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ERRATA.

- Page 29, for *Paolo Cortese* read *Gregorio Cortese*.
" 313, note 3 should be note 2.
" 393, note 1, for *antipapista* read *antipapale*; for p. 1, read pp. 1, 391;
and 1832 for 1532.
" 411, note 3, for 1551 read 1851.
" 491, 492, 505, in notes for *Morley* read *Motley*.
" 498, for *Mary* read *Bleanor*.
" 515, for *Paul IV.* read *Pius IV.*
" 572, App. F, for p. 81 read 99.
" 578, App. D, for *Paul IV.* read *Paul III.*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PALEARIO.

CHAPTER XII.

ACADEMIES AND LEARNED MEN.

1535—1571.

MODENA—DESIRE FOR KNOWLEDGE AND ENLIGHTENMENT—ACADEMIES AT FLORENCE—POMPONIO LETO—HIS ACADEMY AT ROME—ITS MISFORTUNES—LORENZO VALLA—HIS GENIUS—ANTAGONISM TO SUPERSTITION—ATTACK ON THE MONKS—THEIR REVENGE—MODENA—ITS ACADEMY—LEARNED MEN—MONKS RIDICULED—THEY PROHIBIT THE CIRCULATION OF BOOKS—INDIGNATION—SUPERSTITIOUS IGNORANCE OF THE PREACHERS—REFORMED PREACHERS—FAMOUS BRIEF—CONFESSION OF FAITH SIGNED BY THE ACADEMICIANS—SEVERE EDICT BY THE DUKE OF FERRARA—CASTELVETRO CENSURED BY THE POPE—DEFENDS HIMSELF AT ROME—ESCAPES IN ALARM—HIS ARREST ORDERED—INQUIRITORIAL EXAMINATIONS AT MODENA—IMPRISONMENTS—CASTELVETRO LEAVES ITALY—GOES TO CHIAVENNA AND GENEVA—RETURNS TO CHIAVENNA—DIES—HIS CHARACTER—WORKS.

LUCCA was not the only city in which the reformed opinions took root. Modena was also imbued with a strong spirit of enquiry, and an earnest desire for improvement in religious knowledge.

The indefatigable Tiraboschi, in his *Biblioteca Modenese*,¹ has collected some most interesting particulars, and has embodied in his narrative the MS. journal of an old chronicler so quaintly graphic that it seems more like the imaginings of some fertile brain than a faithful description of facts. As an illustration of

¹ An enlarged biographical dictionary, which notes the life and writings of all the learned men who were natives of Modena.

the manners and habits of Paleario's day it is invaluable. Here, from Catholic writers themselves, we have the clearest evidence that the papal system is in opposition to all freedom and enlargement of mind, and striking proofs are laid before us of the vigilance exercised to crush all independence of thought, lest it might prove a stimulus to the attainment of civil and religious liberty.

The Popes of Rome pursue a widely different course from that of their old Roman progenitors;¹ for they established academies and universities, and encouraged learning wherever they carried their victorious arms. But the greater number of the bishops and ecclesiastical sovereigns of Rome have been decided enemies to learning. Nicholas V. and Leo X. were remarkable exceptions to the general rule. Leo had been educated at Florence in the very atmosphere of literary studies, had grown up under the shade of the Platonic academy, and seen his father's government take the lead in these learned associations, and he carried with him to the papal throne the same predilection for study.

In the fifteenth century many cities in Italy followed the example of Florence, and opened academies; but in the sixteenth they were almost universal. At first there were only three assemblies of this kind, and two only were called academies.

The Platonic academy originated with Cosimo, entitled the father of his country, while the Council between the Greeks and the Latins was sitting at Florence in 1439. Cosimo heard a Greek² discoursing like another Plato on the opinions of this great philosopher. This roused his enthusiasm for Plato, and suggested the idea of forming an academy for the express purpose of studying his writings. While meditating how to execute this project "he thought of me," says Marsiglio Ficino³ the son

¹ As early in the Christian era as 333 the Romans founded a library at Constantinople, and invited learned men to teach different branches of science with the view of making it another Rome. In 425 Theodosius erected an academy, and ornamented it with porticoes, under which lectures were delivered. Thirty-one professors were pensioned to instruct the youth of Constantinople; among these three were orators, four Romans, and five Sophists, as they were called, for Grecian eloquence.

² Georgio Gemisto, called also Pletone, a great Platonist. He was sent from the Morea to represent the Greeks at the Council of Ferrara, which afterwards removed to Florence. He wrote a treatise in Greek, comparing the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, which was printed at Paris in 1541.

³ Marsiglio Ficino, born 1433, died 1499. His whole life was devoted to the

of his medical man, "and though I was still a boy resolved to educate me for the express purpose of forming this academy."¹

Another association of learned men had before this time met in the convent of St. Spirito belonging to the Augustine friars. It owed its commencement to the learned Luigi Marsili, an Augustine monk of singular erudition and universal knowledge. He was the friend and correspondent of Petrarch, who gave him, while he was yet young, this important and useful advice: "Beware of listening to those who warn you against extending your knowledge beyond theology. A good divine ought to know many things besides divinity, and should if possible be somewhat acquainted with the whole range of human science." Naldo Naldi in his life of Maretti tells us that the monks of St. Spirito debated daily among themselves on some given point either in logic, physics, or metaphysics, and that Maretti, being lodged next to the convent, had a door made in his garden wall through which he might pass to join these philosophic discussions. Every morning the subject of debate was affixed to a column, or to the walls of the beautiful church of St. Spirito. Great numbers flocked to hear these discussions. Maretti himself spoke with so much power that he often carried the day. This was a reasonable and legitimate use to make of the leisure and opportunity for study which a conventual life affords.

The celebrated cardinal Bessarione,² of Grecian origin, a man of refined literary taste, assembled in his own house a number

study of Plato's works in Greek; by the time he was thirty-five years of age he had translated into Latin the whole of that philosopher's writings. At forty years of age he was ordained priest, he then began to study theology and comment on the Gospels from the original. He was of a quiet and studious disposition, fond of solitude and reflection.

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 77. *Script. Rer. Ital.* vol. xx. p. 521, &c.

² Born 1395, died 1473. He was a native of Trebisond; he studied Greek assiduously under the best masters, went to the Morea on purpose to read with Gemisto, and shared his enthusiasm for Plato. He was ordained bishop of Nicea, and sent to the Council which was to unite the Greeks and Latins in one faith. Pope Eugenio iv. in 1439 raised him to the purple, Nicola v. gave him the bishopric of Sabina and the legation of Bologna. During the five years of his stay there he rebuilt the university, reformed its laws, and offered such ample salaries to distinguished men that it was soon filled with learned professors and numerous and attentive scholars. He carried out Petrarch's design of forming a public library at Venice, in the church of St. Mark, and made the senate a present of his books which had cost him 30,000 golden crowns.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 266.

of learned men at stated periods. All the members of the court of Rome, both Greeks and Romans, who were men of any talent, gladly embraced the opportunity of hearing important points in philosophy discussed.

The cardinal himself, being a man of profound learning, was looked to as arbitrator when any difference of opinion arose, and his was the casting vote which decided the question. He received into his house as part of his family persons well versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and not only gave them every opportunity of improving in literature and science, but watched over their morals and conduct. Tiraboschi bestows the highest eulogium on Bessarione both for his literary talents and patronage of learned men, and for his high moral character and liberality to poor scholars; his house formed an academy as it were of itself.

More free and less imposing was the academy opened by the antiquarian Pomponio Leto.¹ He taught literature at Rome for nearly forty years, and in concert with Platina and Buonacorsi, who took the name of Callimaco,² established the Roman academy which had so unfortunate a termination.

Paul II., the reigning pontiff, was a Venetian, and so averse to literature that he began his reign by breaking up the Abbreviatore, established by his predecessor Pius II., and turning out all the professors, including those who had paid for their offices. These persons suddenly deprived of bread were all literary men; many of them were expert in the science of law both civil and canonical; some were poets, some orators, and many had purchased their official positions.³

Those who felt themselves the most aggrieved were the first to protest against the harsh injustice of the decree. Platina the historian, one of the sufferers, has left a graphic description of his own share in this curious scene. "Being one of the number I entreated him to refer our cause to the auditors of Rome; upon which, looking at me askance, he said, 'So then you appeal to other judges to correct what I have done: know that both law and justice are *nello scrigno del petto nostro riposte*. It is my will, let them all go wherever they like; I am Pope, and can do and undo according to my pleasure.'" This cruel

¹ *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 11.

² *Idem*, p. 98.

³ More than seventy persons were thus reduced to starvation.

fiat made them almost desperate; in vain they tried to get it reversed. Not daring to assemble in the day, they met secretly for twenty nights successively to concert measures to avoid their ruin. They wearied everybody about court, but were despised as excommunicated persons, and no one would risk saying a word in their favour. At last, quite exasperated, they resolved to commit to paper what they could not convey by word of mouth; Platina wrote a letter to the following effect, and sent it to the Pope. "If it is lawful for you, without giving us a hearing, to deprive us of our just and legal purchases, it is surely lawful for us to complain of this injury. Since we are sent off with rudeness and ignominy we shall go and tell our tale to kings and princes, who will call a council, before which you will have to give an account for having deprived us of our legitimate possessions." As soon as Paul had read this letter, he immediately gave orders that Platina should be arrested and put in irons. He was tried and found guilty of having written a libel against the Pope and of threatening him with a council. He confuted the first charge by saying that his name was attached to the letter, therefore it was no libel. "I did not think that I had committed any fault in alluding to a council, for it was in the synods that the fathers established articles of faith. Our Saviour and his apostles first disseminated this doctrine in the church, that small and great should live on equal terms, and no one suffer injustice. But these arguments proved of no avail, for I was loaded with heavy irons and confined for many months in the depth of winter without fire in a high tower."¹

At length the Pope, wearied by the entreaties of Francesco Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, released Platina from prison: he was by this time reduced to such a state of weakness that he could scarcely stand on his feet. But his remonstrance was not forgotten, and an opportunity soon presented itself of shewing that he was not forgiven. Pomponio Leto, an illegitimate offshoot from a Neapolitan family, an eccentric, isolated being of considerable talent, and a great antiquarian,² had been ap-

¹ Platina, *Vite de Pontefici*, p. 452. Ed. Venetia, 1715.

² He collected ancient inscriptions from all parts of the world, and filled his house on the Quirinal with ancient marbles and monuments of antiquity.—*Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 162.

pointed to succeed Lorenzo Valla as professor of literature in the Roman college. Passionately fond of antiquities, he and his friends Bartolomeo Platina and Filippo Buonacorsi, surnamed Callimaco, met to study the antiquities of Rome, some of which had been recently excavated. To give these meetings a more classic and antique colour, they assumed the names of different ancient heroes. But while they were quietly pursuing their scientific researches a furious storm was preparing for their destruction.

Some malevolent persons reported to the Pope that these literary meetings were only a pretext for congregating turbulent and seditious persons, who were enemies to religion and concocters of conspiracies. During the festive period of Carnival the Pope had revived some of the old Roman games, and prizes were allotted to the best runners. For eight successive days nothing was seen but races. The old, the young, foreigners and Jews, horses, asses and buffaloes were all set a running, while the Pope and the spectators were convulsed with laughter. Immediately after this mirthful scene word was brought to the Pope that Callimaco, one of the academy, had organised a conspiracy against him: scarcely had he recovered from the alarm caused by this announcement, when an exile, a man of indifferent character, came forward in breathless haste to communicate a secret. First he required a promise of life and pardon, and then revealed the important intelligence that Tozzo, a Roman exiled to Naples, had been seen in the woods of Velletri, and would soon be in Rome accompanied by other malcontents.

The timid Pope fancied himself surrounded with danger; both within and without the city there seemed causes of alarm. His attendants, for their own private ends, magnified the peril, and he ordered the arrest of several Roman citizens on suspicion. This arbitrary command was executed with the utmost rigour; a forcible entrance was made into private houses, and prisoners were carried off without any regard to justice.

Platina¹ minutely relates the violence of the papal emissaries. "Armed men surrounded my house, obtained entrance by breaking the doors and windows, and seized my servant Demetrius. When told I was supping with the cardinal of Mantua they rushed to his house, arrested me in his presence, and carried

¹ *Vite de' Pontefici*, p. 457.

me instantly to the Pope. To his address, 'Have you not conspired with Callimaco against me?' strong in my innocence I boldly replied that Callimaco was a man without arms, riches, or followers, half blind, and too indolent to give himself the trouble of conspiring. But the Pope gave no heed to my reply, and commanded me to be led instantly to prison. Though it was soon found that Tozzo's conspiracy was all invention, still suspicion rested on the members of the academy: to discover the truth all who could be laid hold of were put to the torture." The description which Platina gives of the manner in which he and his companions were tormented is perfectly frightful. More than twenty persons were put to the torture. One promising young man died soon after in consequence of the injuries he received. Platina compares the Pope's treatment to the conduct of the cruel Verres towards the unhappy Sicilians, who were like the academicians unjustly accused. During the infliction of the torture Platina was asked what share he had in Callimaco's conspiracy, and why Pomponio Leto addressed him as Holy Father, as if under this name lurked a design against the Pope. If "uneasy is the brow that wears a crown," what must be the weight of the triple tiara? The tormentors asked Platina if the academicians had ever written to any sovereign inviting him to make a schism in the church. Platina could truly answer, that so far from entering into a conspiracy with Callimaco he rather considered him as an enemy. The title given him by Pomponio Leto he would himself explain, as he had been ordered to be brought in chains to Rome. The fact was that the appellations, Father, most Holy Father, was a mere *jeu d'esprit*, a pasquinade of the academicians, in ridicule of the monks and the Pope, who assume these titles without having anything of the paternal character about them, or any trace of real holiness.

When Pomponio arrived at Rome he was exposed to the same interrogatory. When asked why he changed the young men's names, he answered fearlessly, "What is it to you or to the Pope if I choose to call myself Finocchio (fennel)? What is that to the Pope¹ if I do not intend either deceit or fraud?" After Pomponio's arrival several more arrests took place, till the cause was put off by the arrival of the emperor Frederic III. at Rome.²

¹ *Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 83.

² "In questo tempo venne con gran compagnia de'suoi l'Imperatore per un

On his departure the Pope went himself to St. Angelo to examine the prisoners; he reproved them for debating on the immortality of the soul and for studying Plato. Platina replied that St. Augustine had highly commended this philosopher, and nowhere was it forbidden to exercise our reasoning faculties; for his part he had always been a Christian, and led a life suitable to his profession as such, and no one could accuse him of a breach of the moral law. This defence, though somewhat pharisaical, lifts a corner of the curtain and leads us to suppose that the real crime of the academicians was their laying aside the practice of superstition. By order of the Pope they were examined by some learned divines, but though pronounced guiltless of heresy they were kept in prison for a whole year. Previous to their release the Pope paid them another visit and subjected them to a still more minute examination; in conclusion he declared that in future every one who pronounced the word *academy*¹ would be considered a heretic. Thus by a cruel and summary method the fears of the Pope put an end to this literary association, and soon after death closed his earthly career. Two hours after sunset, while alone in his chamber, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, which immediately proved fatal.²

These literary assemblies made continual progress in Italy till the commencement of the sixteenth century, when they received a new impulse from the freedom of opinion which was generated by the principles of the Reformation. They were chiefly composed of learned men, who conversed or debated on different subjects: antiquities, literature, philology and poetry were fruitful topics of discussion. They assembled on fixed days of the week at each other's houses, or at the princely mansion or villa of some munificent patron, where they supped, and afterwards adjourned to the garden or vineyard. In the hot season they passed great part of the night in these social meetings. Cardinal Sadoletto and other learned men have left minute descriptions in their letters of these intellectual evenings at

certo suo voto in Roma, e l'haveva il Papa con supremo honore ricevuto, che vi spese diciotto mila pezzi d'oro, per honorarlo."—*Vite de' Papi*, p. 457.

¹ This academy revived under Julius II., and found a warm and zealous patron in Leo X.

² He died on the 28th of July, 1471.

Rome, where poets recited their verses and improvisatori composed impromptu rhymes on given subjects.

In 1529 Sadoletto wrote from Carpentras to Angelo Colucci, himself a poet of no mean order, and a liberal patron of learning, reminding him of the happy days they had spent in his gardens on the banks of the Tiber, at the Quirinal, or in the Colosseum, when each contributed to the amusement and instruction of the rest, genius kindling genius, one reciting a poem, another an oration, while sparkling wit seasoned their discourse.¹ At these assemblies all the choice spirits of the age were collected, and Leo frequently laid aside the gravity of the ecclesiastical character for the "feast of reason and the flow of soul." These social meetings were not invariably of a lofty character; mirth and jokes often prevailed, and pleasures of a more ignoble nature formed part of the entertainment. A certain Blossio was satirized by Paolo Giovio for having eaten a whole pheasant, and that a large one, at one of these suppers. A rich German of the name of Goritz was laughed at for his love of drinking and habit of picking his teeth: but this is rather the reverse of the picture; the Italians have never been much given to the pleasures of the table, and the greater number of the academicians met for the sake of improvement and for the enjoyment of social intercourse.² When there was but one academy in a city it assumed the name of its founder, as the academy of Pomponio Leto, academy of Panormita, &c. As they increased in number they took names expressive of the *animus* of the society, as the *Infammciati*, *Solleciti*, *Intrepidi*, and this quaint nomenclature became their distinctive appellations. Each academy had a motto, which was as much prized as the coat of arms belonging to an ancient family. On this subject there was sometimes a good deal of trifling, and time misspent over these puerilities: the academies of Siena were called the Rozzi, and the Intronati;³ this last name was given it by Marcello Cervini,⁴ who was afterwards Pope.

The predecessor of Pomponio Leto, as professor of literature in the Roman college, was Lorenzo Valla, one of those master spirits

¹ Jacobi Sadoleti *Epist.* p. 225. Ed. Colonis, 1554.

² The sack of Rome put an end to these pleasant parties.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 116.

³ See CHAP. II. p. 83, note, and Appendix A.

⁴ He was born at Montepulciano, not far from Siena.

born to soar above his contemporaries. Profoundly versed in Latin literature, like Paleario he struggled with indignant vehemence against the barbarous latinity of the age, and stood forth as the champion of the forgotten elegancies of classic idiom. The boldness of his genius, his unsparing criticism and the biting satire with which he attacked established dulness, rendered him an object of hatred to the self-applauding supporters of scholastic obtuseness. His penetrating judgment not only detected blunders in the barbarous composition of the schools, but dared to scrutinize the veracity of those hallowed fables on which the Church of Rome rested her authority, and which she received with a blind credulity far exceeding in degree her faith in holy writ. The donation of Constantine had been often impugned, and its falsity suspected, but never absolutely condemned. Valla being employed at Rome to collate and collect the ancient papal bulls and briefs, had an opportunity of consulting ancient mss. and of confirming his suspicions. Convinced of the fraud he wrote a book to prove that the deed of gift was spurious, entitled *De Donatione Constantini*.¹ After this Rome was no place for him; he took refuge at Naples; there, under the patronage of the noble-minded king Alphonso I., he found a safe and honorable asylum. The king, although fifty years of age, became the pupil of the great Latinist, but Valla was not of a character to remain in indolent repose. His mind had been roused to a virtuous indignation against the superstitions and abuses of the church, and at Naples he renewed his assault with fresh vigour, openly declaring that the letter of Christ to Abgarus was fictitious, and that no such person as Abgarus ever existed. He carried on an incessant warfare against the ignorance of the monks, and his fearless exposure of their frauds roused their indignation to the highest pitch. He was once present, says Boxhorm,² during Lent when a sermon was preached at Naples by Fra Antonio di Bitonto, who chose for his text the Apostles' Creed. He proceeded to divide the clauses of the Creed among the several Apostles, ascribing one to each, that all might have their due share of merit in the composition of the Creed. To St. Peter he gave the place of honour, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty.' St. Andrew followed as the author of 'Creator of

¹ See Appendix B.

² Boxhormius, *Hist. Univers.* p. 95. Ed. 1652.

heaven and earth,' and so on to the end. Turning to his friend Campano, the king's secretary, Valla asked if he had ever heard such an explanation of the Creed before. 'Never,' said Campano, 'did I meet with such a notion ;' the friar also is the first man who ever asserted that St. Jerome was born at Rome. The friends determined to visit the preacher, and repaired to his monastery, where they opened the conversation by enquiring where he had read that St. Jerome was a Roman? Oh, many say so, and who denies it? Valla, tickled with the absurdity of the answer, could not refrain from laughing, and rejoined, 'Why St. Jerome himself declares himself to be a native of Dalmatia.' 'Some say,' retorted the Friar, 'he was a Roman, some a Dalmatian.' It was useless to contend further with so much obstinacy and ignorance. Valla next asked, 'On what do you ground your assertion that the Creed was composed piece by piece by the twelve Apostles?' 'I have been taught so by the fathers of the Church,' replied the preacher. 'Name them, cite the passage from their works,' replied Valla. 'I have given you my answer,' retorted the friar in a rage; 'you are an enemy of the Christian religion.' Some days afterwards he abused Valla so violently from the pulpit that Alphonso interfered, and imposed silence on him. Meanwhile Valla, determined not to let the matter drop, resolved to vindicate himself in a public discussion, and enlighten the population of Naples. He affixed to the doors of the Cathedral a list of the propositions which had been censured, and offered to prove their truth against any man who would enter the lists with him. He prepared a large hall for the debate, and all

¹ This tradition of the Romish Church was not known for the first three centuries of the Christian era, nor was it universally believed. The Apostles' Creed is not found in any of the articles of the Apostolic age, nor in the works of the Fathers, till the fourth century, which is a sufficient reason for doubting that it was composed by the Apostles. The story of the Creed being the combined work of the twelve Apostles was first found under the name of St. Augustine, in *Aug. de Tempore. Serm.* 116, al. 42 in Appendix, tom. x. p. 675. Ed. 1636. Ruffinus, a contemporary writer on the Apostles' Creed flourished in 410. He frankly declares that two of the articles, 'Descent into Hell,' and 'Communion of Saints,' were not inserted in the Creed till four hundred years after the death of Christ. But if it cannot be proved to be drawn up by the Apostles themselves, it contains the sum and substance of their teaching, and the articles of Faith believed by all Christian communities, except perhaps the descent into hell, which has been variously explained. For a clear, simple, and scriptural explanation of this Creed, see *A Catechet. Expos. of the Apostles' Creed* by J. Thomas Law, 1825, who quotes Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* Vossius, *De tribus Symbolis*, and Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.*

looked eagerly to the result of the dispute; but free discussion does not suit the Roman Catholic priesthood, and they contrived to get the king to forbid the meeting. Valla submitted, only revenging himself by affixing the following distich to the doors of the empty room :

*Rex pacis, miserans sternendas Marte phalanges
Victoris cupidum continuit gladium.*

On reading this epigram the indignation of his adversaries knew no bounds; every effort was made to procure his condemnation, either to death or to perpetual imprisonment. He was cited before the vicar of the archbishop, and on obeying the summons he found to his surprise a vast concourse of monks assembled to sit in judgment on his case. The first question asked was, 'Do you believe that the Creed was composed by the Apostles?' 'No, but by the Council of Nice, and this I can prove.' This reply was declared to be heretical. Letters were then produced, in which Valla had corrected mistakes made by copyists in papal decrees. 'Such daring impiety,' cried the monks, 'must be expiated by fire.' Valla knew their power, and seeing his danger, sheltered himself under the well-worn falsehood of professing to believe what the Church believed. He was then pressed to condemn and retract his writings. 'Prove to me first,' he said, 'where I have erred, otherwise it will appear that it is not the amendment of the heart, but the submission of the tongue which you require.' As he spoke these words a bishop seized hold of him; 'Wretch!' he exclaimed, 'your pride needs taming.' Valla again replied, 'I believe what the Church believes.' He was then asked his opinion of the ten categories of Aristotle. 'What!' he exclaimed, 'are they to be held in equal reverence with the Ten Commandments of God?' 'Why not?' was the reply; 'can you deny that these are matters of faith? Are you so ignorant as not to know that the dialectic doctrine serves to explain the great theological controversies?' 'Let us cut short the dispute,' rejoined Valla; 'I again declare that even if our holy mother Church be ignorant of these matters, I am content to believe what she does.' Happily for Valla, a company of the king's body-guard arrived at this moment for his protection, and the discussion terminated. His condemnation to the flames was however resolved. The protection of Alphonso saved his life, but it could not avert either the humiliation of a public abjuration or the degrading ignominy of being

scoured by the monks in the Jacobite monastery.¹ After this he left Naples and returned to Rome.² The reigning Pope, Nicholas V.,³ was a great patron of learned men: literature, which had for six hundred years been neglected at Rome, was now diligently cultivated, and the library of the Vatican greatly enlarged. Valla opened a public school for eloquence and oratory, but his irritable nature got him into difficulties with several learned men. He had a bitter contest with Poggio, who accused him unjustly of having written an anonymous censure on his works; their mutual accusations presented a pitiful spectacle to the world. But this did not prevent Valla from pursuing his literary occupations. By the desire of the Pope he translated from Greek into Latin the history of Thucydides, for which the Pope with his own hands gave him five hundred golden crowns, and it is said he translated Herodotus for Alphonso. He was a better Latin than Greek scholar; his most polished work was on the Elegancies of the Latin tongue, including geometrical rules for writing correctly. His notes on the New Testament were found in a library by Erasmus, who thought them worthy of being committed to the press.⁴ It is not a theological work, but critical notes on the translations which had hitherto been made, in which he displays much literary acumen. The severity of his criticisms on the barbarous taste of the day made his friends say after his death⁵ that Pluto would not dare to speak Latin after Valla descended to the infernal regions, and that Apollo would have given him a place in the skies, had he not felt that in so doing he would himself lose

¹ "In eodem tempore Laurentius Valla Romanus, elegantis quidem pro sæculo, sed pro quolibet tempore virulentissimus linguis homo; Neapoli existens, cum quasdam propositiones hæreticas asseruisset, delatus ad Inquisitores, et in carcere trusus damnatusque pro hæretico, beneficio Alfonsi Regis poenam ignis evasit; propositionibus tamen publicè ejuratis, virgis privatim per claustra monasterii Predicatorium manibus revinctus cæsus."—Spondanus, *Annal.* an. 1447, ap. Bayle, *Diet.*

² Tiraboschi says he was invited there by Nicola V. in 1447.—*Lett. Ital.* vol. vi. p. 307.

