who was not the blind tool of Philip II. in the matter of France, that the supporters of Madruzzo, according to Maretta, failed to show the necessary determination. A decisive factor arose when at length Montalto decided that he could not support Madruzzo.<sup>1</sup>

While all the efforts of Madruzzo to win over his rival Montalto to one of the seven Cardinals in the Spanish list proved vain,<sup>2</sup> the nephew of Sixtus V. on his side put forward another list of five Cardinals: Aldobrandini, Laureo, Valiero, Salviati and Medici, but none of these found favour with Madruzzo, who adhered firmly to his own candidates.<sup>3</sup> Montalto, who had been especially annoyed by a libel on Sixtus V., put about by the partisans of the League,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. concerning this the \*report of Maretta, "Conclave," Servites Library, Innsbruck. With regard to the complaints of Pierbenedetti, LECTOR (*Le conclave*, Paris, 1894, 536) justly remarks that they form the clearest proof that the Spaniards for their party had no other argument in the conclave than that of force.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the \*report of Giulio Maretta, October 20, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the \*reports of Sporeno, October 20 and 27, November 3, 9, 17 and 24, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. See also the \*letter of Cattaneo, October 18, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>4</sup> \*In questo tempo venne in conclave una lettera scritta da Parigi al cav. Diu, ambasciatore per la lega, dentro alla quale era un'istruzione molto ingiuriosa contra Papa Sisto zio di Montalto. La lettera et l'istruzione dal Diu fu mandata in conclavi et letta in cappella alla presenza di tutti i cardinali offese notabilmente Montalto di maniera che vedendo il poco rispetto che per ordinario havevano li Spagnuoli a lui et il disprezzo che mostravano verso la memoria del zio, lo rese più implacabile contra Spagna. Maretta, \*Conclave p. 91, Servites Library, Innsbruck.

declared that he would rather die in the conclave than give way.<sup>1</sup>

It was well known that the Spaniards rejected the five candidates put forward by Montalto only because they looked upon them as the friends of France, and as desirous of the maintenance of the independence of that kingdom. The result was that many of the Cardinals had their eyes opened, and the longer the conclave lasted owing to the obstinacy of the Spaniards, the stronger grew the feeling of hostility towards Philip II. There grew up, Lelio Maretti says, a French party among the Italian Cardinals, a thing of which at the beginning of the conclave there had been no trace.<sup>2</sup> Montalto put himself at the head of the anti-Spanish Cardinals, certainly more from personal motives than from any real conviction. Similar motives were also decisive in the case of other Cardinals, though in the case of others again what weighed most was their interest in the wagers made upon the result of the election,<sup>3</sup> with the result that there was such a confusion

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of G. Maretti, Oct. 24, 1590, State Archives, Modena, and \*Avviso of Oct. 31, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 559, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> \*Appariva ogni dì più l' errore fatto da Spagna con la nominatione di sette et esclusione degl'altri non solo per la divisione, che partorì nel conclave et per l' ostinatione così gagliarda che ci introdusse, ma per haver suscitata una scola de cardinale Francesi negl' Italiani senza che all' entrar del conclave ve ne fosse pensiero o almeno fondato disegno conoscendosi chiaro che l' esclusione di Salviati et Mondovì, Firenze, Verona et Aldobrandino non haveva altra ricoperta che l'esser giudicati questi cardinali amici di quel regno et desiderosi, che si riunisse in un capo, in modo che li Spagnoli con questa scoperta unirno alli cinque molti deboli, vi fecero dichiarar molti dubbii et apersero gl' occhi di molti cardinali a questo interesse, che senza questa occasione pochi ve ne sarebbero stati che ne havessero tenuto conto et in vero era cosa meravigliosa vedere in conclave il card. di Sans [Pellevé] solo Francese tutto di Spagna et tanti cardinali Italiani affettionati a Franza senza capo e senza Rè. Maretti, Conclave p. 91, Servites Library, Innsbruck. Cf. *ibid.* 118.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 101; HERRE, 512.

and division into parties as had not seen been for two generations.<sup>1</sup>

In the heat of passions the severe ordinances prohibiting all communication with the outside world had been ignored, and all the steps taken in the matter were abortive; men had exact information in the city as to all that was happening in the conclave.<sup>2</sup>

While absolute chaos prevailed inside the conclave,<sup>3</sup> Rome was threatened by famine and by the bandits who swarmed in the neighbourhood. To this was added the fact that as a result of the continued rains, there was danger of an inundation of the Tiber.<sup>4</sup> After the middle of November, when there was still no hope of the electors agreeing, it was feared that riots would break out.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this the

<sup>1</sup> See the \*report of Brumani, Oct. 10, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also the letter of F. Orsini in NOLHAC, Bibliothèque, 445 *seq.*, and the Este report in RICCI, II., 32.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct. 17, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 531, Vatican Library. An attempt was made to smuggle information into the conclave in the head of a fish; see Maretta, \*Conclave p. 284, Servites Library, Innsbruck. Cf. also J. P. Mucantius in GATTICUS, 340 *seq.*; \*MARETTI, *loc. cit.*, 102; HIRN, II., 408; HERRE, 494, 499.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct. 27, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 550, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the German \*report from Rome, Oct. 27, 1590, in which Marco Sciarra, Conte della Corgna, and Bastiletto are named as the leaders of the bandits. Wittingau Archives, Hist. n. 5505. For the bandits cf. also FUSAI, B. Vinta, 49. The scarcity of grain prevailed at that time throughout the Papal States; see \*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Nov. 19, 1590, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct. 24, Nov. 3, 10, 14, 17, and 21, 1590 ("Si dubita grandemente di tumulto, se si tarda a fare il papa, perchè ci è pochissimo grano e quel che ci è, è in mano de potenti") Urb. 1058, p. 545 *seq.*, 561, 575, 584, 588, 602, Vatican Library. It would seem that the bandits were supported by Colonna (see MUTINELLI, I., 191); the same thing was supposed of the Spanish ambassador, though wrongly (see, HERRE 505).

disagreement among the Cardinals continued to increase.<sup>1</sup> It seemed that no change was to be looked for unless a division in one of the two opposing parties opened the way. This showed itself first in the anti-Spanish party. Montalto himself began to realize the impossibility of attaining his purpose without the help of the Spaniards, and he declared his readiness to agree to the election of Santori, but Sforza sought in every way to dissuade him from this. In the end, however, the candidature of Santori proved to be as fruitless as the efforts of the adversaries of Spain on behalf of Laureo and Valiero.<sup>2</sup>

Besides Santori, the Spaniards had made repeated efforts on behalf of both Madruzzo and Paleotto, because they hoped that if the latter became Pope they would be able to dominate him completely.<sup>3</sup> Of all the Cardinals of Philip II. Montalto dreaded none so much as Paleotto, but a fresh attempt to obtain the tiara for him seemed likely, on December 4th, to prove successful. Paleotto received thirty-three votes, and thus only needed three more for the

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of Nov. 28, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 614, Vatican Library. \*"Io no parlo del conclave" wrote Brumani on Nov. 24, 1590, "perchè le cose sono hormai tanto disperate"; the Spaniards as well as Montalto "tutti stanno sul duro et duro." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 508 *seq.*, 511 *seq.*; FACINI, 27 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> \*Era Paleotto cardinale nato in Bologna da famiglia nobile et da Pio IV. era stato levato dalla Rota, dove era stato molt'anni auditore et tirato al cardinalato ancorche nella gioventù avesse dato qualche volta segno di non haver il cervello interamente sano e perseverato qualche tempo in quella dispositione. Era tenuto da chi lo conosceva huomo di costumi buoni, di volontà retta, zelante della religione et dell'honor di Dio, ma di spiriti bassi, d'intelletto debole e di valor non accomodato a tanto peso et per questo creduto, che fosse entrato nella nomina di sette et desiderato da Spagnuoli per Papa pensando per via della coscienza et della debolezza di tirarlo in tutti i fini et desiderii loro. Maretti, Conclave p. 239, Servites Library, Innsbruck. Cf. as to this the opinion of Tirante Bongiovanni in HERRE, 419, n. 1.



two-thirds majority. At first it seemed that there was no chance of getting these, but in spite of this Montalto had every reason for grave anxiety. The Venetians, Morosini and Valiero, showed signs of joining Paleotto, and Sforza threatened to do the same unless Montalto finally made up his mind to vote for one of the two candidates named by Olivares who had so far remained quite in the background, and as to whom there was less dispute. These were Facchinetti and Sfondrato. Montalto resisted for a long time before he would give up his old allies, Florence and Mantua, and it was only when Madruzzo again made preparations for the elevation of Paleotto that he gave way during the night between December 4th and 5th, and pledged himself to Sforza to concur in the election of Facchinetti or Sfondrato.<sup>1</sup> On which of the two the decision would fall, he could have little doubt. Although Aragona, Salviati, Laureo and Caetani made great efforts on behalf of Facchinetti, the nephew of Sixtus V. thought that he had less to fear from the gentle, condescending and peace-loving Sfondrato than from Facchinetti. Montalto feared that the latter would bear him ill-will for having resisted his election merely from regard for Florence.<sup>2</sup>

Madruzzo placed no confidence in the unexpected conversion of Montalto, and so did not display any great haste.<sup>3</sup> Montalto, Aragona, Altemps and Sforza were all the more active, and they quickly succeeded in settling all

<sup>1</sup> See \*Maretti, *loc. cit.* 262 *seqq.*, 268 *seq.*; the \*Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 624, Vatican Library, and the \*report of Cataneo of Dec. 5, 1590, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also the \*report of Carlo Grotti to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, Dec. 8, 1590, State Archives, Modena; HERRE, 526 *seq.*; RICCI, II., 32; FACINI, 33 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. besides the report in *Conclavi* 276, Maretti, \*Conclave 268 *seq.*, Servite Library, Innsbruck.

<sup>3</sup> The author of the report in the *Conclavi* as well as Maretti see in this reserve of Madruzzo the secret hope that he himself might become Pope; but this supposition is false; see HERRE, 529.

essential questions,<sup>1</sup> and thus to bring to an end the widowhood of the Church,<sup>2</sup> which Torquato Tasso himself had bewailed in a sonnet. On the morning of December 5th Sfondrato was elected Pope by a unanimous vote. In grateful memory of Gregory XIII., who had summoned him to the Sacred College, he took the name of Gregory XIV.<sup>3</sup>

If the Romans rejoiced,<sup>4</sup> and Torquato Tasso dedicated

<sup>1</sup> \*Cominciata la prattica di Cremona intorno al far del giorno fu condotta con tanta velocità et così felicemente che in spatio d' un hora e mezza fu conclusa la sua grandezza e ritirato nel letto quasi dalla più parte de cardinale intorno alle 13 hore fu condotto nella capella Paulina, dove fu eletto a viva voce (Maretti, \*Conclave p. 276, Servites Library, Innsbruck). In the *Diarium P. Alaleonis* is noted 5 dicembre 1590, as follows: " Summo mane, practica praecedente secrete facta a Dominis de factionibus, cardinales unanimes duxerunt Sfondratum . . . valetudinarium, quem e lecto surgere fecerunt et festinant vestire, ad Capellam Paulinam indutum rochetto absque mozzetta, quae pro celeritate non fuit inventa, et pro nimio gaudio suorum conclavistarum, et propter diligentiam, quam cardinales faciebant in conducendo ipsuni, ut in S. P. eligerent e adorarent, et sic istam electionem per adorationem fecerunt " (*Barb.* 2815 p. 127<sup>b</sup>, Vatican Library). Brumani reports on Dec. 5, 1590: \*A Dio che fa gli pontefici è piacciuto che sia fatto questa volta il s.<sup>r</sup> card.<sup>16</sup> di Cremona che si dichiara Gregorio XIV. et è stato tanto all'improvviso che poche hore vi sono interposte et in tempo che pochi cresero fosse possibile, et il tutto è concluso da Montalto per fugire St<sup>a</sup> Severina et Palleoto, come del tutto a pieno V. A. intenderà da mons.<sup>re</sup> Cataneo. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>2</sup> See SOLERTI, *Vita di T. Tasso*, I., Roma, 1895, 665.

<sup>3</sup> In his \*brief to Giacomo Boncompagni, Duke of Sora, Dec. 29, 1590, Gregory XIV. says: " Beneficiorum honorumque in nos a fel. rec. Gregorio P.P. XIII. praedecessore nostro, cuius nomen ea causa libenter sumpsimus, collatorum recordatio nunquam ex nostro animo delebitur " (*Arm.* 44, t. 25, Papal Secret Archives). The \**Relazione del conclave di Gregorio XIV.* in Cod. 58 of the Communal Library, Viterbo reports that Sfondrato refused the name of Alexander VII. suggested to him by Montalto.

<sup>4</sup> See SILV. CARRARI, *Trionfo di Roma nella creazione del beat. N.S. Gregorio XIV.*, Trevigi, 1591.

one of his most beautiful poems to the new Pope,<sup>1</sup> these manifestations were so far justified in that personally Gregory XIV. was as noble as he was pious. In contrast to his many colleagues, during the whole of the conclave, which had lasted for fifty-seven days, he had never made the least effort as far as he was concerned, to obtain the tiara, which now fell to him, and had by his conduct made many friends.<sup>2</sup> When Montalto went to Sfondrato's cell to tell him that the majority of the Cardinals had agreed upon him and wished to elect him, he found him kneeling in prayer before his crucifix.<sup>3</sup>

During the long conclave candidatures of the most various kinds had been put forward. The supporters of Cardinal Simoncelli of Orvieto<sup>4</sup> tried to work on his behalf by putting about the well-known prophecy concerning the Popes attributed to St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh in Ireland (died 1148). These consist of 111 mottoes descriptive of the Popes, from Celestine II. (1143) to the end of the world, which were first published in 1595 by the Benedictine Arnold Wion without any statement of their source.<sup>5</sup> The doubts as to their authenticity, which were at once raised, are well justified. Even though some of the characteristics of the Popes during the period subsequent to 1590 are inspired, others on the other hand suffer from great inaccuracy, many are frankly foolish and can only be made to fit in with the facts of history by an effort. Serious criticism can only attribute to this clumsy work the same limited importance as to those other prophecies concerning the Popes which were published and printed from the end of the sixteenth century

<sup>1</sup> The canzone: *Da gran lode immortale del re superno*, was printed in Rome in 1591; see SOLERTI, *Rime di T. Tasso*, Bologna, 1898, 253; cf. *Opere min.*, IV., n. 81.

<sup>2</sup> See MARETTI, \*Conclave p. 145, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Conclavi*, 276.

<sup>4</sup> For this prince of the Church cf. *Concil. Trid.*, II., 502, n.2.

<sup>5</sup> See *Lignum vitæ*, Venice, 1595, 307 *seq.* Later printed copies are numerous (see MORONI, LV., 288 *seq.*), and more recently in GFRÖRER, *Prophet. vet. pseud.* (1840), 433 *seq.*

and were accepted by the credulous.<sup>1</sup> The Catholic Church has no need of such prophetic inventions ; she has all that she needs in the promise of Christ that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church, which is built upon the Rock, Peter.

<sup>1</sup> The earlier opponents of its authenticity, among whom the French Jesuit Menestrier (died 1705), is specially prominent, are supported almost unanimously by recent research. The one recent defender, J. MAITRE (*La Prophétie des Papes attribuée à S. Malachie, Beaune, 1901*) has been unable, despite a great display of erudition, to produce any valid proof of the authenticity of the document. Cf. PAULUS in *Katholik*, 1901, II., 577 *seqq.* ; *Anal. Boll.*, XXII. (1903), 98. SCHMIDLIN in his publication in honour of H. Finke (1904), 1-40. See also BUTE in the *Dublin Review*, XCVII. (1885), 369-386, and VACANDARD, *Etudes de critique et d'hist. relig.*, 4th ser., Paris, 1923. According to Premoli, Alfonso Ceccarelli was probably the author of the forged document ; see *Arcadia, Atti*, 1917, I., 247, and *Rassegna naz.*, XLI. (1919).

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY XIV.

NICCOLÒ SFONDRATO, who succeeded Urban VII. with the name of Gregory XIV., sprang from an ancient noble family, originally resident at Cremona<sup>1</sup> and afterwards removed to Milan.<sup>2</sup> His father Francesco, a senator of Milan, was held in high esteem by Charles V., and rendered important services to the Emperor. After the death of his wife, Anna Visconti, he entered the ecclesiastical state, was entrusted with important missions by Paul III., was raised to the purple in 1544, and at the conclave of 1550 was among those who were thought likely to become Pope.<sup>3</sup>

Niccolò, the son of Francesco, was born on February 11th, 1535, two months before the due time.<sup>4</sup> This resulted in his

<sup>1</sup> See VAIRANI, *Cremon. Monum.*, II., Romæ, 1778, 80 *seq.* Cf. BRESCIANI, *I dottori del collegio di Cremona*, Cremona, 1652, 18 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. MORIGIA, *Illustre raccolta nella quale si descrive sommariamente la progenie del S. P. Gregorio XIV. di casa Sfondrata, nob. Milanese*, Milan, 1591.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vol. XII. of this work, pp. 202, 207; Vol. XIII. pp. 12 *seq.*, and the special literature there indicated.

<sup>4</sup> Among contemporaries cf. ANT. CICARELLA, *Vita Gregorii XIV.* (in the later editions of PLATINA) and GREG. POLIDORI, *Gregorianum, in quo de XIV. Gregoriis Rom. Pont. vitæ, mores et gesta pertractantur*, Florence, 1598. See also CIACONIUS, IV., 78 *seq.*, 214 *seq.*; MORONI, XXXII., 304 *seq.*; *Famiglie nobili Milan.*, VIII., Milan, 1879. The work promised by D. BERGAMASCHI: *Vita e pontificato di Gregorio XIV.* (see *Arte e storia* XXV., Florence, 1906, nn. 19-20) has not appeared. The monograph by MARIA FACINI, *Il pontificato di Gregorio XIV.* (Roma, 1911) which is valuable for its use of many unpublished authorities, only deals with his political action in its principal

permanent physical weakness. He studied law at Perugia and Padua,<sup>1</sup> and then resolved to enter the ecclesiastical state. A decisive turning point in his life was the fact that he was received among the famiglia of Charles Borromeo. Pius IV. very soon became interested in this exemplary priest, and on March 12th, 1560, he appointed him Bishop of Cremona. In this capacity Sfondrato went on March 31st, 1561, to the Council of Trent, where principally at his instigation the decree against the accumulation of benefices was published.<sup>2</sup> After the close of the Council he returned to his diocese, where he met with great difficulties owing to the lack of priests.<sup>3</sup> The zealous pastor sought to remedy this defect by introducing the Theatines and Barnabites,<sup>4</sup> and by making a visitation of his diocese.<sup>5</sup> In 1580 he held a synod, which promulgated the reform decrees. Sfondrato's charity was very great, and he gave special proof of this in the case of the pilgrims who went to Rome for the jubilee of 1575. Gregory XIII. conferred the purple on this distinguished bishop on December 12th, 1583.<sup>6</sup> The new Cardinal took no pleasure in the work of the Curia, so that as soon as possible he returned to his diocese to carry on his

points (see SPEZI in Riv. stor., 1913, 189 *seq.*); the judgment formed is not a fair one, because there is no appreciation of his religious activity.

<sup>1</sup> Gregory XIV. recalls this period of study in his \*brief to the Doge, Dec. 26, 1590, in Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives; original in State Archives, Venice, *Bolle*.

<sup>2</sup> \*Letter of Sfondrato to his brother from Trent, in Cod. 1608, Trivulzio Library, Milan.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the letter of Sfondrato in CAMPORI, CIII. lettere ined., 35 *seq.* *Ibid.*, 37 a letter of Sfondrato of Oct. 25, 1585, concerning the visitation of monasteries entrusted to him by Sixtus V.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. TESTI, I Barnabiti a Cremona sotto il generalato di s. A. Sauli e gli auspici di N. Sfondrato vescovo, Milan, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> The \*Acta of the visitation of 1576 are preserved in the episcopal archives at Cremona.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 231.

work of reform ;<sup>1</sup> only under exceptional circumstances did he go to Rome.