³ Tomaso of Sarzana was elected Pope in 1447, and took the name of Nicolo V. In one year he was made bishop of Bologna, cardinal, and pope. He died in 1466, after a peaceful reign of eight years.—Platina, *Vite de' Pontefici*, p. 423.

⁴ See *Erasmii Epist.* lib. vii. ep. 3.

⁵ There is considerable discrepancy in the date of his decease. Some say he died in 1467, but Zeno has proved his death took place in 1467.—See *Dissert. Vossian.* tom. i. p. 72, ap. Tiraboschi.

the liberty of speech.¹ He was one of those energetic scholars who gave an impulse to his age, and prepared the way for the more rapid progress of the following century.

Learned associations became general, and no city in Italy could boast of a greater number of distinguished men than Modena. The Este family had always encouraged learning; it had its literary assembly long before academies were general.

The original mover of this learned association was Pamfili Sassi, a Modenese, a man of great original powers, gifted with a surprising memory,² and with the wonderful genius of improvising verses at pleasure. This was a talent which contributed so much to the amusement of others that he was courted both by princes and nobles, but he preferred the pleasures of retirement and the study of philosophy to the tumult of a court. After spending a great part of his life at a villa near Verona, he returned to Modena, and lectured daily in his own house for an hour on some Latin author. Sometimes also, when requested, he commented on Petrarch and Dante. These lectures, which were frequented by all the educated persons in Modena, suggested the idea of continuing them on a larger scale.³ One of Sassi's hearers, Giovanni Grillenzone, was the founder of the Modenese academy, a man to whom the city of Modena was under deep obligations.

The Grillenzone family consisted of seven brothers, five of whom were married and had families. Giovanni was the eldest, and though some of the brothers were rough, untractable men, such was the influence he had over them that, after the death of their father in 1518, they and their wives and children all remained together under one roof, and lived in such perfect union with each other⁴ that not even an unkind word passed be-

¹ An epitaph on him was written thus :

Laureus Valla jacet, Romanæ gloria lingus
Primus enim docuit quæ dicit arte loqui:

Bayle, *Dict. Hist.* Ed. 1702.

² Castelvetro, in his ms. memoirs of learned men, relates an amusing instance of his wonderful memory. A person having recited a poem of his own composition in praise of the Podestà of Modena, Sassi pretended to be offended with the poet as a plagiarist, and claimed the verses as his own. In proof that they were really his, he recited the whole, word for word, from beginning to end, with such earnestness and velocity that the poor author stood aghast with astonishment, till Sassi explained that he had never heard of the poem till it was recited by the composer.

³ *Bibl. Modenese*, Art. CASTELVETRO.

⁴ This lasted till 1551, when Giovanni died, when they separated.

tween them. Each family had their own servants, who waited on them in their apartments; other servants did the work of the house, prepared the dinner, and attended to household matters. The wives took it in turn to manage the house for a week at a time, directed the servants, and superintended the baking and washing. They took their meals all together in a large hall, the seven brothers and their five wives at one table with the elder children, while the little ones, about forty or fifty in number,¹ were seated at a lower table close to their parents, and served by the elder girls. Strangers were admitted to the upper table, and were sometimes so numerous that the house was like a public inn. It was much frequented by literary men who passed through Modena; many invited themselves on purpose to see this extraordinary establishment, and the great order and concord of the family.

None of the brothers were either rich or spendthrifts. Giovanni practised medicine, one was a judge, another a grocer, another a cloth merchant, and one managed the affairs of the family. One attended to the agricultural concerns of the villa, and another was a priest. They were not rich, but by regularity and good management they found means to meet the expences of their large establishment.

Giovanni Grillenzone was devoted to study, and it was at his instance that the town of Modena invited Francesco Porto² to lecture publicly on the Greek language. When Porto removed to Ferrara Giovanni Grillenzone arranged to have two lectures at stated hours in his own house, the one in Latin, the other on Greek literature for those who were the most advanced and who had been pupils of Porto. These lectures were delivered with great simplicity and without any attempt at eloquence; they were open to all; the most difficult passages only were explained.

¹ This must include grandchildren.—See *Bibl. Modenese*.

² He was a poor orphan of Candia, who was brought to Italy when a child, and shewed so great a disposition for study that he was sent from Venice to study at Padua for six years, and afterwards made such progress in Greek that he was considered one of the most learned of the Greeks. In 1537 he went to teach at Modena. He was invited to Ferrara in 1546, where he was greatly favoured by the Duchess Renée, appointed to teach her daughters Greek, and held in high esteem for his learning. In 1554, when the Duke cleared the court of all who were favourable to the reformed opinions, Porto took his departure for the Friuli. Duke Hercules died in 1569, and the Duchess left Italy: Porto having lost his patroness retired to Geneva, where he died in 1581, at the age of seventy-one years.

Every one present was at liberty to give his opinion on a passage, and to state his reasons; this formed the judgment of the audience, and enabled them to approve or dissent as occasion required, and was of great service to the young men: many who took a share in these discussions afterwards distinguished themselves as poets and philosophers.

With Grillenzone also originated the idea of meeting to sup together on certain days of the year. A select number of persons were invited, chosen from among those of sufficient talent to be able to comply with the rules laid down. At every supper some ingenious mental exercise was proposed, such as, that every person should compose a Greek or Latin epigram, sonnet, or madrigal on some person present, or on some dish on the table. It was laid down as a rule that they were not to call for drink except in the language which the master of the feast began with, or in that made use of at a former supper. They were not to use the same phrases which had served before, and nothing was given till it was asked for. Each guest was obliged to repeat all the proverbs about some animal belonging either to sea or land, all the proverbs about a month, a saint, or a family, or to relate a story from the life of Forno bishop of Gerapolitano, and things of a similar nature.¹

Thus far we have followed Castelvetro, a contemporary and eye-witness; but it must not be understood that the literary assemblies of Modena began when Porto left that city for Ferrara in 1546. It was then indeed that Grillenzone opened a school in his own house for teaching Greek, but the academy had existed long before, and such was its fame that even as far off as Sicily it was spoken of with distinguished praise. Ortensio Landi, in his paradoxes,² reviewing the different academies of Italy, particularly lauds that of Modena, and regrets that its glory should have been clouded in consequence of having directed its attention to the study of the Holy Scriptures. He also speaks of the immense number of studious young men who were congregated in the city of Modena.

In the ms. chronicle of Tommasino Lancellotto, of which Tiraboschi has made ample use, we find a minute account of

¹ These curious particulars are from the ms. *Memoirs of Literati*, drawn up by Castelvetro, which Muratori has brought forward in his *Life*.

² *Par.* xxvii.

the events of each day, written with a precision and sincerity which stamps its veracity. Under the date of the 17th of February 1538 he records the names of the principal academicians, among whom were three of the brothers Grillenzone and the celebrated Lodovico Castelvetro. On the 5th of June 1545 he notes the place where they met, which was the apothecary's shop of Grillenzone, at the sign of the Fountain, in the egg-market under the palace belonging to M. Alessandro Fontana: the number of academicians, he says, was at times so great that they left no room to pass in the street as they moved along, and when they dispersed they resembled a flight of swallows in their migration. They usually went out of the town to find a place to speak with greater freedom.

These academicians, being all men of reflection, could not remain indifferent to the spirit of religious enquiry and awakening which was diffused throughout Italy. Many of them studied the Scriptures and read the works of the reformers. Tiraboschi says that as long as they confined themselves to general literature they prospered, but in a few years the scene became completely changed. The great erudition and energy with which the German writers treated theological subjects was extremely attractive to Italian scholars; they had long been weary of the dull round of scholastic Catholicism, and read with avidity writings which were so calculated to dispel ignorance and banish prejudice. The study of Greek facilitated the examination of Scripture, and the cultivation of the intellect prepared them for a fuller comprehension of the high prerogatives which God has conferred on man as an immortal being, and awakened them to a sense of the deep responsibilities entrusted to them by their Creator. The learned studied the Gospel in its original tongue, commented with critical accuracy on difficult passages, and soon became convinced that the grandeur and simplicity of the Christian religion had been debased and obscured by the inventions of men.

Lancellotto records that the first complaint of heretical opinions in Modena was in the year 1537. Serafino of Ferrara, an Augustine monk, when preaching in Advent, publicly lamented that the errors of the Lutherans were making their appearance in Modena, and adduced in proof of his assertion the circulation of a book deeply infected with error. This book it seems had been found in the chamber of the Lady Lucrezia, widow of

Count Claudio Rangoni; Serafino eagerly took it up and carried it home. There in company with an officer of the Inquisition he examined it attentively, and put it into the hands of the bishop to find out the author, and discover who had introduced it into the city.

Lancellotto, the chronicler, good honest man, relates that on the 8th of October he had bought a copy from Antonio Gadaldino the bookseller; but when he heard from the Augustine friar that it was full of heresies, on the 13th of December he carried it back, and obliged him to refund the price before he returned it: he says he copied the title-page and took a note of its size. It consisted of ninety-six pages 8vo. On the title-page there was the image of St. Peter and St. Paul with the title:¹ "The Summary of the Holy Scriptures, and the ordinary of Christians, shewing what is the true christian faith by which we are justified, and the virtue of baptism according to the doctrine of the Gospel and of the Apostles, with instructions how all states ought to live according to the Gospel." At the end there was a table of the chapters, thirty-one in number. "There was no author's name, nor date," says Lancellotto, "and I have noted the title because I have never met with it nor seen it cited in any printed catalogue."

The chronicler afterwards records, under the date of the 28th May, 1537, that one of the members of the academy was thought to be the author: however, the academy undertook to defend it, and the veracious Lancellotto mentions the names of some who were suspected of having written it; but some prudent hand has unfortunately so defaced the writing that the names cannot now be deciphered. It seems that at first the academicians dared not publicly become its advocates, but on the 17th of February 1538 they openly declared their sentiments. Let us hear the quaint old chronicler's account.

"This day at half-past one at night, in the house of M. Niccolò Machello, professor of natural philosophy, there was a festival held on the marriage of his daughter with M. Francesco Camurano. In the height of the entertainment there appeared three

¹ *El Summario de la sancta Scriptura e l'ordinario di li Christiani qual dimostra la vera fede Christiana, mediante la qual siamo giustificati, e de la verità del baptismo seconda la doctrina de l'Evangelio e de li Apostoli cum una informazione, come tutti li stati debbono vivere secondo l'Evangelio.*—Bib. Modenese.

masked trumpeters who played a flourish, then two of the masks mounted on the top of a sideboard and began reading from a written book. One read low and the other loud, some very severe sarcasms against Don Serafino, the regular canon who had preached in Advent and some days after Christmas in the Cathedral of Modena, and who had, in conjunction with the friars of St. Domenico and other monks, under the cloak of sanctity, denounced a certain book which had been circulated throughout the city, declaring it to be a Lutheran and heretical work, which book the undersigned literati of Modena, members of the academy, sustain and defend."¹ He then names all the twelve academicians. This occasioned considerable sensation in the city against the academy, and especially because very disrespectful placards had been affixed to the pillars at the door of the Cathedral, at the corners of the streets, and at the gate of the friars' convent.

Castelvetro, who was present, relates in his MS. memoirs, that Bandinelli of Lucca, tutor of the sons of Molza, took the lead in this affair. Machello had married his daughter to Francesco Camurano; at the celebration of the wedding Antonio Bandinelli with another friend, disguised themselves as trumpeters, and cut some very coarse jokes against widows and devout women under the direction of the friars. It was very clear that the Countess Rangoni was here alluded to, as the book was found in her possession and had been given up by her to the friars. She was known to favour Serafino the preacher, and to be a devotee in the Roman Catholic sense, for she had endeavoured, in imitation of the Countess Guastalla, to introduce into Modena the sect of the Perfectionists.

The Countess Lucrezia was the daughter of Lodovico Pico della Mirandola; she married Count Claudio of the noble house of Rangoni; both she and her husband were liberal patrons of learning. Lucrezia² was a staunch Roman Catholic; she corresponded with Muzio,³ one of the great champions of the Church of Rome; he had warned her against being seduced by what he called the new opinions, and pointed out to her what a

¹ See Appendix C.

² Her daughter Claudia married Giberto of Correggio; she was a woman of great talent, profoundly versed, says Sansovino, in philosophy and theology, and worthy of all reverence for her christian piety and purity of life. See Appendix D.

³ Muzio, of Justinopolis.

dangerous person she had in her house, probably some learned man whom she patronised, perhaps Ortensio Landi. The exhortations of Muzio were not fruitless, for a book¹ having been put into her hands imbued with reformed opinions she immediately gave it up. Muzio thus congratulates her: "It grieves me that I have disturbed your mind, though I rejoice at the cause which cannot but be a merit in the eyes of God, since you grieve that you have been even suspected of being out of the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, which is the pillar and foundation of truth."²

In consequence of her complaining to the governor of Modena of the affront offered her, the tutors of Machella's and Molza's children were both arrested and thrown into prison: the name of the first is not certain, but was believed to be Francesco Porto the Greek; we have already seen that Bandinelli was tutor in Molza's family.³ After a few days they were liberated, as it could not be proved against whom their sarcasms were pointed. This imprisonment gave a lesson of prudence; but the calm did not last long, for a new preacher arrived in Modena, and this was always productive of discontent. The gross ignorance of these preachers, and their total neglect of all sound teaching, could not fail to be a subject of mirth and derision to learned men, who were not themselves sufficiently enlightened to grieve over the sad spectacle of "the blind leading the blind," to the utter ruin of immortal souls.

It is recorded as a memorable example of monkish ignorance, that on the 3rd of March 1530 Francesco Filolauro of Castelcaro, when preaching in the cathedral of Modena, enriched his discourse by the public recitation of a brief which he said was written by Jesus Christ. It began like those of the Roman pontiffs, "Jesus bishop, &c.," and ended in the usual manner, "*Nulli ergo omnino hominum, &c.*" The date even was added: "given in the terrestrial Paradise on the sixth day of the creation of the world, in the eternal year of our Pontificate, &c." This brief was inserted in Lancellotto's chronicle, and is also spoken of by Muratori.⁴

¹ *Il Summario.*

² Muzio, *Letters.*

³ See *Bibl. Modenese.*

⁴ "In Modena poi nello stesso anno (1530) nel dì 3 di Marzo predicando Fra Francesco da Castelcaro de' Minori Osservanti nel Duomo, pubblicò un Breve scritto dal Signor nostro Gesù Cristo a tutti i Christiani: *Datum in Paradiso terrestri*

Such egregious folly, at a moment when the whole world was exclaiming against the ignorance of the clergy and the superstition of the monks, could not fail to stimulate the zeal of those who desired a reform in the church, and to enlarge the sphere of religious inquiry. While some secretly despised this nonsense, learned men went to hear for the sole purpose of turning it into ridicule. Let us hear what this *babbler* will say, was correctly applied to them; and such was the contempt with which these preachers were listened to, that they were openly criticised in their presence and before their audience, so that for very shame they were obliged to descend from the pulpit.

In 1539 Don Serafino, the primary cause of the troubles at Modena, ventured again to preach: not content with turning him into ridicule, they daubed the pulpit with dirt to shew their contempt, and to deter him from preaching. These measures, though far from laudable, were the only means within their power to prevent the monks from uttering their farrago of ignorance and credulity. But among the preachers sent to Modena some were favourably disposed to the reformed doctrine. On the 28th of May 1539 Lancellotto relates that on the feast of Pentecost Fra Antonio della Catellina, having preached with great applause, was accused of holding heretical opinions; he immediately became greatly agitated and terrified, and solemnly protested from the pulpit that he had always spoken as a good Catholic ought to do. Paolo Ricci, a Sicilian monk and a doctor in theology, who had laid aside the frock to embrace the reformed opinions, took the name of *Lisio Fileno*. He went to Modena in 1540, and began secretly to read and expound the Epistles of St. Paul and to unfold the doctrines of the Scriptures; many flocked to him, a powerful interest was awakened, and the influence of the Gospel extended not only to the learned but to the ignorant, and even the women began to converse both in

a Creatione Mundi die Sexto, Pontificatus nostri Anno aeterno; confirmatum et sigillatum die Parasceves in Monte Calvaria. In questo Breve il Signore approva e conferma con autorità divina la Regola d'essi Frati Minori Osservanti, conchiudendo in fine colla seguente clausola, *Nihil ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostras confirmationis, &c.* Tommasino Lancellotto ebbe la fortuna d'impetrar copia di questo mirabil Breve da quel buon Religioso, e come una gemma l'insertò nel suo Diario manuscritto della Città di Modena. *O tempora! O mores!*—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 335.

private and in public about faith, and to understand something of the difference between a dead and living faith. Tassoni, surnamed the Old, in his *Annals of Modena*,¹ minutely describes the enthusiasm and ardour with which all ranks embraced the doctrine of grace as they found it revealed in the Gospel. Believers met together to discourse on spiritual subjects, quoting Paul, Matthew, John, the Apocalypse, and the Fathers; but the papal power, true to its traditional dread of free discussion on the oracles of God, contrived to arrest the progress of divine illumination by persuading the Duke of Ferrara to have Ricci arrested and confined in the castle of Modena. Lancellotto, in noting the occurrence, adds that he fears it will end in nothing, as he is protected by the academy. On this occasion, however, their power was of no avail. Ricci was removed to Ferrara, tried, and frightened into abjuring his opinions. Tassoni inserts the recantation in his *MS. annals*. About this time there were some disgraceful disputes between the monks of the different religious orders, who inveighed against each other from the pulpit. Their conduct was so irregular that the governor Strozzi thought it his duty to report their proceedings to the Duke of Ferrara.² An order was issued, in consequence, forbidding any monk to mount the pulpit without the permission of the vicar-general of the diocese. Some however refused to obey this mandate, and in defiance of the orders of their superiors preached publicly, and found means to interest the *Conservatori*, an order of magistrates, in their favour.³

About the same time a still more famous preacher than any who had preceded him, Bernardino Ochino, mounted the pulpit. On his way to Milan in 1541 he passed through Modena: his high reputation throughout Italy had already attracted attention, and the Modenese gladly availed themselves of his accidental presence among them, and entreated him to preach in the cathedral. He complied, and preached, says Lancellotto, on the 28th of February. The church, as we have already related, was filled with so great a concourse of people, "that there was not even

¹ They still exist in *ms.* in the Ducal Library at Modena.

² The letter, dated 18th April, 1540, is to be found in the secret archives of Modena.—Tiraboschi, *Bibl. Modenese*.

³ Several letters are preserved in the archives, written to the Duke and the Vicar-General, G. Sinibaldo, by the *Conservatori* and the Governor, in February and March, 1541.

standing room for all who wished to enter.”¹ All the academicians were present, and earnestly entreated him to stay and preach the Lent sermons, engaging that a Carmelite friar, who was already appointed, would yield the pulpit to him: Bernardino however could not break his engagement, and pursued his way to Milan.

Cardinal Morone, when he returned from the Diet of Ratisbon in 1542, found his diocese distracted by opposite opinions. Whatever secret modification his own religious views had undergone, he was not prepared, nor had he ever intended, by leaving the Roman Catholic church, to contaminate himself with the odious name of heretic. But, like many others of that time, he was already in some degree a heretic in doctrine, though he continued so steadily attached to the discipline of the Romish hierarchy, that any open dissent or disapproval of its authority was extremely displeasing to him. He thus expresses himself in a letter to Cardinal Contarini: “I have found things here which so deeply grieve me as to deprive me altogether of rest, for the danger is great, and I do not see how to extricate myself. I would willingly shed my blood for the benefit of my flock, so that they might belong to Christ and have their reputation cleared: I blush with shame to hear it said openly everywhere that this city is become altogether Lutheran. The conjectures of your reverence are in great part true; it is not to be denied that the monks unite great ignorance to great audacity, and that they are greatly wanting in charity. Notwithstanding, there is considerable ground for suspicion, and I am examining the evidence that I may take the measures which God may inspire.” He then explains the means he intends to pursue to verify the truth of the reports, and if possible to crush the germs of false doctrine; among other projects he speaks of getting a formulary or confession of faith signed, of which we shall presently hear something more.

The disturbances at Modena soon reached the ears of the Pontiff. The book which was the exciting cause was, according to Lancelotto, burned at Rome on the 28th of May, 1539; and he adds that Paul III. wished to fulminate an excommunication against such of the Modenese academicians as had openly declared their heretical opinions, but Cardinal Sadoletto, himself a Modenese

¹ See CHAP. IX. p. 367.

and the personal friend of many of the members of the academy, used every effort to soothe the Pope's irritation and to bring forward measures of conciliation. On the 17th of September of the same year the Pope himself wrote to the Duke of Ferrara, requesting him to restrain the academicians from speaking so freely of faith.¹

One of them, Giovanni Berettari, was cited to Rome, but he defended himself there with so much ability that he was sent back to Modena, absolved from all heretical taint. It was several times proposed in the Consistory to cite the members of the Academy to Rome, Bologna, or Ferrara; and but for Sadoletto's exertions in favour of his fellow-citizens much more severe measures would have been taken. This good man, of whom Modena is justly proud, was of opinion that it would be more easy to restrain the wanderers from the fold of the Church by gentleness than by severity. His writings against heretics were full of love and charity, and how much more must this have been the case when his friends and fellow-citizens were concerned. His conciliating spirit was fully displayed in the letter he wrote from Rome to Lodovico Castelvetro² and his companions, on the 12th of May, 1542. He tells them that in a Consistory held the day before some cardinals had spoken to the Pope of the suspicions cast on the academicians, but that he had persuaded him to suspend his judgment till he received further information. He then invites and entreats them to give some proof of their adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, and to avoid everything which might confirm the suspicions entertained. The reply of the academicians corresponded to the zeal and friendship he had displayed in their behalf. In July we find him congratulating them on the sentiments they had expressed, and advising them to write a united letter to the Pope professing themselves to be true and faithful members of the Church of Rome.

¹ Faith, in the Roman Catholic Church, embraces a great many subjects foreign to revelation, such as traditions, false miracles, and superstitions. Whatever the Church believes is matter of faith. The Church is composed of ignorant members; any priest who can get a papal sanction can impose his fancies as a matter of faith. The same guilt is attached to a disbelief of these articles as to a rejection of the truths of Scripture. The word of God being kept out of the hands of the laity they are required to believe what they are told.

² Sadoletto *Epist. Fam.* vol. iii. p. 317. Roma, 1764.

“ Letter of John Grillenzzone to the Cardinal Sadoletto, from a Codex in the secret archives of the Vatican, formerly belonging to Cardinal Morone, 3rd of July, 1542.”¹

“ If I have not replied, most reverend sir, so quickly as you desired me, you must lay the blame on the bearer, who has kept it six days in his possession; and it would be there still, I verily believe, if I had not heard from others that he had a letter from you to me, and to M. Lodovico Castelvetro. I now reply that if the evil dispositions of the malevolent had not unveiled their malice to the most holy College of Cardinals, and if you, most reverend sir, had not expressed the regret which you say you have experienced, confiding in my innocence, I should neither have paid any attention to it, nor would it have in the smallest degree affected me. The persons who accuse me are of such a nature that it is better to be blamed by them than praised; but to satisfy you I will say something in my own defence.

“ It is now twelve years ago that a poor Candian arrived in Modena: as he had some knowledge of Greek, M. Lodovico Castelvetro and I, with M. Giovan Falloppio and some others, induced him to teach; our house being more convenient than that of any other of the company, we met there at a fixed hour of the day in order to learn from him the first principles of the Greek language.

“ Thus it happened that the public, to our great displeasure, called our association an academy; not that we ever laid down any laws or regulations as had been done in other cities to acquire this vainglorious name; this M. Antonio Fiordibello can testify.

“ At the same time the calumniators, in their hatred of letters, began to say that we only met to speak of evil things, though our sole object was the cultivation of Greek and Latin literature, which to this day has been our practice, without a word about the Holy Scriptures, except some few who have devoted themselves separately to this work with great diligence, but who nevertheless have never said, and much less believed anything that should not be said. Then M. Francesco Greco² arrived, and we progressed further in Greek literature, and the complaints increased; I was more particularly blamed for receiving him in my house, where he remained fifteen months: at one time they said a Greek was not a Christian, at another that he was a Turk, and many similar stories. Finally, what between this Greek, and the work of translating the Scriptures, by means of friars of the St. Dominic, who will not allow any other teaching *oltre lettere* in the city except theirs and their own opinions, our association was taxed with the name of Lutheran. From thence arose the calumnies which have increased in proportion as we paid no attention to them, and their rage rose still higher when the Greek (Francesco Porto) was invited by the city to lecture publicly; and they have never ceased, and still go on to speak ill, accuse, write, and make others write, and strive in a thousand ways to render us infamous, and those we associate with; not perceiving that thus they condemn the whole city, for all the young men who apply to literature resort to us, and they are many, and the first people of the place, from whom our superiors may, whenever they choose, inquire

¹ *Bibl. Modense*, vol. iii. p. 24.

² Porto was his name, but he was as often called Greco.

about our opinions whether they are catholic or not, and learn how unjustly the poor worthy man M. Francesco Greco has been calumniated. All our city, the gentlemen from Bologna and Reggio, who have lived and do still live in his house, and the honourable manner in which our most reverend Morone, who has been his scholar, speaks of him, are high testimonies in his favour. The monks of S. Pietro, with whom he has always conversed, can witness the same. And what shall I say of myself? who have never seen either the Old Testament or the New, or any part of the Holy Scriptures, except in my youth when I unhappily read something of Scotus; nor did I ever keep in my study any ecclesiastical author, for I have scarcely time, from the care of the sick, to snatch a moment to read some of Plato's works, which I am much more anxious to do than I am to be well thought of by those who have written evil of me; nevertheless I am thought to hold opinions unworthy of a true Christian; but this, I believe, arises from my being of a disposition which cannot be silent on the bad deeds which I see done in our city, nor can I conceal the evil-doers, among whom I dislike above all the idle, the ignorant, and the hypocrites; about whom, did I not shrink from contaminating your pure ears, most reverend sir, I could unfold such things, both general and particular, that you would readily see that the accusers deserved much more to be ill-reported of than the accused. But this I reserve till I have an opportunity of communicating with you by word of mouth, when I engage to prove this openly by living and true witnesses, and not by secret ones like theirs.

“One cause of their calumny was that I would not let a poor, simple, ignorant old woman be burned as a witch; in her trial it may be seen that she did not know what she said, and often contradicted herself, and it contains many false statements about her being a relapsed heretic, for she continually asked pardon of God with clasped hands, promising from that day forward to live in a christian manner; notwithstanding this she was condemned to death. The injustice of this sentence was visible to many other doctors, and among these M. Niccolò Bozzolo, through whom, by order of the vicar, the cause was revised and the old woman set free. These are the persons who will not hear preachers unless they preach on high philosophical subjects and carry on discussions in the pulpit. If any one comes who expounds the Gospel (though few enough of this class come) he makes no impression on them. It is now two years since the great friar Bernardino preached here; they were not ashamed to say that he did not preach so well as he used to do; some said he spoke too much of Christ and had never named St. Geminiano, or entered into any discussion. The vicar, believing these calumniators, has never ceased to write bad tidings to our most reverend and illustrious Cardinal of Ferrara, and to our most reverend Cardinal Morone when he was in Germany, and to the most sacred College. For this I cannot but blame him, for he ought first to have called before him those on whom suspicion rested, in order fully to understand their opinions and admonish them as brethren; then if he found in them anything contrary to truth he might do as he has since done, but he ought not to have believed the accusers and the malevolent, and taxed so many worthy persons with infamy. How much worse was the association (*compagnia*) of the priest

than this, where they treated of everything except of that which is good, as is well known, but never against him or his company did we hear the least rumour; on the contrary, he was the counsellor of the vicar, he was the *pater pauperum*, and these poor gentlemen, of unblemished lives and literary tastes, the honour of our city, have been rendered infamous. Your reverence writes to me to admonish and exhort them to lay aside these opinions; but certainly, most reverend sir, since the little book, which the vicar was the cause of our reading, till now, such things have not been spoken of in Modena, nor of what is now doing; and I am much surprised at this and do not know from whence it has arisen, nor can I in the least explain it except by what I have said above. I know that some arrangements are making to remove this injurious suspicion, about which so much has been said without any ground. God grant all may be done without tumult, for if ten or twelve of the people should utter some nonsense, good men are not in fault; what connection have they with them that they on this account are to be blamed, and the cardinals written to about them?

“But leaving these my calumniators, I proceed to thank you, most reverend sir, for the kind offices you have deigned to do for me in the Consistory, not as for a servant, as I am, of yours, but as for a son. I humbly beseech you to continue the same good offices under similar circumstances, and I, on the other hand, affirm that there is no one in our society who is suspected of holding new opinions or anything unworthy of a true Christian, or who does not approve besides the Old and New Testament, also the writings of the holy expositors, both ancient and modern, and who does not submit to the Holy Roman Church and the Holy Councils; and if there were any who did not agree to this I should do as you advise me, taking your admonition, most reverend sir, as a command.”¹

This very curious letter and its singular line of defence speaks loudly against the inquisitorial system then in practice. An assembly of learned men, eager for their own improvement and that of their city, combine together to promote the study of the Greek language. They are patterns of good conduct and defenders of humanity; but they presume to shew some inclination towards the Holy Scriptures, and are so bold as to approve of a book which professes to be a summary of scriptural doctrine, they disapprove of this book being suppressed and burned at Rome, they denounce with indignation the secret informers, “the idle, the ignorant, and the hypocrites,” whose immoral lives are well known, and complain that they should have more weight than a good simple man like Grillenzone, who thinks the best way to clear himself before a college of cardinals is to say he has never seen either the Old or New Testament² or any ecclesiastical book,

¹ *Bibl. Modense. Castelvetro.*

² “Che dire io di me? il quale mai non vidi nè Testamento vecchio, nè novo, nè mai authore alcuno della Scrittura Sacra, se non in mia gioventade per mia mala sorte al quanto di Scottò, nè mai fu nel mio studio authore alcuno Ecclesiastico.”

and only wishes to have time to read his favourite Plato. To a person unacquainted with the Scriptures, the sublime aspirations of the pagan philosopher must indeed have been more attractive than the mumbling of the priests eager to burn a poor half-crazy old woman.

At the request of Cardinal Morone, bishop of Modena, a confession of faith was drawn up by Cardinal Contarini.¹ The exordium alone was composed by Cardinal Sadoletto. Lancelotto gives the date 5th of September, 1542. In July a report had prevailed in Modena that such a paper would be offered for signature; it came like a thunderbolt on the academicians. Francesco Porto, the Professor of Greek, immediately left Modena. On pretence of visiting his infirm father he asked leave to go home, but instead of going to Greece he went to Cento; his wife followed him a few days after; she having some relations in that part of the country, they staid there more than a month. Niccolò Machello, the doctor, went to Venice. Filippo Valentino, who was at Bologna acting as auditor to Cardinal Contarini, was called home to sign the confession; but he no sooner arrived than he was taken ill and not able to sign it, says the chronicler, and then adds, Canon Bonifacio Valentini "wants to sell all his books, and says he will not study the Holy Scriptures any more, for upright men are not allowed to study."²

It was said that Cardinal Morone wrote to the Pope begging him to suspend the signature of this confession, as the academicians had assured him of the sincerity of their devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, and had entreated that suspicion might not be cast on their faith by obliging them to subscribe.

The account of this transaction, which the governor of Modena sent by his chancellor Gentile Albino to the Duke of Ferrara, is still to be seen in the secret ducal archives, signed 2nd August, 1542. The academicians, he says, made great difficulty about signing, and wished to remit the affair to the Council,³ to see what it would decide. They were only disposed to sign some of the articles. Cardinal Morone acted with the utmost ability,

¹ It is to be found in his works, and also among those of Cardinal Cortese.

² "*Il Canonico Bonifacio Valentini vol vendere tutti li suoi libri, e poi non vole studiare in la sua Sacra Scrittura, dicendo che gli uomini da bene non possono più studiare Lancelotto.*"—*Bibl. Modenese*, VALENTINI.

³ The Council was convoked in 1542, but did not meet till 1545.

working in concert with the governor, who reminded him that it was owing to the harshness of Cardinal Cajetan in Germany, that from a spark so dreadful a conflagration had arisen in the Church, that it was still burning, and entreated his reverence not to drive these learned men to desperation, lest a similar flame should be kindled in Italy. He adds, that the Pope, thinking Morone too indulgent, had appointed¹ six cardinals to examine the matter; one of them was to go to Modena to search for heretics. Morone, offended with this intrusion into his episcopal office, had almost resolved to withdraw altogether from the management of the affair, but at the entreaty of the governor he was induced to continue his superintendence. Sadoletto,² who at this period passed through Modena as legate to France, and Paolo Cortese, recently created cardinal, also on his way to France, united their efforts, and combined with Cardinal Morone to obtain the proposed signatures.

On the 1st of September they assembled the academicians together, and entreated them so affectionately to comply with their wishes that they at length succeeded in obtaining their consent.³ The three cardinals set the example by signing the confession themselves, then the vicar of the bishop, the generals of the monastic orders, and several of the canons. Some of the *Conservatori* (magistrates) also signed, and all the academicians⁴ who were in Modena; Francesco Porto was not present, but he returned to Modena a few days after, and was with difficulty permitted by Morone to sign.

It was hoped that the signature of this confession of faith would crush the growth of the reformed opinions and rivet the chains of the Roman Catholic Church; but no sooner were they relieved from the pressure of danger than they openly avowed their real sentiments. We cannot look with approval on their tame compliance with a requisition to put their hands to an act

¹ No doubt the commission of the Inquisition established about this time.

² See CHAP. XI.

³ The signatures may be seen in the before cited edition of Cardinal Cortese's works.

⁴ Niccolò Machello, Giovanni Berettari, Filippo Valentini, Lodovico Castelvetro, Pellegrino Erri, Bart. and Giov. Grillenzzone, Giannicolo Fiordibello, Alfonso Sadoletto, Girolamo Teggeto, Elia Carundine, Gaspare Rangoni, Agostino and Franceschi Bellencini, Gabriello Falloppio, Guglielmo Spinelli, Aless. Fontana, and Pio Tassoni.

of perjury, for in fact it was nothing less. They avowed a belief in what they secretly despised, and not one in that body of learned men had the courage to claim liberty of conscience as a right.

On the 2nd of December, 1543, the first Sunday in Advent, our friend Lancellotto notes in his diary, "There is no preaching, for however excellent the preacher is, he will be criticised by certain Modenese literati, and no one will come to fight with so many on their own ground."¹ The following year however they had a preacher. His name was Bartolommeo della Pergola, a monk whom Cardinal Morone had sent to preach, believing him to be a good Catholic. Under the date of the 15th of March, 1544, we find Lancellotto says, "All the academicians, who are more than twenty-five in number, go to hear him, and also Antonio (Gadaldino), the bookseller, who was one of the first to introduce forbidden books in the mother-tongue, which have since been burned at Rome as heretical. This friar only preaches the Gospel, and never mentions male or female saints, nor the Fathers of the Church, nor Lent, nor fasting, nor many other things, which preaching was much to the taste of the academicians; many think to go to heaven in silk stockings, for they say Christ has paid for us."

But when Cardinal Morone heard of his style of preaching, he had him arrested and tried by the Inquisition; and obliged him to return to Modena, and there retract in the pulpit forty-six propositions he had formerly maintained as true. This he did, says Lancellotto, on the 15th and 16th of June, but in such a manner that it was clearly seen his repentance was not sincere, and he found so many willing to favour him that an attestation in his favour was drawn up. A certain doctor called Villa Nuova ran about the town seeking signatures to this certificate, and found many willing to put their names. Another friar of the same order, called Pontremelo, preached at Modena that same year, and he also was accused of announcing erroneous opinions.² In 1545, Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, used very severe measures to put an end to all heretical preaching. Filippo Valentini being considered one of the principal upholders of the reformed

¹ The practice of disputing in the pulpit opened the way for answers from the audience, and produced the most unseemly and irreverent contentions.

² Lancellotto relates the misfortunes of these preachers in full.

opinions, it was resolved to secure him first; on the 5th of June the captain of the guard went with a detachment of soldiers in the dead of night to arrest him, but he had received a friendly warning and had time to escape.

On the 24th of May the following year a ducal edict was published, in which it was forbidden to keep any heretical or suspected books in the house, or to dispute either in public or in private about religion, under the penalty of a fine of a hundred crowns of gold or four strokes of the whip for the first offence; for the second, two thousand crowns of gold and banishment from the dukedom; for the third, a complete confiscation of property, and the penalty of death to be inflicted.

This unjust and cruel edict was the fruit of an alliance with Rome. Never during the long wars waged by Alphonso did he issue so oppressive a law. Hercules found the friendship of the papacy more fatal than its enmity. An edict of such a tenure impressed terror on all hearts, and convinced the people of Modena that Rome was determined to extinguish every spark of divine light, and prepared to enforce its behests by the secular arm. The academy took the hint, dispersed, and was no more heard of. Thus the Romish hierarchy could boast that at Modena as well as at Lucca it had succeeded, by threats and by the machinery of the Inquisition, in stifling the truth. The most sincere escaped to other lands, where they openly professed the Gospel; the lukewarm remained and conformed. Cardinal Morone himself was not clear from all suspicion; from the above narrative it does not appear that he had any decided leaning to the reformed opinions, and we shall have occasion hereafter to refer more fully to his misfortunes.

The history of the Modenese Academy presents a scene of the struggle which was going on throughout Italy between intellect and bigotry; the phantom of spiritual power could not even terrify without temporal oppression; but genius quailed before the dread of extinction, and faith grew faint in presence of the fires of the Inquisition.

LODOVICO CASTELVETRO.

Lodovico Castelvetro was one of the most distinguished members of the Academy of Modena. He came into the world about the beginning of the sixteenth century. His parents gave

him a learned education; wishing him to adopt the law as a profession, they spared no expence for the completion of his studies at the different universities of Italy. He made a lengthened sojourn at Siena, which was at that time resorted to by men who were devoted to the study of philosophy and the belles lettres. The fame of its reputation had attracted Paleario. The charm of its literary society retained Castelvetro long after his studies were completed. The academy of the *Intronati*, then in its highest lustre, was the most ancient of these celebrated literary associations, which kept in perpetual exercise the sparkling brilliancy of wit, and sharpened by emulation the keen spirits of the age. So delightful did this appear to our young scholar that the law was entirely forgotten, and it required the most earnest solicitude on the part of his father to persuade him to pass his examination at the university for the degree of doctor of laws. At length, however, he complied with his father's wishes, and went to live at Rome with his uncle Della Porta, his mother's brother, who was at that time secretary to Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. His uncle was in a position of influence at Rome, and both able and willing to lay the foundation of his nephew's fortunes. But Castelvetro was neither ambitious nor self-interested, and in no wise attracted by the honours and advantages held out to him. His only desire was to have leisure to study uninterruptedly, and so strong was this inclination that, seeing no probability of his wishes being gratified, he left Rome unknown to his uncle and returned to Siena, where he gave himself wholly up to the study of the Greek and Latin languages. He also devoted great attention to the pure Tuscan idiom, then in perfection at Siena.¹ He was much encouraged in the prosecution of these studies by his learned associates Bernardino Maffei,² Marcello Cervino,³ and Alessandro Piccolomini.⁴ The latter was one of the most devoted students of that fruitful age; nothing could detach him from the pursuit of knowledge. An energetic member of the *Intronati* academy, he was known by the name of *Stordito*. In

¹ The Siena pronunciation is to this day considered more pure and less guttural than that of Florence.

² Paleario's friend. See CHAP. VIII. p. 298.

³ Elected Pope 1555, reigned only twenty-one days.

⁴ Born at Siena 1508, died there 1578.

1540 he went to Padua to study moral philosophy, and conceived the idea of writing a treatise on philosophy in Italian, a project which met with little encouragement. Trajano Boccalini playfully remarked "that the sciences did not wish to appear in an Italian dress, lest when deprived of the veil of classical obscurity their real misery and poverty might be manifest." Piccolomini however persevered, conquered all obstacles, and wrote a treatise called *Instituzione di tutta la vita dell'uomo nato nobile, e in città libera*.¹ Twenty years after it was published with some other works under the title of *Dell'Instituzione Morali*, and was considered as an important step towards advancing general knowledge. His studies were not confined to metaphysical subjects, he wrote also on natural philosophy, and one very remarkable essay *Della grandezza della terra e dell'acque*, in which he ventured to doubt the accuracy of Plato, Aristotle, and Ptolemy, who asserted that the water on the earth is of greater extent than the land. He composed the greater part of his works in the retirement of his villa at Siena, surrounded by his beautiful gardens. The historian De Thou, when a very young man, passing through Siena, paid him a visit,² and found him altogether immersed in study, surrounded by his books. The delight he expressed in his pursuits and the vigour of his intellectual powers made an indelible impression on the young traveller, and was perhaps an incitement in his literary career. Such were the companions with whom Castelvetro pursued his studies at Siena; he staid there till he thought his father's anger was cooled down, and then he returned home, but only to pass his time in the same close application to literature.

Incessant fatigue and continual night study at last affected his health; he was seized with a fever which hung about him for two years, and reduced his strength so much that it was apprehended he would fall into a decline. On the slightest amelioration he resumed his studies, but application brought back the worst symptoms, then he revived again, and so he went on hovering between life and death for ten or twelve years. During

¹ It was dedicated to Laudemia Forteguerra, a Sienese lady.—See Tiraboschi, vol. vii. p. 455.

² In 1573, when Paul de Foix was sent ambassador to Rome by Charles ix.—See *Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. p. 458.

the whole of this time he never ate meat or tasted wine, or anything tending to produce fulness of the system, but lived entirely on bread, herbs, fish, and fruit, drinking only water. This abstinence, united with the exhaustion produced by his complaint, brought him so low that, though he was a strongly built man and of a good natural constitution, he never thoroughly recovered his strength.

During the intervals when he was incapable of severe study he busied himself in promoting the interests of literature, and persuaded the municipal authorities of Modena to offer remunerative salaries to learned men who lectured on Greek and Roman literature. It was through his influence that Grillenzoni invited Francesco Porto to lecture on the Greek language. When he left Modena for Ferrara in 1546 he was succeeded by a still more remarkable man, the celebrated Carlo Sigonio,¹ his pupil. Though only twenty-two years of age he was appointed professor of Greek with a stipend of 300 lire. This however was not his only means of support. He was tutor to Count Fulvio Rangone, son of the Countess Lucrezia, and to her nephew the young Galeotto. Pico della Mirandola lodged him in his palace and appointed him a salary of 150 crowns. The genius of Sigonio was more solid than brilliant, and he thoroughly studied every subject to which he devoted his attention. In his mature years he wrote a good deal on history. In 1552 he was invited to Venice as professor of the belles lettres.² Eight years after he was appointed to fill the chair of eloquence at Padua. The fame of his learning continually increased, and at length he was invited to Bologna, with the handsome salary of 600 golden crowns, on condition that he would give his word to remain. Here Sigonio enjoyed the select literary society which Cardinal Paleotti delighted to assemble round him; and had full leisure to complete the works he had begun. They related chiefly to history and antiquity, and he had the credit of being one of the first who reduced the Roman history to chronological order. His critical researches on the ancient Roman names is a complete work to which modern writers may safely apply. He attempted what had never before been projected, a history of the middle ages from the first arrival of the Lombards in

¹ Born at Modena 1519, died at Modena 1584.

² At first with a salary of 160 ducats, which was increased to 220.

Italy in 1199 down to 1286. His materials were drawn from old records and chronicles; he visited all the archives of Italy, including Lombardy and the treasures of private families, and thus formed a nucleus of diplomatic documents, of which he published a catalogue in 1576.¹ Grateful for the kind hospitality he had received at Bologna, he wrote the history of this ancient city, as also of its bishops; and, as a necessary pendent, of the great men and canonised saints who had flourished there. At the close of his life he felt a wish to return to Modena, his native place, and began to build a country-house or villa, when death arrested his progress before old age became a burden.²

When Sigonio was appointed professor of Greek at Modena the desire for improvement was so great that almost every learned man had a fixed hour when, either at his own house or at that of a friend, he privately interpreted the classics, pointed out the most beautiful passages, and formed the taste of his hearers by critical and judicious observations. Castelvetro had a chosen circle at his house: we are already acquainted with the zeal of Grillenzone. Modena had reason to be proud of her distinguished citizens. Cardinal Sadoletto we know. The Cardinals Tommaso Badia³ and Gregorio Cortese were learned men and both natives of Modena: Cortese was the intimate friend of Sadoletto, and not dissimilar in character and disposition; though a firm upholder of the church of Rome, he would have preferred that heretics should be combated by reason rather than by violence. He was an elegant scholar, and wrote both Latin and Italian with exquisite taste. As a monk his studies lay a good deal among the fathers. He wrote a treatise full of citations from early writers to prove that St. Peter had been in Rome. Monsr. Gradenigo, who has written his life, thinks that the edition of the New Testament corrected from Greek MSS. is to be attributed to Cortese.⁴ To these we may add the name of Cardinal Giovanni Morone, bishop of Modena; though born at Milan he was brought up at Modena, studied

¹ Muratori says of this work: "*insigne profecto opus et monumentorum copia, et splendore sermonis, et ordine narrationis, ex quo incredibilis lux facta est eruditioni barbarorum temporum, in illum usque diem apud Italos tenebris innumeris circumfusa.*"

—See Muratori, *Vita Sigonii*.

² His works were all collected together and published by Argelati at Milan with various learned comments.

³ Born 1483, died 1548.

⁴ Printed at Venice 1538.

there, and may be numbered among its citizens;¹ the celebrated anatomist Gabriello Falloppio; Maria Molza, one of the most brilliant poets of his day, but who had nothing else to recommend him; Della Casa, a bitter persecutor of the reformed doctrines; Fiordibello, the secretary of Sadoletto, who afterwards accompanied Cardinal Pole to England in the same capacity.

We have seen how severely the academy of Modena was tried, and how its members were obliged to sign a confession of faith in 1542, which left them in the enjoyment of quiet till 1545. They were again molested by means of Pellegrini degli Erri, one of the academicians, a man it seems of an unhappy disposition, for he was both peevish and passionate. He had, in company with some other academicians, devoted himself to the critical study of the Scriptures, and had published a translation of the Psalms of David with comments; but a practical joke, such as is sometimes foolishly practised among friends, made him their mortal enemy for life. A fig was given him filled with aloes; this he unsuspectingly put into his mouth, and vowed vengeance for the affront. Such serious consequences for so trifling a cause are scarcely credible, but it is asserted that he immediately went to Rome, entered into the service of Cardinal Cortese, and had interest enough to procure for himself the appointment of apostolic commissary at Modena. In virtue of this office he went in the night to arrest Dr. Filippo Valentini,² a Modenese noble and member of the academy: we have already seen that he escaped in time, but his books were all seized. Castelvetro speaks of him in the highest terms in his *ms. memoirs* as a young man of extraordinary talent. At seven years old he began to write Latin letters, verses, and discourses in imitation of Cicero; his sonnets and cantos were remarkable for the finished harmony of their style; they were also full of noble sentiments, more like the ideas of a man than a boy. Gifted with a surprising memory, he could recite the whole of any lecture or discourse he had once heard, without omitting a single word. This was a wonderful help in acquiring knowledge, for a book once read was remembered ever after; nor was this a merely technical memory, for he received the sense as well as the words. Some books which he read in youth he retained

¹ We shall hear more of him in a subsequent chapter.

² See Appendix E.

during his whole life, such as Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Dante, all of which he could repeat as if he were reading. When quite a child he was present at a public lecture on law, delivered at Bologna by Alberto Bero, professor to the university, and he astonished the audience by producing twenty propositions of so subtle a nature that the lecturer was put to the blush by this young scholar in presence of some of the most learned men of the time. But, as is too often the case, this precocity did not produce the fruit which it promised, for he left but few evidences of his talent behind him. His version of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace is the only work which is handed down to posterity.

About the year 1553 Castelvetro's tranquillity was much disturbed by a furious dispute with Annibale Caro, whose jealousy was roused and his self-love wounded by a criticism passed on a poem of his in praise of the house of Ferrara. The poem had been handed round by his friends as a masterpiece; Petrarch himself, they said, could not have done better. Bellencini, one of the Modenese academicians, hearing it so extolled, sent it to Castelvetro, begging him to give his frank opinion of its merits; he returned it with a few remarks, which he begged might not be made public. Bellencini shewed Castelvetro's observations to his friends without naming him, but when the knowledge of this criticism reached Caro he never rested till he found out the author, and then in a fit of mortified self-love he assailed him with violent vituperation, called him *Grammatuccio*, *Pedantuccio*, 'a bad grammarian and foolish pedant.' Castelvetro, on hearing that, contrary to his wishes, the observations which had been drawn from him were made public, and were met, not by reasonable arguments but by insults, wrote under the name of *Grammatuccio* an explanation of his first criticism, as if asked by a friend, and made still more pointed strictures on Caro's composition. For a time the contest was carried on with the pen; but Caro, bent on vanquishing his acute adversary, chose two other champions, the one to enter the lists with the pen, the other, far more powerful and sure, the tribunal of the Inquisition. Caro began by composing a book in defence of his verses, and blaming Castelvetro for the severity of his criticism; he was assisted by different literary men, who were his partisans, and particularly by Benedetto Varchi, and by Antonio Commendone, afterwards Cardinal: they introduced Pasquin and several characters, who answered Castel-

vetro's observations by satirizing him and turning his remarks into ridicule. Many sonnets were composed full of malice and bitterness; these were copied and circulated among Caro's friends. While they carefully concealed them from the knowledge of Castelvetro, they took care to report how cleverly he had been answered. This produced a reply, and the victory being doubtful Caro began to think of more powerful means of overwhelming his adversary. None were so ready or so manageable as the myrmidons of the *Holy Office*: they were open to every calumny however secret or unjust, and would readily receive any accusation. While concocting this plot he was unexpectedly assisted by the villainy of Paolo, Castelvetro's brother. He had wasted his patrimony and lived an idle irregular life, and on this account was often reproved and fraternally admonished, though ineffectually, by Lodovico, who, finding all his exhortations vain, threatened to restrain him by law, and deprive him of the administration of his family property. This roused the evil passions of Paolo; he joined Caro in his iniquitous designs, and finally denounced his brother as a heretic to the Inquisition of Rome. Castelvetro was cited, but fearing the power of his enemies he did not venture to appear, and hid himself for some time in different parts of the Duchy of Ferrara till the death of Paul IV. On the election of Pius IV.,¹ a pontiff of milder character, Castelvetro was advised by his friends, and particularly by Foscarari, bishop of Modena, to go to Rome and clear himself from the calumnies circulated against him.

Hitherto in our account of Castelvetro we have followed Muratori, who has written his life; we are now about to add some further particulars from the secret archives of Modena,² which throw fresh light on the history of this period, and reveal

¹ Son of Bernardo de' Medici and of Cecilia Serbellona; his baptismal name was Giovanni Angelo. He had filled many state offices under Paul III., by whom he was made Cardinal, and also under Giulio III. At the election of Paul IV. he left Rome, not being able to bear the sight of the harshness. He was created Pope the 26th of December 1559, and took the name Pius IV., as betokening the natural clemency of his character, doubly precious to the Roman people from the severity of his predecessor. He reopened the Council of Trent, and concluded its operations. During his short reign of six years he performed many works of usefulness and benevolence. True to the traditions of his family he was a munificent patron of learned men, and established a printing press at Rome under Paolo Manuzio.