Cardinal Sfondrato, who was much esteemed by Philip Neri,<sup>2</sup> was entirely imbued with the strict principles of the Catholic reform. Among the virtues of the Pope, the authorities especially dwell upon his angelic purity, by which he recalled his contemporary St. Aloysius.<sup>3</sup> In spite of his constant weakness and infirmity Sfondrato fasted every Friday, and also abstained from meat on Wednesday. He began his day's work by the recitation of the seven Penitential Psalms, and an hour's meditation. The breviary and the Office of Our Lady, which occupied an hour and a half, he always said on his knees. His favourite author was St. Bernard, from whose works he made copious extracts. From the time of his ordination as priest Sfondrato had made a rule for himself to confess and to say Mass every day, unless prevented by illness. In that case he had Communion brought to him by another priest. Extraordinarily temperate in eating and drinking, until his eighteenth year he never tasted wine. The doctors were of the opinion that the Pope's suffering from stone was due to the fact that he had hardly ever drunk anything but water.<sup>4</sup> Although he was often tortured by this disease, his countenance was always lit up by a gentle smile.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Biblioteca pontificia a Lud. Iacobo a S. Carolo, Lyons, 1643, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bacci, Life of St. Philip Neri, Vol. II., p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *infra.*, p. 354, n. 1, the \*Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* Cf. L. GUALINO, La litiasi di Pio V., Roma, 1925, 3. For the severe views of Cardinal Sfondrato cf. also his letter of 1584 in *Miscell. di Studii e docum. d. Soc. Lomb.* 1903, 134.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, *infra*, p. 354, n. 1. The Pope himself said to the envoy of Lucca that he could never hope to be cured of his complaint ; see *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 106. The features of Gregory XIV. are well shown in bronze busts by Torrigiani, copies of which are to be found in the castle of Friedrichskron,

Just as previously Sfondrato had been united in close friendship with Charles Borromeo, so was he later on with Philip Neri. Following the example of these saints he shamed his enemies by the special marks of love he showed them. During the conclave, besides Cardinal del Monte, who represented the interests of the Grand Duke of Florence, the two Gonzaga had in particular worked against the election of Sfondrato. When the latter approached the new Pope, everyone was surprised when he embraced them both, not once only, as was customary, but three times.<sup>1</sup> The Roman agent of the Duke of Parma said that the Pope was a holy man; he is very pious, and a great friend of the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy, and is also the declared enemy of the innovators.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all his excellent qualities, however, Gregory XIV. was not the man for the heavy task that fell upon him as Pope, not only on account of his constant bad health, but also because of his gentle, sweet and over complaisant character, and his complete lack of experience of political

the collection of Pierpoint Morgan, and the industrial museum at Reichenberg; cf. *Kgl. Museum zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke christlicher Epochen*, Berlin, 1914, II.: Die ital. Bronzen, by F. GOLDSCHMIDT, 1., 2. Portraits of Gregory XIV. engraved by F. van Hülsen and Nicholas van Aelst; for medals see ARMAND; *Les médailleurs ital. des 15 et 16 siècles*, 1., Paris, 1879, 170.

<sup>1</sup>\*Si dice, we read in an Avviso of Dec. 5, 1590, che S. Sta sia vergine a nativitate et secondo sin qui si è visto di spirito poco, mal sano, urinando sangue ogni poco che fa esercizio violento o si sbatte in cocchio. Ha del continuo un riso modesto in bocca. Ha tenuto sempre buona casa sebene con poca entrata e con debiti. Et quando i cardinali Gonzaga, che l'hanno attraversato a più potere per ordine del duca di Mantova, gli sono andati a bacciare i piedi, sono stati abbracciati tre volte da S. B<sup>no</sup> quasi in segno di mortificatione et in somma è amatore della povertà non meno che della religione et giustitia. Urb. 1058 p. 624, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup>\*Letter of Laurus Dubliul to Mg<sup>r</sup>. Froissart at Brussels, Rome, Dec. 24, 1590, *Négociat. de Rome*, I., State Archives, Brussels. Cf. also the opinion in SCHWEIZER, II., 254, n. 2.



affairs.<sup>1</sup> He had the best of intentions, but his mild disposition was not suited to the task of government, as had already been shown in his administration of his diocese.<sup>2</sup> His simple, ingenuous and unworldly mind was quite inexperienced in practical questions, and in the political problems with which he had to deal. A subject by birth of the King of Spain, who had played a decisive part in his elevation to the throne of St. Peter, he was all the more devoted to him because in the maintenance and aggrandizement of the world-wide Spanish monarchy he saw the safety and future of the Catholic Church. Thus Olivares above all had reason to rejoice at the election of Gregory XIV.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maretti describes the opinion held of the new Pope immediately after his election, dwelling on the fact that he had taken his name from Gregory XIII., as follows : \*Fu grato questo nome a chi si ricordava del giusto et caritevol governo di Gregorio XIII. sperando che questo Papa fosse per imitarlo nella vita et nell' amministrazione del pontificato come haveva voluto imitarlo col nome. Ma non già si promettevano tanto di lui quelli che conoscevano la debolezza et la poca habilità sua al governo delli stati temendo molto che trovandosi lo stato della chiesa così atlitto dalle gravezze, dalla fame et da banditi et la Francia in tanto pericolo di perdere la religione et di rimanere senza capo, che il pontificato suo non dovesse essere di quell' utilità che si sarebbe desiderato dal mondo. Conclave, p. 277, Servites Library, Innsbruck. Cf. also *supra*, p. 334, n. 1, the opinion in the \*Avviso of Oct 3, 1590. Sporeno at that time remarked of Gregory XIV. : " qui licet sit bonæ et sanctæ, vitæ, sed quoniam est nimis ilegmaticæ et frigidæ naturæ et in rebus gerendis non multum versatus," he did not seem to be very well fitted to be Pope (\*letter of Oct. 6, 1590, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck). The sickly constitution of Gregory XIV. is visibly reflected in his tired features, which Bastiano Torrigiani has well reproduced ; cf. SOBOTKA in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 262 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 200.

<sup>3</sup> See HERRE, 531 seq., 544. Cf. FACINI, 37, 41. The election, reports Giuseppe Campori to the Duke of Ferrara, pleases and satisfies these ministers of Spain in an inexpressible way ; the dissatisfaction of the envoys of the Medici was correspondingly great. \*Letter of Dec. 5, 1590, State Archives, Modena.

The court of Madrid too was very well satisfied with the election of Gregory XIV., because the new Pope came of a family that had always been loyal to Spain; Gregory's brother, Ercole, had for a long time been in the service of that country. To this was added the gentle and calm disposition of Gregory and his want of experience of world politics.<sup>1</sup> In announcing his election to Philip II., Gregory, in addition to the official brief of December 5th, 1590,<sup>2</sup> two days later sent an autograph letter in which he renewed his thanks for the favour shown towards his election, and informed the king that he thought he would best satisfy His Majesty by the fact that he had no other aims than the service of God, the salvation of souls, the crushing of heresy, the conversion of the infidel, the reform of the Church, and the peace of Christendom.<sup>3</sup> The new Pope gave a signal proof of his good-will towards the Spanish sovereign when, on January 23rd, 1591, he granted him for five years, not only the right to levy the so-called *Excusado* and *Sussidio*, but also the *Cruzada* for a further six years, which brought to the royal exchequer two million ducats.<sup>4</sup>

The pathetic words which may be read upon the tomb of Adrian VI., "Alas! how much do the efforts, even of the best of men, depend upon time and opportunity," may also be applied to Gregory XIV.

The general state of the world, as well as that of the Papal States, was such that the powers of this gentle and sickly

<sup>1</sup> See T. Contarini in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 438.

<sup>2</sup> \*Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives: "Epistolæ Gregorii XIV. ad principes et alios" contained in this volume are written by "Marcellus Vestrius Barbianus secretarius" (cf. BONAMICUS, De claris pontif. epist. scriptoribus, Romæ, 1753, 314). A copy evidently made by Raynaldus in Cod. I. 58 of the Vallicella Library, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Lettere di proprio pugno, Arm. 45, t. 41, p.7, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Indice de las concesiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado, Archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome.

man were bound to prove inadequate.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after his election he was so exhausted that it was only on December 7th that he was able to begin his audiences to the Cardinals and ambassadors.<sup>2</sup> In view of his physical state he realized at once that he needed help, and this he thought to find best of all among those men who were in full sympathy with his own strictly ecclesiastical ideas. He therefore at once summoned to Rome the Theatine, Girolamo Feri of Bari, the Minorite Panigarola, who was celebrated as an orator, and many of his relatives, among them Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, his brother's son.<sup>3</sup> Feri and Panigarola were both men of strict ecclesiastical views, but had no political experience.

The principal work was destined for Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, who from his youth had been closely connected with Philip Neri. Besides the saint, he was united in close friendship with his disciples, Francesco Maria Tarugi and Baronius.<sup>4</sup> Far removed from the cares of the court, Paolo Emilio Sfondrato had lived in Rome almost as a religious, meeting few but the Oratorians,<sup>5</sup> and drinking in from them the ideas

<sup>1</sup> Gregory XIV. felt this himself; *cf.* the brief to the widowed Queen of Poland in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 169. According to the \*Avviso of Dec. 12, 1590, the Pope said with tears in his eyes that he did not think he would ever be able to bear the fatigue, with his feeble health (Urb. 1058, p. 637, Vatican Library). The coronation of Gregory XIV. took place on Dec. 8, and the "possesto" on the 13th, 1590; see GATTICUS, 296 *seq.*; CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 128 *seq.*; FACINI, 44 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See CICARELLA, *Vita Gregorii XIV.* *Cf.* \*Avviso of Dec. 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 627, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Dec. 12, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 627b, *ibid.* Paolo Emilio Sfondrato came to Rome immediately after his nomination as Cardinal (Dec. 19, 1590); the Marchese d'Este came on Jan. 8, 1591; see \*Avviso of Jan. 9, 1591, Urb. 1059, p. 17b, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 79.

<sup>5</sup> "Frequentava semplicemente la Vallicella," says Bentivoglio, *loc. cit.* This was the house in Rome of the Oratorians at S. Maria in Vallicella, not, as Herre says (545), "the silent cloisters of the Valtellina."

of Catholic reform. For this reason Gregory XIV. saw in him the man suited to direct the business of the secretariate of state, quite failing to see that his nephew, who certainly administered his abbey well,<sup>1</sup> and was a man of artistic taste,<sup>2</sup> possessed nothing of that political skill which his new position called for. Therefore it was a fatal error when Gregory XIV., on December 19th, 1590, appointed his nephew Cardinal and placed him at the head of the secretariate of state.<sup>3</sup> Thus arose the impossible position that both the Pope himself and his first minister were ignorant of the political affairs of the world.<sup>4</sup>

The new Secretary of State, who was born in 1561, was in the full vigour of his manhood, and from the first entered upon his duties with so great confidence that everyone wondered.<sup>5</sup> Sure of the complete confidence of the Pope, he devoted himself zealously to business,<sup>6</sup> in which he was efficaciously assisted by Gregory's private secretary, Giovanni Andrea Caligari, Bishop of Bertinoro, who had already had

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of Dec. 12, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 627b, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, 1870, 49 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican : \*Avviso of Dec. 19, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 654, Vatican Library. Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 224.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. in App. No. 47 the \*Avviso of Oct. 16, 1591, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> \*"E vero," remarked the envoy of Urbino in the Avviso of Dec. 26, 1590, "ch' l novello cardinale fa tanto sicuramente tutte le sue attioni ch' è una maraviglia" (Urb. 1058, p. 669, Vatican Library). Letters of Vannozzi, secretary of Sfondrato, in CIAMPI, III., 106. Information from the \*Registrum litterarum ad Nuntios sub Gregorio XIV. (Lett. d. princ. 150, Papal Secret Archives) concerning the conversion of the Margrave of Baden, Jacob III., in *Zeitschr. d. die Gesche. des Oberrheins*, N.S., XII., 268 seq. The Marchese Alessandro Albicini at Forlì possesses a portrait of Sfondrato attributed to Guido Reni.

<sup>6</sup> \*"Il card. Sfondrato, che fa riuscita ogni di migliore, abbraccia i negotii et spesso è all' orecchio del Pontefice. Avviso of Jan. 2, 1591, Urb. 1058, I. 2, Vatican Library.

experience under three Popes.<sup>1</sup> Sfondrato was called upon to attend to the direction of both civil and religious matters.<sup>2</sup>

The Papal States, like other states, were at that time being harassed by three scourges: the bandits, high prices and scarcity of grain, and epidemics. In August, 1590, Rome was attacked by a plague which showed itself in those who fell victims to it in fever and violent headaches, and which often caused death within eight or ten days. The doctors attributed the disease, which particularly attacked men between thirty and fifty years of age, partly to the abnormal weather, heavy rains following great heat, and partly to the poor quality of the food stuffs. In Umbria several places were almost entirely depopulated. In Rome too the mortality was very great, though the statement that between August, 1590, and August, 1591, sixty thousand of the inhabitants had died, that is to say more than half the entire population, is certainly exaggerated.<sup>3</sup> It was only in September, 1591, that the plague, which had spread into upper Italy, died out.<sup>4</sup>

Gregory XIV. sought from the first to aid his harassed subjects by lavish alms and by other works of charity. Many Cardinals, prelates, nobles, and of the religious Orders especially the Oratorians<sup>5</sup> and Jesuits, strove to imitate the example of the Pope. Above all Camillus of Lellis distinguished himself, who with four brethren of his congregation was unwearied in his care for the sick, and went from door to door with medicines and food. In the same way during

<sup>1</sup> See HINOJOSA, 345.

<sup>2</sup> "Ha in mano il governo di tutte le cose," according to the report of the envoy of Lucca; see *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196.

<sup>3</sup> According to the \*Descrittione di tutte le infra scritte bocche fatta ultimamente in Rome questo mese di Febraio 1591 essa contava 116,698 anime. Otto. 2434, p. 856 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* The number of the dead both in Cicarella and the \*Avviso of May 11, 1591, which says that 40,000 persons died in two months, is exaggerated. Urb. 1059 II. 258, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See Pompeo Pateri, \*Memorie, Manosc. Carpegna 62, p. 57 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

the plague and famine which followed, Camillus and his companions proved themselves angels of charity.<sup>1</sup> More than one religious fell a victim to his generous altruism. Among these victims there was a saintly scion of a princely house, who when only seventeen years of age had entered the Society of Jesus in 1585: Aloysius Gonzaga. In attending to the sick this noble youth contracted the plague, and on June 21st, 1591, breathed out his pure soul.<sup>2</sup> He had taken leave of his mother in a touching letter of June 10th.<sup>3</sup> In 1621 he was beatified by Gregory XV., and in 1726 Benedict XIII. numbered him among the saints.<sup>4</sup> His body was first buried in the crypt of the little church of the SS. Annunziata of the Roman College, and afterwards translated to the sumptuous church of S. Ignazio.

In spite of the efforts of Gregory XIV. to relieve the miseries of Rome, it nevertheless happened, as Cicarella reports, that many persons died of hunger.<sup>5</sup> The same statement is to be found in an autograph letter from Gregory XIV. to Philip II. on December 9th, 1590, in which he begs him to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BÄUMKER, *Der hl. Camillus v. Lellis u. sein Orden*, Frankfurt, 1887, 43 *seq.* See also the commemorative work *Der hl. Kamillus v. Lellis u. sein Orden*, Freiburg, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> See MESCHLER, *Leben des hl. Aloisius von Gonzaga*, Freiburg 1891, 217 *seq.*, 230 *seq.* See also CEPARI-SCHRÖDER, *Der hl. Aloisius, Einsiedeln*, 1891. The relief representing Aloysius carrying a sick man on his shoulders to the hospital of the Consolazione, was removed in 1911 from the hospital to the museum of the Castle of St. Angelo. A. CANEZZA in an article: *L. Gonzaga e l'ospedale della Consolazione. Il danneggiamento d' un opera Berniana*, in the *Corriere d' Italia* of June 25, 1922, demands the restoration of this work to its original place.

<sup>3</sup> See REUMONT, *Briefe heiliger Italianer*, Freiburg, 1877, 271 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> As early as 1605 Aloysius had been declared venerable; see MESCHLER, *loc. cit.*, 259 *seq.* A good description of the room in which St. Aloysius died is given by S. BRUNNER, *Italien*, II., 30 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Istoria di Chiusi* in TARTINIUS, I., 1110 *seq.* See also PRINZIVALLI, *Tasso a Roma*, R. 1895, 37, n. 2, and for the scarcity in the Papal States the periodical *Le Marche*, II., Fano, 1902, 201 *seqq.*

allow the export of grain to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Many who escaped the famine died from the plague and the cold of winter. The hospitals were found to be insufficient, so that a new lazaretto had to be erected near S. Sisto. The Pope was beside himself : in January, 1591, it was reported that he could not sleep for anxiety.<sup>2</sup> The edicts issued at that time to deal with the scarcity were of no avail.<sup>3</sup> During the vacancy in the Holy See unscrupulous merchants had taken large quantities of grain out of Rome,<sup>4</sup> and now the general position stood in the way of the importation of grain into Rome.<sup>5</sup> As in other parts of Italy, so too in Rome, plans were formed for obtaining grain from the ports of Danzig and Lübeck.<sup>6</sup> For this purpose the Pope resolved to issue passports even to heretics who were willing to bring grain to Rome.<sup>7</sup>

At the beginning of February, 1591, the Pope said to Ciaconius that he intended to place all civil business in the hands of Sfondrato, and to restrict himself entirely to ecclesiastical matters.<sup>8</sup> Such a step was eagerly desired by the Cardinal Secretary of State himself, because a curious change of heart had taken place in him. At first he had shown

<sup>1</sup> See \*Lettere di proprio pugno, Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 11b, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Jan. 5, 1591, Urb. 1058, l., 8, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Jan. 23, 1591, *ibid.*, 35.

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

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of Jan. 30, 1591, *ibid.*, 49.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. TH. HIRSCH, über den Handelsverkehr Danzigs mit den ital. Staaten zu Ende des 16. Jahrh. in *Hagens Neuen preuss. Provinzialblättern*, IV., Königsberg, 1847, 97 seq., 217 seq. Clement VIII. showed his gratitude by supporting Danzig against Sigismund of Poland; cf. REUMONT, *Bibliografia dei lavori pubblici in Germania sulla storia d' Italia*, Berlin, 1863, 116.

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avviso of Jan. 30, 1591, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> This statement (that he had decided to place all the temporal affairs of the Papacy in the hands of Cardinal Sfondrato) was made when Gregory XIV. told Ciaconius of his intention of employing him in the Vatican Library; see \*Avviso of Feb. 2, 1591 (Urb. 1058, l., 52, Vatican Library) partly published in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 93.

great meekness and humility,<sup>1</sup> but very soon his rapid rise to the next place after the Pope had turned his head, and had weakened the principles which had hitherto guided him. It was no longer possible to recognize in him the disciple of Philip Neri. The more Sfondrato saw himself obliged to reckon on a short pontificate, owing to the Pope's constant bad health, the more eager did he show himself to get the power into his own hands and as far as possible to consolidate his short lived period of absolutism.<sup>2</sup> It was obviously for this purpose that he persuaded his weak uncle to summon more of his relatives to Rome.<sup>3</sup> Of these, Ercole Sfondrato became General of the Church,<sup>4</sup> while the other lay nephew, Francesco Sfondrato, was first made castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo, and general of the pontifical galleys, and afterwards Marchese di Montafia.<sup>5</sup>

Gregory XIV.'s intention of confining himself entirely to ecclesiastical matters found expression in his making over to Cardinal Sfondrato, which was a quite unusual thing, the

<sup>1</sup> See *Lettere di S. Andrea Avellino*, II., Naples, 1732, 18.

<sup>2</sup> See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 79. Cf. SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 197, and the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196.

<sup>3</sup> As early as Dec. 26, 1590 it was rumoured that the two Sfrondato brothers would be summoned to Rome; see \*Avviso of Dec. 26, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 667b, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> On Jan. 28, 1591 \*Papa recepit iuramentum ab Herc. Sfondrato nepote generali eccl. pro gubernio Burgi etc. (*Diarium P. Alaleonis*, Barb. 2815 p. 153, Vatican Library). In May, 1591 the nephew espoused Lucrezia Cibo, the daughter of the Prince of Massa; see *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 187 seq. Cf. FACINI, 193.