² See *Bibl. Modenese*, vol. iii.

the machinations and intrigues against Castelvetro. It appears that a certain Alberico Loazo in the service of Giambattista Campeggi, bishop of Majorca, was assassinated near Bologna by some unknown hand. Annibale Caro, while in the service of Cardinal Farnese, with the view of injuring Castelvetro and making him suspected of this crime, had a great number of persons examined at Modena in order that he might be included. Clemente Tiene, governor of Modena, wrote thus to the Duke of Ferrara in 1555:¹

“I send your Excellency the enclosed paper which has been sent to me. To explain it more clearly, I must tell you that there is a report here in Modena that some investigations and examinations have been made here by certain persons relating to some of the first persons in the town, and that they have been sent to Rome. Wishing to find out the origin of this report, I have enquired of Egidio Foscarari, a prelate of great piety, who is not only ignorant of the circumstance, but expresses his surprise that it should not have come to his knowledge and that of the Inquisitors. The bishop, however, owns that some months ago it was named to him, but on speaking to one of the persons mentioned as being examined, he found there was no truth whatever in the report. Being anxious to discover the source of these rumours, I have found out that about a month ago, or more, one of the attendants of the bishop of Majorca was killed in the pass of St. Ambrogio, near Bologna, and a certain Annibale Caro, in the service of Cardinal Farnese, has secretly examined a great many persons, who are not suspected, in order to include M. Filippo Valentini and M. Lodovico Castelvetro of this city, whom they suspect to be guilty of this murder, and on this account they have laid hold of four or five others belonging to the town. This is all I have been able to learn; if anything further comes to my knowledge I will report it to your Excellency, that you may know exactly the state of the affair. The bishop is of my opinion.”

This letter proves that Caro was the mover of the accusation: several letters passed between the duke and his ambassador at Rome in the year 1556, in which he desired every effort to be made to prevent the publication of the citations against the accused; but the Pope remained firm, and insisted on their publication. The duke was finally obliged to yield, and commanded the citations against the four suspected persons to be published, namely, Lodovico Castelvetro, Filippo Valentini, his cousin the Canon Bonifacio Valentini, and Antonio Gadaldino the printer and bookseller.

But the city of Modena could not tamely brook this infringe-

¹ Gio. Pietro Caraffa was elected Pope under the name of Paolo rv., 13th of May, 1555.

ment of its liberty. The magistrates or *Conservatori* immediately assembled to consult together, and sent the following letter to the duke :

“ Having heard that some of our fellow-citizens have been cited to Rome under accusations of heresy, it has appeared to us a very strange and unusual thing to see secular persons cited to Rome, the which citation if acted on will be of great damage to our city, and expose its citizens to much inconvenience and great expence. The very name of heresy has frightened us, bringing obloquy on the city, which is, by the grace of God, entirely innocent of these things. This you may be informed of through your officials: thus to resuscitate the dead¹ is not very judicious, because we are persuaded that these measures will tend more to increase the evil, if it really exists, than to lessen it; possibly those cited will not for many reasons appear; this will occasion scandal upon scandal. Allow me to observe also that these our citizens who are cited are not persons of an inferior class, but men of good reputation, who do not deserve to be thus dishonoured. We are rather inclined to think that all this arises more from jealousy and ill-nature than from true zeal for the faith: these evil dispositions, as your Excellency knows, abound in the world. Secret examinations, which are customary in such cases, offer great opportunities for gratifying private revenge. Thus we, who are sitting at the helm as it were of this your faithful city, have thought it wise to inform you of this matter, praying and beseeching you to take it in good part, and not to consider us as desirous of doing anything contrary to your wishes. One word more: we see no prospect of coming to the end of this affair: after all that has been done these Roman gentlemen are not satisfied. The cardinals make the whole town subscribe a Confession of faith, your most illustrious excellency has sent reproofs, the Inquisition fulfils its office without hindrance, our most reverend bishop, a man of holy life, pays unwearied attention to his flock. What can they hear at Rome which we do not know here? If you approve of asking his holiness to send a commissioner here, it might put an end to these annoyances; and if we had a canon appointed to judge such matters, it would be very satisfactory to us. The reverend and illustrious bishop of Fano will also write to you on this subject, for it appears to offer the only remedy. We remit all things to your wise and loving counsel; we commend this your most faithful city to your care; with our hands raised in the form of a cross we entreat that we may not be loaded with these heavy burdens, and humbly kiss your hands. Your most faithful and obedient servants, The *Conservatori* of the city of Modena. In Modena 17th July 1556.”

Ercole Contrario, the newly-appointed governor of Modena, wrote in the same strain to the duke, and a few days after the *Conservatori* brought the subject more fully before the duke, by sending one of their own body, Elia Carondini, personally to explain the matter.

¹ Alluding to the former suspicions entertained that the city of Modena was infected with heresy.

On receiving the first letter from the magistrates of Modena, the duke wrote to the bishop of Anglone, his envoy at the papal court, telling him to inform the Pope that the citations had been affixed as commanded, but entreating him at the same time to reflect that, the bishop of Modena having made a good report of the state of religion in that town, new trials would produce fresh disorders, and to beg his holiness to suspend all researches after persons, or at least to allow the examinations to be made in the country itself without obliging them to go to Rome.

In order to please the Pope, the duke, in October of the year 1556, committed to prison the printer Gadaldino, and sent word to Rome that he had done so through the bishop of Anglone; but added that he feared Gadaldino, from his age and decrepitude, could not be moved to Bologna; nevertheless, if his holiness absolutely ordered it, he should be sent there; but as, according to the bishop's testimony, there was nothing going on wrong in religion at Modena, he earnestly entreated the Pope not to molest any other persons, and if Gadaldino were found innocent, that he might be liberated.

Here we behold the painful spectacle of a sovereign committing some of the worthiest and most meritorious of his subjects to prison against his will, to please a foreign prince who assumed dominion over their consciences. All Italy trembled before the severe and haughty Paul IV.;¹ the land was full of spies and accusers, and a whisper of suspicion cost a man his liberty and sometimes his life.²

On the 3rd of January the following year, 1557, the duke wrote to bishop Grandi that the sons of Gadaldino had thrown

¹ Born 1476 at Benevento, died at Rome 1559. Gio. Pietro Caraffa was the son of a Neapolitan baron. He was a great favourite of Adrian VI. In the reign of Clement VII. he resigned his archbishopric, and betook himself to a hermitage on the Pincian hill at Rome. After the sack of Rome he went to Venice. In 1536 he was elected Cardinal, and resumed his bishopric. He was at the head of the Inquisition, and when elected Pope in 1555 he was hated for the severity of his edicts and his cruelty to the Jews. He excited a war against the Colonna and Charles V. at Naples, and died after four years' reign, detested by his subjects. He was learned, energetic, and temperate, but austere, irascible, and relentless in persecution.

² "Dapertutto erano spie, facili le accuse, e bastavano i sospetti, perchè si venisse alla cattura. Ne ardiva alcuno di parlare di quel soverchio rigore, nè di raccomandare, per paura d'essere preso per fautore d'Eretici."—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 178.

themselves at his feet bathed in tears, representing the unhappy condition of their poor infirm old father who could no longer endure the misery of a prison, and desired the bishop to entreat the Pope to allow him to be tried at Modena, and be imprisoned in his own house. At the same time he sent him a letter in favour of Gadaldino, written by the bishop Foscarari.

But the exertions of this excellent prince in behalf of his oppressed subjects were vain. The result, as we learn from two letters written by the duke to his envoy at Rome, was adverse to his wishes. In the first, dated 26th of April, he writes that the vice-legate of Bologna had come to Ferrara to beg him in the name of the Pope to order those three gentlemen and the bookseller, who were accused of heresy, to be sent to Rome; that he had replied that this was rather difficult of execution; nevertheless, to satisfy his holiness, he ordered the Canon Valentini,¹ who officiated at the cathedral, to come to Ferrara. As a priest he was under obligation to obey the Pope; the vice-legate promised that this should neither shame nor disgrace him; he would have sent him even as far as Bologna if he had not come to Ferrara. Valentini, feeling himself innocent, professed his willingness to go there. He desired the bishop to inform the Pope of this, and entreat him to relieve his subjects of all disturbance in consideration of the report of their bishop that the city was free from such plagues. In his second letter of the 11th of May the duke writes with some resentment to the bishop of Anglone, complaining that after the promises made by the vice-legate that Valentini should not suffer either in person or substance, nor be imprisoned, and had even held out a hope that he would not be sent to Rome, yet notwithstanding all this he and the old bookseller, Gadaldino, had been conveyed there to his great displeasure, and it was impossible to say what con-

¹ "Vi fù Bonifacio Valentini Modenese Eretico, a cui scrisse Adriano segretario del Cardinal di Fano una lettera di condoglienza per la morte di Lutero. . . . Il Sant officio hebbe in mano questa lettera, e processò il detto Adriano Sec^o. Questo Bonifacio manteneva commercio coi Tedeschi Eretici, dei quali havevan spesso lettere, et egli fù che infettò la terra di Nonantola. Vi fù Aless. Milano, Modenese Luterano anch' egli. Vi fù un fra Bernardo Bartoli predicatore pernicioso mandato à Modena a predicare per opera di Luigi Priuli, e dal Cardinale Polo, e dalla Marchesa di Pescara; fù detto ch' era discepolo del Cardinale Polo per il che tutti tre ne furono processati et il 1^o. frà Bernardo stette carcerato in Roma, et abiurò." — *Vita MS. di Paulo IV.* da P. Ant. Caracciolo.

sequences might follow. The duke desires the bishop to complain of this to Cardinal Caraffa, the Pope's nephew, for it was in his name the vice-legate had given the promise.

But all these remonstrances had no effect. The Canon Valentini, after having been a year in prison at Rome, retracted the opinions which were imputed to him, confessed them to be erroneous, and was sent back to Modena. The duke did all he could to save him from the pain and disgrace of repeating this recantation publicly in the cathedral of Modena, but without success, and he was obliged to submit to this humiliating exhibition. It was the more mortifying because everybody knew that he was speaking falsely: it is not in the power of any person to believe or disbelieve at the command of another, but it is in the power and is the tendency of spiritual despotism to encourage a system of falsity. Alessandro Tassoni has inserted the recantation in his *ms. annals*. Gadaldino says the same annalist was detained in prison at Rome, under the accusation of having sold books infected with heretical opinions:¹ he does not state how long he remained in prison; probably he was released at the death of Paul IV. in 1559, and returned to Modena, for we find his death noted in the public registers, at the age of ninety, on the 6th April 1568, and it is recorded that he was buried in the cathedral.

The duke, fearing that Castelvetro and Filippo Valentini might be molested as contumacious, wrote to Alfonso Trotti, governor of Modena, on the 6th of August, forbidding him to execute any order from Rome or Bologna relating to them without his knowledge. On the 17th of September the governor informed the duke that the bishop Foscarari had received from the vice-legate of Bologna the trial of Castelvetro and Valentini, together with the edict of excommunication against them, with orders to have them engrossed on parchment and affixed to the doors of the cathedral. But he replied that he could not permit this to be done without the consent of the duke, and begged

¹ The *Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Gesù Christo crocifisso verso i Christiani* was one. See CHAP. VIII. p. 334. The first person who circulated Luther's books in Italy was Calvi, a bookseller of Pavia, who went frequently to Basle to procure them from Frobenius. This Calvi is frequently mentioned by Erasmus. See *Epist.* vol. i. ep. 308, 312, &c. Gerdes, *Italia Reformata*, p. 5. Lutheri *Opp. Jenens. Lat.* tom. i. pp. 388, 389.

for directions how to proceed. The answer is not forthcoming; but in 1561 the governor of Modena wrote a letter to the duke's successor, which we shall presently produce, wherein it is proved that the excommunication against them was not yet published. Warned however by the fate of the two others, they had before this sought safety in flight.

In 1559, at the death of Paul IV., when Hercules II. duke of Ferrara had also disappeared from the scene, Alfonso II. indulged the hope of finding the new Pope, Pius IV., more placable in Castelvetro's affair. The duke was very anxious to have the cause tried within the confines of the state: as a sovereign he could not but perceive what a serious infringement it was on his authority, for a foreign prince to be able to judge and condemn his subjects. He wrote on this occasion the following letter to the bishop of Anglone, dated 5 Feb. 1560:

"I think you must be aware of the imputations formerly brought against M. Lodovico Castelvetro, of Modena, on account of religion; for this cause he was persecuted (*travagliato*) by the Inquisition of Rome in the time of the last Pope, and had recourse to my Lord Duke of happy memory, offering at the same time to appear in any part of the state, and before any judge or inquisitor deputed by the Holy See, to justify himself against this calumnious accusation. From what we can learn it seems to have been brought against him at the suggestion of some evil-disposed persons, who from envy desired to annoy him. His Excellency desired you to speak with the reverend deputies (of the Inquisition) and our Lord the Pope, and make every effort to prevail on his Holiness to choose somebody in the state to decide this matter. But as it did not please the said Pope to grant this request, the affair has remained in abeyance till now. Castelvetro, being very desirous to be freed from such imputations, has entreated us, that in conformity with the good offices of the Duke our father we should order these circumstances to be laid before his Holiness and the reverend heads of the Inquisition, in order that this affair may be committed to the jurisdiction of one or more inquisitors, within the confines of the state, in unison with the bishop of Modena or any other of our prelates. Lodovico does not shrink from trial, provided it be carried on within our dominions. This demand appears reasonable, and we wish you to make every exertion to bring it to bear; for this purpose I authorize you to use all kinds of expedients, and take advantage of the favour of our most illustrious uncle.¹ We write to him on this subject, referring him to you for information by word of mouth. See to the execution of our commands, and may God keep you in his holy keeping. Ferrara, 5th February, 1560. Alfonso."

Notwithstanding this pressing letter the duke could not obtain what he requested. Though Paul IV. was dead, the soul

¹ Cardinal Ippolito d' Este.

of the Inquisition, so to speak, still remained alive in the chief Inquisitor Michael Ghislieri. Finally the duke allowed himself to be persuaded, chiefly by the arguments of the bishop Foscarari, to allow Castelvetro to go to Rome, accompanied by his brother Giammaria, who would not desert him in this emergency.

Egidio Foscarari,¹ of Bologna, a Dominican friar, was a man of great talent and virtue. Paul III. made him Master of the Sacred Palace in 1546, and four years after, when Cardinal Morone resigned the bishopric of Modena, it was presented to Foscarari. But notwithstanding the liberality and diligence with which he fulfilled the duty of a pastor, he could not escape the suspicions of Paul IV., who at the end of the year 1558 imprisoned him in St. Angelo. When shortly after he was offered his liberty, he refused to go out unless he was declared innocent. His guilt probably consisted in nothing more than too much gentleness to those who were accused of heresy. This, in the opinion of the austere pontiff, was strong ground of suspicion. Being however at last declared free of all blame, he encouraged Castelvetro to hope for the same clemency, and the brothers set out on their journey furnished with a safe-conduct and the following letters to the duke's envoy at Rome:

“M. Lodovico Castelvetro, Doctor of Law, a native of Modena, and our subject, goes to Rome to justify himself from the imputation of heresy, which has been brought against him by the officers of the Inquisition. As he is our well-beloved and favoured subject and servant, and as we understand unjustly persecuted by bad men, we recommend him to your assistance and protection. See that he is not tormented or put to expense, nor worse treated than others who have presented themselves before the said Office. If an opportunity offers of mentioning him to these ministers, do so in our name, and speak seasonably in his favour, and above all give them to understand that by quickly judging and dispatching this case they will confer no slight obligation on me. God be with you. Alfonso. Ferrara, 12th September, 1560.”

Tiraboschi gives also the answer:

“M. Lodovico Castelvetro has presented the letter which your Excellency ordered to be written on his behalf. I shall not fail to use my good offices in his favour. I have already done something for him, and shall continue to follow his directions, and not fail to let your Excellency know the result.”

Castelvetro, on his arrival at Rome, presented himself before the officers (cardinals) of the Inquisition. He was at first

¹ Born at Bologna 1512, died at Rome 1564.

courteously received, and not sent to prison, as is usual, but confined in the convent of St. Maria in Via, with full liberty to see his friends. Many gentlemen and literati visited him, both from esteem for his learning and sympathy with his perplexing position. He was frequently examined¹ by Fra Tommaso Viganò, who had the charge of his trial; and he, in unison with the chancellor, used every effort to prove his guilt; their interrogatories however elicited nothing to criminate him, but only proved his upright life and profound learning. Disappointed at not gaining their object, they had recourse to their strongest argument, that of terror, and tried by threats of severity to frighten him into confessing the crimes laid to his charge. Conscious of innocence he remained firm, but hearing that Cardinal Alessandrino Ghislieri was going to remove him to the prison of the Inquisition in the Ripetta he became exceedingly alarmed.² Once confined in this dismal edifice no one would be allowed to speak to him; alone with his tormentors, torture he knew would not be spared, and no wonder his courage shrank from the fiery ordeal. He fell into a deep melancholy, and could think of nothing but the power of his enemies and the dreadful fate of being shut up within the narrow walls of an Inquisitor's cell. He reproached his brother for persuading him to place himself in so dangerous a position, and decided immediately to make his escape; to avoid suspicion they went out of the convent in the middle of the day, and took the road to Lombardy. Avoiding the highways, and travelling in by-roads and unfrequented paths, they happily succeeded in escaping the search of the pontifical officers. Letters were issued from Rome ordering their immediate arrest whenever they appeared, but they reached Lombardy in safety, and hid themselves for the winter in a villa near Modena. Count Ercole Contrario received Lodovico and hospitably entertained him for some time at Vignola,³ his patrimonial estate, and concealed him in

¹ The examinations were three in number; they took place on the 11th, 14th, and 17th of October, 1560.

² “. . . E sentendosi stretto dalle interrogazioni e più ancora dalla testimonianza di un empio libro di Melantone da se volgarrizzato (sotto nome di Terranera) con quel suo carattere di stile che non può essere contraffatto, per ismania di timore prese la fuga.”—Pallavicino, *Concilio di Trento*, tom. ii. c. x. p. 46.

³ Forciolo, *MS. Memoirs*.

his house at Ferrara, a city which at that time was the common shelter of learned men.

Castelvetro's flight hurried on his trial at Rome. Caro and his party used the advantage his absence gave them; he was condemned as guilty of the crime of which he was accused, and excommunicated for heresy. Forciroli and Tassoni, ms. writers of that period, say the sentence against him was published in due form on the 26th of November, 1560. He was declared a fugitive and an impenitent heretic, who had incurred all the spiritual and temporal punishments adjudged to such criminals. Orders were issued to arrest and send him prisoner to Rome wherever he could be found, and he was publicly burned in effigy as a condemned heretic. Letters were at the same time sent to the Duke of Ferrara commanding him to arrest the fugitive brothers.

Annibale Caro, Castelvetro's successful adversary, was not suffered long to enjoy his triumph: puffed up with inordinate conceit, when refused a favour by his patron, Cardinal Farnese, he threatened in a passion to leave his service. Farnese immediately dismissed him, severely reproving his ingratitude for so many favours, and especially for having induced him to slight the greatest scholar of the age. Jacopo Boschetti, who was present at this rupture, relates that the conflict was too sharp for peace ever to be restored. The miserable old man died 28th November 1566.

Cardinal Ippolito,¹ uncle of the Duke of Ferrara, was extremely displeased at Castelvetro's flight, and wrote the following letter to the duke:

“Your Excellency will have heard the sequel of Castelvetro's affair. After having given himself up a short time ago in order to clear himself from the imputations cast on him, and after having obtained, at my request, the signal favour of being allowed to defend his cause without being imprisoned, as soon as the examinations began he fled from Rome. This appeared to the reverend gentlemen of the Holy Inquisition to be a

¹ Ippolito the younger, son of Alfonso I. and brother of Ercole II., succeeded his uncle Ippolito the elder as archbishop of Milan. His splendour and magnificence were so great that few princes could vie with him in point of expence. Though not himself a man of learning his court was the resort of the most learned men of the age, and he was profuse in his liberality to them. Muret, who spent fifteen years in his service, compares him advantageously to Francis I. The beautiful villa which he built at Tivoli was a monument of his taste and munificence. He died in 1572.

tacit confession of his guilt; they have therefore proceeded against him in the usual manner of dealing with convicted heretics. Though these gentlemen have full confidence in the justice of your Excellency, they have nevertheless desired me to entreat you to act towards him in the same manner. I beseech you therefore to satisfy the father Inquisitor, who will be dispatched to your court about this matter, and also see to the confiscation of his property, part of which will go to your Excellency and part to the before-mentioned Office. The more he has been favoured by you and by me, and opportunities afforded for vindicating himself, the more it seems to me that his proceedings deserve rigorous measures, and it is certain that in these affairs of religion too much can never be done. I kiss the hands of your Excellency, and pray that God may happily preserve you. Your Excellency's affectionate servant and uncle, Ippolito, Cardinal of Ferrara."

Previous to this letter, on the 13th of October, Alfonso Bevilacqua, the governor of Modena, wrote to the duke that the Inquisitor had shewed him a letter from the congregation of the Inquisition, in which he, the Inquisitor, was ordered to arrest Lodovico and Giammaria Castelvetro, if they came to Modena, and begged to know what was to be done. The duke replied, on the 6th of November, that if Lodovico went to Modena they must arrest him: this was a safe permission, for it was well known that he was concealed in Ferrara; but the duke added that he saw no reason for arresting Giammaria, who was guilty indeed of being a companion of his brother's flight, but had the merit of persuading his brother to go to Rome, and of undergoing the fatigue of the journey three several times in the same year. The governor afterwards wrote that Giammaria had come to Modena, but the Inquisitor had promised to give him (the governor) intimation before proceeding against him. The bishop of Anglone's dispatch from Rome stated that Giammaria must not hope for any consideration, and that Cardinal Ippolito d'Este was so displeased at his taking flight with his brother that he would not interpose in his behalf, and even Cardinal Rodolfo Pio, of Carpi, Giammaria's first patron, hung back and would have nothing to do with this affair. He was cited to Rome as his brother's accomplice, but not venturing to obey the summons, he shared the penalties incurred by Lodovico, and to the great injury of his family and fortune was driven forth an exile and a wanderer for the remainder of his days. No sentence was however published against him, and it was not till the reign of Pius V., in 1566, that he was threatened by the Inquisition with further proceedings.

Meanwhile both brothers found it impossible for them to remain in Italy. After the decree of excommunication, they were deprived of all shelter and protection, and resolved to take refuge at Chiavenna, the capital of the Grison country.

The question has been seriously debated between Muratori, who wrote his life, and Fontanini, author of *Eloquenza Italiana*, whether Lodovico Castelvetro did or did not hold heretical opinions. Muratori, disclaiming the character of defender, and owning himself but imperfectly acquainted with the articles of accusation and with the defence, remarks that during the reign of Paul IV. there were many other men of high religious character who fell under the displeasure of the Pope, and were suspected of heresy; men such as Pole, Morone, Foscarari, staunchly devoted to the church as a system, but opposed to persecution, and indulgent to those who differed in opinion from them. He contends also that Castelvetro was not condemned by the Inquisition as convicted, or as having confessed heretical opinions, but only as contumacious.

Fontanini, on the other hand, a man of narrow and bigoted views, who thought no one right who diverged from his own way of thinking, was furious against him as a pestilent heretic. He copies from Pallavicino the accusation that he fled from Rome because he was closely pressed in his examination, and questioned about a work of Melancthon's which he had translated into Italian, and which he could not deny, as the translation bore strong marks of his style of writing. Fontanini adds that the book alluded to was the *Loci communes* of Melancthon, printed in Italian under the name of Filippo di Terra negra. Muratori observes that Pallavicino does not specify what work of Melancthon's Castelvetro translated, and that Fontanini had not been able to prove by the testimony of any author that this Italian version really belonged to Castelvetro. It is certain however that he was rightly accused of translating a pamphlet written by Melancthon, for in the archives of the castle St. Angelo a MS. was found which in all probability formed the real ground of the accusations against him. It is a thin 4to MS. with this title: *Labricciuolo di Phi. M.¹ dell' Autorità della chiesa, e degli scritti degli Antichi, volgarizzato per Reprigione Rheo con*

¹ A little book of Phi. M. on the authority of the Church, and on the writings of the ancients, translated by Reprigione Rheo, to which is added some explanations.

L'aggiunta di alcune chiose. After the glossary there is a text taken from the 7th chapter of St. John's gospel. Then follows Melancthon's dedication to the most illustrious prince Albert, duke of Prussia, marquis of Brandenburg. It was no doubt one of the books which were circulated in secret and read with avidity. An extract will interest the reader.

It begins in the old-fashioned style, Astyages king of the Medes, &c.

"Such is the tyranny which for many centuries the Popes and their followers have exercised over the church. They require the people to approve indifferently all their decrees, even those which are manifestly bad, and all the evil habits and the dreams of monks, and to adore them as inspirations from heaven. Oh, what an immense number of vicious articles have entered the church without any known or renowned author; many have been introduced by obscure individuals, till in process of time they have gradually been established as truth: for instance, having recourse to saints for assistance, the abuse in many ways of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the merchandise of the mass, the licentious lives of priests, forbidding to marry, and many other things. These wicked deeds being sheltered under the name of the church, I have put together some points relating to this subject, as also the opinions of some old councils and writers which I hope will have great influence with those who value antiquity, &c." At the end we find: "Reprigione Rheo wishes peace in Christ to his readers."