<sup>5</sup> The \**Diarium P. Alaleonis* (*loc. cit.*) notes on Mar. 10, 1591: "Franc. Sfondratus nepos Papae praestitit iuramentum pro castellanatu. His appointment as general of the galleys is announced by the \*Avviso of Mar. 27, 1591, Urb. 1059, I., 182, Vatican Library. The investiture of Montafia, dated Oct. 1, 1591, in Bull., IX., 501 seq. Both nephews received the "privilegi della noblità Veneziana"; the brief of thanks from Gregory XIV. to the Doge, June 29, 1591, State Archives, Venice, Bolle.



signature of petitions with the words exclusively reserved to the Pope : *Fiat ut petitur*. But the extraordinarily increased powers of the Secretary of State at once aroused in the Sacred College the gravest anxieties as to his character and suitability. It was pointed out to Gregory XIV. that his predecessors had only granted the right to attach this signature, *Fiat ut petitur*, in cases of serious illness, if they had not preferred to give up signing petitions altogether. The Pope realized that he had gone too far, and revoked the concession made to the Cardinal.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, however, on account of the physical weakness of Gregory XIV. Cardinal Sfondrato retained the direction of the greater part of the government. As it was impossible to provide for the necessities of the Roman people, a thing which occasioned the Pope so much anxiety, the Cardinal sought, as far as possible, to conceal from him the true state of affairs. When at the beginning of February the people carried by storm the granaries at the Pantheon, the Piazza Giudea and the Campo di Fiori, Gregory XIV. knew nothing about it.<sup>2</sup> But it was only for a short time that he could be kept in ignorance of the desperate state of the Roman people. When on February 11th, 1591, he was carried in a litter to St. Mary Major's, he saw for himself the discontent of the people.<sup>3</sup> What the Secretary of State had failed to do, was done by a simple priest of Rome, who frankly described to the Pope the needs of his subjects.<sup>4</sup> An

<sup>1</sup> See the article of P. M. BAUMGARTEN in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 91 *seq.* Cf. as to this the Este report in RICCI, II., 61.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Feb. 6, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 64b, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Feb. 13, 1591, *ibid.* Cf. MARTINORI, 72.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Caelii Spetii parochi S. Mariae in Publicolis de Urbe oratio ad Gregorium XIV. P.M. de veritate dicenda, Vat. 5514 p. 44—51<sup>b</sup>. "Populus Romanus," it is stated, "panis ac frugum precio in dies magis crescenti rerum penuria mendicare cogitur. Hic est Urbis status." The state of affairs in the provinces was even worse, as was shown by the case of Umbria! Here too the cause was the abnormal weather: "Nive caeloque dilapsa geluque in arbores confirmato vites omnes, olivae omnes interiere." To this was added the difficulty of importation because of the new imposts. Vatican Library.

attempt was made to provide for the scarcity of provisions by importing grain and cattle, and by distributing tickets for bread. But these steps were not enough, for the imports were hampered by storms at sea.<sup>1</sup> During Lent the Pope dispensed the precept of abstinence, so that the population might sustain themselves with meat.<sup>2</sup> In spite of the large sums which he spent on purchasing grain, and the taking of 100,000 scudi for the purpose from the treasury at the Castle of St. Angelo,<sup>3</sup> it was still impossible to meet the demand. When the Pope fell ill at the end of March it was said that his chief trouble was the sorrow he felt for the scarcity in Rome,<sup>4</sup> to which was added the outbreak of brigandage in many parts of the Papal States.<sup>5</sup>

The physicians vainly tried to relieve the Pope of his serious attacks of stone.<sup>6</sup> As he was suffering from this during March and April Cardinal Sfondrato carried on the whole of public business by himself.<sup>7</sup> Even now he still tried to hide as much as possible of what was going on in Rome from the Pope. When during the sale of bread in the Rione di Ponte on April 14th a soldier was killed, 300 persons, complaining of

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avvisi of Feb. 27, Mar. 2 and 13, 1591, Urb. 1058, I. 109, 114, 149; *cf. ibid.* 214 the \*Avviso of Apr. 13, 1591. "Yesterday the tickets (bollettini) for bread came to an end" (for these *cf.* CICARELLA. *Vita Gregorii XIV.*), these had probably been issued in order to ensure bread until the next harvest. Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See CICARELLA *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See *Studii e docum.*, XIII., 307.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of Mar 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., p. 172, Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> "The bandits are keeping the whole of the Marches and the Romagna in a state of disturbance," reports an \*Avviso of Feb. 20, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 91, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.* 135 the \*Avviso of Mar. 9, 1591. See also the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avvisi of Mar. 23, 27 and 30, Apr. 6, 10 and 13, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 174, 183 *seq.*, 185b, 195 *seq.*, 200b, 204, 207, 213, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avviso of Mar. 30, 1591, *ibid.*, 185b.

the bad government, made their way to the gates of the Vatican and demanded to speak to the Pope, and it was only with difficulty that the Swiss Guard were able to repulse the excited crowd. When the Pope heard the uproar he was given to understand by his relatives that a thief had been discovered in the palace. The report which relates this incident adds that Cardinal Sfondrato wished to be informed of everything that had been said in every audience. Rome was in a rebellious mood, but lacked a leader. Thus, men mocked at Sfondrato, because as a remedy he had hastily convoked a congregation *dell' abbondanza*, which had decided on the restoration of the tickets for bread.<sup>1</sup> When during the last week of April the Pope felt better, a deputation of the Roman Senate waited upon him complaining of the edicts issued against the bakers, in consequence of which there was reason to fear riots in the city.<sup>2</sup> Such a statement was however exaggerated. We learn from the impartial report of the envoys of Lucca that at the beginning of May, 1591, the provisioning of Rome had been so far organized that it was possible to speak of scarcity rather than of famine. In view of the want of grain that was being felt everywhere, and in comparison with earlier conditions, this seemed to the envoys a satisfactory state of affairs.<sup>3</sup>

One of these evils had hardly been dealt with when another followed which caused the Pope grave anxiety. This was the plague already spoken of, which after May, 1591, worked havoc, especially among the poorer classes of the population. The complaints of the want of bread and of the bad quality of that which was obtainable only really came to an end

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of Apr. 17, 1591, *ibid.*, 222, and CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* Cf. also BENIGNI, 43 *seq.* On May 13, 1591, there took place a "Processio propter penuriam a regularibus et clero" from the Minerva of St. Peter's, for which the Pope granted a plenary indulgence. \*Diarium P. Alalconis, Barb. 2815, p. 165, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Apr. 24, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 239, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 196.

when the new harvest was gathered, but the excesses of the bandits, which troubled the Pope not a little, went on.<sup>1</sup>

Gregory XIV. had been obliged to turn his attention to this trouble from the first. Already during the vacancy in the Holy See great danger had threatened from Alfonso Piccolomini, Duke of Montemarciano, who had returned to his native place and to his old ways; fortunately, however, on December 6th, 1590, he was defeated by Virginio Orsini near Monterosi, and on January 2nd, 1591, was taken prisoner in the district of Cesena by the Tuscan troops who were in pursuit of him. The request of the Papal authorities that he should be handed over was refused, and the Grand Duke tried him himself; on March 16th Piccolomini, having been condemned to death for his many crimes, ended his life on the gibbet in the Bargello at Florence.<sup>2</sup>

While Tuscany was now in peace, the Romagna and the border districts towards Naples continued to be harassed by the bandits.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of April Monsignor Grimaldi defeated 800 bandits in the neighbourhood of Ascoli, and pursued them to the frontier of Naples.<sup>4</sup> In spite of this, however, the district was not entirely at rest. On the other hand Cardinal Sforza succeeded in the first week of May in defeating the bandits in the Romagna.<sup>5</sup> A few

<sup>1</sup> See the report *ibid.*, 197.

<sup>2</sup> See REUMONT, Toskana, I., 331 *seq.*; GROTANELLI, A. Piccolomini, 157 *seq.*; FACINI, 160 *seq.*, 165 *seq.*, 173. A \*Bando contro A. Piccolomini e suoi seguaci et altri fautori, had already been issued on Dec. 3, 1590 (see \*Avviso of Dec. 8, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 628, Vatican Library). The text of this document is in the *Editti*, V., p. 62, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, 63: \*Bando delle nominationi e taglie contra bandidi et facinorosi, dated 1590, Dec. 30.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avvisi of Feb. 20, Mar. 6 and 9, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 91, 126, 135, Vatican Library. Cf. *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 197, and FACINI, 174 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avvisi of Apr. 6 and 10, 1591, *ibid.*, 195b, 204.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of May 11, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 255. Cf. *Studii e docum.*, XXII., 197, and the rare work, *Relatione sopra la destruttione delli banditi fatta dal card. Sforza*, Pavia, 1591 (copy in the Library of J. v. Görres).

weeks later these ruffians again made their appearance in the Sabina,<sup>1</sup> preventing the conveyance of provisions to Rome, and robbing pilgrims on their way thither.<sup>2</sup> It was necessary to send troops against them, who met with a certain amount of success.<sup>3</sup> In July Sforza destroyed the bandits in the Romagna.<sup>4</sup> Rome was then left in peace, and it was only during the last illness of the Pope in October that the old evil again showed itself.<sup>5</sup>

The most important question which the Pope had to deal with in foreign politics was to decide his attitude towards the disturbances in France. Bearing in mind the fruitlessness of the diplomatic intervention of Sixtus V. the members of the League, for the preservation of the Catholic religion, brought pressure to bear on the new Pope for a change in the policy hitherto adopted by the Holy See. They were able to remind him that fifteen months had already elapsed without Henry of Navarre having fulfilled his promise to return to the Church, but that in spite of his attitude, many Catholics, and among them the great dignitaries of the Church, still adhered to his cause, so as to give rise to grave danger to the Catholic religion in France. Remonstrances of this kind, which were also expressed in broad-sheets,<sup>6</sup> were bound to make a great impression on so conscientious a Pope as Gregory XIV. To this was added the fact that he had always looked upon Philip II. as the natural and tried

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of May 22, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 272, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the vivid description in \*Oratio Caelii Spetii, p. 46 *seq.*, Vatican Library, mentioned *supra*, p. 363, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Dr. Tirante Bongiovanni to Rudolph II., May 18, 1591, State Archives, Vienna. Cf. \*Avviso of May 29, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 285, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of July 13, 1591, *ibid.* 570, and the Relatione cited *supra*, p. 366, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avvisi of Oct. 6 and 12, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 543b, 549, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> See L'EPINOIS, 445, 464, 660.

protector of the Catholic cause.<sup>1</sup> As Gregory XIV. was accustomed in all matters to act cautiously and slowly,<sup>2</sup> more than a month went by before he had made up his mind about the French question.<sup>3</sup> If the Pope then decided to take up the cause of the League, he was not a little led to this by the views of Cardinal Sfondrato, who was in even greater sympathy with Spain than his uncle, and very soon had become quite dependent upon the Spanish ambassador in Rome.<sup>4</sup> For their part the Spaniards were untiring in their remonstrances and exhortations; they pointed out that if the Pope would whole-heartedly use his authority on behalf of the League, the Catholic nobles would desert Navarre and that this would make it possible to give France a Catholic king.

Hopes of this kind were responsible for the change that took place in Rome. What neither the insistence nor the threats of Philip II. had been able to obtain from Sixtus V., namely the pledging of the moral and military power of the Holy See against Navarre, was now granted to the King of Spain

<sup>1</sup> To this belongs "Fr. Ant. Gar epistola ad rev. episcop. Cassanae D. Audoenum Ludovicum Anglum intercepta et impressa in qua Galliae regni praesens status et miseriae recensentur," which appeared in print in 1591. It is a letter from a Catholic religious, dated "Parisiis XIV. Cal. nov. 1590," in which he vigorously attacks the "Pseudocattolici in Gallia." "Hi politici," he says, "labiis fidem catholicam honorant, cor autem eorum omnino est cum haereticis."

<sup>2</sup> \*Huc usque S. Stas nihil de iis quae ad auctoritatem et officium pontificis spectant, disposuit neque enim vacantes episcopatus contulit neque, uti moris est, officiales mutavit; adeo sensate et mature incedit, ut de tarditate ipsius in expendiendis negotiis conqueratur . . . De rebus vero Gallicis tractandis nec verbum usque modo factum est. Sporeno, Dec. 29, 1590. Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

<sup>3</sup> Sporeno reports on Jan. 5, 1591, that nothing had yet been decided about France (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also FACINI, 53 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See the opinion of Cardinal Monte in DESJARDINS, V., 154, which is in agreement with SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 198. Cf. HINOJOSA, 344 *seq.*

almost without an effort, even though it was now too late, since the propitious moment for the triumph of his ambitious projects had already passed.<sup>1</sup>

How seriously Gregory XIV., after the end of December, 1590, set to work to employ all his powers against Navarre, may be seen from the fact that he ordered a canonist to examine the question whether he could with a clear conscience use the millions stored up in the Castle of St. Angelo for the assistance of the Catholic cause.<sup>2</sup>

The entirely changed policy towards France which was inaugurated by the new Pope found expression in the appointment of Cardinals Madruzzo, Caetani, Santori and Facchinetti, who were notoriously Spanish in their sympathies, as members of the Congregation for France,<sup>3</sup> and in a brief to Philip II. dated January 19th, 1591. The city of Paris, this states, is the stronghold of the Catholic faith in France and the heart of that kingdom. When, a short time before, by the help of the King of Spain, it had been relieved from the fear of capture, it had again become the object of the sacrilegious attacks of its assailants. For this reason the Pope had resolved to grant a monthly subsidy of 15,000 gold scudi to that city.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See SEGESSER, IV., 2, 80.

<sup>2</sup> \*Il dottor Briscia studia tuttavia de ordine del Papa, se egli può con buona coscienza assolvere se stesso del giuramento fatto nella bolla delli milioni, che fece Sisto V. per il disegno, che S. B. ha d' aiutare con essi la causa de cattolici et per altre opere pie et gloriose. Avviso, of Dec. 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 671, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See FACINI, 55 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> \*Cum itaque ad nobilissimum Franciæ regnum, quod magna cum hæresum perfidia factionumque pertinacia ad communem fere interneconem exardet, statim animam mentemque converterimus et in eo civitatem Parisiorum, arcem et catholicae fidei ibidem domicilium, in novissima obsidione, a qua singulari Dei sedisque Apostolicæ beneficio et præcipua M<sup>tis</sup> Tuæ ope præteritis his mensibus liberata fuit, summis commeatus et auxilii difficultatibus laborasse adversantiumque, potentia atque opum vi maxima oppressam fuisse nuper experti fuimus, eius-

The brief of January 19th, 1591, also deals with the Apostolic letters which were then sent to the leaders of the League in Paris, and to other cities which had rendered good service to the Catholic cause in France, as well as to the nobles of the French kingdom who had abandoned the cause of Navarre. These contained an invitation to unite with the other Catholics in electing a truly Catholic king. In a letter sent shortly afterwards to Segá, the nuncio in France, the Pope declared that he had nothing else so much at heart as to destroy the religious innovations in that noble kingdom, to consolidate the Catholic religion and restore peace, which would only be possible by the appointment of a sincerely Catholic king.<sup>1</sup>

When at the end of January, 1591, the French Congregation had decided to send to France the Milanese Marsilio Landriano, who belonged entirely to the Spanish party, it went on to discuss the military intervention of the Pope in France, and at the end of February settled upon the documents which Landriano was to take with him on his mission.<sup>2</sup> One of these

dem regni causa graviter dolentes ipsius civitatis periculum pro totius regni discrimine iure optimo habuimus . . . Est ea civitas, ut optime omnium novit M<sup>tas</sup> Tua, totius illius regni quasi cor, circa quod nunc maxime agere non desinant impii oppugnantium conatus . . . Nos autem eam civitatem ab ingruentibus incur-sibus salvam et incolumem adhuc tueri cupientes idque ad celerem fidei catholice restitutionem et ad publicam regni tranquillitatem pertinere sentientes, ut domesticas ipsius angustias immensosque sumptus, quibus novissime quasi absumptam fuisse accepimus, aliquo pacto levemus et ut ipsorum militum copiae hoc tempore ad defensionem dictae civitatis collectae solutis eis debitis stipendiis commodius retineri possint, summani aureorum quindecim milliam quolibet mense, donec id expediens esse nobis videbitur, ex apostolico nostro aerario subministrandam duximus. Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>1</sup> \*Brief to Segá, dat. 1591, Jan. 27, Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> See the reports of Cardinal Monte in DESJARDINS, V., 151 *seqq.*; that of Mar. 31, 1591 (p. 155) mentions the publication of the monitorium. For the document see also Journal de Henri IV., par DE L'ESTOILE, 52.



was directed against Navarre, renewing all the former decrees issued against him, and declaring that, as a relapsed heretic, he had forfeited all his rights, kingdoms, and dominions, and above all the succession to the throne of France. This document was supported by two monitoria, one addressed to the ecclesiastical body and one to the laity of France. Both contained an impassioned appeal to break away from the heretical Navarre, while at the same time severe penalties were inflicted in the case of their failing to do so.

The monitorium addressed to the ecclesiastical body<sup>1</sup> dwelt especially on the Pope's anxiety for France, one of the most noble kingdoms of Christendom, and especially dear to and valued by the Holy See on account of its many and great merits. This was followed by a bitter complaint that the ecclesiastical body in France had forgotten their duty, not only by failing to oppose even in word the adversaries of the Catholic religion, and the disturbers of peace, but even, as it was reported, by in some cases becoming their associates and abettors. Therefore, so that no one might plead the excuse of ignorance, it was clearly laid down that Henry of Navarre had become a relapsed heretic, and that for that reason Sixtus V. had inflicted the most severe penalties on that fierce enemy of the Catholic religion, and leader of the heretics. Hence was shown the responsibility of the bishops, who paid no attention to this, and thus led their flocks into error. With greater courage than prudent consideration for French national feeling, Gregory XIV. struck at the root of all the evils from which France was suffering at that time : this was the false policy of the French kings, who, urged by their ambition for power, had concluded alliances with unbelievers and heretics. Apart from anything else this above all had brought down upon the royal family and the French people the anger of God, so that they were now devoured by heresy and civil war. As the evil came from the

<sup>1</sup> The \*document which begins with the words : " Beatissimi Apostolorum principis Petri cathedrae," is contained in the collection of briefs of Gregory XIV. in the Papal Secret Archives (Arm. 44, t. 35) is dated : Cal. Martii (Mar. 1) , 1591.

head, so there was no other hope<sup>m</sup> of salvation except to give France, which might God grant, a good and pious king, who both in name and in deed should be the Most Christian King. Therefore the clergy must gather together all their forces, since they alone could watch over the defence of the Catholic religion, the preservation of the Church, and the restoration of peace in the kingdom. The Pope was ready, for the same purpose, to give both spiritual and material assistance, and even to send military help. Those who assisted in this would merit his praise, but those who remained in adherence to Navarre, the most severe penalties : major excommunication and interdict. Ecclesiastics who failed to withdraw from Navarre within fifteen days were to be excommunicated, and after another fourteen days were to forfeit their benefices.

When, at the end of February, 1591, Gregory XIV. informed the ambassador of Venice of his determination to intervene in France by force of arms, he said that he looked upon it as his duty to do all that lay in his power against the Huguenots ; if necessary he would even ally himself with the Turks against the heretics in France. But he would rather carry out the undertaking by himself, though in the existing circumstances he would have to avail himself of any assistance that offered. If now he united his forces to those of the League and the King of Spain, this was only done to set France free from the heretics, and not to support the private ambitions of the others ; in keeping France under a king of Catholic sentiments he was fulfilling his duty as the universal father of Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

When the monitoria which Landriano was to publish in France had been prepared, Gregory XIV. proposed in a consistory on March 13th, 1591, to take half a million scudi from the treasury in the Castle of St. Angelo for use on behalf of the Catholic cause in France, as well as to meet the scarcity in Rome. Cardinals Colonna, Galli, Paleotto, Pellevé, Santori, Facchinetti, Aldobrandini, Sauli and Mattei opposed this suggestion. At last twenty-four hours were given them

<sup>1</sup> See the report of Badoer of Feb. 23, 1591 in BROSCH, I., 300, n. 1.

for reflection, and on the following day the greater number of the objectors gave way at a general congregation; only 400,000 scudi, however, were voted, of which 300,000 were to be used for France, and the rest for meeting the scarcity.<sup>1</sup>

On March 28th Cardinals Bourbon,<sup>2</sup> Lenoncourt and Gondi were ordered, under pain of suspension and the forfeiture of their dignities, to separate themselves at once from Henry of Navarre, no longer to recognize him as king, and no longer to give him their assistance. Within forty days of their receipt of this brief the Cardinals were to give satisfactory proof of their obedience; should they fail to do so they were to be cited and sentenced as abettors of heretics.<sup>3</sup> On April 5th the Pope addressed himself to the Catholic royalists of France who had taken the part of Navarre, and adjured them to abandon those who had renounced the faith, and at the same time he announced the mission of a special legate, Marsilio Landriano.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time the Pope took energetic steps for the formation of a Papal expeditionary force to protect the Catholic religion in France, and to secure the appointment of a Catholic king. Gregory's nephew, Ercole Sfondrato, was charged with the military preparations in the Papal States,<sup>5</sup> and the nuncio at Lucerne, Ottavio Paravicini, who was raised to the cardinalate on March 6th, but was provisionally left in his office, with the enrolment of 6,000 Swiss.

<sup>1</sup> See \*Acta consist. Mar. 13 and 14, 1591, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 467 *seq.* See also further details in FACINI, 107 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Really Cardinal Vendôme, who called himself Cardinal Bourbon after the death of his uncle.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*text of the brief (Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 45.

<sup>4</sup> \*Dilectis filiis nobilibus viris, principibus, ducibus et baronibus atque catholicis regni Franciæ hæreticorum partibus in eodem regno adhaerentibus, Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives. French translation of the letter in L'ÉPINOIS, 468 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See the \*briefs of Ercole Sfondrato, Apr. 6, 1591, Arm. 44, t. 35, p. 166 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

Paravicini, who was well versed in the affairs of Switzerland, managed the negotiations with great skill.<sup>1</sup> Navarre's envoy, Sillery, worked against him, but to no purpose, and at the beginning of June fifteen companies, in all about 4,000 men, marched by way of the St. Gothard, the Val d'Aosta and the Little St. Bernard into Savoy, where they found the promised force of 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 Italian musketeers. At the beginning of July they joined the Papal army.<sup>2</sup> On May 9th Gregory XIV. had given the supreme command to Ercole Sfondrato, who became Duke of Montemarcano.<sup>3</sup> On May 12th the nephew took his oath of allegiance to the Pope in St. Mary Major's, after which the latter gave him the baton of commander-in-chief, and two standards blessed by the Pope himself. One showed the Crucifix between the Princes of the Apostles, and below the device of the Roman Church, the crossed keys, with the inscription: *Haec est victoria quae vincit mundum, fides nostra.* The other showed the arms of Gregory XIV. with the words: *Dextera Domini exaltavit me.* After this ceremony Ercole Sfondrato set out.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See SEGESSER, IV., 156 seq. Cf. WIRZ, Bullen, 437 seq.; FACINI, 110 seq.