"If those, for whose benefit I have taken the trouble to translate into Italian from the Latin the present noble little book, had been able fully to understand it, I should willingly have refrained from giving you these few notes or glosses, call them what you like, in order not to make, as the saying is, a bad joint to a good article. But as there are Greek words and other little things distributed throughout the work, which would not be understood by persons uninstructed in languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, it required some explanations, which I resolved to write. The grace of God be with you."¹ At the end of the book there is an explanation of Greek words and other particulars. Outside the ms. a contemporary hand has written, By Lodovico Castelvetro Modena: on the next page

¹ See Appendix F.

there are also a few words written in times far back: "This book was translated by M. Lodovico Castelvetro of Modena, although it bears a feigned name as the translator. We know this to be true from infallible marks; this book is all written in Lodovico's handwriting, as I was told by the person who gave it to me."

Tiraboschi said he was inclined to think the book really translated by Castelvetro, because the style was exactly similar to his other writings. But all doubt on this point was removed on confronting it with other MSS. in Castelvetro's handwriting, for they were found precisely to correspond. From this fact he unwillingly comes to the conclusion that his fidelity to the Church of Rome was not so undoubted, nor his opinions so sound, as his friends wished them to be.

Let us now return to Muratori's account, adding thereunto some additional information furnished by Tiraboschi.

The fugitives on leaving Italy went first to Chiavenna, a small town on the lake of Como, belonging to the Grisons. Here they had the pleasure of finding their old friend Francesco Porto, the Greek before mentioned. The Grison country is a small territory wrested from Como by conquest. It was annexed in 1797 to the Swiss republic, and is inhabited chiefly by persons engaged in commerce; they trade in wine, fruit, and kitchen earthenware made of a coarse clay found in the neighbourhood. This was by no means a place congenial to the taste of Castelvetro, and he began to think of going to France, where he had several friends, and from whence he had received many invitations from those who sympathised with his misfortunes and desired to assist him. Porto set out for France on his own account, and undertook to prepare the way for his friend; but in passing through Geneva he was so earnestly entreated to remain and lecture on the Greek language, that he accepted the proposal, and settled there with his family.

Castelvetro's friends in France¹ continued to press him to come among them, and even sent him money for his journey; but besides being troubled with an internal complaint, which gave him excruciating pain, he began to feel the infirmities of advancing years. This indisposed him for the fatigue of

¹ Fontanini says they were the eminent printers Etienne, father and son, who had often been in Italy, and sympathised with Castelvetro's misfortunes.

a journey, and he sent his brother to carry back the money and apologise to his friends for not accepting their generous kindness. But he had another and more powerful reason for not wishing to leave Chiavenna, and that was its vicinity to Trent, where the Council was sitting, and from whence he looked for relief from his perplexities. In 1561 he made several efforts to be allowed to declare his opinions before the Council, and prove the injustice of the sentence passed upon him at Rome. In answer to his application the Pope told the cardinal of Mantua, Gonzaga, that his cause having been already brought before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome, he must present himself there and not at Trent; but if he would submit, and appear, he should be treated with the utmost lenity. If innocent, he would not only be absolved but rewarded, and if he had fallen into error, a private recantation would suffice. These were fair promises, but with Ghislieri at the head of the Inquisition Castelvetro did not dare to trust himself within the precincts of the lion's den.

Pallavicino, in his history of the Council of Trent, quotes a letter written by Cardinal Borromeo in September 1561, which contains the following paragraph: "Among those who desired to appear before the Council, not to argue but to justify themselves, I must not omit the name of one who is celebrated for his literary compositions; which deserve a more successful and honourable reputation than is enjoyed by their author." He alluded to Lodovico Castelvetro, who had taken refuge in Protestant states.

Egidio Foscarara, bishop of Modena, two years after wrote to Beccadelli, nuncio at the court of Florence, in the following terms:

"'Charity,' says St. Paul, 'seeketh not her own, but the things of others.' On this account I feel obliged to speak of public matters before I enter on my own particular affairs." Then after some observations on public matters, he continues, "Now, my Lord, I come to my own concerns. You know how much I have at heart the case of Castelvetro. In the first conversation I had with Morone I tried to persuade him that there was a way of attaining what was desired. But he declined to undertake it because he was already suspected, and knew that every interference on his part would be ill interpreted. He advised me however to do what I am now venturing upon; that is, to apply to you. He thinks the best means to employ in this affair would be the influence of the Duke of Ferrara. The slightest recommendation

on his part would obtain what is required; this is not much, only, that his cause be revised by persons deputed from the inquisitors, who would be content with his appearing at Trent. He would submit to be judged by persons of their selection, provided he was not obliged to go to Rome. I humbly beseech you to use your endeavours in so good a work, which, from its nature, is one of good intentions, and will free an individual from the great peril in which the salvation of his soul is placed; aye, more than one soul. This is one of the greatest sacrifices we can offer to our Lord and Master, because not only do we deliver this one soul, but we open the way for many to reconcile themselves to the Church. On this account I beg you, most reverend sir, to undertake this affair, and with the expression of my best wishes I humbly kiss your hands. Trent, 7th July, 1563. Your reverence's affectionate servant, bishop of Modena."

It does not appear that the intercessions of Castelvetro's friends were attended with any success in his favour, and when the Council of Trent was closed in 1563 he was obliged to give up all hopes of being relieved from the excommunication. After having been two years at Chiavenna he went to Lyons, with the intention of fixing himself there, but the exact period of his stay there is not exactly known. During his residence at Lyons he revised his work on Aristotle's poetry,¹ which he had copied three times with his own hand.² This work was so much valued by him that when his house at Lyons took fire he thought of nothing but preserving this MS., calling out "*La Poetica, la Poetica, save my Poetica.*" This work was most highly extolled by some, and as severely criticised by others. Castelvetro was driven from Lyons by the licence of the soldiers. War had broken out afresh in France between the Catholics and Huguenots. The king had unadvisedly sent a herald to the Protestants, offering them the alternative of laying down their arms or openly declaring themselves in revolt. Negotiations were commenced; the Protestants required their religion to be publicly and legally sanctioned. This was refused, both parties prepared for war, and the battle of St. Denis, in which the Protestants were beaten, was the consequence. Montmorency was killed in defence of his opinion, that one religion *alone* should be allowed in a state, and all others put down by force. The military in this national dis-

¹ "*La Poetica d' Aristotele vulgarizzata e sposta per Lodovico Castelvetro. In Vienna d' Austria per Gasparo Staincoer, 1570.*"

² One of these copies is dated Lyons, 2nd Jan. 1567, and perhaps this was the year of his arrival.

order committed many excesses.¹ Castelvetro did not escape. He and his brother had only arrived a short time before from Italy. They were on their way to the French court to petition the king to intercede for them with the pope, but when they saw the soldiers enter private houses for the purpose of pillage, they determined to fly. Two halberdiers escorted them for a certain distance out of Lyons; they were joined by other fugitives on the road and travelled in company, but were overtaken by banditti, robbed of every thing they carried with them, and narrowly escaped with their lives. Poor Castelvetro lost his horses and harness, a quantity of books, and, what was worst of all, the whole of his writings, among which there was an Italian grammar, a comment on the greater part of Plato's dialogues, and a criticism on the comedies of Plautus and Terence, of which some fragments only remain. He was utterly cast down by this last misfortune, and so weak in health that he could scarcely stand, though they had still three leagues to go before they were out of danger. In the utmost despair they gave themselves up for lost, when a gentleman of Ferrara, whom they knew, most happily rode by; he also had left Lyons on account of the approach of war; recognising Lodovico and finding him in so miserable a plight, he ordered two of his servants to dismount, offered their horses to Lodovico and his brother, and accompanied them to a place of safety.

On this most unfortunate day he lost also the Italian version of the New Testament, about which he had been so long occupied. One copy however still remained in the hands of a friend.

Castelvetro now pursued his way to Geneva, where he was most affectionately welcomed by Francesco Porto, and remained several days with him, occupying himself in providing clothes and other necessaries, of which he had been deprived. As soon as he was refreshed and refitted he returned to Chiavenna. Here he found great enjoyment in the society of Colonel Ridolfo Salice, a gentleman of noble family in the service of Maximilian II. Castelvetro's great reputation for learning and erudition attracted students to Chiavenna. He was not only so thoroughly a Greek scholar as to have translated the exposition of Chrysostom on the Gospels into Italian, but had made a considerable progress

¹ The second religious war began in 1567, and the second peace was made in 1568.

in the knowledge of Hebrew at Modena, under the instructions of David a Jew. At the urgent request of the young men he gave them a daily lesson on Homer, and one on rhetoric, but this occupation did not satisfy his ambition, and he could not lay aside the hope of doing something better.

His brother Giammaria when formerly at Vienna, had received some marks of favour from the emperor Maximilian: this suggested the idea of going there to push their fortunes and find patronage. Castelvetro, whose reputation as a scholar had reached the Emperor's court, was most graciously received by Maximilian, who entered with the most lively interest into the peculiarity of his position, and wrote to Alfonso II.¹ entreating him to allow Giammaria Castelvetro to return to his country for a short time that he might arrange his affairs. The emperors of those days showed no particular desire to submit to Rome; it was rather their policy to check and resist the encroachments of the papacy. They were also patrons of learning, especially Maximilian, who was said to have some leanings towards the reformed opinions. His encouragement of Castelvetro and his patronage of the comment on Aristotle's poetry, which was printed and published at Vienna, show that he was sufficiently unprejudiced to countenance a work which he admired, even though it was not sanctioned by the court of Rome.

Fontanini says both² the editions of this work were prohibited. In noting its heretical tendency he observes that Castelvetro's manner of writing proves him to be a partisan of protestant opinions, and particularly observes that he uses the language of heretics in speaking of the Lord's Supper: "the term, Supper, not being adopted by good Catholics, who look upon the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist as a true sacrifice of the real body and blood of our Lord."³

¹ This letter is still in the Ducal Archives, dated 27th of April, 1570. Castelvetro's device on the title-page of this edition and the one published after his death was an owl seated on an overturned urn, with the motto *κεκρτηκα*, 'I have judged.' This device is also found on all his books printed at Modena by Gadaldino.—Fontanini, *Eloq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 243.

² One in 1570 at Vienna, the other after the author's death at Basle 1576.

³ "Lodovico, da buon eretico Sacramentario, mette per impossibile, ancora a Dio, che un corpo naturale, che ha le sue misure, lunghezza, e profondità, sia in un tempo medesimo in più luoghi: di che a' tempi nostri si è così acerbamente tenzonato per cagione della disputa della presenza reale del corpo del nostro Signore nella cena e simili altre cose."—Fontanini, *Eloq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 244.

Though the position of the brothers had become more hopeful since Maximilian had extended his patronage to them, it appears they were not to find a sure resting-place anywhere out of the Grison country. The plague which broke out in Vienna drove them back to Chiavenna. Lodovico was invited to Basle by some Italian friends. This city was at that time the resort of the oppressed, and filled with learned men from all nations, and Castelvetro's genius would there have found free scope and been appreciated by his learned contemporaries; but before he could set out the agonies of his complaint returned with fresh violence. This produced fever attended with pain, which alarmed his medical advisers. Their fears were but too well grounded, for in four days he died.¹

He was followed to the grave by his pupils at Chiavenna, who both loved and esteemed him. An oration was publicly pronounced from the pulpit in his praise. The country of the Grisons, like other Roman Catholic countries before the reformation, was sunk in corruption and ignorance. The first public improvement in the valleys of the Rhetian Alps was in 1524, when the inhabitants unanimously embraced the Protestant doctrine. M'Crie says that John Frick, the parish priest of Mayenfield, was converted to the Protestant faith by a journey to Rome. He went there "to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult on the best method of preventing his native country from being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, returning home, he joined the party he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfield. In his old age he used pleasantly to say to his friends that he learned the Gospel at Rome." In 1526 an edict in favour of religious liberty was published in the Grisons with this important clause: "That the ministers of religion shall teach nothing to the people but what is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and what can be proved by them; and that parish priests shall be enjoined to give themselves assiduously to the study of the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and manners."²

A year after the mass was abolished, images removed, and

¹ On the 21st of February, 1571, aged sixty-six years.

² M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*, ed. Blackwood, pp. 191—193.

the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered after the manner of the Swiss churches; but it was not till 1542, when the Italian exiles flocked across the mountains, that the reformed opinions exercised any proselyting influence.

At the period of Castelvetro's death the renowned Inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, was Pope; persecution was at its height, and the Grisons¹ and the Valtellina² were filled with fugitives from Italy.

A monument to the memory of Castelvetro is still to be seen in the garden of Girolamo Stampa, but it is not certain whether it is the same that was erected shortly after his death with the following inscription:

MEMORIE LUDOVICI CASTELVETRI MUTINENSIS
 VIRI SCIENTIE, JUDICII, MORUM, AC VITÆ INCOMPARABILIS
 QUI DUM PATRIAM OB IMPROBORUM HOMINUM SEVITIAM FUGIT
 POST DECENNALEM PEREGRINATIONEM
 TANDEM IN LIBRO SOLO LIBERÆ MORIENS, LIBERE QUIESCIT
 ANNO ÆTATIS SUE LXV.
 SALUTIS VERO NOSTRÆ MDLXXI. DIE XXI FEBR.

Castelvetro made his will at Modena in 1555, in favour of his brother Giammaria, his heir, who had devoted himself with so much self-sacrifice to his interests. He left him all his books, stipulating only that his friends should have the free use of them. This will was made when he dreaded that the sweeping decree of the Inquisition might carry off the whole of his property. He thought it prudent therefore to divide all his money, which amounted to 8,000 gold crowns, between his two brothers. This will he confirmed at Chiavenna.

Lodovico Castelvetro was an accomplished as well as a learned man; he passed his youth in the society of nobles and literary men, and was well skilled in the accomplishments and feats of arms then in fashion, such as throwing the lance, swimming and wrestling. He was not ambitious of riches nor desirous of pleasure; though offered honourable and lucrative employments by many great men, he would never sacrifice his independence

¹ The Rhetian or Grison tongue is divided into two dialects, the Romansh and the Ladin, but there was not a single work in either of them at the time of the Reformation. Biveroni printed his translation of the New Testament in the Rhetian language in 1660.—M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*, pp. 196, 197.

² So called from Valle Tellina or "Valle Turrena, o sia Volturrena, talmente nominata da i padri Volturreni Hetrusci del tempio di Volturrena."—Alberi, *Descrittione*, p. 418.

or wear a gold chain. In vain Cardinal Bernardino Maffei, who had been his fellow student at Siena, tried to draw him to Rome; no promises could induce him to try public life.

Like our friend Paleario, he had a great desire to travel, but would never leave his mother. At her death he went to Pisa to make the acquaintance of Robertello,¹ who was lecturing on the classics there with great applause, and visited other places in Italy. His biographer describes him as a man of pure and upright life, ardent in the service of his friends, and ever ready to assist the oppressed or afflicted. He obeyed the apostle's precept, to be 'temperate in all things,' and spoke little except when excited by the society of some of his dearest friends. His intellect was too lively for him to require much sleep. Of a firm and constant mind, no persecution or misfortune could shake his purpose or change his opinions; and he preferred exile to retracting his religious sentiments or submitting to the Inquisition. Of a mild, forgiving, though hasty temper, he never bore malice. He was considered too fastidious and too critical in literature and poetical composition. Torquato Tasso says that he had too much pleasure in cutting up the works of others, but nevertheless, his judgment was frequently taken in rhetoric, poetry, and especially in grammar.

Notwithstanding the high eulogium passed on his talents and erudition by his biographer, we may perhaps, on looking at the list of his works,² doubt whether the real riches of his mind were ever properly worked out. Erudition and intellect are very different things. We often see that a man may be what is called a good scholar without one enlarged or original idea; perhaps the very fact of poring continually over other people's ideas prevents the generation of individual conceptions. In general those are minds of ordinary compass which occupy themselves exclusively about etymological and grammatical definitions. The fastidious critic who fixes his attention entirely on words and phrases passes over ideas. There was a good deal of this in Castelvetro's time; the refined subtlety of the Italian taste led them into this snare. Too slavish an attention to trifles withers the mind and narrows the region of thought: whereas suggestive combinations and philosophic reflections enlarge and ennoble the

¹ Born 1516, died 1567. He was Paleario's predecessor at Lucca, and went to Pisa in 1543.

² See Appendix G.

intellectual powers. The scholar in the middle ages who limited himself to grammar and criticism, might be likened to a gardener who thinks only of weeding his walks and trimming his edgings, while the parterres and the fruit-trees remain neglected. Such we are persuaded would not have been the case with Castelvetro had he lived in a free country, where he would have been able to study philosophy and scripture theology.¹

His censure of *Le Prose del Bembo* was considered unnecessarily severe, and it must be owned, says Tiraboschi, that he carried criticism so far as even to produce confusion sometimes in his own mind about the meaning of words.² He studied the Provençal dialect with Barbieri, and translated many sonnets of Araldo, Daniello, and other Provençal poets. Had he not been driven into exile he would have completed his Provençal grammar, and written the lives of some of their poets in Italian. His exquisite verses have been highly commended by eminent scholars, particularly by Bembo and M. Antonio Flaminio. In short his moral and literary character entitled him to be considered both a good and a great man. Living in times of deep corruption both of religion and morals, his superior tastes and principles preserved him from the vices of the day. The study of the Gospel taught him to think for himself on the great subject of religion, and his faith was founded on the dictates of divine inspiration, not on the canons and decretals of Rome.

Muratori, speaking of his personal appearance, says he was of a moderate height, square built, dark, and almost bald. He had large piercing black eyes, an aquiline nose, and a long black beard. Some pictures of him are still preserved at Modena. His biographer, who furnishes us with the principal incidents in this short memoir,³ wrote a hundred and sixty years after his

¹ He translated from the Greek a work by Chrysostom, entitled, *Sposizione del Vangelo del Crisostomo abbreviata da Teoflato Arcivescovo di Bulgaria.*

² Tiraboschi says: "Lasciandosi trasportare dal troppo acuto suo ingegno, si abbandona a tai sottigliezze, dalle quali altro frutto non si ritrae, chi di stringere e di imbrigliare per modo, chi scrivendo si vuol ad esse attenere, che non sappia egli pure come avvanzarsi, e gitti per disperazione la penna."—Tiraboschi, *Leti. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 354.

³ See *Opere critiche inedite di Castelvetro colla vita dell'autore Scritta dal Sig. Proposto Lodovico A. Muratori.* Bibliot. del Duca di Modena. In Berna 1727. Pietro Foppens. They were printed at Milan, but when found, says Fontanini, not conformable to the Catholic faith, the title-page was changed first to Berne and afterwards to Lyons. Foppens, he adds, was a printer of Brussels.—Fontanini, *Eloq. Ital.* vol. ii. p. 41.

death. He was chiefly animated by a desire to do honour to his native city, Modena, by portraying the character of one of its most distinguished citizens. There can be little doubt that if Muratori had not been a Roman Catholic he might have produced still more interesting particulars relating to the Protestant opinions of this refined poet and literary genius. One letter, of which he gives an extract, makes us regret those which are lost. "For my part if I were to speak the truth, as far as I understand your words, 'these untrodden paths' do not seem to me to express the simple doctrine of Christ, and are rather the chimeras and reveries of an ingenious poet than of a christian. What chains and ties are these you write to me about? Either these secrets cannot be known because God has hid them from us, or the plain and beaten paths of the Gospel are the way to lead us to them."¹ Though Castelvetro was cautious in openly expressing his religious opinions, there can be little doubt from this letter that he was greatly enlightened in divine truth, and that evangelical doctrine occupied much of his thoughts.²

¹ "Lo se vi debbo dire il vero, quanto ho compreso dalle vostre parole 'queste vie noncalpestate' non mi pajono della semplice dottrina di Cristo, ma piuttosto chimere e dimostrazioni piuttosto d'un ingegno poetico che Cristiano, che catena, che anelle son queste che me scrivete? O che questi secreti non si possono sapere, che Dio ci gli ha nascosi, o che le vie piane e frequentate dell' Evangelio sono buono a menarci ad essi."

² As a proof of his heretical sentiments Fontanini cites the following striking passage from the preface to his *Poetica*. Speaking of the readiness of the Reformers to meet death rather than renounce their religious opinions, Castelvetro says—

"Questo si è veduto in coloro, a quali fu rivelata per benignità divina la luce dell' Evangelio, conciosiacosachè in quelle contrade dove si videro alcuni con gagliardo, e sicuro animo sostenere il martirio, molti s'incorarono altresì per esempio suo, a sostenerlo con fermezza d'animo. Ma in quelle contrade dove i primi, chiamati a render testimonianza della verità, si smarrirono per l'asprezza de' tormenti, e rinnegarono Cristo, furono di grande scandalo agli altri con l'esempio loro, e furono cagione, che gli altri similmente rinnegassero Cristo per paura de' tormenti."—*Poetica*, ed. Vienna, p. 2; ed. Bâle, p. 118, ap. Fontanini, *Bloq. Ital.* tom. i. p. 245.

"This (constancy) was seen in those to whom by Divine mercy the light of the Gospel had been revealed. For in those places where martyrdom was sustained with a courageous and steady mind, their example incited many to the same firmness. But in places where the first who were called on to render testimony to the truth fell away from fear of severe torture and denied Christ, their example gave great occasion of scandal, and caused others also to deny Christ from fear of torment."

CHAPTER XIII.

RENÉE DUCHESS OF FERRARA.

1510—1575.

RENÉE—HER TALENTS—ALPONSO, DUKE OF FERRARA—TREACHERY OF THE POPE—
FABRIZIO COLONNA—ALPONSO'S NOBLE CONDUCT—HE REGAINS MODENA—RENÉE
OF FRANCE—HER MARRIAGE WITH HERCULES OF FERRARA—BELVIDERE—CHA-
RACTER OF RENÉE—HER LEANING TO THE REFORMED OPINIONS—CALVIN PAYS
A CONGRUENT VISIT TO FERRARA—THE BROTHERS SINAPI—THEIR CONVERSION—
CALVIN—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE DUCHESS—EXHORTS HER TO STEDFASTNESS
—CLEMENT MAROT AT FERRARA—HIS METRICAL VERSION OF THE PSALMS—PRO-
HIBITED—FRENCH ATTENDANTS OF THE DUCHESS DISMISSED—HER DISTRESS—
OLIMPIA MORATO—INVITED TO COURT TO BE THE COMPANION OF PRINCESS ANNE
—INCURS THE DISPLEASURE OF RENÉE—OLIMPIA RESOLVES TO FOLLOW THE
GOSPEL—MARRIAGE—DEPARTURE FROM ITALY—HER MISFORTUNES—DEATH—
CORRESPONDENCE—PAUL III. AT FERRARA—COMEDY ACTED BY THE ROYAL
CHILDREN—TASSO—HIS LOVE—ROYAL PRINCESSES—PERSECUTION OF THE
DUCHESS—HER NEPHEW HENRY II. SENDS THE INQUISITOR ORI TO THERATEN
HER—SHE IS CONFINED IN THE CASTLE—HEARS MASS—CALVIN'S LETTERS OF
ADMONITION AND REMONSTRANCE—GALIAZZO CARACCIOLI VISITS FERRARA—IS
BARRER OF A LETTER FROM CALVIN—THE DUCHESS BECOMES A WIDOW—HER
RELIGIOUS VIEWS OPPOSED BY HER SON ALPONSO—SHE RETIRES TO FRANCE—
PROTECTS THE HUGUENOTS—HER NOBLE REPLY TO THE DUKE OF GUISE—DEATH.

THE reformed opinions had not only reached Modena, but were extensively diffused at the court of Ferrara, the munificent asylum of talent and literature. The marriage of Ercole, the son of Alfonso I., with Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII., brought great encouragement to the Protestant cause, for it introduced into Italy a princess acquainted with the Scriptures, and accustomed to reverence their divine authority.

The dukedom of Ferrara had long been coveted by the Papal See. Giulio II. had contrived to grasp Modena,¹ and was

¹ In 1510, the year of Renée's birth, during the war in Romagna, the pontifical troops advanced to Castelfranco. A secret understanding with the Rangone family

proceeding to take Ferrara also, but the valiant Alfonso, by unwearied diligence and continual efforts, maintained himself in possession. But the contest between him and the Papacy was so severe that he was constrained at times to apply both to France and Germany for aid to resist the attacks of his rapacious foe. Alfonso fought by the side of Gaston de Foix at the battle of Ravenna, when the pontifical troops were totally routed.

Ravenna was defended by Marc' Antonio and Fabrizio Colonna. Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, attacked the old walls with his artillery till he made a breach therein; the engagement lasted four hours, in which equal valor was displayed on both sides. The viceroy Cardona, anxious to save Ravenna, brought up the troops of the league. The French army had been five days without any food except boiled wheat, the horses were not better provided for, and the safety of the army depended on a successful engagement. On Easter-day, the 11th of April 1512, they advanced towards the trenches where the Spanish army awaited them in order of battle. But Alfonso, determined not to allow the enemy the advantage of this protection, pointed his artillery with such murderous precision, that first Fabrizio Colonna, and then the other generals, with the permission of the viceroy, came forward in the open field and the engagement became general. National hatred and the love of fame animated the combatants to perform prodigies of valour, but the impetuosity of the French carried everything before them; victory was on their side. The vanquished lost all their artillery and ensigns, and the ground was strewed with the bodies of the slain. The battle of Ravenna was considered one of the most bloody engagements ever fought in Italy, for sixteen thousand men¹ are said to have perished on the battle-field.²

The joy of the victors was much overshadowed by the un-

secured them the keys of Modena, and on the night of the 18th of August they took possession of the town. The Emperor Maximilian remonstrated, the city was put into his hands on condition that it should not be given up to Alfonso.—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 80.

¹ Muratori says, "Certamente è uno sbaglio di stampa il dirsi nella storia del Guicciardino, che tra l'uno e l'altro esercito perirono almeno dieci mila persone. Tanto il Giovinio, che il Mocenigo, il Bembo, il Buonacorsi, il Nardi, ed altri Storici, mettono almen sedici migliaja di morti."—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 110.