<sup>2</sup> See SEGESSER, IV., 171, 174.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*brief for "Herculi Sfondrato nostro sec. carnem nepoti, militiae S. R. E. capitaneo generali nec non ecclesiastici exercitus nostri in regnum Franciae deducendi duci item et praefecto generali, dat. Romae in monte Quirinali May 9, 1591," Arm. 44 t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>4</sup> See the detailed description in the \*Diarium P. Alaleonis Barb. 2815, p. 178b, Vatican Library. Cf. \*avviso of May 11, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 254, *ibid.* The brief by which the Archbishop of Ragusa, Matteucci (see *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 806 seq.) was appointed commissary general of the Papal army sent to France, Apr. 24, Arm. 44, t. 35, p. 217. *Ibid.* p. 223 the \*brief for Petro Caetano; his appointment as commander of the cavalry of the Papal army, May 3, 1591; p. 224b, that to "Appio de comitibus"; his appointment as "magister campi generalis," also May 3, 1591, Papal Secret Archives. The original of the \*brief to P. Caetani in Gaetani Archives, Rome, 9 n. 112. A \*Relatione dell'attione di Msgr. archivescovo Matteucci, commiss.

On May 20th Landriano also left Rome.<sup>1</sup> The Pope had already announced the mission of both to Montmorency on April 19th,<sup>2</sup> and on May 1st had announced it to the citizens of Paris. In the letter addressed to the inhabitants of the French capital he expressed his joy that they had happily overcome the attack upon their city, and exhorted them to stand firm until their end was attained. Being filled with anxiety as to their fortunes he had resolved to come to their assistance, first with money, even beyond what he could afford, and then by means of letters and monitoria and the sending of a special nuncio, Marsilio Landriano, who was to unite the Catholics of France, and lastly by sending troops under the supreme command of his nephew, Ercole Sfondrato. The brief ends with the exhortation that, putting all private interests aside, they should devote all their powers to one single purpose, the choosing of a Most Christian and truly Catholic king.<sup>3</sup>

Landriano's instructions, a very significant fact, were drawn up by Cardinal Caetani. Their contents may be summarized in two words: the maintenance of the Catholic religion in France, and the destruction of the Huguenots is only possible by preventing the candidature of Navarre for the throne. To this end peaceful means were first to be adopted, namely the detachment of the French nobility from Navarre, so that

apost. destinato da Gregorio XIV. sopra esercito mandato in Francia, fatta da G. B. Rosa Bolognese ministro sue, in Ottob. 3211, p. 33 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

<sup>1</sup> The \*Instructions for Landriano, drawn up by Cardinal Caetani, in *Nunziat. di Francia*, XXXI., Papal Secret Archives. Cf. MARTIN in *Rev. des sciences relig.*, I. (1921), 343.

<sup>2</sup> Arm. 44, t. 35, p. 192, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Original text of the \*brief to the "sexdecim civitatis Parisiensis" in Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives; French translation in CAYET, *Chronologie novenaire, Mémoires Collec. univ.*, LVII., 62. In the \*letter of thanks for the congratulations of the Sorbonne, dat. Quirinal 1591, June 5, Gregory XIV. declares that he will help Paris with money, and will send troops. Original in National Archives, Paris.

the united Catholics might elect a truly Catholic king. Landriano was instructed to hold himself aloof from any party measures and to keep in view nothing but the interests of the Catholic religion.<sup>1</sup>

But how was such a neutrality to be observed in a country where all was party? Moreover, what reason was there to hope that the Papal monitorium would be enough to detach the Catholic royalists from Navarre?<sup>2</sup> Such suppositions were a fatal error, the origin and continued existence of which were the fault of the League and the Spaniards, who had done all they could to deceive Gregory XIV. as to the true state of affairs. From the beginning of his pontificate they had never wearied of assuring him that as soon as the Papal standard was unfurled in France, everyone would desert Navarre.<sup>3</sup> Just the opposite occurred.

The members of the Parliament of Paris, who were Gallican in sympathies, had on June 10th, 1591, declared at Châlons that the Papal monitoria were invalid and had ordered them to be burned; they declared that the election of Gregory XIV. was invalid, appealed to a future Council, and cited Landriano as guilty of high treason. Henry of Navarre, who had so far prudently kept in the background, was grateful for their action, and invited the members of the Parliament who were at Tours to take a similar course, confirming by means of a declaration of his council of state all that they should do in that sense. "The Pope," this states, "has become the laughing-stock of the people, and under the pretext of religion is trying to ruin the kingdom and the crown. For what has religion got to do with his opposition, since I have more than once solemnly promised that I will not in any way or for any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 480 *seq.*, who treats exhaustively of the mission of Landriano in the light of the acta in the Papal Secret Archives. Cf. as to this the \*instructions for Dario Boccarino who was sent on Apr. 9, 1591, to Madrid, in *Lett. d. princ.*, 46, p. 209 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. See also HINOJOSA, 340 *seq.*, as well as FACINI, 90 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See L'ÉPINOIS, 484 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 153.

purpose interfere with the status of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church, and have so far kept this promise inviolate under all circumstances? But now these unscrupulous men are suggesting to the Pope that I am rejecting out of hand all instruction and all advice, and that I am every day trying to introduce into the Christian community greater and more dangerous innovations. They know that they are lying when they say this. I therefore once more assert in the sight of God that I desire nothing so much as the convocation of a free and holy Council, or some other assembly which shall be in a position to remove the great schism in religion. I am ready to be instructed and enlightened; my greatest ambition is to learn to know the truth, and to see it unanimously observed by all my subjects." On the strength of this assertion Henry denied all force to the Pope's edicts, and sent them on to his ordinary tribunals that they might take action concerning them in accordance with the laws of the state.<sup>1</sup>

All this was by no means an empty threat, and the representatives of the Holy See were finding themselves in an extremely dangerous position. Landriano found it impossible to present the Papal brief to Cardinal Lenoncourt, and Mayenne, to whom the nuncio turned, declared that his mission, if he tried to carry it out, would put him in danger of his life. Cardinal Bourbon refused to accept the brief addressed to him or to reply to it.<sup>2</sup> The members of the Parliament who were at Tours declared on August 5th that the Papal edicts were null, and described the Pope as a schismatic, the enemy of peace, of the Catholic Church, of the king and of the state, who was in conspiracy with Spain. "The word schismatic," says Landriano, "comes from the Protestants and heretics who refuse to acknowledge him as lawful Pope, as having been elected not by the will of the Cardinals but of the King of Spain."<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Bourbon,

<sup>1</sup> See THUANUS, I., 101; *Mém. de la Ligue*, IV., 267 *seq.*; STÄHELIN, 275 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See L'ÉPINOIS, 488, 492.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 487 *seq.*

the Archbishop of Bourges, Renaud de Beaume, and the Bishops of Le Mans, Angers, Chartres, Nantes, Beauvais and Bayeux declared on September 21st, 1591, at Chartres, the nullity of the monitorium "of the badly informed Pope," at the same time asking "true and good Frenchmen" to pray that Navarre might turn to the Catholic Church. In this they saw the only means of overcoming Spanish domination on the one hand and heresy on the other.<sup>1</sup>

At first Landriano built great hopes on the appearance of the Papal army, but the long delay<sup>2</sup> filled him with despair. When at length the Papal troops made their appearance in Lorraine in the first weeks in September, it was seen that owing to the hardships and privations of the long march they were greatly reduced in numbers. They had also suffered from desertions, and in order to recover a little were quartered in the neighbourhood of Verdun. Ercole Sfondrato and the Duke of Lorraine took up their residence in that fortress, and anxiously awaited the arrival of Alessandro Farnese.<sup>3</sup> "If he does not come," wrote Landriano on October 29th, "and any disaster overtakes us, France will rise in revolt, for the cities are filled with politicians and the enemies of Spain. If it were certain that Philip II. is only acting in his own interests, then the followers of Mayenne would join the party opposed to him. The only chance of salvation," Landriano goes on to say, "lies in the detachment of the nobility from Navarre, but anyone who understands the

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, 508 *seq.* Cf. also the very rare work of MATT. ZAMPINI: *Ad calumnias, et imposturas, a pseudo-parlamentis, Cathalaunensi, et Turonensi, at Carnotensi, conventiculo, ad catholicae religionis perniciem, populique deceptionem, impie confictas in Gregorium XIV. illiusque monitionis literas, ad clerum, principes, nobiles, et populos Franciae responsio*, Lugd. 1592.

<sup>2</sup> For the slow progress of the armaments cf. the report of the envoy of Lucca, May 1591, in *Studia e docum.*, XIII., 197.

<sup>3</sup> See SEGESSER, IV., 2, 175, 181; cf. FACINI, 143 *seq.*, 149 *seq.*



French character realizes that that can only be brought about by peaceful means, and not by force."<sup>1</sup>

When this view of the fruitlessness of the policy adopted by Gregory XIV. was expressed the Pope was no longer alive. At the beginning of April he was taken ill with an affection of the bladder<sup>2</sup>; a month later he was removed to his summer residence at the Quirinal. There he again fell ill on July 5th. Pressure was brought to bear on him, not only to appoint new Cardinals, but to entrust the discharge of public business to some of the older ones, as Sfondrato was unable to do everything by himself.<sup>3</sup> When the state of the Pope's health had improved in the third week of July, and the heat had become greater, he gave way to the wishes of his entourage and moved to the palace of S. Marco. There on August 10th he received Duke Alfonso II. of Ferrara,<sup>4</sup> who was comfortably lodged with his large retinue of 700 men and 400 horses in the spacious precincts of the palace. The duke occupied the apartments of the titular of S. Marco. This was done so that he might be in communication with the Pope without being disturbed or seen.<sup>5</sup> The purpose of their negotiations

<sup>1</sup> See L'ÉPINOIS, 506, 510, who was the first to use the letter of Landriano preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (*Lettere del Nunzio*, XXVIII., 823). Facini has now again published it. (p. 152 seq.)

<sup>2</sup> "S<sup>mus</sup> dixit se fuisse visitatum a Domino in praesenti infirmitate sua se excusans." Acta consist. Apr. 5, 1591, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avvisi of July 10 and 13, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 366, 369, Vatican Library. Rudolph II. had already pressed in January, 1591, for the nomination of Annibale di Capua, Archbishop of Naples; see Rudolphi II., Epist. 298, 312 seq. In March the Emperor interested himself on behalf of the Bishop of Alba, Alberto Cauriano (see *ibid.* 333 seq.) in April of the Archbishops of Naples and Bari (*ibid.* 342, 345 seq.) and again on May 10 of the Archbishop of Naples (*ibid.* 357 seq.).

<sup>4</sup> See J. P. Mucantii \*Diaria caerem. Papal Secret Archives. Cf. \*Relatione dell'arrivo in Roma del Duca di Ferrara, in Cod. Capponi 63, p. 195 seq., Vatican Library.

<sup>5</sup> See DENGEL, Palazzo di S. Marco, 111 seq.

was to settle the question of the succession to the throne of Ferrara.<sup>1</sup> As the duke had no children it seemed that the throne must pass to his nephew, Cesare d'Este, the cousin of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. But there was another collateral branch of the house of Este, that of the Marchese di S. Martino, which was related to the Sfondrato, and in sympathy with Spanish interests. The Duke of Ferrara was informed from this quarter that he could easily obtain from the Holy See the new investiture necessary to regularize the succession, should he prefer Filippo d'Este, Marchese di S. Martino to Cesare d'Este. Alfonso II. agreed to this; he did not like Cesare, and his sister, the Duchess of Urbino, bore him a mortal hatred. A decisive factor was that Alfonso would have had to have asked for the investiture of Ferrara for his relatives in accordance with the dispositions he should make at his death.

Alfonso, the Pope's nephews, and the Spaniards were already convinced that they had been successful in the negotiations. When, however, Gregory XIV. spoke of the matter in consistory on August 19th, he found himself faced by the bull of Pius V. which he had himself renewed, but which forbade any alienation of the fiefs of the Church. The Pope then appointed a congregation of thirteen Cardinals, Gesualdo, Paleotto, Bonelli, Madruzzo, Facchinetti, Valiero, Salviati, Laureo, Lancelotti, Aldobrandini, Mattei, Ascanio Colonna and Piatti, to inquire into the question whether the bull affected the case in question.<sup>2</sup> It was at once obvious that

<sup>1</sup> For this *cf.* MURATORI, *Antichità Estensi*, II., LE BRET, *Allg. Welthistorie*, XLVI., 2, 386 *seq.*; GALUZZI, IV., 294 *seq.*; FACINI 183 *seq.*; COTTAFANI, *Filippo d'Este e l'investitura di Ferrara nel 1591*, Reggio, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> See *\*Acta consist. in Barb.* XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; CIACONIUS, IV., 233; FACINI, 185 *seq.* *Cf.* *\*Avviso* of Aug. 21, 1591, Urb. 1060, II., 441, (*ibid.*, 445 an *\*opinion* of the envoy of Urbino on each of the members of the congregation), Vatican Library.

the majority of the Cardinals were opposed to the investiture wished for by Alfonso.<sup>1</sup>

Anti-Spanish feelings, as well as the influence of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, had led to this decision. The annoyance of the Spaniards was very great, and it was said in Rome that they had advised the Pope to put an end to the opposition of the Sacred College by making a great creation of Cardinals.<sup>2</sup>

But Gregory absolutely refused to take any such step. He had the matter further examined, and consulted both the supporters and opponents of the request of the Duke of Ferrara. The most bitter opponent of acquiescence in the Duke's request was Cardinal Aldobrandini.<sup>3</sup> When Cardinal d'Aragona advised the Pope to have nothing to do with the matter, the latter thanked him sincerely. The celebrated Jesuit Toledo said to Gregory XIV. that the case in question was not provided for by the bull of Pius V. but that the Pope could not agree to the proposal of the duke without the consent of the Cardinals;<sup>4</sup> to obtain this, however, was impossible. Alfonso's advisers negotiated with the Cardinals and tried to show them that the bull of Pius V. only affected fiefs that had already fallen vacant, but not those such as this which were still held, but the majority of the Cardinals refused to admit this reasoning.

The strong feeling with which the matter was treated, the dissension in the Sacred College, and the inevitable offence that would be given to Alfonso II. disturbed the Pope greatly. Although he had two attacks of fever at the beginning of September he would not suspend the negotiations.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the \*Avviso of Aug. 24, 1591, only Valiero, Piatti and Lancellotti spoke in favour of the duke. Urb. 1060, II., 447, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Aug. 31, 1591, *ibid.* 460.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 202.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of Aug. 24, 1591, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of Sept. 4, 1591, *ibid.* 471 *seq.*

As the Duke of Ferrara was proposing<sup>1</sup> an increase in his tribute, he hoped, relying principally on this, to find a way out of the difficulty. On September 7th the question was put to the Congregation of Cardinals and to the Auditors of the Rota whether the bull of Pius V. applied to a Papal disposition of a fief that had not already fallen vacant, supposing that an obvious advantage to the Church resulted therefrom. Only Cardinals Lancellotti and Piatti accepted this view unconditionally; Madruzzo, Laureo and Valiero thought that the advantage must first be shown to exist absolutely; Salviati and Mattei definitely opposed it, saying that by reason of the bull the Pope could not make any such disposition. The other Cardinals said the same, pointing out that the advantage did not of itself suffice. Ascanio Colonna in particular expressed himself at length to this effect. The members of the Rota, with the exception of Serafino and Bianchetti, expressed themselves in the same sense.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this Gregory XIV., at a consistory on September 13th, 1591, declared that the bull of Pius V. did not prevent a new granting of a fief that had not yet fallen vacant, when the needs and the manifest and real advantage of the Church demanded it.<sup>3</sup> Without taking any further vote of the Cardinals a consistorial decree was drawn up to this effect. When Cardinal Mattei contested the real necessity, Gregory XIV. angrily replied that he had clearly stated that he did not intend to put the question to the vote.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The offers of Alfonso were greatly exaggerated by rumour; according to an \*Avviso of Sept. 15, 1591, he offered a million in gold, in addition to an increase of interest by two-thirds, and the cession of the whole of the indemnity (12 millions). The envoy of Urbino on the other hand doubted this utterly. *Ibid.*, 502 seq.

<sup>2</sup> All this in accordance with the information given in the \*Avvisi of Sept. 11 and 14, 1591 (*ibid.*, 484, 489) confirmed by the envoy of Urbino.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. as to this Bull., IX., 521. See also Acta consist., in GULIK-EUBEL, III., 60; FACINI, 188; RICCI, II., 57.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of Sept. 14, 1591, *loc. cit.*

As it was impossible to obtain the consent of the Cardinals,<sup>1</sup> recourse was had to the expedient of conferring the investiture by brief or *motu proprio*, for which the consent of the consistory was not required.<sup>2</sup> It is true that this document was drawn up, but its execution was suspended on account of the growing opposition of the College of Cardinals in which Cardinals Pierbenedetti and Santori were especially prominent.<sup>3</sup> This drew down upon them the hostility of Cardinal Sfondrato, and when the nephew had the audacity to call in question the loyalty to the Church of these men, Santori in particular was roused to just indignation. He drew up in his defence a memorial on the duties of the Cardinals.<sup>4</sup> Santori also had a quarrel with the Pope on this matter in consistory, and Gregory XIV. had become so excited that he afterwards asked pardon of the Cardinal with tears. He then praised the outspokenness of Santori and expressly stated that he regretted having caused a brief to be drawn up which ran counter to the bull of Pius V.<sup>5</sup> It was clear that no decision was to be come to.

The continued anxiety caused by the question of Ferrara reacted unfavourably on the state of health of the ailing and weak Pope. Although in May his health was better, an ambassador in reporting this adds that he feared that with the fall of the leaf the "tree of Sfrondato" would also fall:<sup>6</sup> and so it proved. On September 22nd he held another long conference on the troublesome question of Ferrara, after which he became seriously ill with the stone. The fever increased so much during the following days that on September 25th the Pope had the Holy Viaticum brought to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RICCI, II., 59.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Sept. 21, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 500, according to which Alfonso rejected such a document because any Pope might revoke it. Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avvisi of Sept. 18 and 21, *ibid.*, 496, 500, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 199.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, 200.

<sup>6</sup> See the Este report in RICCI, II., 63 *seq.*

him.<sup>1</sup> In the evening of the same day the rumour was current in Rome that Gregory XIV. was dead.<sup>2</sup> Messengers were already taking the news abroad, but actually the sick man was still alive, although his condition was hopeless.<sup>3</sup> Residence in the palace of S. Marco seemed to the dying man, who longed for the green and airy heights of the Quirinal, like a prison.<sup>4</sup> But there was no possibility of thinking of moving him. On October 2nd a procession of intercession from S. Maria in Vallicella to the Gesù took place.<sup>5</sup>

On October 4th the Pope summoned the Cardinals to his death-bed, and addressed a touching discourse to them in Italian. Being at the point of death, he said, he had summoned the Cardinals as his brethren and sons, in order solemnly to declare to them that he had always had the best will to fulfil the duties of his office in all charity, for which he would now have to render an account before God. Whatever had been wanting in him must not be attributed to ill-will, but to weakness and human frailty. The Cardinals must pray for him and forgive him if he had offended them. He urged them to make a new election, quickly and wisely, and recommended to them the League and the election of a Catholic king in France, as well as his nephews. The Pope concluded with the words that he wished to die in the true faith of the Catholic, Roman and Apostolic Church. During these words no eye remained dry. Cardinals Gesualdo, Altemps, Pellevé,

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of Sept. 25, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 510 *seq.* According to the report of the embassy in RAUMER, Briefe aus Paris, I., Leipzig, 1831, 362, Gregory XIV. suffered from a disease of the liver. For the stone and its remedies see L. GUALINO, L. litiasi di Pio V., Roma, 1925, 3 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> \*Questa sera sul tardi si fa gran rumore tra gli Hebrei che sgombrano in fretta dicendo la morte del Papa. Urb. 1060, II., 512, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct 2, 1591, according to which the sick man was "spesso agghiacciato dalle coscie in giù." *Ibid.*, 529.

<sup>4</sup> See the report of the Venetian ambassador Moro in DENGEL, Palazzo di S. Marco, 112.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct. 2, 1591, *loc. cit.*

Radziwill and Aldobrandini were especially moved. Gesualdo, as Dean, replied to his paternal exhortations, of which the Sacred College would be ever mindful, after which all the Cardinals kissed the trembling hand of the Pope and retired with his blessing.<sup>1</sup>

On October 4th a Papal constitution was published, confirming the bull of Pius V. against the alienation of Church property.<sup>2</sup> Three days after the Pope was taken ill the Duke of Ferrara retired from Rome to the Castle of Caprarola, where he remained for some time, before returning to Ferrara.<sup>3</sup>

The Pope, it was announced on October 9th, was lying between life and death.<sup>4</sup> His death was looked for at any moment. Cardinal Sfondrato to his terror saw the power which his uncle had given him too freely, slipping away. He quarrelled with the doctors and blamed them for failing to understand the disease of the Pope, who, he said, could yet have lived for many months.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime the nephew did not fail, in every way he could, to enrich himself and his friends,<sup>6</sup> but his attempts to induce the

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct 5, 1591, *ibid.*, 536b. Cf. Acta consist. in LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengesch., 136 *seq.*, and CICALA, Vita Gregorii XIV. Cardinal Valiero wrote a dissertation "De postremo sermone Gregori XIV. P. M. ad cardinales habito"; see CIACONIUS, IV., 87. Cf. Cod. Barb. XLII., 61, p. 95 *seq.* Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct. 9, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 543. Cf. CICALA, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> See CICALA, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> \*Il Papa vivendo more et morendo vive perchè sta a similitudine di notomia con flusso, febre continuo brugiore di orina." The doctors marvelled that the sick man, who was sometimes delirious, still lived (Avviso of Oct. 9, 1591, *ibid.*, 543). On Oct. 5, 1591, Cardinal Sfondrato had written to the "patriarca Caetano, nuntio alla corte Ces. : \*N.S. sta tanto aggravato che si può dubitar che sia per esser molto presto sede vacante." Gaetani Archives, Rome, 53, n. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avviso of Oct. 9, 1591, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avvisi of Oct. 9 and 16, *loc. cit.*, 554, 559.

dying Pope to make an appointment of Cardinals remained without effect.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning of his illness Gregory had wished to devote himself entirely to preparing for a good death.<sup>2</sup> During the night between October 15th and 16th he was freed from his terrible sufferings.<sup>3</sup> He died, a contemporary informs us, after having repeatedly received Holy Communion, a Christian and a saint, as he had lived. Capuchins, Jesuits and Camillans watched constantly by his bedside.<sup>4</sup>

The pontificate of Gregory XIV. had only lasted for ten months and ten days. During that time he had shown himself to be, as Cardinal Santori truly declared, a good and pious sovereign, full of good-will and kindness, but weak and unsuited to the work of government.<sup>5</sup> This was all the more disastrous as his Secretary of State, Cardinal Sfondrato, who had monopolized all the business of state, did not rise to the heights of the great duties pertaining to him.<sup>6</sup> Instead of acting as a counterweight to the over great inclination of his

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avvisi of Oct. 2, 5 and 16, *ibid.*, 531, 536, 559.