² At the battle of Solferino in 1859, 50,000 men are said to have fallen.

expected death of their valiant young general. In the enthusiasm of success, eager to let none of the enemy escape, he imprudently followed a compact body of Spanish cavalry who were retiring in good order. A musket-shot from the flying troop brought the young hero to the ground, and cast the whole army into mourning. Many persons of note yielded themselves prisoners to the French; Giovanni de' Medici, Papal legate, afterwards Leo X., and several distinguished Italian and Spanish captains, among whom we find the young marquis of Pescara. Fabrizio Colonna was Alfonso's prisoner, who behaved towards his distinguished captive with the utmost courtesy and nobleness of mind; he overruled the desire of Palisse the French general to get the Colonna into his power, saw that his wounds were carefully dressed, and not only gave him his liberty but restored to him the sum of 30,000 ducats of gold which had been paid for his ransom, and furnished him with a detachment of troops for protection on his journey.

Fabrizio, grateful for this generous treatment, on his arrival at Rome united with the marquis of Mantua in requesting a safe conduct for Alfonso that he might repair to Rome. They succeeded so far in softening the Pope's displeasure that their request was granted, and the safe-conduct was sent to Isabella for her brother's benefit, and she brought it herself to Ferrara.

His people were somewhat doubtful if he should trust to it, but when he received from Rome the copy of a paper by which not only Fabrizio and his son Ascanio, but also Prospero and Vespasiano, had declared themselves sureties for his safety, Alfonso no longer hesitated. He set out accompanied by a troop of horse, and was met at the gates of Rome by his nephew Federigo Gonzaga, a hostage of the Colonna's who conducted him to the palace of the cardinal of Mantua, where he was hospitably lodged and entertained. When Alfonso presented himself before the Pope he was accompanied by all the members of the Colonna family; he kissed the Pope's feet, received absolution, and obtained permission to remain at Rome during pleasure. This apparent reconciliation however made no change in the ambitious projects of the Pope, but rather facilitated their execution. The magnanimous conduct of the Colonna family and their powerful protection alone saved Alfonso from utter destruction. Alberto Pio of Carpi, at that time

imperial envoy at the court of Rome, had family claims on Carpi, and powerful reasons for instigating the Pope's ambition. Alberto Pio¹ was a learned man who exercised his transcendent abilities in intrigues by day, while he passed the night in severe study. His persuasive gift of ready eloquence made his influence almost unbounded, and the Pope lent a willing ear to his counsels.

While Alfonso was making his peace at Rome, Giovanni cardinal de' Medici, legate of Bologna, took Cento and Pieve. The duke of Urbino, the Pope's general, advanced to Reggio, and though the imperial governor of Modena sent him word that Reggio belonged to the empire, he forced the city to surrender, and then took Carpi, Brescello, San Felice, and Finale, all places belonging to Alfonso. The Pope, delighted with this success, resolved to have Ferrara also. But the bare allusion to the cession of Ferrara excited the duke's indignation. He refused to sacrifice his dukedom, and in virtue of his safe-conduct requested permission to leave Rome. It was refused: and when the Colonna and the Spanish ambassador solicited an audience to represent that the Pope's word and their honour were both pledged for Alfonso's safety, they were received with rudeness and menace.

Encouraged by the insidious Alberto, Giulio resolved to arrest Alfonso, and in defiance of truth to violate the laws of hospitality. It was thought, says an Italian historian,² that a strict regard to honour and an abhorrence of all treachery should characterise the court of Rome. As it proclaims itself the seat of Christ's viceregent, it ought to be the fount of every

¹ Born 1476, died 1531. Alberto Pio was the son of Leonello, lord of Carpi, who left the jurisdiction of his estates in common to his two sons Leonello and Alberto, and Giberti their cousin; this was the cause of perpetual quarrels between the parties. In vain Ercole I., Duke of Ferrara, mediated for peace. At last Giberti, from hatred to Alberto, finished the contest by exchanging his rights on Carpi for other places given him by the Duke of Ferrara. Alberto appealed to Maximilian, who awarded Carpi to Alberto as sole possessor. Suspected of treachery by the Imperial party it was taken from him by Charles V. in 1527, and restored to the Duke of Ferrara. Alberto Pio was in the castle of St. Angelo with Clement VII. at the sack of Rome. He was sent on a mission to France by the Pope, where he remained till his death in 1531. For an account of his universal genius and acquirements, and his contest with Erasmus, see Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 239, and Erasmi. *Epist.*

² Tiraboschi, *Antichità Estensi.*

noble, pure, and virtuous proceeding. This it certainly would have been, if governed by the principles of the Christian religion of which it assumes the visible headship. But power, whether temporal or ecclesiastical, has always proved omnipotent over all other considerations: it has ever hardened the hearts of its possessors, and silenced the dictates of humanity and honour. When vast and irresponsible power is suddenly put into the hands of a private individual, on whom is conferred the title of infallible, when he is made to believe that he holds the keys of heaven and earth, it is not surprising if fallible human nature should wield the sword less for good than for evil.

The injustice of the Pope towards the unoffending Alfonso roused the indignation of the conclave. The cardinal of Aragon, a relation of the duke's, secretly revealed to the Colonnas the schemes against Ferrara. This noble family, mindful of their obligations to Alfonso, determined not to allow their name to be stained with dishonour. Fabrizio, from gratitude, and Marc' Antonio Colonna, from rectitude of principle, resolved to save the duke. The Pope, to ensure possession of his captive, had already doubled the guard at all the gates of Rome; but the Colonnas one morning at early dawn, accompanied by an armed body of retainers, forced the gate of St. John Lateran, and taking the duke with them in disguise reached their stronghold of St. Marino in safety. The Pope on hearing of Alfonso's escape gave way to a burst of fury, and ordered all the duke's household and attendants to be seized; but they had already been sent away with orders to provide for their own security, and none remained on whom the Pope could wreak his displeasure. Exasperated at being thus outwitted, the Pope sent messengers in every direction with orders to find the fugitive duke. But his spies were all at fault, for the Colonnas kept Alfonso securely hid for three months in their several fortresses. At length, when Prospero Colonna was going to join Cardona, who was raising troops for the Lombard army against Venice, it was thought a good opportunity for the duke to reach his own dominions. By frequently changing his disguise, and assuming by turns the character of a hunter, a servant, and a monk, he escaped the vigilance of Antonio della Sassetta and his spies, though they had been sent into Prospero's troop for the express purpose of discovering Alfonso. On the 14th of

October 1512 he at last reached Ferrara; his unexpected arrival was a joyful event for his subjects, the artisans left their work, closed their shops, and ran to welcome back their beloved sovereign with loud acclamations.¹

To the warlike and ambitious nature of Giulio II. has been attributed the noble idea of freeing Italy from the dominion of foreigners. He had taken Bologna from the French, Genoa during his reign was restored to freedom, and he entertained the scheme of constituting himself the liberator of Italy. The blunt Venetian cardinal, Grimani, observed that while so large and rich a portion as Naples remained in the hands of the Spaniards, Italy could not boast of freedom. To this the energetic old Pope replied, waving his stick in the air, that unless heaven willed otherwise, Naples also would soon be relieved from the weight of a foreign yoke. At the same time, to revenge himself on the promoters of the Council of Pisa, he leagued himself with Cardona, the viceroy of Naples, in order to drive Soderini from Florence, and brought Spanish troops upon the unarmed inhabitants of Prato, who committed all kinds of excesses and massacred more than two thousand of the inhabitants.² This was the last act of Pope Giulio in favour of Italian liberty, for he died on the 21st of February 1513.³

The election of Leo X. secured Alfonso's tranquillity. He was replaced in his office of *Gonfaloniere*, or general of the states of the Church. Arrayed in his ducal robes he carried the standard of the Church at Leo's coronation,⁴ and was pointed out to the people as the hero of the brilliant victory of Ravenna.

The death of Louis XII. in 1515 did not put an end to the claims of France on Milan. Francis I. was equally desirous of possessing this fair domain. Alfonso in vain sought to regain possession of Modena. The Pope contrived to buy it of the

¹ Paolo Giovio, *Vita di Alfonso*, p. 338. Ed. Venetia, 1561.

² "Ed ecco dove andavano a terminar le strane premure di un Papa per cacciare i Barbari d'Italia, cioè con una medicina peggiore affatto del male."—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 118.

³ "Ho io, chi scrive, ch'egli sull'ultimo cadde in delirio, e andava gridando: *Fuori d'Italia Francesi; Fuori Alfonso d'Este*."—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 123.

⁴ Leo was crowned on the 11th of April, 1513, in St. John Lateran, the same day on which the year before he had been taken prisoner at the battle of Ravenna; and it is said he rode the same white horse, *su'l quale fu fatto prigioniero a Ravenna*.—*Vita di Alfonso*, p. 340.

emperor Maximilian for forty thousand ducats of gold. This town, with Ferrara, Parma, and Piacenza, was intended to be united to Florence as an *apanage* for Giuliano the brother of Leo. We may imagine how displeasing this was to the valiant Alfonso. He had been confirmed in the possession of Modena by Maximilian himself; it had been taken from him without cause, and now sold to another. The cardinal d'Este persuaded Leo to promise to restore both it and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, but as the Pope shewed no signs of keeping his word, Alfonso turned his hopes towards French mediation. He went to Milan to plead his cause before Francis I., and was gratified by the most satisfactory promises. Modena and Reggio were to be returned to their legitimate sovereign on prepayment to the papal treasury of the forty thousand ducats already advanced for the purchase. But though Niccolò Macchiavelli¹ was sent to offer payment, and the Pope engaged to give up the cities in fifteen days, yet during the lifetime of Leo they were never restored. It was rumoured that the Pope had designs on Ferrara, and Alfonso was kept continually on his guard, and obliged to fortify the walls of the city at home, and negotiate for his safety abroad. He even undertook a journey to Paris to win over Francis I., but the French king had too many interests at stake in Italy to risk displeasing the Pope by giving Alfonso any active encouragement.

On his return he had the affliction of losing his wife, the duchess Lucrezia Borgia, who died at the age of forty-one years. Whatever were the early faults of her life or education, her conduct at Ferrara deserved the affection and esteem both of her husband and his subjects. Giovio says she had given up the world and its vanities, and devoted herself wholly to works of charity. She spent the morning in prayer, and the evening with her ladies in embroidery, and lavished her benefits upon the poor and upon men of letters.²

¹ Niccolò Macchiavelli, born 1469, died 1527, was the celebrated secretary of the Florentine Republic. His most celebrated works are *Le Istorie Fiorentine*, first published in 1532, and *Il Principe*, in 1539. The whole works of Macchiavelli were printed in one volume in 1550. They have recently been republished at Florence.

² She was married in 1501, and died in 1519. She left three sons, Ercole, afterwards Duke of Ferrara, Ippolito II., cardinal, and Francesco, called after the king of France. Ippolito I., when Ippolito II. was ten years old, gave up the archbishopric of Milan to his nephew, retaining the revenues of the see. The child was anointed and received orders in one of the royal palaces.

The death of Maximilian, and the election of Charles V. as emperor, was an opportunity not to be neglected for endeavouring to obtain the investiture of Modena and Reggio: but Alfonso was suffering from a severe illness, and Pope Giulio watched for his death as a propitious moment to seize on Ferrara. Francesco Guicciardini the historian, at that time governor at Modena for the Pope, so faithfully reported the strength of Ferrara that the Pope dared not venture to attack it openly, but made use of the intrigues of Alberto Pio, the hereditary enemy of the house of Este, to obtain possession. He employed some merchants of grain to hire vessels at the mouth of the torrent Secchia, so that they might enter Ferrara where the wall had been recently broken. But Federigo, marquis of Mantua, uneasy at having vessels so near his territories, discovered the scheme and informed his uncle Alfonso, who complained to the Pope of these intrigues and claimed his protection. This was granted in form by a brief, while at the same time, says Guicciardini, secret orders were given in a contrary sense. Another plot was also unsuccessful. Ridolfo Stello, captain of the German guard, was bribed to kill the duke; but on entering the chamber with this intent, the firm and manly aspect of his intended victim deprived him of courage to execute the evil deed, and he threw himself at his feet, revealing the plot and entreating his forgiveness.

When Adrian VI. the new Pope arrived at Rome, he released Ferrara from the Interdict fulminated against that state by Giulio II., but refused for a time to receive Ippolito, Alfonso's son; at length, permission was given him to appear at Rome, and the young archbishop of fourteen years of age made an eloquent Latin discourse in favour of his father. The investiture was promised, but the cities were still retained by the Roman See.

Alfonso now entered into terms with Charles V. without wholly deserting the French party. The defeat of Francis at the battle of Pavia obliged him to assist the Imperial army both with provisions and cannon.

In 1527, when the Imperial army had entered Rome and the Pope was a prisoner in St. Angelo, the Italian principalities busied themselves in retaking the towns and fortresses which had been wrested from them by the Papal see. Alfonso seized

this opportunity of regaining his ancient city of Modena, which had been so long withheld. He marched to the gates at the head of a strong body of troops. Lodovico Rangone, the governor, rightly judging that the people would declare in favour of their former sovereign, left the place without firing a shot, and the same day duke Alfonso entered peaceably, to the great delight of the inhabitants. When asked at the gates to excuse the magistrates for having acted against his authority, he nobly replied, "I have buried the remembrance of all past offences; my greatest desire is to act as a good father and brother to you all, and spend both my substance and my life for the benefit of this my faithful city. May you all enjoy peace under my dominion, and may discord and jealousy be for ever banished." These encouraging words, worthy of a noble prince who wished to live in the hearts of his subjects, caused universal joy and rejoicing. He faithfully fulfilled his promise, and was so averse to harshness that he dismissed with kindness some of the Pope's soldiers who still remained in the city. Thus peacefully did the events of war restore to him his dominions, and, as we have before had occasion to remark, the misfortunes of the Pope were a blessing to the other Italian states.

Francis, anxious to revive his power in Italy, was desirous of negotiating a league in his favour, and wished to include his old ally the duke of Ferrara; but after the battle of Pavia French influence was thoroughly weakened, and the emperor reigned almost paramount in the Peninsula. Charles made some advances towards the duke of Ferrara by offering his natural daughter Margaret as a bride for his son Ercole. Alfonso was not indisposed to this alliance, but the French army was close on the confines of his principality, and he was obliged to consent to receive deputies at Ferrara to fix the terms on which he could enter into the league. At the death of Bourbon Charles V. offered Alfonso the command as Generalissimo of his army in Italy, but the duke was unwilling to go openly to war with the Pope, and therefore declined the honour. The allies however intimated that they could not allow him to be neutral, threatened to occupy both Modena and Reggio, and insisted that as a vassal of the papal see he must be either a friend or an enemy. At length terms were agreed on; his ancient dominions were secured to the duke; he was allowed to manu-

facture salt, a privilege never before granted by the Pope, and a cardinal's hat and the archbishopric of Milan were promised for his second son. The compact was to be sealed by the promise that Renée of France should be given in marriage to Ercole, the duke of Ferrara's eldest son. Alfonso on his part engaged to pay to the league within six months from six to ten thousand crowns in gold, and to furnish the allied army with a hundred men-at-arms. This was a treaty, says Guicciardini, so advantageous to the house of Este, that either he must have been an admirable negotiator, or the league thought his alliance of so much importance that they resolved to secure him at any price.

When, in 1529, Charles went to Bologna to meet Clement VII. the Pope complained that the duke of Ferrara had taken advantage of the calamities of the Papal see to get possession of Modena. Alfonso appealed to the equity of the Emperor, and professed himself willing to abide by his decision. Charles, though secretly instructed by Clement, if the decision should turn against him, to allow the time to expire without passing sentence, yet delivered a righteous judgment in favour of the duke of Ferrara. Alfonso and his descendants were to be feudatories of the Pope,¹ and pay him an annual tribute. But the city of Modena being an Imperial fief was restored to the house of Este, though to propitiate the Pope a hint was given to Alfonso that if he wished to enjoy quiet possession of Modena he must pay an indemnity to the Papal see. Alfonso, too glad to resume his rights, willingly complied, and sent 100,000 ducats to be laid at the Pope's feet; but Clement indignantly complained that Charles had violated his secret engagement with him, and refused both the money and the ratification of the Imperial decision. Algarotti, the duke's ambassador, after humbly and earnestly entreating his holiness to accept the money, was finally obliged to carry it away. Giovio, who recounts this scene, relates that Clement, having descended from the lofty seat which he that morning occupied in the Consistory, turned to Giovio, who had been called to witness the transaction, and said to him in a tone which vibrated towards a sneer, "Can you now, Giovio, describe me in your history as avaricious, after voluntarily refusing such a heap of gold crowns; or can I be

¹ For the early infeoffment of the Dukedom of Ferrara, see Appendix A.

considered imprudent or ill advised for having acted more from consideration for the dignity of the Papal see than for present gain or advantage?"¹

Charles conferred another favour upon Alfonso by delivering up to him the fortress of Carpi, which had been so long the subject of litigation, in return for which the duke of Ferrara sent him a present of 100,000 ducats.

Clement could not forget the affront offered him by Charles in his decision about Modena, and set all manner of intrigues in motion against Alfonso. The Pio family were ready instruments; Girolamo Pio was at the head of a conspiracy for giving up Reggio to the Pope. But Alfonso had faithful servants, who discovered and arrested the author, who was taken to Ferrara and publicly beheaded. Another conspiracy also was discovered by Girolamo de' Pepoli of Bologna, but the originator, Bartolomeo Constabili, was also condemned to death; but during the lifetime of Clement VII. Alfonso never felt himself secure.

In the month of April of the year 1528 Ercole d' Este, the young heir apparent of the duke of Ferrara, set out for France to claim his bride.² He was accompanied by a splendid retinue, an escort of two hundred horse and thirty-seven baggage mules. The bridegroom was cordially welcomed by Francis I., who was well pleased to marry his sister-in-law to a prince not likely to make any pretensions to her maternal estates.³ Anne of Bretagne was very ambitious for her daughters, but neither of them married during her lifetime. Claude, the eldest, was amply dowered with the duchy of Bretagne, and Anne persuaded Louis to transfer his claims on Milan and Asti to Renée,

¹ Paolo Giovio, *La Vita di Alfonso*, p. 349.

² Muratori, *Antichità Estensi*, cap. xi. p. 353.

³ Anne, Duchess of Bretagne in her own right, was married first to Charles VIII. and then to Louis XII., her youthful admirer. He had been married eighteen years before to Jeanne daughter of Louis XI. against his will, but he no sooner ascended the throne than he divorced his unhappy wife. It was important to attach Bretagne to the crown, and affection was united with policy in this marriage. Anne had been a neglected wife to Charles, but was devotedly beloved by Louis. Her marriage contract stipulated that she was to have the entire command of her duchy, and that it should descend to her second son, or to her daughters next in age, with all the rights of sovereignty. She had only two daughters: Claude, the eldest, was married to Francis I., and the duchy settled on her as a dower. She died in 1524, in the arms of her young sister Renée.—Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, vol. vi. p. 11; *Journal d'un Bourgeois*, p. 296.

the younger sister, while she was yet an infant. If with this dower, as was projected, the young princess had been bestowed in marriage on Charles, who so soon became emperor, it would have spared the effusion of blood in Italy and the pretensions of the rival monarchs. But this alliance, though formally contracted, was never accomplished, and Renée was eventually united to an Italian prince of the noble house of Este.

The marriage was celebrated at Paris on the 28th of June 1528, with the utmost splendour.¹ The duke of Ferrara sent the bride a rich nuptial present of jewels worth a hundred thousand crowns in gold.² They were prevented from going immediately to Ferrara on account of the plague which raged there. Ever since the sack of Rome famine and disease had prevailed in Italy. The provident care of the good duke Alfonso had imported large quantities of corn, but no efficacious remedy for the plague was known, and it brought with it such appalling terror that many died from alarm, not having courage to resist the very first symptoms of this fell disease. Twenty thousand persons are said to have perished during the summer months. It was not till the month of October that the virulence of the disease shewed any signs of abatement. The streets of Ferrara were depopulated, and the remaining inhabitants in the deepest dejection. The duke was unwearied in his efforts to calm and soothe the public mind, forbade the bells to toll, and encouraged the use of a medicated oil composed by Pietro Castagna, a Spanish physician, who was employed to attend the sick.

Towards the beginning of November Ercole and his royal bride prepared to leave Paris for Italy. She was accompanied by fourteen young ladies of rank, dressed in the costume of the French court. Alfonso, in honour of the bride, gave orders that all mourning was to be laid aside, families who had quitted

¹ On the second of April 1515, the imperial ambassador, Henry, Count of Nassau, went through the ceremony of marriage with Renée of France, as the proxy of the archduke Charles. On the second of September 1516, Leo x. gave the king Francis I. a bull which annulled the marriage. He substituted his own daughter Louise, a year old, and made a new contract of marriage with the archduke Charles, but this was dissolved by the death of the infant bride.—*Journal d'un Bourgeois*, p. 10.

² Her dower was a settlement of 250,000 crowns in gold, to be levied on the duchy of Chartres, and on Gisors, and Montargis. Ercole took the title of Duke of Chartres.—*Frizzi Mem.* tom. iv. p. 286. See Appendix B.

the city at the time of the plague were encouraged to return, the markets were again held, and the churches opened, the universities reassembled, and everything was done to give the afflicted city an air of cheerfulness and joy. The duke, accompanied by the chief nobles, went as far as Reggio to meet the bridal procession. On the 12th of November Renée entered Modena. She was received at the gate of St. Agostino under a rich canopy by the clergy and people. Mounted on a beautiful Spanish barb she rode between the duke and her young brother-in-law, Ippolito archbishop of Milan; her husband accompanied her on horseback, and they went in procession to the cathedral. Several days were passed in receiving entertainments and exchanging presents, but the splendour of their reception at Modena was nothing compared with the pomp and magnificence of their entry into Ferrara.

Renée was first conducted to the Belvidere, a beautiful villa which Alfonso had built on a triangular island in the Po, close under the walls of Ferrara. This villa was a magnificent palace of admirable architecture and vast extent. It was the only building which Alfonso had erected during his reign, and it was his peculiar and favourite delight. There he retired to meditate plans of defence and security, and to snatch a moment's repose from the affairs of state. The chapel was painted by Rossi and Dossi, famous artists of the day, and the palace was surrounded by gardens of great beauty, in which were collected everything which could soothe the senses and charm the eyes. Here were shady walks, woods, parterres, gushing fountains, and inviting paths which led by an easy descent to the river. The rarest plants and richest fruit-trees grew in abundance. Part of the garden was stocked with a variety of animals; birds of every wing, both wild and tame, flitted from bough to bough and found there a peaceful shelter. The grounds were laid out with much taste in a picturesque style not common in Italy. Agostino¹ describes the whole place as so beautiful and delightful that it well deserved the name of paradise.

From this charming villa the bride went in a superb buccantaur, or barge, on the Po to the city of Ferrarra, with a crown of gold on her head. She entered by the gate of S. Paolo under a splendid canopy, cannon booming and bells ringing in token

¹ *Cosmopeia*, lib. i.

of rejoicing; she was carried in a litter through the principal streets, which were covered with red, white, and green cloth.¹ In her train walked eighty noble pages dressed in crimson jackets; they wore rose-coloured caps with white feathers, and carried red wands in their hands. These were preceded by the clergy and the learned men, and followed by the nobles on horseback to the cathedral. The young couple here received the nuptial benediction from M. Gelino, archbishop of Com-machio, and Alfonso Trotti, the Castellano, presented the keys of the city on a silver salver to the bride. The procession now directed its way to the Este palace, which was beautifully adorned with arras and tapestry of great value, heir-looms of the house of Este. Splendid entertainments succeeded, which lasted several days. They were much of the same nature as those at the marriage of Alfonso with Lucrezia Borgia, of which we have so graphic a description in the letters of Isabella d' Este.²

Muratori³ describes Renée as a princess of great beauty and elevation of mind. Varillas, on the contrary, says she was unfortunate in her person, her form was defective, and that she was by no means beautiful, "but," he adds, "her personal deficiencies were more than compensated by her superior intellect." Such was the promptitude of her understanding that she found it only an amusement to study the higher branches of knowledge. Besides a considerable acquaintance with Greek and Roman literature, she had studied mathematics, philosophy, theology, and even astrology.⁴ Educated in a court distinguished for its superior and accomplished women, she had not been insensible to the influence they exercised there. Anne of Bretagne, her

¹ The old Italian colours which are now the watchword of Italy.

² See *Archivio Storico*, No. xi., Appendice.

³ *Antichità Estensi*.

⁴ Her master in this occult science was the celebrated Lucca Gaurico; he was a Neapolitan, born at Gifone in 1475, died at Rome in 1558. He was professor of astronomy at Naples; in 1507 he removed to Ferrara, where in addition to astronomy he taught judicial astrology; but though he could foretel the misfortunes of others he could not foresee his own, for he prognosticated that Giovanni Bentivoglio should lose Bologna, but did not know that the publication of this prophecy would procure for himself the torture of being drawn up with cords. He went to Rome in 1535, and was a favourite with Paul III. who was fond of these kind of studies. The Pope gave him a bishopric in the kingdom of Naples, with 300 ducats as stipend, besides other advantages. He left Naples for Rome in 1553. His works, in three vols. folio, were printed at Bâle in 1575.

mother, was a woman of fine sense and excellent judgment, and placed about her daughters persons of the highest talent and virtue.

Renée spoke with equal purity the French and Italian languages, and charmed the court of Ferrara by her amiable manners and affable demeanour. While she surpassed her sex both in education and talent she possessed qualities of greater value, for she was a virtuous princess and a sincere Christian. Living in a Roman Catholic country, the wife of a Catholic prince, herself supposed to be of the same opinions, she had great difficulties to encounter and many hard trials to overcome. During the thirty years of her married life she had an arduous struggle to maintain between her ease and her conscience, but actuated by real and heartfelt principles of religion she remained stedfast to the end.