<sup>2</sup> See the Este report in RICCI, II., 64.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avvisi of Oct. 12 and 16, 1591, *ibid.* (*cf.* App. No. 47), as well as the \*letters of Cataneo, of the 16, and Brumani of the 19, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the reports in CIAMPI, III., 106; DENGEL, *loc. cit.*, 113, and LAEMMER, Melet., 234; HERRE, 551. Gregory XIV. was buried in St. Peter's in the Gregorian Chapel. In 1854 he was given a new tomb with his statue in marble, which represents him seated, and is the work of Amici. For the earlier tomb see MORONI, XXXII., 307 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 183.

<sup>4</sup> See in App. No. 47 the \*Avviso of Oct. 16, 1591, Vatican Library, and J. P. Mucantius, \*Diaria caerem. which gives the result of the autopsy; in the bladder a large stone and the lungs affected. According to Mucantius the nephews abandoned the dead man "sine ulla caritate et pietate." Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>5</sup> See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 200.

<sup>6</sup> See *ibid.*, 197 *seq.*, and in App. No. 47 the \*Avviso of Oct. 16, 1591, Vatican Library. FACINI (*loc. cit.*) forms a very unfavourable opinion of the lack of political and diplomatic tact shown by Sfondrato in the matters of both France and Ferrara.



uncle to Spain and the League, he only confirmed him in taking part in the war against Henry of Navarre, which brought no advantage to the Holy See, but rather loss, especially from the financial point of view.<sup>1</sup> Philip II. was as much pleased with this depletion of the Papal treasury as with the help given to the League in France, for the treasury of Sixtus V. had been greatly feared by the Spanish king as a source of power in Italy over which he had no control.<sup>2</sup>

Taking into consideration the many marks of favour which Gregory XIV. had shown to the King of Spain,<sup>3</sup> it must have caused special sorrow to the Pope that difficulties were placed in the way of the publication of his two bulls in Spain,<sup>4</sup> and that a work had been printed in Madrid which, under the pretext of protecting the Spaniards against oppression by the ecclesiastical judges, was inimical to ecclesiastical liberties and immunities. How little the Pope, in his ignorance of the world, understood the tenacity with which Philip II. adhered to his cesaropapistical aims, is shown by the fact

<sup>1</sup>\*Gregorio XIV. è visso in pontificato mesi 10, giorni 10 nel qual tempo si fa conto che habbia speso circa tre milioni d'oro della Sede Ap<sup>ca</sup>, delle cui entrate in questo tempo non si è visto pur un soldo ne in Castello sono rimasti fuori delle dui milioni et  $\frac{1}{2}$  d'oro obligati più di 60,000 scudi, de quali giovedì furono cavati 30,000 per principio delle spese di sede vacante che importano più di 80,000 senza veruno assegnamento, is stated with exaggeration in the Avviso of Oct. 19, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 562. According to the report of Cardinal Monte, Apr. 15, 1592 (in DESJARDINS, V., 157) Clement VIII. said: in the case of France "Gregorio XIV. ha speso più di settecento milla scudi e ha lasciato si esausta la Sede Apostolica che il depositario è creditore più di duecento mila scudi." According to a detailed note in Cod. Vat. 5474, 400,000 gold scudi were taken from the treasury in the Castle of St. Angelo for France; see *Studi e docum.*, XIII., 316. For the coins of Gregory XIV., see SERAFINI, I., 103 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See T. Contarini in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 438; *Hist. Zeitschr.* XXXIX., 446.

<sup>3</sup> For the concessions of the Crusade Bull to Portugal see SCHÄFER, V., 95.

<sup>4</sup> See HINOJOSA, 339.

that he had recourse to the king in an autograph letter, adjuring him to intervene against a work that might do more harm than the armies of the heretics.<sup>1</sup> Gregory XIV. did not reign long enough to realize how deceived he was in the hopes he expressed in this letter, that the King of Spain, "like another Constantine," would fight on behalf of ecclesiastical liberties, which were incompatible with his political absolutism. On the other hand Gregory XIV. was not spared the pain of seeing for himself, on a solemn occasion, how the efforts of Spain were directed to the degradation of the supreme head of the Church to the position of a chaplain of the Catholic King. When on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul the customary presentation of the tribute for Naples was to be made, the Spanish ambassador kept the Pope waiting for him! The Master of Ceremonies, Mucantius, who reports this, adds that the kindly Gregory XIV. bore it in silence.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of its short duration and the constant ill-health of the Pope, the pontificate of Gregory XIV. was not without importance from the point of view of internal religious development.<sup>3</sup> In the case of a man such as Gregory this development could not fail to be along the lines of the Catholic reform. Immediately after his election it was learned that the Pope was turning his attention to the reform of the Dataria,<sup>4</sup> to a stricter enforcement of the duty of residence,<sup>5</sup> and that he also had in view a general visitation of religious

<sup>1</sup> The \*letter dated May 30, 1591, in the \*Lettere di proprio pugno, Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 12, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> \*Diaria caerem. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> The contrary assertion of HASEMANN in *Ersch-Gruber Enzyklop.*, I Sect., LXXXIX., 274 is wrong. Very remarkable however was the change of the personnel of almost all the nunciatures; see BIAUDET, 59.

<sup>4</sup> Gregory XIV. erected a special congregation for this purpose; see \*letter of L. Dubliul to Mgr. Froissart, dat. Rome 1590, dec. 24, State Archives, Brussels, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, p. 354, n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> See \*Avvisi of Dec. 26, 1590, and Feb. 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, p. 666 and 1058, I., 77, Vatican Library.

houses.<sup>1</sup> The efforts of Cardinal Charles of Lorraine for the reform of the Benedictine and Augustinian houses in his legation were strongly supported by the Pope.<sup>2</sup>

On May 15th, 1591, a very important constitution was issued, which, in accordance with the decree of the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent, laid down detailed regulations for the examination of the worthiness and capability of candidates for the episcopal office. Gregory XIV. remembered how he himself had once, as Bishop of Cremona, taken part in the Council. At that time no fixed rules had been laid down for the examination of bishops, but the matter was left to the provincial synods, whose regulations were to be confirmed by the Pope. Realizing the importance of the choice of good bishops, Gregory XIV. took the matter in hand. He laid it down who was to carry out the examination, and the form which it was to take, the qualities that the candidates must possess, and the witnesses who were to be heard; after this the candidate must make the profession of faith. The acts of the process were then to be sent to Rome to be examined.<sup>3</sup>

A decree issued in Rome forbade the celebration of Mass in private houses.<sup>4</sup> A constitution of March 21st forbade the making of wagers as to the election of the future Pope,

<sup>1</sup> See Avviso of Jan. 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 36, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HAUDIQUIER, *Hist. du vén. Dom Didier de la Cour*, Paris, 1772, 4, 98 *seq.* Worthy of mention too is the letter addressed by Gregory XIV. Apr. 5, 1591, to Vincenzo I. Gonzaga, in which he severely admonishes him to give up his dissolute life; see LUZIO, *Antonio Gonzaga*, II., 176.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Acta consist., May 15, 1591, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. Bull. IX., 419 *seq.* Cf. SCHERER in the *Freiburger Kirchenlexikon*, IV.<sup>2</sup>, 1065 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of Jan. 23, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 36, Vatican Library. On Feb. 3, 1591, there took place in S. Maria sopra Minerva a "pubblica abiura" of twelve "heretici tre [relapsi] rilasciati al braccio secolare e altri alle galere perpetue." \*Note in the codex (cited in Vol. XXI., of this work, p. 193, n. 6) from the Archives of the Dataria, now in the Papal Secret Archives.

or the creation of new Cardinals.<sup>1</sup> Gregory XIV. also turned his attention to the reform of the conclave, which called above all for the prevention of undue influence on the part of the princes,<sup>2</sup> and he carried on the work on the ritual<sup>3</sup> and the reform of the breviary.<sup>4</sup> Gregory XIV. altered two constitutions of Sixtus V., concerning criminal abortion and the acceptance of illegitimate children as novices in the religious Orders.<sup>5</sup>

Since the time of Pius V. it had been discussed whether Cardinals who belonged to an Order should wear a red or black biretta. Gregory XIV. decided this question, in which Cardinal Bonelli was especially interested, in favour of the red biretta, as otherwise Cardinals belonging to an Order would have nothing to distinguish them outwardly from other great prelates.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Bull. IX., 396 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avvisi of Jan. 12 and Apr. 17, 1591 (Jan 12: Care must be taken for a more complete isolation of the conclave from the outside, and election by way of adoration is also prohibited. "Questa bolla sarà strettissima et rigorosissima havendosi mira principale che resti esclusa la dentro l'autorità de principi secolari"; Apr. 17: The bull will be very important, the Pope is working on it). Urb. 1058, I., 19-20b, 223b, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> Santori remarks concerning this in his \*Audientie presso Gregorio XIV., Dec. 14, 1591: "Del Rituale che fu cominciato a stampare da me e poi intermesso, che vorrei finirlo con lo intervento di alcuni huomini da bene soliti, M. Curtio et M. Marcello: che le piace, ne me priega, et per quanta autorità tiene sopra l'amorevolezza mia, me l'commanda." Papal Secret Archives, LII., 19.

<sup>4</sup> See BÄUMER, 487 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> See Bull. IX., 392 *seq.*, 430 *seq.* Cf. Bull. Carmelit., II., Romae, 1718, 258 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> See \*Acta consist. Apr. 26, 1591, Cod. Barb., XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 59; Bull., IX., 433 *seq.*, J. P. Mucantius (\*Diaria caerem.) reports June 9, 1591: "Pontifex dedit bireta rubra quattuor cardinalibus religiosis, qui hactenus nigra vel iuxta colorem habitus suae religionis portaverant" (Papal Secret Archives). Cf. \*Discorso di Girol. Catena

Among the questions which were awaiting settlement from the time of Sixtus V. the most burning was the fate of his bible. How great had become the irritation at the impetuous editorial activity of the dead Pope may best be seen from the proposals which were laid before his second successor on the subject. "Men of weight," undoubtedly the members of Sixtus V.'s biblical commission, frankly advised the new Pope openly and expressly to prohibit the Vulgate of his predecessor. Fortunately for Sixtus V., however, he found a defender in the person of Bellarmine, who had returned from France on November 21st, 1590. He insistently dissuaded the Pope from so drastic a step; let them rather correct in the Sixtine Bible what called for correction, and to safeguard the honour of the deceased pontiff, let it be published once more under his name. A preface might excuse as far as possible his mistakes.<sup>1</sup>

The carrying out of these suggestions was entrusted by Gregory XIV. to the president of the Congregation of the Index, Cardinal Colonna, who was assisted in his difficult task by six Cardinals, among them Allen, Valiero and Borromeo, and eleven consultors.<sup>2</sup> Every Monday and Friday, under the presidency of Colonna and Allen, a meeting of these learned consultors was held, among them special mention being made of Bartolomeo Valverde, the Theatine Agellio, and the Jesuits

al cardinal Sfondrato intorno alla beretta rossa da darsi a cardinali religiosi (May 28, 1591), Var. polit., 106, p. 25 *seqq.* Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>1</sup> Non esse biblia illa prohibenda, sed esse ita corrigenda, ut salvo honore Sixti Pontificis, biblia illa emendata prodirent. Quod fieret, si quam celerrime tollerentur, quae male mutata erant, et biblia recuderentur, sub nomine eiusdem Sixti, et addita praefatione, qua significaretur in prima editione Sixti praefestinatione irrepsisse aliqua errata vel typographorum vel aliorum. (Autobiography of Bellarmine, in LE BACHELET, 90). It may be asked whether the opinion mentioned here is the same as that mentioned in 1591. We follow in this HÖPFL, 158 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Olivares to Philip II., Jan. 29, 1591, in LE BACHELET, 197; \*Avviso of Feb. 23, 1591, in BAUMGARTEN, *Vulgata Sixtina*, 98.

Bellarmino and Toledo. The secretary, Angelo Rocca, read out the text of the Holy Scriptures, word by word, in a clear voice ; wherever difficulties were raised, these were discussed and presented on the Thursday to the general meeting. If it proved impossible even then to arrive at a decision, the matter was referred to the Pope. The first meeting took place on February 7th, 1591.<sup>1</sup>

It soon became clear, however, that this method was too slow. In the case of the first book of the Holy Scriptures, Genesis, they only reached the end after forty days ;<sup>2</sup> the examination of the whole Bible, therefore, would take years. Moreover, a speedy decision, which the circumstances called for, was not to be expected from a commission composed of so many persons. In deciding upon the reading to be adopted there was an absence of any definite principles of textual criticism, and the consultors and Cardinals allowed themselves to be guided in each case merely by their own opinion and ideas. It was Bellarmine who called attention to this difficulty, and who in a short memorial<sup>3</sup> pointed out the way to obviate it. A smaller commission was formed composed of Cardinals Colonna and Allen with eight consultors. These ten scholars then devoted themselves exclusively to the task entrusted to them at the villa of Colonna at Zagarolo, and now actually completed it in nineteen days<sup>4</sup> ; on July 5th, 1591, Olivares reported to his king that the revision of the Bible was completed.<sup>5</sup> The time was incredibly short for so vast a work, but the whole of the preparatory work, thanks to the labours of Sirleto, and of the biblical commission of Sixtus V., had already been long completed, while the commission wasted no time in discussing grave and insoluble difficulties, but left their decision to the Pope.<sup>6</sup>

What still remained to be done was once more discussed

<sup>1</sup> HÖPFL, 159 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in LE BACHELET, 126, 129.

<sup>4</sup> HÖPFL, 165. The inscription in Zagarolo recording the correction of the Bible, in REUMONT, III., 2, 881.

<sup>5</sup> LE BACHELET, 198.

<sup>6</sup> HÖPFL, 166.

in a memorial of Bellarmine,<sup>1</sup> whose influence in the question of the Vulgate was on many occasions shown to be decisive under Gregory XIV. This set forth three questions: first, should the Latin Bible be published at once in the textual form now decided upon, which of course would mean the definite setting aside of the Sixtine Vulgate; secondly, under what name should the new edition be published; and thirdly, should critical notes be appended to the text?

To the first question, Bellarmine replied unhesitatingly in the affirmative; since the Sixtine edition had undoubtedly come into the hands of the Protestants, there was reason to fear lest they should publish some work in which the Vulgate of Sixtus V. would be used to show that the Pope had falsified the text of the Bible, and that he wished to set himself above the word of God, and above God Himself, and to correct the Holy Ghost. Nothing worse could be imagined for the confusion of Catholics and for confirming the heretics in their errors; therefore it was necessary to take immediate steps to prevent this. Consequently the new Bible should be published as soon as possible, while in the preface it could be shown that Sixtus V. had published his Vulgate a year before, but that he himself had realized that for various reasons defects had crept into it, and that he had therefore himself intended to correct his own edition. This task, which his death had prevented him from carrying into effect, had now been done by his successor. In this way the Apostolic See would neither hurt the memory of the dead Pope, nor confirm the errors in his edition.

With regard to the second question—under whose name the new Latin text of the Holy Scriptures was to be published—Bellarmine gave it as his opinion that it should bear the name of the Pope, and that in the title the names of both Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. could be mentioned, as those to whom the present edition owed its origin. It was not advisable, however, to follow the example of Sixtus V. and prohibit all other editions of the Vulgate, for which opinion

<sup>1</sup> In LE BACHELET, 137-141.

Bellarmino gave five reasons, and in a further memorial seventeen more.<sup>1</sup> In acting thus Bellarmine once again had the Protestants in mind: if Paul IV.'s prohibition of Bibles emanating from suspect quarters had given occasion to the heretics to put it about that the Pope had forbidden the Bible itself, what would happen if pontifical editions, treasured by Catholics, and approved by Catholic universities, were to be condemned?<sup>2</sup>

In reply to the third question, Bellarmine expresses the wish that marginal notes concerning the variations in the text should be added to the new edition, as such notes would be of use and importance. This third proposal was not accepted, but on the other matters Bellarmine met with complete acquiescence on the part of the Congregation.

However, the Bible which had been so long in preparation, was not yet ready for the press even after the discussions at Zagarola. Many questions which had not yet been settled had been left to the decision of the Pope, while others had to be presented to the whole Congregation for examination. Months passed while this was being done and in the meantime Gregory XIV. died, without the new Vulgate making its appearance.

Of great importance was Gregory XIV.'s constitution of May 24th, 1591, concerning the right of sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> Although great abuses had crept in in this matter, the Council of Trent had not arrived at any settlement of this question. All the greater credit is therefore due to Gregory XIV. for having set himself to bringing the right of sanctuary into line with modern conditions, to which at the same time he made considerable concessions. But at the same time the Pope safeguarded the authority and power of the Church in this respect, especially by his detailed ordinance concerning the manner of handing over delinquents who were unworthy of

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 142-145.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>3</sup> See Bull., IX., 424 *seq.* The author of the bull was Santori; see his *Autobiografia* XIII., 197.



sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> The bull of Gregory XIV. suspended all previous enactments, and also withdrew the indults and privileges granted by previous Popes to individual governors concerning the arrest of those who were unworthy of sanctuary. He laid it down that the right of sanctuary belonged to all churches, convents, cemeteries and other sacred places, though in future the bandits, devastators of the fields, those who were guilty of homicide or mutilation in holy places, murderers, cut-throats, heretics and those guilty of high treason were debarred from the enjoyment of this privilege. Those who were guilty of the above-mentioned offences who attempted to take sanctuary were, if they were laymen,<sup>2</sup> to be handed over to the civil authorities for punishment should this be demanded. The officers of civil justice were forbidden under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae* to arrest on their own authority anyone unworthy of the right of sanctuary in places that enjoyed ecclesiastical immunity; the arrest must only be made in virtue of the express authority of the local bishop and by an ecclesiastic authorized by him to do so.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately the bull of Gregory XIV. had but little practical effect in face of the ever-increasing cesaropapalism among the Catholics.<sup>4</sup>

Besides his nephew, Paolo Emilio Sfondrato, Gregory XIV. had, on March 6th, 1591, received four other Cardinals into the Sacred College: Odoardo Farnese, the second son of Duke Alessandro, who was much esteemed by the Pope, Ottavio Paravicini, Flaminio Piatti and Ottavio Aquaviva.

<sup>1</sup> See the excellent work of BINDSCHEDLER, *Kirchl. Asylrecht (Immunitas ecclesiarum localis) und Freistätten in der Schweiz*, Stuttgart, 1906, 251.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of priests and regulars ecclesiastical jurisdiction was maintained in its entirety, while the recognition of the cause of heretics was absolutely reserved to the "forum ecclesiasticum"; see BINDSCHEDLER, *loc. cit.*, 253.

<sup>3</sup> BINDSCHEDLER, 251 *seq.* The reproaches which were made by the Old Catholics (Hüber and Döllinger) against the bull are quite unfounded; see HERGENRÖTHNER, *Kirche u. Staat*, 537 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See HINSCHIUS, VI., 396.

All these were upholders and supporters of the Catholic reform, and for the most part belonged to the Spanish party.<sup>1</sup>

Farnese, who was twenty-six years of age, had enjoyed a good education in Rome under his great-uncle, Cardinal Alessandro, in whose footsteps he followed in every way. Living in winter at the Palazzo Farnese, and in summer at the splendid castle of Caprarola, he showed himself a true Farnese by his generosity, his charity, his patronage of learning and art,<sup>2</sup> and by his close relations with the Jesuits, whose professed house in Rome he built. A special friendship united the Cardinal with the celebrated Bellarmine. The Venetian ambassador Dolfin says of Odoardo Farnese that in appearance his hanging lip betrayed his Hapsburg origin, but that in spite of his sumptuous court he always lived a strictly ecclesiastical life.

Ottavio Aquaviva, too, who came of an ancient Neapolitan family, was on intimate terms, as well as being connected by

<sup>1</sup> See \*Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 228 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 60; CARDELLA, V., 314 *seq.* For O. Farnese and Aquaviva see BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 81, 89. Cf. Dolfin in ALBÈRI, II., 4, 487, 491. For Paravicini see MAYER, Konzil von Trient u. Gegenreformation in der Schweiz, I., 309 *seq.* Gregory XIV. wrote to O. Farnese on Mar. 7, 1591: \*Nihil magis in optatis habuimus quam spectato aliquo monumento testatum omnibus facere, quanti praestantia maiorum tuorum in Sedem Apostolicam et in familiam etiam nostram merita antea fecerimus quantique nunc fortissimi ac piissimi ducis Alexandri patris tui singularem virtutem cum praeclara animi magnitudine praecipuaque pietate coniunctam tuamque ad omnes virtutes, sed ad sedis Apostolicae in primis dignitatem ostendendam propensionem studio et labore hactenus auctam merito nunc faciamus. Cum itaque etc. Gregory XIV. announced to Duke Farnese the nomination of his son as a cardinal in a \*brief of Mar. 15, in which he says: Deus benedictus nobilitatem tuam pro Christi gloria et catholicae fidei defensione dies noctesque per quantum coelesti gratia protegat. Arm. 44, t. 35, Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NAVENNE, Rome et le Palais Farnese, I., 9 *seq.*, 18 *seq.*, 29 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

kindred, with the Jesuits. This talented young man had had a splendid education; he was a master of Canon Law as well as of the ancient classics, especially the Greek authors, and of theology; his knowledge of St. Thomas is said to have been extraordinary. Sixtus V. had first employed Aquaviva at the Segnatura, and then as vice-legate of the Patrimony; Gregory XIV. made him master of his household and then Cardinal. Aquaviva then bought a palace in Rome and built himself a villa at Frascati. Later on, in 1605, Aquaviva, who as a Spanish subject was on the best of terms with the Catholic King, was appointed Archbishop of Naples, where, as had previously been the case in Rome, he was especially distinguished for his works of charity and his pastoral zeal. To this day a Monte de Pietà there still recalls the gifts that he made to this charitable institution. Two convents of Franciscan Observants in the territory of Naples also owed their origin to his generosity.

The Milanese Flaminio Piatti, was a relation of the family of Gregory XIV. but was deserving of the purple by reason of the purity of his morals, the piety of his life, and his special knowledge of Canon Law. He had come to Rome in the time of Gregory XIII., and had been made an Auditor of the Rota by Sixtus V.

No less distinguished a personality was Ottavio Paravicini, who came of a Lombard family which had settled in Rome. As a small boy he had served the Mass of Philip Neri, and until his twenty-eighth year had been in close relationship with that body of men which gathered round the Apostle of Rome. He was especially the friend of Baronius. Gregory XIII. had conferred on him the bishopric of Alessandria, with which he was invested by Charles Borromeo. Sixtus V. sent Paravicini as nuncio to Switzerland, where he displayed great zeal in accordance with the spirit of the reform and Catholic restoration,<sup>1</sup> in which he was also supported by Gregory XIV.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 137 *seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Archiv. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 438 *seq.*

The interests of the older Orders as well as of the new ones occupied the attention of Gregory XIV. Gregory extended the privileges of the Theatines to the Clerks Regular Minor, also known as Mariani, who had been founded in 1588 by Giovanni Agostino Adorno, St. Francis Caracciolo and Fabrizio Caracciolo for the contemplative and active life.<sup>1</sup> A constitution forbade the reformed Franciscan Conventuals as well as other religious to wear the hood and habit of the Capuchins.<sup>2</sup> The privileges of the Italian Cistercian congregation of St. Bernard were added to, as were those of the Camaldolese Congregation of Camaldoli and Murano.<sup>3</sup> In pursuance of an order issued by Pius V., the privileges of the Cardinals in the matter of transference of benefices were systematized.<sup>4</sup> An unfortunate enactment, of but short duration, of June 1st, 1591, forbade the Capuchins to hear the confessions of laymen or secular priests. In this the intentions of the Pope had been good, for he wished to protect that Order, as "the stronghold of spiritual contemplation," from too close contact with the world.<sup>5</sup>

Gregory XIV., who during the epidemic in Rome had learned to value and esteem the heroic labours of Camillus of Lellis and his association of "Fathers of a good death"

<sup>1</sup> See Bull. IX., 389 *seq.* By a \*bull of June 5, 1591, Gregory XIV. gave the Theatines the Chiesa della Giara in Verona. Theatine Archives, Rome.

<sup>2</sup> See Bull. IX., 442 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, 467 *seq.*, 496 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, 503 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> This constitution is missing in the Turin Bullarium; it is to be found in L. CHERUBINI, Bull. ed. noviss. Lyons, 1592, II., 707. The \*Diarium P. Alaleonis notes on Feb. 3, 1591: "Abiuratio 12 haereticorum carceratorum in S. Officio, tres traditi sunt curiae saeculari"; this took place at the Minerva (Barb. 2815, p. 155b, Vatican Library). Cf. \*Avviso of Feb. 6, 1591, according to which there were found among the heretics "frati, tutti ignoranti et per propria instigazione diabolica" (Urb. 1058, I., 63, *ibid.*). Decrees of the Inquisition of the time of Gregory XIV. in PASTOR, Dekrete, 47 *seq.* See also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 196, 197.

which had been approved by Sixtus V., on September 21st, 1591, made the association into a true Order, and allowed the Camillans to take the three customary solemn vows, together with a fourth of serving the sick even in time of plague.<sup>1</sup> In this way the Pope's name was connected with one of the most useful institutions that sprang up during the period of Catholic reform. Gregory showed the same veneration as he paid to Camillus of Lellis to Alessandro Sauli and to the aged Apostle of Rome, Philip Neri; it is said that when the saint went to visit the Pope for the first time, the latter embraced him saying: "Father, though I may be greater than you in dignity, you surpass me in sanctity."<sup>2</sup>

Just as, when he was a bishop, Gregory XIV. had shown his love for the Theatines, so as Pope he especially took the Jesuits under his care. Opportunities of showing his goodwill for them were not wanting. The schemes of certain Spanish Jesuits, who were aiming at a change in the constitutions of the Society, had found fresh force when Sixtus V., as was generally known, formed the idea of changing the internal constitution of the Society of Jesus. In one important matter he had already changed it, for certain Papal enactments concerning the receiving of novices had taken their right of decision out of the hands of the superiors of the Jesuits; after 1588 this right no longer belonged, as in other Orders, to the general and provincial councils, but in each province of the Order three houses were to be selected, the superiors of which, together with the provincial, were to accept or reject novices by a majority of votes.<sup>3</sup> In the case of the Society of Jesus this innovation was all the more dangerous as it violated a principle which Ignatius of Loyola had laid down for his Order, namely that the whole of the

<sup>1</sup> See Bull. IX., 479 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Gregory XIV. gave Philip Neri 200 scudi and assisted the building of the church of the Oratorians in Rome; see BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 290. For the relations of Gregory XIV. with Sauli, whom he raised to the episcopal see of Pavia, see *Riv. di scienze stor.*, IV. (1907), 161 *seqq.*, 261 *seqq.*, 435 *seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> SACCHINI P., V., I, 8. n. 1-4, p. 364 *seq.*

authority was to be in the hands of the superiors. The malcontent party rejoiced when the Pope himself seemed to take their part.

Aquaviva therefore addressed to Gregory XIV. a petition that he would confirm in the Order the old system of taking novices as well as the method of government. The Pope acceded to this request by a brief of May 2nd, 1591;<sup>1</sup> in this brief all attacks upon the essential points of the constitutions of the Society of Jesus were also forbidden.

Gregory XIV. had already taken a part in the internal disputes of the Jesuits: at the request of Aquaviva, Cardinal Sfondrato had addressed complaints to the King of Spain, and to Cardinal Quiroga and the Inquisition that the malcontents were allowed to shelter themselves behind the authority of the Inquisition, whereas the decision of matters pertaining to the religious Orders pertained to the Pope.<sup>1</sup> The new Papal brief of May 2nd was therefore bound to set the friends of the change in an uproar. The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Gusman de Olivares, addressed remonstrances to the Pope because of his edict; it was Aquaviva, he said, who was upsetting everything by his method of government, and who was trying to make the Jesuits independent of the Inquisition; the constitutions of the Society were not in any need of confirmation, but of reform in certain points, and this had been the opinion of Sixtus V. These objections were not without their effect, and the brief of confirmation, which had already reached the hands of the General, was recalled.<sup>3</sup>

The victory of Olivares, however, was short-lived. Aquaviva complained to Cardinal Sfondrato that secular ambassadors had had the effrontery, from political motives, to protest against the publication of Papal edicts, and to mix themselves up in purely spiritual matters.<sup>4</sup> Gregory XIV. suffered himself to be persuaded, and on June 28th, instead of the

<sup>1</sup> Bull., IX., 414.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 20, 1591, in ASTRÁIN, III., 437 (*cf.* 509).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III., 474.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

simple and limited brief there appeared a bull<sup>1</sup> containing the most detailed confirmation of the whole constitution of the Jesuit Order which had ever been granted by any Pope. The peace and stability of the religious Orders, this bull states, depend upon their adherence to the constitutions of their founders, and for this reason he wished once more to confirm what had been laid down by Ignatius and confirmed by the Papal see. An attempt had been made to revile and calumniate these constitutions to Sixtus V. The points against which these attacks had been levelled were then enumerated, and were one after another expressly confirmed, while all further attacks or alterations were forbidden, by which a thinly veiled rebuke was given to Philip II. and his Inquisition.<sup>2</sup> The bull had been prepared in complete secrecy, so that it was already known in Spain before Olivares had heard anything of it in Rome.<sup>3</sup> A supplement to this solemn bull was provided by the edict which quite expressly abrogated for the Jesuits the enactments of Sixtus V, concerning the reception of novices.<sup>4</sup>

Those documents which had entrusted the visitation of the Jesuit houses to strangers had already been orally declared null by Gregory,<sup>5</sup> even when they had been obtained at the request of the King of Spain. The seminaries of Gregory XIII. had not been greatly favoured by his successor, so that some of them found themselves in great difficulties. Through Cardinal Galli, Aquaviva got Gregory XIV. once again to assist them with annual grants of money.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bull. IX., 436-442.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 440, par. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Iuvencius P.*, V., t. 2, I, II, n. 13, p. 5. The bull was only solemnly published by being affixed on July 28; see the printed copy in *Institutum Soc. Iesu*, I., Florence, 1892, 125.

<sup>4</sup> Bull. IX., 466. The two edicts, of Nov. 16, 1587, and Oct. 21, 1588, had been for the most part already modified by Gregory XIV. ASTRÁIN, III., 392.

<sup>5</sup> Aug. 22, 1591; see ASTRÁIN, III., 473 (*cf.* 513).

<sup>6</sup> SACCHINI, *loc. cit.*, n. 67. In Rome Gregory XIV. entrusted the direction of the Greek College to the Jesuits; see MEESTER in *La Semaine de Rome*, 1909, 302 *seqq.*

The favour shown to the Jesuits by the second successor of Sixtus V. soon relieved their position not a little beyond the Pyrenees. The Spanish Inquisition, which quite recently had unmistakably protected the revolutionary Jesuit Carrillo against his superiors,<sup>1</sup> became rather more cautious after the letter of Cardinal Sfondrato, dated February 20th, 1591, had forbidden interference with the internal affairs of an Order.<sup>2</sup> When in 1589 the disturbances made by the malcontents, hitherto confined to Spain, had extended to Portugal, and Cardinal Albert had set himself to deal with the matter in 1591,<sup>3</sup> he was held back from taking any further steps by the Papal prohibition of extern visitors of the Order, and still more by Gregory XIV.'s solemn confirmation of the constitutions of the Jesuits.<sup>4</sup> On the strength of the new bull *Aquaviva* was able to suppress from the first the publication of Portuguese memorials in Spain.<sup>5</sup>

The favour shown by Gregory XIV. for the Jesuits could not but be increased by the news received of their successful labours in the missions across the seas.<sup>6</sup> In Poland and Germany too the members of the Society of Jesus had proved themselves the strongest supporters of the Church.

In order to strengthen Catholicism in the Kingdom of Poland, Gregory XIV. like Sixtus V., had laboured by means of his nuncios to persuade King Sigismund to choose a Catholic wife. For this the Pope thought of a princess of the Styrian branch of the Hapsburgs. On July 20th, 1591, he addressed himself to King Sigismund as well as to the Emperor, recommending and praising such an alliance. After a letter had been sent from the king to the Pope by Cardinal

<sup>1</sup> ASTRÁIN, III., 505-510.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 509.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 510-516.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 513, 515.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 516.

<sup>6</sup> Sec ALONSO SANCHEZ, S.J., \*Relazione sullo stato del cristianesimo nelle isole Filippine scritta a P. Gregorio XIV. Cod. H. 179, n. 15, Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cf. Cod. ital. 189, p. 677 seq., State Library, Munich.



Radziwill, further briefs to the same effect followed on August 2nd.<sup>1</sup>

The affairs of Germany had to some extent fallen into the background, owing to the fact that the critical position in France had engrossed the attention of Sixtus V. A far-reaching scheme for taking up the matter once more, on the grand scale of Gregory XIII., was set forth in a memorial which was presented to the Pope at the beginning of 1591 by Cardinal Federico Borromeo.<sup>2</sup> Its author was probably the indefatigable Possevino, who since 1587 had been teaching at the University of Padua. In the introduction he welcomes the intention of the new Pope to resume the payments to the Jesuit colleges at Fulda and Braunsberg, which had been suspended since 1590; like other educational establishments, these were of the greatest importance for the maintenance and spread of Catholicism: Fulda for Saxony, and Braunsberg for Prussia, because on account of their high reputation many of the Protestant nobles sent their sons thither for their education.

The author of the memorial above all recommends the re-establishment of the nunciatures in Upper Germany and Switzerland. As the nuncio at the Imperial court was strictly kept at his post, and could not, like other nuncios, travel about as required, it was suggested that some other suitable person should be associated with him for that purpose. As the nuncios had to take up a position in keeping with the dignity of the Holy See, insistence was laid upon the necessity of sending, either none but wealthy prelates, or of increasing the allowances hitherto made to them. They would then be able to visit all the Catholic princes, both ecclesiastical and secular, and thus obtain first-hand information as to the state of all parts of the Empire, in which task the Jesuits were in a position to render important service.

In the second place the author insists on the necessity of re-establishing the German Congregation, and recommends

<sup>1</sup> See THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 200 *seq.*, 202 *seq.*; SCHWEIZER, III., cxxv., cxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*text in App. No. 44, Ambrosian Library, Milan.

that not too many Cardinals be placed on this, but rather prelates who were acquainted with Germany from their personal residence there.

An excellent suggestion in the memorial concerned pastoral work in the German Diaspora, which should be entrusted, not to a nuncio, but to someone of rather lower rank, who without attracting too much attention could look after the spiritual needs of the neglected Catholics living in territories that were entirely Protestant. In many places, the author says, there were still Catholics who had remained true to their faith, but who now had no opportunity, but rather met with the greatest difficulties, of hearing a sermon and receiving the sacraments. There were about two hundred such neglected Catholics at Ulm, while at Nuremberg and Wurtemberg there were still Catholics for whom no one "broke bread."

With this pastoral work in the Diaspora might be combined a visitation of those convents of women which had still survived in places and cities which had become entirely Protestant. Such convents existed at Ulm, Strasbourg, Neuburg, in Saxony, Brunswick and also in Holstein. Most of the nuns were of noble birth, and this fact had saved them from destruction, though, naturally these poor women, who were cut off almost entirely from spiritual consolations had many trials to endure. All the more admirable, therefore, was the constancy with which they had remained true to the faith of their fathers, when, being compelled to be present at Protestant sermons, they closed their ears with wax, and carried on their spiritual exercises by night.

In order to afford spiritual comfort for those who had remained loyal in those parts of the Empire where Catholics were forbidden to practise their religion, it is further suggested that use might be made of the houses of the military Orders, the Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Order, which in virtue of their privileges could not be deprived of Catholic worship.

Of the other suggestions made two more are worthy of mention: frequent pontifical letters of exhortation and encouragement to the bishops and German princes, and the

making of the visit *ad limina*. Of considerable interest is the zeal shown by the author of the memorial for a fuller representation of Germany in the Sacred College. The great Empire, he says, has but four Cardinals; Mark Sittich, Madruzzo, Andrew of Austria and the Archduke Albert; the two latter are for the most part far away from Rome, while Mark Sittich is almost always ill; Madruzzo too is ailing and overburdened with work. So to whom in Rome are the Germans to have recourse? Moreover, by the grace of God, there are not wanting among the German episcopate candidates who are worthy of the purple.

At the end, the author of the memorial calls the attention of the Pope to the share which the decay of the Mendicant Orders had had in the spread of Protestantism in Germany. The Generals of the Orders had neglected the necessary reforms: very often they had sent unworthy members from Italy to Germany in order to prevent scandals, and the Protestant preachers had made greater use of this than of any other argument in order to attack the Church. The Pope is therefore asked to intervene by addressing suitable injunctions to the Generals of the Orders.

An appendix further calls attention to the enthusiasm with which theological questions were discussed in Germany, so that the nuncios who were sent thither must either be themselves well versed in such matters, or must have expert theologians to assist them.

Unfortunately the pontificate of Gregory XIV. was too short for the carrying into effect of such far-reaching suggestions. Nevertheless, during the short time that was allowed to him, he did all that he could, especially by means of his nuncio at the Imperial court. The nunciature at Prague, at the court of Rudolph II., was filled until the summer of 1591 by Alfonso Visconti. When he was transferred to Madrid his place was taken on June 20th, 1591, by Camillo Caetani.<sup>1</sup> During his period of office, to the already existing

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, III., xxiii. *seq.*, 320, 388 *seq.* The \*Ricordi di Camillo Caetani scritti al oblate Antonio Caetani suo nipote nell'occasione che egli partì nunzio per la Germania, in Gaetani Archives, Rome, 101, n. 29.

anxieties of the Curia concerning the filling of the important archbishopric of Prague, and of the vacant bishoprics in Hungary, the preservation of Catholicism in Styria, Jülich-Cleves, Aix and Strasbourg, two new ones were added: the election of a Protestant as Bishop of Osnabrück, and the forcible introduction of the doctrines of the innovators at Halberstadt by Duke Henry Julius of Brunswick. All that was possible was done with regard to all these questions, so as to prevent any further injury to Catholic interests.<sup>1</sup>

His intervention in the affairs of France, as well as the help given during the scarcity in Rome made a heavy drain upon the financial resources of Gregory XIV., so that the fact that he did not neglect the Papal patronage of the arts is all the more praiseworthy. After the first month of his pontificate it was learned that he had given orders for the completion of the dome of St. Peter's, and of the building works of Sixtus V. at the Vatican and Quirinal.<sup>2</sup> In March 1591 he had designs made for a chapel at St. Mary Major's, to balance the chapel of Sixtus V. and receive his own tomb.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the Palace of the Lateran was connected

<sup>1</sup> See SCHWEIZER, III., xxv. *seq.*, 267, 277, 298, 300, 322, 332 *seq.*, 335 *seq.*, 340 *seq.*, 345 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*, 377 *seq.*, 383 *seq.*, 391 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> \*N.S.<sup>re</sup> ha ordinato che si finisca la cuppola di S. Pietro sicome fa delle fabriche del Vaticano et di Montecavallo cominciate da Sisto et si dice voglia fare ridurre a perfettione la cappella incontro alla Gregoriana et a similitudine di quella (\*Avviso of Jan. 9, 1591, Urb. 1058, I., 18, Vatican Library). For the temporary cession of the Palace of the Lateran to Cardinal Ascanio Colonna see in App. No. 46 the \*brief of May 4, 1591, Colonna Archives, Rome. The inscriptions "Gregorius XIII." over the two doors, on the first floor of the loggie, at the entrance to the Hall of Congregations, record his work in the Vatican Palace.

<sup>3</sup> \*N.S.<sup>re</sup> lunedì disegnò una capella in S. Maria Maggiore incontro et a similitudine di quella di Sisto per una sepultura. Avviso of Mar. 2, *loc. cit.* 182b.

with the residence of the archpriest of that basilica.<sup>1</sup> His residence at the palace of S. Marco gave him an opportunity for the restoration of the corridor leading to S. Maria in Aracoeli.<sup>2</sup> A work of piety was the tomb which Gregory XIV. erected in S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo for his former friend, Cardinal Federico Cornaro, who died in October 1590.<sup>3</sup> To Cesare Baronius the Pope gave the extraordinary permission to have on loan for two months a precious Greek manuscript from the Vatican Library.<sup>4</sup> That other scholars too had reason to hope for the Pope's favour, is clear from the works dedicated to him.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Pope connected the Lateran Palace erected by Sixtus V. with the apartments of the archpriest, says the \*Avviso of Mar. 27, 1591, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> \*Di ordine di N.S. si refabrica il corritore che fece rompere Sisto V., il quale andava la S. Marco in Araceli (Avviso of July 6, 1591). The same Avviso reports concerning Cardinal Montalto : " E in capriccio di statue et ha comprate quelle di Camillo Crescentio ricercate dal cardinal Ascanio (Urb. 1060, II., 335b *seq.* Vatican Library). Cf. DENGEL, Palazzo di S. Marco, 112. On the staircase leading to the cathedral at Todi is the coat of arms of Gregory XIV. with the date 1590.