It is not quite clear how far she adopted the reformed opinions before she left France, but from her connection with Marguerite duchess of Alençon,¹ who openly favoured the reformers, she must have been intimately acquainted with their views. Her extreme youth and love of learning led her like Marguerite to patronise those learned men who were foremost in decrying superstition. Their appeals to scriptural truth, and its pure rule of doctrine, failed not to make a deep impression on a mind already disposed to disregard the dictates of the church.²

When Renée left France persecution had already begun, and the reformed doctrines had taken deep root. The venerable Le Févre d'Étapes had spoken words of peace from the Gospel. Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, was in correspondence with the duchess of Alençon, and Louise her mother listened to some of the enlightened preachers of Meaux. But when Francis, in 1524, was about to leave France on his Italian expedition, he thought it prudent to conciliate the clergy by severe measures against the heretics. The chancellor Du Prat, during the king's captivity, obtained from the regent Louise several condemnations

¹ Daughter of Charles, Count of Angoulême, and Louise of Savoy, and sister of Francis I.

² Her father, Louis XII. had been at open war with Giulio II. He threatened to march to Rome, for the purpose of arresting and deposing the Pope. The success of the French army at the battle of Ravenna encouraged his projects, and he struck a medal with the motto, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*.—Lacretelle, *Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 163.

to the flames. Even Le Fevre was obliged to fly, but Marguerite stood his friend, and procured him the appointment of tutor to one of the king's sons. As Le Fevre's French translation of the New Testament appeared in 1523, a year after Luther's German translation was published, we may naturally conclude that Renée had an opportunity of reading it. This is the more probable as Louise and Marguerite had enabled him to print it¹ for their own edification as well as for that of the public.

The reformed opinions were beginning to be diffused throughout Italy when the young bride arrived at Ferrara. As yet they did not appear much above the surface, but rather took the form of raillery against the Roman see. The sack of Rome and the inundation of the States of the Church by German Protestants had with trumpet voice proclaimed the weakness of the papacy.

A cry of Antichrist ran through the land, and the pulpits were filled by persons who announced the fall of the temporal power of the Pope, and proclaimed the doctrines of the Gospel. The writings of the reformers were generally though secretly read. During Alfonso's lifetime the Pope's claim to respect and the requirements of the Roman Catholic religion had been but lightly regarded. At Clement's death in 1534 a weight seemed to be removed from the duke of Ferrara, and for the first time in his life he felt secure of his dominions. Paul III., a Farnese, who succeeded, had been greatly benefited by the Borgia family, with whom Alfonso was connected by marriage, and he began to look forward to years of tranquillity; but just as he obtained the repose he had so long sought, he was seized with an illness which he declared to his attendant would be his last. His prognostication was true, for he died a few days after, evincing great firmness and resignation to the will of God, but to the inexpressible grief of his people, who felt that they would not easily find another such prince.

¹ In the Preface to this old edition we find that "*nobles et puissantes dames et princesses les ont fait imprimer pour leur edification et consolation et de ceux du royaume.*" Several editions appeared between the years 1523 and 1525, but since 1526 it has not been reprinted in France. On the 5th of February of that year a parliamentary decree was published throughout Paris by sound of trumpet, forbidding any one to hold or to sell the Epistles of St. Paul, the Apocalypse, or any books of the Scriptures in the French language. It was reprinted however at Bâle, and was the great means of revival in France.—Lutteroth, *Ref. en France*, p. 12. Paris, 1869. See Appendix C.

He was a man of truly superior mind, courageous and high-minded in adversity, calm and temperate in prosperity. The reputation of Ferrara stood high throughout Europe on account of the noble character of its prince. Alfonso was admired not only for his valour in the field, but for the wisdom and dexterity with which he governed his affairs both at home and abroad. The terrible scenes of warfare and misfortune in which his life was passed, and the vigorous resistance he contrived to make against the rapacity of the Papal see, manifested the courage and firmness of his character. He was a fine-looking man, with a grave and somewhat repulsive manner, but in private and when quite at ease he was exceedingly amiable and cheerful in conversation. An impartial administrator, and ardent lover of justice, he neither suffered nor inflicted wrong. Though severe in punishing robbers and assassins, he was merciful to criminals in general. The wars in which he was continually engaged prevented him from embellishing Ferrara so much as his father had done. His chief attention was directed to the fortifications of the city, and this gave him an opportunity of exercising his mechanical genius, by working in the foundry of cannon¹ and in the completion of his artillery.

Though not himself of a studious turn, he took great delight in the society of learned men. Lodovico Ariosto,² the author of *Orlando Furioso*, was often invited to his table, and employed by him in important missions. Twice he was sent to Pope Giulio II. ;

¹ "E godeva inoltre egli stesso di occuparsi nel lavorare i cannoni ed altre macchine per la guerra, e una fralle altre ne descrive il *Giovio* da lui trovata, con cui a forza di acqua, e colle braccia di un sol fanciullo, più pestelli ad un tempo apprestavano una gran quantità di polvere a fuoco."—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. x. p. 34.

² Born in 1474 at Reggio, died in 1533 at Ferrara. His heroic poem was the delight of all classes; learned and unlearned, old and young were equally enthusiastic in its praise, and its stanzas were sung in every tongue. True, it was not without censors; some objected to the measure, some to the plan of the work, others to the story. Tiraboschi justly says it still remains one of the best heroic poems in the Italian language; and with that rare judgment which so eminently distinguished him adds, that he cannot but admire the negligence of the style and the irregularity of the narrative, for if it had been scrupulously polished down and corrected it would have lost that vigour and spirit which is its greatest charm. The names of the critics are lost to posterity, but the poem still remains one of the glories of the Italian language. It went through sixty editions before the expiration of the century, besides innumerable translations into all the European languages and dialects.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 97.

the second time he found the pontiff so enraged against Alfonso that there was some danger lest he himself should be thrown into the Tiber. His heroic poem of forty cantos occupied him for ten years.¹ At one time Ariosto formed part of the retinue of Ippolito d' Este the brother of Alfonso, but declining to follow him to Hungary he lost his favour. Notwithstanding the protection of Alfonso, Ariosto did not fully enjoy that tranquillity and freedom from care desirable for the cultivation of the Muses. He was a very absent man, and it is recorded that when he was living at Carpi he went out one morning in his slippers very early to take a walk; absorbed in thought or in composition, he continued walking on half-way to Ferrara before he found out his mistake.

Duke Alfonso patronised the fine arts, especially painting, and added to the Este gallery several fine pictures of Titian. He understood music, delighted in architecture, and was a thorough judge of arms, falconry, and horses. His prudent expenditure made the lower class, who like a lavish hand, think him parsimonious, not reflecting that a wise use of money is one of the marks of a superior judgment. In fact, his love of economy furnished him with the means of conferring the greatest benefits on his subjects; for notwithstanding the enormous expences of long years of war, and the heavy subsidies paid to foreign princes, he never increased the taxes, nor withheld the salaries of public professors. Avarice was not his failing; he did not lay by money from the love of hoarding, but in order to have a reserve for contingencies, and the power of advancing considerable sums on critical occasions saved the dukedom from ruin. When necessary he could be regally munificent, and spared no expense in entertaining Charles V. or the allied princes. Alfonso was three times married; to Anne Sforza, who left no children; to Lucrezia Borgia, who bore him a numerous family: three sons and a daughter survived their father—Erocole, Ippolito, Francesco, and Eleanora a nun. Late in life Alfonso made a left-handed marriage with a celebrated beauty, Laura Eustochio. The learned Celio Calcagnini, professor of belles lettres and canon of the cathedral of Ferrara, delivered an oration at Alfonso's funeral, in which he so strikingly described

¹ The first edition was published in 1516, and the last which he published during his lifetime in 1532, at Ferrara.

the excellencies of this good duke that his audience were affected to tears at the remembrance of their loss.

Ercole II., the husband of Renée, succeeded his father as duke of Ferrara; he was by no means equal in nobleness of character to the magnanimous Alfonso. Feeling that he could not defend his dominions with the same skill that his father had done, he judged it prudent to profit by the accession of a new Pope to put his affairs on a better footing at Rome. Paul III., as cardinal Farnese, had signed the bull of Alexander VI. in favour of the house of Este. Alfonso, just before his death, projected sending Ercole to Rome on a congratulatory mission, and now that he was a sovereign prince it was a still greater compliment for him to pay the Pope a visit in person. On the 19th of September 1535 he set out, accompanied by a splendid retinue of young nobles, superbly dressed in vests embroidered with gold and wearing massive gold chains. Their pages and footmen were all in velvet liveries; in their train were a number of trumpeters and pifferi,¹ who travelled in waggons and on mules. When they entered Rome they were greeted by the sound of martial music, and guns were fired from the castle of St. Angelo. The Pope's guard, the cardinals, and the ambassadors went out in procession to meet the gay young duke of Ferrara. The splendour of the pageant made quite a sensation in Rome, and brought the whole population into the streets. But this welcome reception did not expedite the chief object of his visit. When Ercole asked the Pope to ratify the decision of Charles V. in favour of the dukes of Ferrara, the cardinals made difficulties, and took time to consider. Weary of this delay, Ercole employed the interval in paying a visit of congratulation to Charles at Naples, who had just returned from his victorious expedition against Tunis, and he willingly obliged the duke by a renewal of the Imperial investiture.

Between the years 1528 and 1535 little is recorded of Renée but the birth of her three children, one son and two daughters.² Bernardo Tasso was appointed her secretary in 1529,³ and her court was crowded with learned men. In the spring of the year 1534 she went to see Venice; in that free city Calvin had

¹ Musicians who play on an instrument resembling the bagpipe.

² Anna, born 16th November, 1531; Alfonso, 22nd November, 1533; and Lucrezia, 16th December, 1535.

³ See Bembo, *Lettere*, p. 92. Ed. Venet. 1560.

a great many correspondents,¹ and the reformed doctrines were openly taught there. As she was surrounded by her French ladies and attendants she could easily communicate with the favourers of reform at Venice, and it is by no means impossible that the reformer's visit to Ferrara the following year was in some way connected with this excursion of the duchess. The historians of Ferrara, while they accord to Renée her due meed of praise, and speak of her not only as a wise and pious princess but as a learned and intelligent woman, began about this time to observe that in her secret soul she nourished the seeds of heresy.²

In 1535 Calvin went in disguise to Ferrara³ to pay the duchess a visit. He arrived in company with Louis du Tillet, brother of Jean du Tillet, canon of Angoulême. They were presented to the duke as travellers visiting the beauties of Italy. Calvin assumed the name of Charles d' Espeville, his own being too well known as the champion of heresy. The reformer's heart yearned over the classic land of Italy, and leaped within him at the joyous promise which it offered of being won over to the Gospel. Knowing Renée's piety and her favourable disposition towards the reformed doctrines, he indulged the hope that her court might become a centre, as well as a refuge, for those who were desirous of seeing the Christian Church undergo a reformation so complete as to restore it to its primitive purity and simplicity. His visit was well timed, for his acute and sagacious mind knew well that the favour of the new Pope would possibly be more perilous for Gospel doctrine than the former enmity of the Papal see. Encouraged by the piety of

¹ See Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paulo IV.* p. 118.

² Frizzi, *Mem. Storia di Ferrara*, tom. iv. p. 309.

³ Muratori alludes to this visit, and says it is mentioned by Sponde. The terms in which the moderate Muratori speaks of the "Heresiarch" betray the bitter feeling with which he was regarded. "Secondo l'annalista Spondano nell'anno precedente (1535) venuto a Ferrara l'Eresiarca Giovanni Calvino, sotto abito finto, talmente infetto, Renea figlia del Re Lodovico, e Duchessa di Ferrara, degli errori suoi che non si potè mai trarle di cuore il bevuto veleno. Ma nel presente anno veggendosi scoperto questo lupo, se ne fuggì a Ginevra." He adds that he has been told by those who have seen the acts of the Inquisition at Ferrara, *che si pestifero mobile fu fatto prigionero*, but was forcibly released by an armed force while being conveyed from Ferrara to Bologna. But the Inquisition was not established till 1542, so that it is difficult to connect this account with Calvin's visit in 1535.—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 12.

the duchess, and perhaps also by Marguerite queen of Navarre, Calvin's object was to strengthen and confirm Renée by christian communion and prayer. He held religious meetings in her private apartments, which were attended not only by the French ladies of honour, but by many Italian ladies of her court.

Calvin had just finished his immortal work *L'Institution Chrétienne*, a book which a master mind alone could have written. It proves him to have been gifted with those rare endowments which Divine Providence from time to time bestows on the few who are born to influence mankind and lead them to higher measures of spiritual and intellectual knowledge. Such men teach us to adore with admiring wonder the Creator's power, and give us a kind of foretaste of heavenly communion. If such excellence can exist here below, what must be the depth and extent of faculties elevated by the converse of angels and enlightened by the ethereal atmosphere of heaven. Calvin dedicated the first edition of his work to Francis I., king of France,¹ the brother-in-law of Renée, with the hope that under the auspices of Marguerite de Valois it might be received with favour. There can be little doubt that in his private exhortations and expositions before the duchess, and her little company of enquirers, he enlarged on the scriptural system of christian faith and practice which he had so ably set forth in his *Institution Chrétienne*.

So remarkable a visitor was not likely to remain long concealed. The private meetings for prayer and reading the Scriptures came to the knowledge of the duke: though himself indifferent about religion, he felt how important it was to his interests not to irritate the Pope by a suspicion of heresy, and he immediately dismissed Calvin, and hushed up the report of his visit to Ferrara that it might not reach Rome. This circumstance drew his attention to the religious opinions of the duchess, and she was subsequently exposed to severe trials on this very account.

Renée found hearty sympathy and support from Anne de Parthenai,² the daughter of her governess Madame de Soubise.

¹ See Appendix D.

² She married Antoine de Pons, who survived her, and was massacred at St. Bartholomew.

Anne was one of the chief ornaments of the court of Ferrara, and greatly attached to the duchess; she was about the same age as her royal friend, they had followed the same studies, and grown up in habits of intimacy together. She was a good Latin scholar, and had studied Greek so diligently that she could read with facility any book in that language. But her chief delight was in the Holy Scriptures and books of theology, and one of her greatest pleasures was to converse with pious and learned men on sacred subjects. Nor was she deficient in feminine accomplishments; she had a fine voice, and was a proficient in several kinds of music.

Her brother Jean de Parthenai, Baron de Soubise, accompanied his sister to the court of Ferrara, and it is supposed that it was during his residence there that his Protestant predilections became so confirmed as to induce him afterwards to stand forward as one of the heads of the Huguenot party in France. It is recorded of the gallant Soubise and his heroic wife Antoinette Bonchard, that while he held Lyons for the Protestants, the besieging party, who were Catholics, threatened to take his wife and daughter to the gates and massacre them before his eyes if he did not surrender. His noble wife, in reply to a message sent by her husband, wrote word, by Poltrot the messenger, to let them both perish rather than sacrifice the interests of his party. She was indeed a wife worthy of the man who would never in his greatest extremity treat separately for himself, nor sign any agreement without the cooperation of the Huguenot chiefs. A total abnegation of self, and an absolute devotedness to the cause they had espoused, were the ruling virtues of this high-minded family. The brother of Madame de Soubise, the Vicomte d' Aubeterre, gave up rank and wealth and all the luxuries of civilised society to follow his conscience in religion. During the heat of persecution he fled to Geneva, where he led a very hard life; being obliged by the laws of that republic to have a trade, and live by it, he became a button-maker. With such valiant spirits to fight for their religion, we cannot wonder if nothing short of a wholesale massacre could rid France of these protesters against Catholic corruptions. When the perfidious peace was made in 1572, at the marriage of Henri IV. with Marguerite Catherine's daughter, the Vicomte d' Aubeterre was induced to go to Paris, and fell a victim at the massacre

of St. Bartholomew, after defending himself with the courage of a lion against his murderers.¹

Besides the animated and intellectual companionship of her French friends, the duchess was surrounded by learned Italians of great talent. The princes of Ferrara had always been distinguished patrons of literature. During the reign of Alfonso I. constant warfare had in some degree restrained his munificence towards learning, but his son Ercole II. was at liberty to indulge his classical tastes. Ariosto² even numbers him among the poets of his day. Ferrara was not only famous for the superior talents of its literary men, but for the scientific knowledge of its professors of medicine. Giovanni Mainardi and his distinguished scholar, Antonio Musa Brasavola, were the renovators of medical science. The latter, son of count Francesco Brasavola, read Dialectics in the university at eighteen years of age, and at twenty, sustained arguments both at Padua and Bologna on a hundred propositions relating to theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and belles lettres. This universal genius was a great favourite at court; he was appointed chief physician to Ercole, the heir apparent, and accompanied him to France when he went to claim his bride. He had the honour of being consulted in his medical capacity by Charles V. and by Paul III. His favourite study was botany: he had a splendid collection of rare plants, and introduced many new remedies into medical science.

The university of Ferrara was in its highest lustre at the commencement of the reign of Ercole II. Renée's fine taste and classical education gave great encouragement to talent, and the care with which she educated her daughters was an example to the nobles and a stimulus to literature in general. Besides Calcagnini, Mainardi, Brasavola, and the antiquary Costanzo Landi, we find the poet Giglio Gregorio Gherardi, who, after struggling with poverty out of his own country, was at length obliged in 1533 to return without having improved his fortunes. He was at Rome, in the service of cardinal Rangone, when the city was taken in 1527, and lost everything he possessed, including his books, which were indeed his chief riches. His patron dying that same year he retired to Mirandola, where Gian

¹ See Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. *Scubias*.

² *Orlando Furioso*, Canto xxxvii. st. 13.

Francesco Pico gave him a cordial reception, and promised to compensate him for his losses; but in 1533 count Pico was barbarously murdered.¹ Giraldi was even in greater danger than at the sack of Rome, and scarcely escaped with life when he took refuge at Ferrara. Here he met with assistance and sympathy, and the duchess willingly extended her patronage to him. Confined almost continually to bed by terrible fits of the gout, he yet devoted himself assiduously to study, and wrote his celebrated work *Sintagmi intorno agli Iddj*, in which he displayed an almost boundless erudition, for there is scarcely an author either in Greek or Latin whom he does not quote; he cites all the old MSS., and confronts them with the ancient inscriptions. Neither was he one of those limited intelligences who are satisfied to compile from the works of others, but he analysed and compared, adapted or rejected their opinions according to the judgment he had formed of the subject. He dedicated his *Storia de' Poeti* to the duchess Renée. Monsr. Fontanini is much shocked at this, and more particularly at his praising the holy life of the duchess, and speaking of her piety and religion; expressions which horrify him, as he considers her dissidence from the Roman Catholic religion² a disqualification for piety or holiness.

¹ Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola was the nephew of his learned uncle Giovanni Pico, but his life was much less tranquil, and he fell a victim in the end to family feuds. Gianfrancesco was an ardent Platonist and an opposer of Aristotle; he succeeded his grand-nephew Galeotto in the dominion of Mirandola, but his brother Lodovico claimed this principality, and was warmly supported by his wife, Francesca, daughter of the French general Gianjacopo Trivolsi. Lodovico was slain in war, but Francesca stood up for the rights of her sons. As the French arms prevailed or failed Gianfrancesco lost or won his paternal estates; but at length, during the night of the 15th of October, 1533, Galeotto the nephew of Lodovico, at the head of forty armed men, entered the apartment of Gianfrancesco with murderous intent. Perceiving his danger he threw himself on his knees before a crucifix, when the assassins barbarously cut off his head, and threw his wife and son into prison. Considering the continual agitation of his life, it is wonderful how he found time to write so many works on such various subjects.—See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 355; and Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, vol. ii. p. 261.

² “Io resto molto maravigliato che Lilio Gregorio, morto nel 1552 in fine della prefazione alla Duchessa Renata sopra la storia de' Poeti e in quella sopra la Dissertazione *de annis et mensibus*, esalti ancor egli in estreme la santità di Renata, anzi di piu, *pietatem et religionem in Deum*: cose, che fanno orrore, considerando come allora in materia di Fede cattolica si stava in Ferrara, e in Italia.” In the Registri di Prospero Santacroce there are fifty letters addressed to Card. Borromeo; among which are three which speak of the Duchess Renée as *piu che mai pertinace nella setta di Calvino*.—Fontanini, *Elog. Ital.* tom. i. p. 119.

Marcello Palingenio was another contemporary poet, who wrote *Zodiacus Vite*, a poem more curious than elegant, in which the twelve signs of the zodiac are the heads of the twelve books or chapters. Tiraboschi says it owes its celebrity chiefly to the pungent invectives in which the author indulged against the monks, the clergy, and even the Roman pontiffs. This caused him to be branded as a heretic, and his dead body was condemned to be burned, notwithstanding his having professed in his preface to submit his opinions to the judgment of the Catholic church. The poem was dedicated to Ercole II.¹

Alessandro Sassi was one of those erudite students who dived into the depths of antiquity. He wrote a mythological work styled *Numinum et Heroum Origines*, besides innumerable MSS. on poetry, history, geography, &c. The university of Ferrara was in such high renown that it was full of strangers, and so numerous were the students of the English nation that they formed a distinct body apart from others.

The literary taste of Ferrara manifested itself in a superabundance of academies with their quaint appellations.² Three only however deserve notice. Their youthful vigour and racy eloquence will perhaps be best depicted in the language of Alberto Lollio, the founder of the *Elevati*, who thus addressed the members of the academy on the election of a Dictator. "Fresh in the flower of youth you are able to bear vigorously all kinds of fatigue and inconvenience; you have among you quick intellects capable of overcoming the greatest difficulties; you live in a cheerful, peaceful and tranquil city, where the university is full of learned and eloquent men, and where there is an abundant store of Greek, Latin, and Italian books; you enjoy the varied and continuous lectures and discussions of the academy, the welcome and delightful conversation of many pilgrim spirits, who, moved by the desire of knowledge, have flocked to this country from all parts of Europe, &c."³ At the death of the learned Celio Calcagnini, one of its great supporters, it decayed, but was revived under the name of *Filareti*. Bartolomeo Ricci, in his correspondence with Alfonso Calcagnini, congratulates him on opening this academy in the

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 258.

² *Hist. Gymn. Ferrar.* vol. i. p. 139.

³ *Lollio Oras.* tom. i. p. 92.

country, describes their meetings, their walks together, and their learned discourses with each other, and bemoans himself that he cannot leave the city to enjoy their society; but he declines to become a member on account of his pressing occupations and his advanced age.

The academy called *Ferrarese* flourished at a later period under Torquato Tasso, who spoke the opening oration. "Here we neither desire nor aspire to anything but to cultivate our intellects, and mature the seeds of virtue and learning which our mother nature has so lavishly scattered among us; here each will seek to sharpen his wit, to refine his judgment, to exercise his memory, and make it the receptacle of the precious treasures of knowledge and science; here the tongue will be accustomed to express with grace the ideas which the mind has first conceived and apprehended."¹

As at Modena the freedom of discussion on literary subjects was by an easy transition extended to works of theology, and the Italian historians say that all the books which were printed against the Catholic religion were eagerly read at Ferrara under the patronage of the duchess, and that fugitives on account of opinion received there assistance and protection.² But while the interests of literature were not neglected, a nobler few sought a higher species of learning.

Calvin's visit and instructions at Ferrara had not been without fruit. Besides the accomplished Anne de Parthenai, who was a true christian disciple, there was a young Italian lady named Francesca Bureyronia, who was so impressed by his preaching that she began to read the Scriptures and to study them with serious earnestness. She was greatly assisted in her search after truth by the conversation of two brothers from Germany of the name of Sinapi. John and Chilian Sinapi were Lutherans; attracted by the fame of the university of Ferrara, they entered themselves as students there, and were employed by the duchess to instruct the princesses in Greek. One of them, John, was a medical man,³ and probably took his degree at Ferrara. The young ladies of the court no doubt had an opportunity of sharing the instructions given to the princess

¹ Tasso, *Opere*, tom. iv. p. 519. Ed. Firenze.

² Frizzi, *Mem. Storia Ferrara*, tom. iv. p. 309.

³ For some of their letters see *Olympic Morata Opera*. Basil. 1570.

Anna. In the absence of exact details we may imagine with every probability of truth that Calvin's earnest, serious teaching was made a blessing to these young people, and the brothers Sinapi, protestants by predilection, became more spiritually enlightened under his instructions.

When in 1533 John Sinapi married Francesca Burcyronia, they so deeply felt their obligations to the reformer that they kept up a close correspondence with him as their spiritual guide.

"We beseech you," they wrote, "in the name of that friendship of which you have given us so many proofs during your stay in this court, to continue to us the benefit of your counsels. Teach us, in the midst of the snares which surround us, how to conduct ourselves as a christian couple, to live in a holy manner before God, and render to him the honour due to his name."¹

Nor was Calvin unmindful of the flock he had left behind him at Ferrara. He wrote continually to the duchess, and we are greatly indebted to the industry and good taste of a modern editor for the pleasure and edification he has afforded us by publishing these interesting letters.² The all-absorbing desire to follow the commands of God which so eminently distinguished this great reformer shines forth conspicuously in these faithful exhortations to this distinguished lady. In a letter written with his own hand, still extant in the library of Geneva, he unveils the character of her almoner, a certain *Maistre François*, whom the duchess had appointed her preacher, but whom Calvin disapproved of as a temporiser; one who preached the Gospel when it suited his profit or ambition, and changed his tone when it brought him vexation or persecution.

TO MY LADY DUCHESS OF FERRARA.

"MADAM,—I humbly beseech you to take in good part my boldness in writing these presents, judging that, if in this there is too much plainness (*simplicité*), it does not proceed so much from rashness or over-boldness as from a pure and sincere desire to serve you in the Lord. For though I acknowledge myself to be a very unprofitable servant of the Church, nevertheless it appears expedient for me to occupy myself in this matter according to the grace given me by God, and I have even thought it necessary to act thus if I wished to perform

¹ Joannes Sinapius Calvino, decembre 1543, unedited correspondence cited by Jules Bonnet. *Vie d'Olympia Morata*, p. 45. Paris, 1854.