<sup>3</sup> N.S.<sup>no</sup> ha risoluto per l'amicitia che haveva già col cardinale Cornaro, di farli una sepoltura nobile in S. Silvestro a spese di S.B.<sup>no</sup> (Avviso of Dec. 29, 1590, Urb. 1058, p. 671, Vatican Library). Cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 154.

<sup>4</sup> See CALENZIO, Baronio, 266. A prohibition of Gregory XIV. against using documents from the Papal collections without his permission in BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 110 *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> For the printed works, among which are the *Relatione dell' assedio di Parigi* (Bologna, 1592) by F. PIGAFETTA, the work of Rocca on the *Biblioteca Vaticana* (see *supra*, p. 293, n. 1), and the " *Nuova Filosofia* " of the Platonist Franc. Patrizi (see TIRABOSCHI, VII., 1, 362), cf. CIACONIUS, IV., 87, 223 *seq.* : VAIRANI, *Mon. Cremon.*, II., 85 *seq.* ; P. CAVALIERI, *Degli uomini illustri d. congregaz. del S. Salvatore Lateranesi, Velletri*, 1836, 123. In this connexion belong the following unpublished works : Vat. 5483 : \*Horatii Massarii Castjericensis Satiniadon libri 4 cum epistola ad Gregorium XIV ; Vat. 5504 : Julii Caravatii

If it was not granted to Gregory XIV. to associate his name with any outstanding work of art, he was able to show favour to the great master of Catholic music, and the greatest genius of all time. Old friendship had united him for many years past with Pierluigi Palestrina, and the latter dedicated to Gregory XIV. a collection of motets, among them a splendid Magnificat and a profoundly striking Stabat Mater. The Pope rewarded the choir-master of St. Peter's, whom his own contemporaries hailed as the prince of music, by increasing his salary.<sup>1</sup>

Brixiani \*Brevisissimus sacramentorum tractatus ad Gregorium XIV. ; Vat. 5510 : Alex. Fusconii Ravennatis \*Liber de miraculis Eucharistiae c. epist. ad Gregorium XIV ; Vat. 5515, p. 21-44, Alph. Ciaconius, \*Tredecim Gregoriorum Rom. Pontif. gloriosa et praeclara gesta ad S. D. N. Gregorium XIV. ; Vat. 5543 : \*Epigrammata de Gregorio XIV. . . . ad eundem pontif. Ascanii Grimaldi. Cod. Barb. XXX., 45 contains a \*Discorso di Iulius Roscius Hortinus a Gregorio XIV. Vatican Library. In Cod. ital. 56, p. 274 *seq.* of the State Library, Munich : \*Discorso sopra il regno d'Irlanda et delle gente che vi bisognaria per conquistarlo fatto a P. Gregorio XIV.

<sup>1</sup> See BAINI, Mem. di P. L. da Palestrina, Roma, 1838, 226.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT IX.

DURING the last illness of Gregory XIV. the parties had openly begun upon their struggle over the new election. In this almost the same Cardinals were to take part as had been the case ten months before, so that broadly speaking the situation was the same as at the election of Gregory XIV.<sup>1</sup> Once more the decision lay with the Spaniards and Montalto.

Among many of the members of the Sacred College, however, there prevailed great annoyance and dissatisfaction at the influence exercised by the Spaniards over the Papal election.<sup>2</sup> Among these the pensions which were so lavishly assigned to the Cardinals by the King of Spain were described as simoniacal.<sup>3</sup> The number of the malcontents would have been even larger, if there had been any probability of their being able to offer an effective resistance to this dictatorship.<sup>4</sup> As, however, in view of the experience of the last conclave, this was not the case, the decisive struggle had to be deferred

<sup>1</sup> Four Cardinals had died during the pontificate of Gregory XIV. (Carafa, Serbelloni, Albani and Ippolito de Rossi; see CIACONIUS, IV., 234), and five new ones had been created (see *supra*, pp. 395 *seqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avvisi of Oct. 19 and 23, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 563, 571, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See the note of the Urbino envoy in \*Avviso of Oct. 12, 1591, *ibid.* 551. A list of the pensioners of Spain in the summer of 1591 in HINOJOSA, 334, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> \*La fattione et classe pero de malcontenti si aiuta in contrario et si conclude, che tutto il collegio da due cardinali in poi sarebbero con detta classe per fare un Papa contro Spagna quando credessero, che havesse da riuscire per reacquistare l'antica liberta del collegio. \*Avviso of Oct. 30, 1591, *loc. cit.*

to a future occasion. "It was resolved to conceal the prevailing hatred of foreign domination, and in the meantime to put up with the intolerable yoke with clenched fists."<sup>1</sup>

In these circumstances, the candidate who had the greatest chance of success from the first was Cardinal Gian Antonio Facchinetti, who had already almost obtained the tiara at the preceding conclave. He had almost all the necessary qualities: he was distinguished for his great learning, his profound knowledge of the Roman Curia, and his capability as a statesman; the bad state of health, however, of this seventy-two year old man pointed to a short pontificate. Facchinetti was acceptable to the Spaniards, to Sforza and to a good number of the Cardinals of Sixtus V., while the Grand Duke of Florence, who had previously excluded him, had also declared in his favour. He had no declared enemies, though Montalto, who in other respects was in close accord with the Grand Duke, did not look upon his election with any favour.<sup>2</sup>

Of special importance was the attitude of the Spaniards towards the new election. In view of the excitable temperament of Count Olivares, who had been appointed viceroy at Naples, but who had put off his departure and remained by the side of the Duke of Sessa, who had been appointed ambassador, many might have thought that the electors would find themselves subjected to the same inconsiderate pressure as at the previous conclave. This would certainly have been the case, if instructions from Philip II., dated December 5th, 1590, had not forbidden the renewal of such a procedure.<sup>3</sup> In consequence of this changed attitude of the King of Spain, which had been made known in Rome at the beginning of 1591, the conclave after the death of Gregory XIV.

<sup>1</sup> See HERRE, 590.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 558 *seq.*, 579; FUSAI, B. Vinta, 51. To these sources may be added the Este reports in RICCI, II., 79 *seq.*, and a contemporary report, s.d. (Nov. 1591) in Cod. CCCCXI. of the library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> See HERRE, 535 *seq.*, 538, where this important document is used for the first time.



was able to take place speedily and in peace.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the representatives of Philip themselves realized that any renewal of their open designation and inclusion of names was not desirable, because it was to their political disadvantage. But they did not for that reason by any means cease warmly to support certain Cardinals, or to exclude others.<sup>2</sup>

This is clear from the memorial which Olivares and Sessa sent on October 27th, 1591, to Cardinal Mendoza,<sup>3</sup> who this time was entrusted with the leadership of the party in the conclave instead of Madruzzo. It is true that in this document it is stated: "In conformity with our instructions not to put forward any name, but only to co-operate in the choice of a good Pope, to the satisfaction of the Sacred College, with the exception of those who are excluded on general principles, it seems advisable that Your Magnificence should not put forward anyone, and thus avoid giving offence to other candidates, but that you should rather wait for others to take action." This concession, however, is qualified by the clause: "In case, however, it should become desirable to put forward anyone, in order to prevent the election of someone unsuitable, this rule need not be observed, and the same would apply in the case of the conclave becoming very protracted." In the memorial the exclusion of Laureo, Valiero and Salviati is adhered to. At the same time instructions are given for the best way to resist the candidature of Medici, Pierbenedetti, Morosini and Aragona. The document suggests Madruzzo

<sup>1</sup> It was thought at first that the conclave would again last a long time; see \*Avviso of Oct. 19, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 563.

<sup>2</sup> See HERRE, 565 *seq.*

<sup>3</sup> \*Memorie de lo que se ofrece acordar al señor card. de Mendoza en las materias del conclave a 27 de octubre 1591. The credit must be given to Herre for having first called attention to this document; he published several passages from it. Herre made use of a copy in the Simancas Archives. I found the original in the archives of the Spanish embassy in Rome, III., 4; it is damaged in several places. Against several passages Mendoza wrote "Io" or "nota" in the margin.

as the most acceptable to the King of Spain,<sup>1</sup> and then Santori, Paleotto, Facchinetti, Aldobrandini, and lastly Galli and Colonna. With regard to the Cardinals of Sixtus V. it is stated: "His Majesty does not by any means exclude them, nor deem them unworthy of confidence, though it seems right to him that others should be given the preference. The only thing that would render them unworthy of confidence would be if Montalto united them against the interests of His Majesty." In that case they would all have to be excluded. In accordance with this Mendoza was given instructions with regard to Aldobrandini, to the effect that should Montalto show himself determined to adhere to this his chosen candidate, and the other parties should also be inclined to him, he might, after consultation with the Spanish Cardinals, give him his vote.

The memorial also takes into account every kind of possibility, and gives rules for guidance in each case. All these proved futile. After the Bishop of Bergamo, Girolamo Ragazzoni, had delivered the customary discourse to the Sacred College on October 27th,<sup>2</sup> the fifty-six Cardinals who were present in Rome<sup>3</sup> went into conclave at the Vatican. Two days later the new Pope was proclaimed; this was Cardinal Facchinetti, in whose case the saying: "he who goes into the conclave Pope, comes out a Cardinal," was not verified.

<sup>1</sup> Badoer \*reports as early as Feb. 9, 1591, concerning the "prattiche de Spagnoli per Madruzzo al pontificato." State Archives, Venice.

<sup>2</sup> The discourse is preserved in the \*Diaria caerem. of J. P. Mucantius. The orator described the difficult tasks that awaited the new Pope: Continuation of Catholic reform (enforcement of the Tridentine decrees, and especially of the duty of residence; Rome in this should set the example); repression of the ever-increasing heresy in France, and provision for the prevailing scarcity throughout Italy. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>3</sup> See the names in CIACONIUS, IV., 236 *seq.* The absentees were Gondi, Lenoncourt, and Bourbon in France, Quiroga, Albert of Austria and R. de Castro in Spain, Báthory in Poland, the Grand-master Hugh de Loubenx in Malta, and Charles of Lorraine.

According to all the reports Cardinal Facchinetti received twenty-three votes at the first scrutiny, which took place in the Pauline Chapel on October 28th, while Galli received ten, Paleotto and Salviati twelve, Santori fourteen, and Aldobrandini and Madruzzo only eight.<sup>1</sup> A speedy decision was favoured by two circumstances : first, that the Spaniards were pressing for a short conclave,<sup>2</sup> and second that in refusing his own candidature Madruzzo spoke so definitely both to the Spanish ambassador and to his friends, that their efforts to make him change his mind were fruitless. Madruzzo said to Facchinetti that he would use all his influence on his behalf.<sup>3</sup> We have an authentic account of the subsequent developments in a report from Cardinal Mendoza to Philip II. In this Mendoza relates how at first he made every effort to win over Montalto to the cause of Madruzzo. The Cardinal nephew would not agree to this, but according to Mendoza declared his readiness to vote for a candidate acceptable to Philip II., without, however, designating him expressly. The end of their long conversation was that Montalto promised to give him his definite decision on the following day. On the same day Mendoza informed Cardinal Andrew of Austria of

<sup>1</sup> See *Conclavi*, 285. Much better than the report of the conclave printed in this is another, the work of a conclavist of Cardinal F. Borromeo, which HERRE (580 *seq.*) makes use of as well as the Florentine reports, from a copy in the Dresden Library (Cod. F. 131, p. 302-308). Herre has been unable to find the Spanish reports in the Simancas Archives. This lack, however, is supplied by the important \*report of Cardinal Mendoza to Philip II., dated Rome, 1591, Nov. 8, which I discovered in the archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. According to the account of the envoy of Urbino, Santori received 12 votes at the first scrutiny, and only one at the second ; Salviati received 14 at the first, and Aldobrandini eight and one at the second, and Rovere five at the first and two at the second. Urb. 1059, II., 587, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of M. Minucci to the Duke of Modena, Oct. 30, 1591, State Archives, Modena.

<sup>3</sup> See the \*report of Cardinal Este to the Duke of Modena, Nov. 2, 1591, *ibid.*

the impossibility of obtaining the election of Madruzzo, as many even of the Spaniards were opposed to him,<sup>1</sup> and Montalto had expressly declared that he could not vote for the Cardinal of Trent, while the latter had made known his willingness to vote for one of the Cardinals acceptable to the King of Spain.

On the following day, October 29th, very early in the morning the infirm Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna had himself carried to Mendoza, which excited much wonder. The two of them discussed the situation. The result was seen in the scrutiny which took place on that day, when the number of votes given to Facchinetti increased to twenty-eight; just half the Cardinals present had voted for him, a thing that had never happened before.<sup>2</sup> The agreement of Montalto, however, was still wanting. Mendoza begged him to put an end to his hesitation, and give him his promised reply. Both the Cardinals retired to the Sistine Chapel for a long conversation, the result of which was anxiously awaited by forty Cardinals in the Sala Regia. Montalto declared himself once more for Santori; if it was impossible to succeed with him, then he was ready to vote for Facchinetti, but never for Galli or Paleotto. Mendoza was satisfied with this. The two Cardinals agreed that they would not give their followers any particulars, but merely inform them generally that they had come to an agreement.<sup>3</sup>

Mendoza then entered into negotiations with the members of his own party, strongly asserting that Philip II. did not wish to restrict the freedom of election of the Sacred College, which made a very good impression. Opinions were much divided, and some wished for the nomination of Galli, others

<sup>1</sup> The Italians did not wish for Madruzzo, "per non vedere un Papa thedesco"; see \*Avviso of Nov. 2, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 590, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter of Cardinal Sfondrato to the Marchese d'Este, Nov. 1, 1591, in *Miscell. di studi e docum. d. Soc. Lombarda*, 1903, 136.

<sup>3</sup> \*Report of Mendoza, Nov. 8, 1591, Archives of Spanish Embassy in Rome.

of Paleotto, and others, though they were but few, of Colonna. Many declared themselves strongly, either for or against Santori.<sup>1</sup> Many voices were raised for the election of Facchinetti, none against him.

Although Montalto still clung firmly to Santori, he could not fail to see how difficult it would be to obtain the tiara for that Cardinal, to whose former opponents Sfondrato and the four Cardinals of Gregory XIV. now attached themselves. Now that almost all the Cardinals were agreed upon Facchinetti, Mendoza decided to take action. He went to Madruzzo, who agreed, and also informed all the other Cardinals of his party; he then sought out Montalto, who, as he was unwell and suffering, was in his cell.<sup>2</sup> He outlined the situation to him: only Facchinetti was possible, and thus they had all agreed upon him. Montalto still raised difficulties, but Mendoza shortly and curtly broke off the discussion, taking Montalto by the arm and saying: "If you do not concur in his election, it will take place without you."<sup>3</sup> Only then did Montalto give way.<sup>4</sup> The two Cardinals then went to Facchinetti's cell, and informed him of his approaching election to the Papacy. They then accompanied the aged Cardinal to the Pauline Chapel, where the election was made.

The new Pope, who took the name of Innocent IX., realized

<sup>1</sup> According to a letter of Cardinal Monte to Vinta it was Cardinal Ascanio Colonna who destroyed the great chances of Santori; see FUSAI, B. Vinta, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing is said in the \*report of Mendoza of Montalto having hidden himself under his bed, as HERRE (584) following a report of Niccolini states: Mendoza only says: "A las cinco oras de la tarde fui con esta resolucion al card. Montalto en su aposento quexandose de dolor de estomago." Archives of Spanish Embassy in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> \*Diziendole que viniese por que si no venia se haria la elecion sin el. \*Report of Mendoza, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> According to the \*report of Tullio Caretti, Oct. 30, 1591 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) Scipione Gonzaga also brought strong pressure to bear on Montalto.

the services of Philip II. and of Mendoza, and to the latter he said: *Opera manuum tuarum*.<sup>1</sup> It was already night when the conclave was thrown open, and the new head of the Church was carried by moonlight through the Sala Regia to St. Peter's.<sup>2</sup>

The Cardinal of SS. Quattro Coronati, as Cardinal Facchinetti was called from his titular church, had been born at Bologna on July 20th, 1519, whither his parents had gone from Nogara near Verona.<sup>3</sup> He had studied jurisprudence in his native city and obtained his doctorate at the age of twenty-five, and had then gone to Rome, where he entered the service of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. For four years he was his representative at Avignon, where he distinguished himself, as he did later on in very difficult circumstances as governor of Parma. Paul IV. made the learned and distinguished prelate referendary of the Segnatura di Grazia e Giustizia. Pius IV. gave him the bishopric of Nicastro in Calabria in 1560. Facchinetti established a seminary there and built a church to S. Petronio, the patron of his own

<sup>1</sup> Mendoza himself reports this in his letter to Philip II., Nov. 8, 1591 (*loc. cit.*), adding that after the election Innocent IX. again once more repeated the words.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Alaleone in GATTICUS, 342. Cf. *Conclavi*, 288. According to HERRE (585) it would seem that he believed that the solemn coronation took place on the same evening. This could not have been the case. The coronation of Innocent IX. took place on the 3, and the *posse* on Nov. 8; see GATTICUS, 402; CANCELLIERI, 149 *seq.* Cf. HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 408.

<sup>3</sup> Of contemporary writers cf. CICARELLA, Vita Innocentii IX. (in later editions of Platina) and Possevino in ZACHARIA, *Itev. litt.*, 300 *seq.*; of later writers see CIACONIUS, IV., 69 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*; MORONI, XXXVI., 10 *seq.*; LITTA, *fasc.* 29; VALENSISE, Il vescovo di Nicastro poi Papa Innocenzo IX. e la lega contro il Turco, Nicastro, 1898. For the origin of the family see D. BERGAMASCHI, Della patria e del pontificato d'Innocenzo IX., in *Arte e Storia*, XXV., Florence, 1906, nn. 19-20. Cf. also N. BAZZETTA, Innocenzo IX., in the periodical *Serapione*, 1909, nn. 30-31, and *Storia di Domodossola, ibid.*, 1911, 342 *seq.*

country. As Bishop of Nicastro he took part under Pius IV. in the discussions of the Council of Trent, and in accordance with the decrees of that Council made a visitation of his diocese.<sup>1</sup>

In 1566 Pius V. sent Facchinetti as nuncio to Venice, and while holding that position, which he continued to retain for a long time under Gregory XIII., he rendered important service in the formation of the league against the Turks.<sup>2</sup> When in 1575 he resigned his diocese for reasons of health, Gregory XIII. conferred on him in the same year the title of Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Pope employed this distinguished prelate in the Consulta, the Inquisition and the Segnatura, and on December 12th, 1583, conferred on him the purple.<sup>3</sup>

Facchinetti, who was of a melancholy disposition,<sup>4</sup> lived much in retirement, and in strict asceticism, devoting himself entirely to the duties of his office and to his studies. He was looked upon as a great authority on Plato and Aristotle, and wrote a special work on the "Politics" of the Stagyrite; he also composed dissertations on ethics, and a work against Macchiavelli.<sup>5</sup> Slow and scrupulous in all things, Facchinetti

<sup>1</sup>The Acta of the visitation, mentioned by UGHELLI and GIULIANI (*Mem. stor. d. città di Nicastro*, 129) are no longer to be found in the episcopal archives of Nicastro. This is the result of the destruction wrought by the earthquake of 1638; see VALANSISE, *loc. cit.* 21.

<sup>2</sup>See Vol. XVIII of this work, pp. 364, 393.

<sup>3</sup>See Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 230. The \*letter of thanks for the congratulations of Aldus Manutius, dated V. Cal. Febr. 1583, in ms. 272 of the Library at Montpellier.

<sup>4</sup>See the opinion of Maretti in HERRE, 416, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup>See CIACONIUS, IV., 245, where the works dedicated to Innocent IX. are enumerated. The most important is the collection of Papal Letters and Decretals in three volumes, dedicated by Antonio di Aquino to the Pope, and published in Rome. See BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 240. Innocent IX. gave Baronius 300 scudi in November, 1591; see *ibid.*, 126, 291. Cf. also ZACHARIA, *Iter ital.*, 301. FRATI has published in *Arch. stor. ital.* 5th series, XXXV., 450 *seq.* Ricordi d'Innocenzo IX. According to KARTTUNEN, *Possevino*, 234, Innocent IX. entrusted the celebrated Jesuit with a refutation of Macchiavelli.

never had these works printed. The Cardinal was generally esteemed, not only for his learning and his knowledge of public affairs,<sup>1</sup> but also for his piety and the purity of his morals.<sup>2</sup> He had on several occasions nearly attained to the tiara,<sup>3</sup> when at the death of Gregory XIV., who had appointed him his representative at the Segnatura, it was at length conferred on him, his always feeble constitution was worn out, and complete exhaustion followed quickly when Innocent IX. devoted himself with all zeal to the fulfilment of the duties of his high office.

The coronation of the new Pope was performed on November 3rd, 1591, as had been the case with his two predecessors, by Cardinal Andrew of Austria, the junior Cardinal Deacon. After the ceremony Innocent IX. playfully saluted the Hapsburg Cardinal with the words: "May it happen that we in return may crown a scion of your illustrious house as Roman Emperor!"<sup>4</sup>

The joyful hopes with which the Romans hailed the election of Innocent IX.<sup>5</sup> were increased when the Pope at once gave

<sup>1</sup> See *Conclavi*, 277 Cf. the \*letter of Cardinal Gonzaga to the Duke of Modena in note to App. No. 48, State Archives, Vienna

<sup>2</sup> See the \*report of Cardinal Este to the Duke of Modena, Oct. 26, 1591, State Archives. Mantua.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra.*, pp. 322, 347.

<sup>4</sup> See \*Acta consist. (od. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. HIRN, Erzherzog Ferdinand II., 408. Cf. GARTICUS, 402, and the \*letter of Cardinal Madruzzo in App. No. 48, State Archives, Vienna.

<sup>5</sup> \*Si crede quod lux Orbi restituta sit, essendo questo soggetto gran legista et che è pervenuto a questo luogo graduatim, cortegiano vecchio, gran praticone in tutte le cose et in tutti i carichi et congregazioni, sodo nelle deliberationi, coscienza, religione, bontà soda et stimato non secondo tra li bravi del collegio d' ogni tempo, se bene in alcune cose si è monstrato di prima impressione, ma questo si attribuisce al suo sapere et valore. (\*Avviso of Oct. 30, 1591, Urb. 1059, II., 584, Vatican Library). According to an \*Avviso of Nov. 9, 1591, the following inscription was set up: "Innocentio Nono Pontifici patrique optimo optatissimoque



orders for the remedying of the scarcity and for the repression of the bandits.<sup>1</sup> All the Cardinals, with the exception of Montalto, who had lost all prestige,<sup>2</sup> showed great satisfaction, especially as the Pope, in spite of his great knowledge of public affairs, expressly asked them to assist him, as without their help he could not bear the burden of the pontificate.<sup>3</sup>

Although Innocent IX. was in his seventy-third year, and very feeble in health—he was only skin and bone, says a contemporary,<sup>4</sup> while another describes him as the shadow of a man<sup>5</sup>—he devoted himself with quite youthful enthusiasm to the duties of his office. To these he devoted the whole of the day, as the Pope, who had always been very moderate in eating and drinking, took nothing in the morning but some barley broth, and then remained fasting until the hour of

Urbis, ecclesiae terrarumque omnium spei, a Deo in haec tempora difficillima misso ob iustitiam severitatemque in Urbem repectas" (*ibid.*, 604b). Sporeno gives great praise to Innocent. \*"Vir probus, doctus, pius, prudens et inclitae Austriacae domui benevolus et adictus, debilis complexionis . . . multum desideratus a populo Romano" is how he describes him in his \*letter of Oct. 29, 1591. On Nov. 19 he again says: \*"Prudens, doctus et pius pastor est et in gubernandis humanis rebus imprimis idoneus, non admodum sanus." Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

<sup>1</sup> See \*Avvisi of Oct. 30, Nov. 2 and 9, *loc. cit.*, 584b, 588, 604b.

<sup>2</sup> \*"Il card. Montalto per la creatione di questo Papa è rovinato affatto" says an \*Avviso of Nov. 9, 1591, as to which the envoy of Urbino remarks: \*"Si tiene per certissimo" (*ibid.*, 605). Cf. also the remarks of HERRE, p. 585. In the \*brief to the Doge, Nov. 9, 1591, Innocent IX. says that he owes anything of good there is in him to God alone: "nostra imbecillitas est pertimescenda" and that therefore the Doge must pay for him. State Archives, Venice, Bolle.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Nov. 2, 1591, *ibid.*, 588.

<sup>4</sup> The envoy of Urbino in his note to the \*Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *ibid.*, 600.

<sup>5</sup> CICARELLA, Vita Innocentii IX., *loc. cit.* Engraving of the portrait by Vandersyperm: see Portrait Index, by WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE and NINA E. BROWN, Washington, 1906, 742.

supper. He then rested a little, recreated himself with some music,<sup>1</sup> and then granted a number of audiences.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of a walk in the Belvedere, or in the Vatican Gardens, which the Pope, who was very fond of nature, especially loved,<sup>3</sup> he made use of every minute of his day. Men admired the wisdom, punctuality and exactitude with which he did everything.<sup>4</sup> Every Tuesday the bishops were received, on Friday and Saturday the ambassadors and envoys, and on the other days the prelates and officials.<sup>5</sup> The Pope was extremely generous in granting audiences, and wished people even of the lowest classes to be admitted.<sup>6</sup> At his audiences he showed himself to be a man of few words, but he knew so well how to deal with everyone that all went away well satisfied.<sup>7</sup>

As sovereign the Pope proved himself so wise that he seemed to have ruled for a long time.<sup>8</sup> From the first he displayed a surprising activity, and interested himself in every kind of question, such as supplying his subjects with provisions,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> \*Avviso of Nov. 9. 1591, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in App. No. 49 the \*Avviso of Nov. 13, 1591, Vatican Library.

<sup>3</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* According to the \*Avviso of Nov. 30, 1591, the Pope bought the "Casaletto di Pio V. (*cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 57) presso la porta di S. Pancrazio et lo fa abbellire per sua ricreatione." The envoy of Urbino remarks as to this that the Pope often went there for a time. Urb. 1059, II., 653b, 655, Vatican Library.

<sup>4</sup> See in App. No. 49, the \*Avviso of Nov. 13, 1591, *loc. cit.*

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

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avviso of Nov. 20, 1591, *ibid.*, 630. Cf. the very rare broadsheet: Il successo del conclave passato tenuto in Roma per la morte di Gregorio XIV et per l'elettione d'Innocenzo IX. con l'avisio delle prime attioni di Sua Beat<sup>no</sup>, Turin, 1591.

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avvisi of Nov. 2 and Dec. 11, 1591 (è cosa incredibile la sodisfattione che dà N.S. a tutti che trattano seco) *loc. cit.*, 588b, 678.

<sup>8</sup> \*Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *ibid.*, 597.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the broadsheet cited *supra*, n. 6, and the Istoria di Chiusi in TARTINIUS, I., 1111. See also BENIGNI, 43.

the repression of the bandits,<sup>1</sup> the moral purity of Rome,<sup>2</sup> the regulation of the course of the Tiber,<sup>3</sup> the sanitation of the Borgo,<sup>4</sup> the restoration of the port of Ancona,<sup>5</sup> and the completion of the dome of St. Peter's.<sup>6</sup> In religious matters he devoted his attention to the reform of the clergy,<sup>7</sup> as well as of the manner of electing the Pope.<sup>8</sup> The bull of Pius V. forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical property, and the renewed concession of lapsed Papal fiefs, was confirmed and made more severe by Innocent IX. on November 4th, 1591.<sup>9</sup>

Of great importance was the change which Innocent IX. made at the very beginning of his pontificate in the secretariate of state. Hitherto this had been controlled by a single man, who, as may easily be understood, was unable to deal with the whole of the business. Innocent IX. divided the secretariate of state into three sections: one for France and Poland, one for Italy and Spain, and one for Germany. The direction of the first was entrusted to the distinguished Giovanni Andrea Caligari, of the second to the former secretary of Innocent IX., Monsignor Zagordi, and of the third to Minuccio Minucci, who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. broadsheet cited *supra* 420, n. 6. See also \*Barb. 3376, p. 90, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avvisi of Nov. 23 and Dec. 28, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 634, 714b.

<sup>3</sup> See in App. No. 50 the \*Avviso of Nov. 27, 1591, *loc. cit.*

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

<sup>5</sup> See CICARELLA, *loc. cit.* Cf. \*Barb. 3376, p. 91, Vatican Library.

<sup>6</sup> "N.S.<sup>re</sup> ha ordinato che si finisca la coppola di S. Pietro" (\*Avviso of Nov. 9, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 604); on account of the work which was immediately begun the mass of Christmas 1591 was to be celebrated in the Sistine Chapel, instead of in St. Peter's; see \*Diarium P. Alalconis, Barb. 2815, p. 218b, Vatican Library.

<sup>7</sup> See \*Avvisi of Nov. 6 and 23, 1591 (concerning the duty of residence and the dress of clergy) *loc. cit.*, 597. Cf. Possevino in ZACHARIA, *Iter. ital.*, 301 *seq.*

<sup>8</sup> See in App. No. 51 the \*Avviso of Dec. 7, 1591, Vatican Library. Cf. also Marette in SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbulle*, 256 and *Archiv f. Kirchenrecht*, LXXII. (1894), 203 *seq.*

<sup>9</sup> Bull. IX., 505 *seq.* Cf. RICCI, II., 71 *seq.*

was well versed in German affairs.<sup>1</sup> Annibale Ricci was confirmed as secretary of the Consulta, and the celebrated Latinist, Antonio Boccapaduli, as secretary for Latin letters and for the letters to the princes.<sup>2</sup>

The Pope also showed his care for the affairs of Germany by re-establishing the German Congregation. This was to meet once a week under the presidency of Madruzzo, and Cardinals Laureo, Spinola, Gonzaga, Paravicini and Borromeo were appointed to it.<sup>3</sup> It was consideration for the state of Germany which led the Pope to reduce the taxes of the Dataria for the "Ultramontanes."<sup>4</sup>

In financial matters it appeared that Innocent IX. intended to revive the economic system of Sixtus V. He declared at his first consistory that there should always be ready in the Castle of St. Angelo sufficient sums to meet cases of necessity, and to deal with possible emergencies.<sup>5</sup> In every case the Pope insisted upon an orderly administration of the finances, and all possible limitation of expenditure.<sup>6</sup>

Innocent IX.'s spirit of economy was also shown in his first dealings with French affairs. During the first days of his pontificate he repeatedly said that the Holy See would be ruined financially if the enormous expenditure of his predecessor on the Papal army in France was continued.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the letter of Minucci to the nuncio at Cologne, Nov. 1, 1591, in F. ALTAN (de'conti di Salvarola), *Memorie intorno alla vita di M. Minucci*, Venice, 1757, 19. Cf. also STIEVE, IV., 126 n., and SCHWEIZER, III., 407.

<sup>2</sup> See the broadsheet cited *supra*, p. 420, n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See \*Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 597b, and Minucci in ALTAN, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See \*Avviso of Dec. 21, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 703. For the care taken by Innocent IX. for the preservation of Catholicism in Jülich-Cleves see SCHWEIZER, III., 414 *seq.*

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

<sup>6</sup> See \*Avvisi of Nov. 9 and Dec. 4, 1591 (examination of the accounts from the time of Sixtus V.) *loc. cit.*, 602b.

<sup>7</sup> I found this important information, which confirms the opinion of HERRE (592) in the \*Avviso of Nov. 2, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 590.

Such words were bound sensibly to diminish the joyful expectations which the Spaniards had formed at the victory they had won in the conclave.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the Papal troops were left in France, but the subsidy assigned for the purpose was reduced. The French Congregation had proposed sixty-eight thousand scudi for this, but the Pope only granted fifty thousand.<sup>2</sup>

The Spaniards anxiously watched to see what would be the further attitude of the new Pope towards the disturbances in France. His decisions, Santori told Cardinal del Monte, are arrived at by him absolutely independently, secretly and slowly.<sup>3</sup> We still have the various memorials which were presented to Innocent IX. concerning the affairs of France. In one of these it is said that Navarre was so far in the right in that he was the legitimate heir to the throne, but that he was in the wrong in having professed himself in favour of Calvinism. The same also applied to the League, in that it had no right to fight against the legitimate king, but at the same time could not allow a heretic to mount the throne of France. Another memorial insists that the Holy See must employ its weapons, both spiritual and material, with wise

<sup>1</sup> Mendoza concludes his report to Philip II. of Nov. 8, 1591, with the words: *Todo esto resulta en autoridad i reputacion de V. M. i de que todo el mundo entienda el santissimo zelo con que trata este negocio porque conocen mui bien que todo quanto en el a succedido a sido orden de V. M. i hasta aora a sido lo que avemos jugado por mas conveniente al servicio de Dios i de V. M. segun que avemos podido alcançar i descubrir, seremos servido que lo mismo succeda en el discurso del Pontificado con mucho aumento i prosperidad de la Iglesia i gusto de V. M. i paz de sus estados, a quien N<sup>ro</sup> Señor conserve mui largos años con mucho aumento dellos i prosperos sucessos.* Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. Cf. also in App. No. 48 the \*letter of L. Madruzzo, Oct. 29, 1591, State Archives, Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> See L'ÉPINOIS, *La ligue*, 514 *seq.*; HERRE, 592. The supposition there found of the recall of Landriano is an error; this only took place by the act of Clement VIII.: see BIAUDEI, 271.

<sup>3</sup> See DESJARDINS, V., 156. Cf. HERRE, 593.

prudence. As force of arms had met with no success, negotiations had become inevitable, but these must not be broken off suddenly, but gradually, by reducing the monthly subsidy of 10,000 scudi. It would be well to conclude an armistice in order to see whether Navarre might not be reconciled to the Church. If he should show good will, the Pope should encourage him, but if he should not, he should again take up arms and assist the League.<sup>1</sup>

While the matter was under discussion, Caligari asked the commissary general of the Papal armies, Monsignor Matteucci, for a report on the state of the parties, and for suggestions as to what should be done with regard to them.<sup>2</sup> The reply to this did not arrive in the lifetime of Innocent IX., but otherwise his last acts showed the baselessness of the Spanish fears that he would follow in the footsteps of Sixtus V. On December 11th, 1591, del Monte was able to report to the Grand Duke of Tuscany how displeased the Pope was with the Catholic adherents of Navarre. The latter, he said, took no account of Rome, and looked to no other defender and protector of the Catholic religion than the King of Spain.<sup>3</sup> In confirmation of this, advice was sent to Alessandro Farnese to hasten his armaments, so that he might again invade France and help to raise the siege of Rouen.<sup>4</sup> So that the Papal troops might assist him, 36,000 ducats were granted at the request of the Cardinal of Lorraine.<sup>5</sup>

A return to the policy of Gregory XIV. was, however, shown by the admission of Sega to the Sacred College. This took place on December 18th, 1591; at the same time the Pope's great nephew, Antonio Facchinetti, received the purple.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See DESJARDINS, V., 659 *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See L'ÉPINOIS, 523.

<sup>3</sup> See DESJARDINS, V, 660. *Cf.* HERRE, 594.

<sup>4</sup> See CAYET, *Chronologie in Mém. coll. univ.*, LVII., 356; RANKE, II., 150.

<sup>5</sup> See PETRUCELLI, III., 363; HERRE, 594.

<sup>6</sup> See CIACONIUS, IV., 245 *seq.*; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 61. *Cf.* L'ÉPINOIS, 522; REICHENBERGER, I., xxxvii. J. P. Mucantius (\*Diaria caerem.) wrote: Ant. Facchinettus, praeclarae indolis

This appointment was in accordance with the custom by which, at the beginning of a pontificate, a nephew was given the red hat, and also, as happened in this case, the church of which the Pope had been titular. Antonio Facchinetti also inherited his uncle's virtues, and later on became one of the ornaments of the Sacred College.<sup>1</sup>

Three days after this appointment, Innocent IX., whose state of health during November had often caused anxiety,<sup>2</sup>

et optimae spei adulescens, qui licet in urbe praesens esset, tamen in consistorio ad birettum rubrum accipiendum tunc non comparuit. Non enim decere S<sup>ti</sup> Suae visum est, novos cardinales vix creatos statim in consistorium comparere sicut Sixtus V. facere consueverat, sed antiquum morem, qui regulis caeremon. magis conformatur, a Paulo III. et aliis successoribus suis usque ad Sixtum V. observatum renovare voluit. On Dec. 19: the sending of the red hat and the oath. Voluit autem S. D. Innocentius videre prius formam huius iuramenti et cum Franciscus frater S. S<sup>tis</sup> antiquam et novam formam ostendisset, magis placuit S<sup>ti</sup> Suae antiqua quam novā forma a Sixto V. introducta. There follows the oath, which corresponded to the ancient form, and only contained certain additions. Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* Arm. 44, t. 35, the \*brief to Sega, dated Dec. 19, 1591 (Girol. Agucchia will take him the red hat). The Pope had refused the nomination of Cardinals in accordance with the wishes of the princes; see the \*report of G. Campori, Rome, Dec. 7, 1591. State Archives, Modena.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 90 *seq.*: HERRE, 595. The \*Diarium P. Alaeonis notes on Dec. 7, 1591: Romam vererunt duo pronepotes Papae: Iohannes et Iohannes Antonius Facchinetti Bononia, invenes imberbes et bonae indolis; on Dec. 8: Papa fecit protonotarium et referendarium signaturae Ant. Facchinettum pronepotem; on Dec. 14: Signatura coram S<sup>mo</sup>; the Pope ordered his "pronepos, ut proponeret commissiones, et ita fecit, et omnes suae commissiones signitae fuerunt et non reiectae"; on Dec. 22: Venit Romam secreta Caesar Facchinettus nepos Papae, pater cardinalis et castellani. Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

<sup>2</sup> \*Al Papa da hieri i sono cominciate ad enfiare le gambe. \*Avviso of Nov. 6, 1591, *loc. cit.*, 599. Cf. *ibid.*, 630, the \*Avviso of Nov. 20, 1591: The Pope, as is often the case, is remaining in bed on account of his weakness, but in spite of this he is attending to affairs of state.

surprised his entourage by announcing that he wished to make the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches. This was all the more risky as the Pope had always been very weak on his feet and suffered much from the cold.<sup>1</sup> He actually made the pilgrimage,<sup>2</sup> but caught a cold. The doctors ordered him to bed; although the Pope had no fever, they were nevertheless very anxious about him on account of his age and his feeble constitution. The improvement in his health which took place on December 25th was not maintained. Although he was in danger of death on December 29th he nevertheless received from his nephew Cesare Facchinetti his oath as General of the Church, and commander-in-chief of the fleet. When the Pope learned that his end was at hand, he himself asked for Holy Communion and Extreme Unction.<sup>3</sup>

The death of the Pope, which took place on December 30th,<sup>4</sup> filled all Rome with sincere grief. All men realized the purity of life and intention of the dead man, the tried prudence, the sense of justice, and the dignity which his courteous and affectionate nature had combined in a remarkable degree.<sup>5</sup> The loss of a man from whom all men looked for a distinguished pontificate seemed like a sign of the anger of God.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. \*Avviso of Dec. 28, 1591, *ibid.*, 715.

<sup>2</sup> See \*Avviso of Dec. 21, 1591, *ibid.*, 703.

<sup>3</sup> See J. P. Mucantii \*Diaria caerem., Papal Secret Archives; \*Diarium P. Alaleonis in Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; \*Avvisi of Dec. 28, 1591, and Jan 1, 1592, *loc. cit.*, 712, 515 *seq.*, 717b; and Urb. 1060, I., 1, Vatican Library. Letter of Canani in RICCI, II, 82; note in LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 236. Cf. also GROTTANELLI, Claudia de' Medici, 27 *seqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See besides the \*report of Sessa, Dec. 30, 1591, Simancas Archives, consulted by HERRE (595 n. 2), the \*letter from the College of Cardinals to Duke Vincenzo of Mantua, Dec. 30, 1591: The Pope died "hodierno die mane paulo ante lucem." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

<sup>5</sup> See J. P. Mucantii \*Diaria caerem. Papal Secret Archives.

<sup>6</sup> See the note of LAEMMER, *loc. cit.* Cf. the praise given to Innocent IX. in the \*report of T. Carretti of Jan. 2, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. As Innocent IX. only reigned for two months and a day, his coins are rarities; see ARMAND, I., 289, 302;



mortal remains of Innocent IX. were exposed in St. Peter's, and the people flocked thither in crowds to touch his body with their rosaries, which was generally only done in the case of the saints.<sup>1</sup>

BONANNI, I., 449 ; SERAFINI, I., 105 ; MARTINORI, 75 *seq.* This is especially true of the gold coinage of Innocent IX., which was struck at Bologna. It is of the size of a 10 centesimi piece, and bears the Papal arms with the inscription : " Innocentius IX. Pont. Max.," and on the obverse, under the cross, the heraldic emblem of Bologna together with that of the Cardinal Legate, Sfondrato, who at that time governed the city in the Pope's name. The inscription runs : " Bologna docet." Until the end of the XVIIIth century only one example of this gold piece existed in the Papal collection of coins, and was afterwards lost at the time of the sack by the French. It was only in 1892 that a second example was found in the excavations of the foundations of a church near Acqui, together with 155 other gold pieces. It was in vain that the Prince of Naples, now King Victor Emanuel III. of Italy, well known as an enthusiastic collector of coins, and the syndic of Bologna tried to acquire this unique piece. The court adjudged it to Giuseppe Gualandi, from whom the Bishop of Acqui, Dismas Marchese, acquired it in 1908, and presented it to Pius X. for his sacerdotal jubilee. The Pope gave it to the collection of coins in the Vatican. *Cf. Riv. ital. Numism.*, XXI., 4 (1908), and *Bollett. ital. di Numism.*, 1910, Nov. See also SIGHINOLFI, Una rariss. moneta d'Innocenzo IX., in *Illustraz. Ossolana*, III. (1912), and SERAFINI, I., 14.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* in App. No. 52 the \*Avviso of Jan. 1, 1592, Vatican Library. The funeral discourse by B. Justinianus, S.J. in CIACONIUS, IV., 240 *seq.* The mortal remains of Innocent IX. lie in the crypt of St. Peter's, in a sarcophagus of marble, made up of several pieces, the simplicity of which affords a touching contrast to the other sumptuous monuments to be seen there ; see *Katholik*, 1901, II., 544, and *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 184. The epitaph on the sarcophagus of Innocent IX. in FORCELLA, VI., 133.