² *Lettres de Jean Calvin*, recueillies par Jules Bonnet. Paris, 1854.

my duty; and because I feel myself bound towards you to promote as much as possible, in things pertaining to my office, your welfare and advantage. Though this alone is a sufficient motive, yet, considering the rank and preeminence which God has given you, it appears that we all, whom the Lord in his goodness has called to be ministers of his holy word, ought to be specially diligent in occupying ourselves about you, because, far more than other persons of princely rank, you are able to promote and advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ. I have besides discerned in you so great a fear of God, and so faithful a desire to obey him, that even independent of the exalted station in which he has placed you among men, I so esteem the grace with which he has inspired you, that I should deem myself accused if I omitted any opportunity which presented itself of serving or being useful to you. This I say truly, without flattery or dissimulation, but in sincerity of heart as speaking before Him who knows all our secret thoughts.

“Madam, I have heard from certain good persons who have passed by this way, that *Maistre François*, whom you have appointed preacher in your house, after having acquitted himself as well in preaching as could be expected of him, has persuaded you that it would not be a bad thing, after hearing the mass, to take the communion of the Lord’s Supper. This was not approved by one of your ladies, who, according to the knowledge which she had received from God, would not against her conscience approach that which she thought wrong: this, through the influence of *Maistre François*, has in some degree diminished the good will you usually bear her, and matters have gone so far that you have been told that those who think like her are not to be borne, more especially because their importunities engender causes of offence without end among the faithful. On this account, judging that a thing of such great importance was not to be concealed, and seeing that you are given to understand things to be different from what they are; according as it has pleased the Lord to reveal to me from the Scriptures, I thought of communicating to you what God had given me to understand in this matter. But while I was undecided and doubtful what to do, I was informed by Madame de Pons¹ that you greatly desired to be more fully instructed on this point, seeing there were so many difficulties that you found it very difficult to decide. This message confirmed my intention of venturing to undertake to lay faithfully before you the extent of my knowledge, in order that you might make your decision, and when you had fully heard the truth of God that you might follow it in all obedience, as your desire is not to rebel against but humbly and benignly to receive it. However, Madam, before I begin, I entreat you not to harbour any suspicion that I do this at the instigation of any of your attendants, or to favour any particular person, for I avow before God that I do it without being asked by any person; and, as I have already said, only on the information of travellers who did not know that I had any opportunity of writing to you. On the other hand, I would rather be thrown into the depths of the sea² than make use of the truth of God as an engine for hatred or favour to

¹ Anne de Parthenai, wife of Antoine de Pons, Comte de Marennès, first gentleman to Ercole II. duke of Ferrara.

² *J’aimerais mieux être confondu en abyme.* Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin.*

any creature whatsoever. But what urges me to speak is, that I cannot bear the word of God to be hidden from you, perverted, corrupted, and depraved on such important points by those in whom you have confidence, and to whom you have given authority.

“Touching *Maistre François*, when I tell you calmly what I certainly know of him to warn you against trusting implicitly to his doctrine, I do not fear that you will have a bad opinion of me as if I spoke of this person from hatred or envy. For I have neither cause nor motive to envy him in any way, and the hatred which I have hitherto borne him has been always to do all in my power to edify him for good. But when I see any one, from an unenlightened conscience, overturning the word of God and extinguishing the light of truth, I could not forgive him were he my own father a hundred times over. From long experience I know that this man, small as is the intelligence which God has given him of the Scriptures, has always used it for his own profit and ambition, preaching it (the truth) when it served his avarice, and renouncing it as soon as it brought him annoyance. When trouble and persecutions arose he had always his renunciation ready to escape them, so that in him we can discern nothing, but that the holy sacred word of God is to him a game and a mockery, for he turns it into a farce, acting sometimes one character sometimes another, as the fancy takes him. Of his life I say nothing, except that a better one were desirable in a minister of the word.

“But now, Madam, let us leave the person and come to the subject-matter. He gives you to understand that the mass is not so bad or abominable, that it is not allowable to be said and listened to by the faithful; those whose conscience is against it he calls disturbers of the church and excitors of scandals among the weak, whom we are commanded to sustain. On the first point I doubt whether I need dwell, conceiving you to be convinced that the mass is as execrable a sacrilege as could be devised, and I almost fear to appear ridiculous in your eyes if I attempt to prove that which you do not deem doubtful. Inasmuch as the mass is a sacrifice commanded by men for the redemption and salvation of the living and the dead, as their canon bears, it is an intolerable blasphemy by which the sufferings of Jesus Christ are rejected as of no efficacy. For when we say that the faithful are redeemed by the blood of Christ, through which they obtain remission of their sins, righteousness, and the hope of eternal life, we understand that our good Saviour, in offering himself to the Father and submitting to be sacrificed, has offered himself as an eternal sacrifice, through which our iniquities being cleansed and purified, we are received into favour by the Father, and become partakers of the heavenly inheritance of which the Apostle so fully speaks in the Epistle to the Hebrews.¹ If then the death of Christ is not acknowledged as the *one* sacrifice which has been made once for all to be of perpetual efficacy,

¹ “By his own blood he entered in *once* into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption. . . . Nor yet that he should offer himself often as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others. For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now *once* in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.”—*Epist. Hebrews*, c. ix.

what remains then but to lay it aside as of no value? I know well that these liars, to cover their abomination, say that they offer the same sacrifice which Jesus did, but this involves many blasphemies. He alone could do this. The Apostle says that if he is now sacrificed he must often suffer. Thus you see you must do one of two things, either denounce and detest the horrible blasphemy of the mass, or by approving it trample under foot the cross of Christ. How contrary it is to the Supper of Christ I leave you to consider within yourself, after having read in the Scriptures an account of its institution. The great desecration and idolatry which is committed in adoring as God a created (thing)¹ is in no wise excusable. These things considered, let us reflect that we can neither say nor hear it without seriously offending God by partaking of such abominations. . . . If any object that he cannot avoid exterior actions, but that his heart is right within; to this our Lord replies, that he would be glorified in our bodies which he has ransomed through his blood, that he requires us to confess him with the mouth, and that all our prayers be consecrated to his honour, and not in any way contaminated or polluted by things displeasing to him.

“Now as to the scandal. Your almoner says, weak consciences are troubled if any who are deemed believers have such a horror of the mass that they will neither hear nor be present at it. But he does not consider that in things commanded or forbidden by God, if the whole world should be offended, nevertheless we are not to disobey his commands. . . . Besides, all that we are commanded to do in not offending our neighbour tends to his good for edification, as St. Paul in the 15th of Romans clearly proves. It follows therefore that we must not please him in things which do not tend to his edification but to his ruin. . . . We know the mass to be an accursed and execrable thing; if we countenance it to please the ignorant, those who see us present conclude that we approve it, and follow our example. St. Paul considers this a great crime, though we do not make any difficulty about it. I beseech you, Madam, do not allow yourself from fear of giving offence to be deceived. For there is no scandal in the world more pernicious than that which, by our example, makes our Christian brother to stumble and fall into error. If we wish to avoid all offence, we must cast Jesus Christ behind us, for he is the rock of offence against which the whole world stumbles and falls. . . . Not only in all the churches which have received the Gospel, but also among individuals, it is a point decided, that the abomination of the mass is not to be endured. From thence Capito,² who is one of those who seeks to

¹ The wafer which is held up to be adored is a composition of flour, honey, &c. manufactured by the priests and called the body of our Lord.

² Wolfgang Fabricius Capito was professor of divinity at Strasburg: he died in 1541. The title of his work was, *De missa, matrimonio, et jure magistratus in Religione*. He dedicated it to Henry VIII. as *Summum in terris Ecclesie Anglicane caput*. The date is 15th March, 1537. *Lettres de Calvin*, J. Bonnet, 1854. In *Orig. Lett. Eng. Ref.* vol. i. p. 16, there is a letter of Archbp. Cranmer to Capito, acknowledging the receipt of the book, which he presented to the king with his own hand, and hinted that the author should be recompensed. The king did not much admire the book; “there were some things he could by no means digest or ap-

moderate matters, has just written a book, and dedicated it to the king of England, in which he teaches that it is the office of Christian princes to drive out of their country this execrable idolatry, if, as they ought to be, they are prepared to do their duty. In short, there is no person of any celebrity who is not now of this opinion.

“Since then, Madam, it has pleased this our good Lord God through his infinite mercy to impart unto you the knowledge of his name, and enlighten you in the truth of his holy Gospel; acknowledge the vocation with which you are called. For he has withdrawn us from the abyss of darkness in which we were held captive, that we may unswervingly follow his light without swaying hither and thither, and that we may seek more and more to be taught of Him, and to profit more abundantly through that holy patience of which he has given us some earnest. And above all take care not to limit the operations of his Spirit, as those do who shut both eyes and ears to the evidence of the truth, content to be ignorant of what the Lord would teach them. We must not act thus, lest the Lord punish us for such ingratitude and contempt. But rather let us study to advance in the school of this good master till we arrive at perfection in his doctrine, which will be when we lay down this heavy earthly flesh, praying with good David that He would teach us to do his will. . . . The chief thing is to ascertain what fruit his holy doctrine ought to bear in us. It should so transform our mind and heart that his glory shines in us, which consists in innocence, integrity, and holiness. If this be not the case we take the name of God in vain when we glory in the knowledge of the Gospel. I do not say this to admonish you to do what you are not doing at this present time, but that the work which God has begun in you may be confirmed day by day. I only beg, as I did at the beginning, that you would pardon my plainness (*simplicité*). If you wish to be more fully instructed in this matter, and principally how a Christian person is to act regarding offences, I shall endeavour, in the measure granted to me by God, to satisfy you. Meanwhile I send you an epistle¹ which, as you will see, is suitable, if you esteem it worthy, to employ some of your hours of leisure; and besides a little book,² which I have just finished, and I hope from its brevity it may be some consolation to you, especially as it is very full on doctrine.³

prove;” and Cranmer says these “were the statements made concerning the mass.” Cromwell put his majesty again in mind of the author, and got an order for one hundred crowns, which Cranmer calls a “trifling present.”

¹ The letter of Calvin to Louis Duchemin, *De Fugiendis impiorum illicitis sacris et puritate Christiana religione*. Genève. 8vo. 1537.

² De la Cène de nostre Seigneur. 1540.

³ The last paragraph of this letter is wanting in the French edition. Mr. Bonnet has supplied it from a Latin translation. *Calvini Epist. et Responso*, p. 93. (Ed. Amsterd.) The date is wanting, and Mr. Bonnet conjectures the letter to have been written in 1541, guided probably by the date 1540 of Calvin's work on *La Cène*; but the copy sent to the Duchess might not have been printed, possibly it was written at an earlier period, during Calvin's first stay in Geneva. In favour of this supposition there are several reasons to be adduced. Madame de Pons is alluded to by Calvin as being then at the Court of Ferrara; and Rabelais, in a letter written in 1536, says that he fears the Duchess will suffer much, as the Duke had sent away

“May the Lord look on you in this your weakness, and so efficaciously pour out the energy of his Spirit, that he may render you not less illustrious in his kingdom than he has been pleased to exalt you in this present life above the generality of mankind. Geneva (1541).”

Such were the clear views and forcible exhortations which this great reformer impressed on the minds of princes and nobles. His letters are a singular contrast to the adulation common among learned men at the same period, but they furnish an admirable proof of the heart-searching nature of his religious principles.

While we admire his faithfulness, we must not fail to observe the teachable spirit of the duchess. Reared in a court of luxury, and only partially acquainted with Scripture doctrine, she was yet sincerely desirous of following the counsel of those who were the most deeply enlightened in the oracles of truth. She persevered under difficulties of no common order, and proved herself eminently worthy of the approbation which Calvin bestows on her.

Among other visitors at the court of Ferrara about this time, we find Clement Marot,¹ the poet, who had fled from France during the heat of persecution after the affair of the Placards.²

Madame de Soubise. “Monsieur de Limoges qui etait a Ferrare Ambassadeur pour le Roi voyant que le dit Duc sans l’avertir de son entreprise s’etoit rapproché a l’Empereur et le Pape s’etoit retiré en France. Il y a danger que Madame Renée en souffra fascherie. Le dit Duc lui a osté Madame de Soubise sa gouvernante et la fait servir par des Italiennes.”—*Lettres de Rabelais*, from Bayle’s *Dict.* The dismissal of Madame de Soubise might not, it is true, include her daughter Madame de Pons and her husband. Bayle, under the article *Parthenai*, alludes to a report that M. de Pons, Comte de Marennes, was dismissed from Ferrara for declaring that Francis, king of France, considered the house of Pons as ancient as that of Ferrara. But this must have been a mere pretence; his Protestantism was the real cause.

¹ While in prison Marot wrote a poem called *Enfer*, which he sent to Francis, who was a prisoner in Spain. The king was so pleased with it that he wrote an order for his immediate release.—Marot, *Œuvres*. Ed. 1711.

² In 1534 Marguarite, queen of Navarre, used all her influence with her brother Francis I. to induce him to sanction some measure of ecclesiastical reform. The king had private conferences with the most enlightened of the Paris clergy, who were favorable to a reform based upon the Confession of Augeburg, and it was hoped that he would take the initiative and draw the nation and the clergy after him. But these wise projects were suddenly checked by the imprudent rashness of some zealous antipapists, who during the night of October the 18th affixed to the corners of the streets in Paris and all the chief towns some very coarse placards against the mass and the real presence. One was attached to the door of the king’s bedchamber at the castle of Blois. However indignant he might have been at this

He was a man of brilliant talents, but his character was somewhat light and *volage*. He had been page to Francis I. and to Marguerite when duchess of Alençon, had accompanied the king to Italy, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia. On his return to Paris he was imprisoned for heresy, and did not obtain his release without some difficulty. In this emergency he took refuge with Marguerite, his former patroness, at Bearn, but his timid or erratic disposition made him fear for his safety even under her protection, and he crossed the Alps and presented himself at the court of Ferrara. Here he charmed every one by the piquant gallantry of his verses, and an impromptu talent for writing epigrams. The duchess appointed him her secretary, which office he filled at the time of Calvin's visit. In 1536 he obtained leave, through the entreaties of the duchess of Ferrara, to return to France; he had been invited there by Vatable, who wished him to devote his poetical talents to the translation of the Psalms into French. This he gladly undertook, and dedicated his version to Francis I.,¹ who was so much pleased with them that for some time he paid no attention to the censures of the Sorbonne; but at last he was persuaded to permit the prohibition of the Psalms. They had, however, already been universally sung to the most popular tunes of the day, and were highly in vogue at court, where each chose a psalm according to his particular taste. Francis selected the psalm,² "As the hart panteth after the waterbrooks," which he sung when hunting.

liberty, if his plans of reform had been such as was supposed, this one rash act could scarcely have produced so sudden a change as to transform him immediately into a persecutor. The marriage of his second son with Catherine de Medici, and the Pope's bull against heresy, were in all probability the real cause of which the placards were the pretext.—See Smedley, *Hist. Ref. Religion in France*, 1832; and Lutteroth, *Reform. en France*, 1869; and Appendix E.

¹ The first edition contained fifty-two Psalms, with an epistle in verse to the king prefixed to the version, and the following:

Au Roy.

Puis que voulez que je poursuive, ô Sire,
L'œuvre Royal du Psautier commencé,
Et que tout cueur ayant Dieu le désire,
D' y besongner me tien pour dispensé :
S' en sente donc, qui voudra, offensé,
Car ceux à qui un tel bien ne peult plaire
Doivent penser : si ja ne l' ont pensé,
Qu' en vous plaisant me plaist de leur desplaire.

² See Le Labreur, notes to *Mémoires de Castelnau*.

Catherine, the dauphiness, in deep affliction for having no heir to the crown, sang in melancholy notes the psalm, "Lord, I cry unto thee; make haste unto me." Thus all had their favourite psalms, which they sung to fashionable airs.¹ Marot, finding himself still looked on as a heretic, left France, and retired to Geneva, where he continued his version of the Psalms to the number of seventy. De Beze, who had a great talent for poetry, completed the Psalms which Marot had begun. This version of the Psalms was popular both with catholics and protestants. Calvin had them set to music by the best musicians of the day. Ten thousand copies were distributed, and they were sung as spiritual songs to the great edification of pious souls. When subsequently printed in protestant books they were universally forbidden to the catholics, with such severe punishments attached to the prohibition, that to sing a psalm was equivalent to a declaration of protestantism. Curiously enough, however, permission was afterwards given to Antoine Vincent, of Lyons, to print the Psalms during the hottest times of persecution under Charles IX. Prefixed to this version was the approbation of the Sorbonne, or faculty of theologians at Paris, in which it was declared that they contained nothing contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, and that they were faithfully translated from the Hebrew.

Brantôme says that Marot's residence at Ferrara contributed greatly to pervert the religious opinions of the duchess, or rather to confirm her attachment to the reformed church. The accounts he gave of the persecutions in France, of the sufferings and constancy of her friends, combined with the instructions of Calvin, were all means of strengthening her faith. The keen satire of Marot's poems, and the liberty which had been permitted in a political point of view while the court of Ferrara was at war with the Pope, had no small influence in diminishing her respect for ancient traditions and ecclesiastical legends. The following was written when she was expecting her confinement of Louis, afterwards cardinal of Este. In it he felicitates the unborn child on his entrance into the world at so happy a moment as the eve of the fall of the Pope and the holy see, the old enemy of his house :

¹ See CHAP. X. p. 473.

“ Viens hardiment; car ayant plus grand age,
 Tu trouveras encore et d' avantage :
 Tu trouveras la guerre commencée
 Contre ignorance, et sa troupe insensée.

Viens voir de Christ le Regne commencée
 Et son honneur par tourment avancé.
 O! siecle d' or le plus fin que l' on trouve
 Dont la bonté dedans le ciel a' éprouve.”¹

Marot wrote several poems especially addressed to the duchess,² some of which have been suppressed on account of their too great freedom of opinion.

In 1536 the duke of Ferrara, after his return from Rome and Naples, deemed it advisable to break with the French party and ally himself closely with the emperor and the Pope: all Renée's French attendants were dismissed to France. This was done for two reasons; to avoid giving umbrage to the new allies, and to break the protestant influence which had established itself around the duchess at court. Rabelais, in a letter written in 1536, says that “ he fears the duchess will suffer much, as the duke had sent away Madame de Soubise, her governess, and the French waiting-women, so that she is served by Italians.”³ It was on this occasion that Marot, who also left Italy in 1536, wrote the touching lines addressed to the queen of Navarre:

“ Ha! Marguerite, escoute la souffrance
 Du noble cour de Renée de France,
 Puis comme sœur plus fort que d' espérance
 Console-la.

¹ *Œuvres de Marot*, tom. i. pp. 157, 158.

² One entitled, *A ses Amis, quand laissant la Roïne de Navarre fut reçu en la maison et estat de Madame Renée, Duchesse de Ferrare.*

Mes amis, j'ay changé ma Dame :
 Une autre ha deessus moy puissance,
 Née deux fois, de nom, et d' ame,
 Enfant de Roy par sa naissance :
 Enfant du Ciel par connoissance
 De celuy qui la sauvera,
 De sorte, quand l' autre saura,
 Comment je l' ay telle choisie,
 Je suis bien seur qu' elle en aura
 Plus d' aise que de jalousie.

Marot, *Œuvres*, tom. ii. p. 57. Ed. a la Haye, 1711.

³ Rabelais, *Lettre* iii. Bayle, *Dict. Crit.* art. *Parthenai*, tom. ii. p. 317.

“ Tu scais comment hors son pays alla
 Et que parens et amis lascia là,
 Mais tu ne scais quel traitement elle a
 En terre estrange.

“ Elle ne voit ceulx à qui se veult plaindre
 Son oeil rayant si loing ne peut attaindre,
 Et puis les monts pour ce bien lui estaindre
 Sont entre deux.”¹

The absence of the dearly-loved friends and companions who shared her sentiments in religion was a severe trial to the duchess, but her young family occupied much of her attention. After the departure of her French ladies she sought out Italians who were either favourable to reform, or of such liberal opinions that they were open to conviction.

Among the learned men of Ferrara we find Pellegrino Fulvio Morato,² a native of Mantua, professor of belles lettres. He published an exposition of the Lord's Prayer in 1526,³ and a *Rimario di tutte le cadentie di Dante e Petrarca*⁴ in 1528. In the dedication of this work to Bernardino Mazzolino of Ferrara, he speaks of another work in which he had explained all the difficult passages of Dante and Petrarch, but this was never published, owing perhaps to his misfortunes. In 1533⁵ he was

¹ Ah! Marguerite, listen to the plaint
 Of Renée's noble heart of France,
 As Sister thou of stronger hope
 Console her.

Thou know'st she left her country dear,
 And friends and kinsfolk far behind,
 But know'st not what she suffers here
 In foreign land.

No more she meets the friends she loves,
 Her kindling eye sees not so far,
 And then the mountains intervene
 And come between.

—A la Roynne de Navarre, 1536. Œuvres de Clement Marot.

² Moreto or Moretto, as Bembo calls him in a letter to Bernardo Tasso, written in 1529.

³ Esposizione dell' orazione Dominicale della *Pater noster*, 1526. See Bembo, *Letters*, p. 92.

⁴ *Opera*, p. 195.

⁵ In this year he published some Italian poems at Venice, which contained a sonnet in praise of a lady of Vicenza, which was greatly admired by Bembo. It is supposed he was then professor at Vicenza.—Schelhorn, *Aman.* tom. ii. p. 648.

obliged to leave Ferrara; the cause of his absence was much talked of; it was whispered that he had written a book favourable to the reformed opinions, and a letter written by Calcagnini¹ to him seems to confirm this impression; while at the same time he declares "that he has read the book, and found nothing in it which cannot be defended, but that on certain subjects it was necessary to write with prudence, or on which perhaps it was even better to be silent;" he then alludes to the various opinions at that time in vogue about free-will. Tiraboschi remarks that Calcagnini does not exactly say the book was written by Morato, but that the expressions at the end of his letter shew that he thought him the author. "Do not imagine that I am unconscious of my rashness in writing to admonish you to prudence, but it is drawn from me as a part of our mutual regard and candid affection." His scholars deplored his absence so much that at first they would not learn of any other master, saying they should never find another like him. In the same letter in which this is mentioned Calcagnini announces to Morato that he has just become the father of a little daughter, which he (Calcagnini) had held at the baptismal font.² This was probably his youngest daughter Vittoria. During his absence he taught at Venice, where he adopted the name of Fulvio, and was afterwards professor at Vicenza and Cesena. It does not appear whether he was banished or whether he went away from fear of consequences; at any rate he was not persecuted by the ecclesiastical authorities. Girolamo Barufaldi,³ who wrote his life, thinks that the cause of Morato's banishment was some private quarrel with influential persons. After being a wanderer for six years, through the intercession of his faithful friend Calcagnini, he got leave to return to Ferrara in 1539. In the correspondence between him and his friend we find it stated that Alfonso Trotto had come to terms with Morato's adversary, and that the affair had been arranged with money. During his wanderings Morato met with his friend Celio Secundo Curione, who had been in such peril from embracing the reformed opinions.⁴

¹ Barufaldi thinks it was a book recently composed, as Calcagnini writes in 1536 that he had just read it.

² Calcagnini, *Opere*, p. 166.

³ As he was librarian of the Pontifical Library at Ferrara he might have had reasons for cloaking Morato's heretical opinions.

⁴ See a subsequent chapter.

Among Curione's letters we find two written by Fulvio Pellegrino to him: in one he affectionately offers him the use of his house and library during his absence, and in the name of his wife and himself entreats him to return to them. "Nowhere, I think, can you be more comfortable. Your place as our guest is now empty, and above all our library, where you can enjoy the pleasure of being quiet, silent, unknown, and forgotten. After the commencement of the rains in the month of August you can safely set out on your journey, for the most fervid heat will have subsided, and you can arrange to travel by short stages rather than like a man who mounts a fiery courser. When you arrive at the end of your journey be sure you write to us how you are situated, and send us any writings you can collect, which you esteem conducive to a good and happy life, and particularly whatever contributes to the demolition of the stronghold of perfidious impostors and deceitful rulers.¹ Do this, I earnestly entreat you, again and again. Farewell, thou chosen vessel and instrument for the glory of God."² At a later period, about 1541, Curione was turned out of the Venetian territory; an order from the Pope obliged the university to expel him from Pavia, and he took refuge at Ferrara under the protection of the duchess Renée. This brought the friends again together, and cemented their friendship by still closer ties. The similarity of their literary studies and the identity of their religious opinions were endearing bonds of union. Morato loved Curione in an especial manner for having imparted to him heavenly treasures; and when Curione thought it prudent to leave Ferrara for Lucca, Morato feelingly bemoans his departure, and expresses his gratitude for spiritual instruction with the fervour of a Christian awakened to new life.

FULVIO PELLEGRINO MORATO TO CELIO SECONDO CURIONE.

"If the bodies of men when separated from their souls have any feeling of their loss, I would take this as a comparison, and say that no human body was ever so destitute at the departure of its soul, or felt so much grief at its absence, as I have done at your going away. It is both sad and grievous for me to find you gone, to be without you, and to see myself deprived of my divine instructor; of him, who has I doubt not

¹ The priesthood and the papacy.

² This letter is dated Vercelli, and must therefore have been written before 1539, during Pellegrino Morato's absence from Ferrara.—*S. C. Epist.* p. 314.

been sent by God himself for my instruction and edification. Nor do I think that Ananias, Paul's master, taught with more holy admonitions or christian discipline when he initiated him to Christ, than you have taught me. Nothing assuages my grief so much as to believe that I belong to Christ, and that he does not reject me. For at the moment when I was in the greatest difficulty, forsaken on all sides, in the greatest danger, and colder than ice itself, behold, you were sent by God, and returned straight to us, passing by many greater men who desired to have you as a guest. Formerly, indeed, when I had leisure, which from my many avocations rarely happened, I snatched some moments from the needs of my ill-conditioned body and my increasing years, to read, or rather to devour, something of John and Paul, or other holy Scriptures. But your living voice and mighty spirit, which has kindled a spark in so many, and fanned the flame in others, has so vividly and efficaciously roused, moved, and warmed me, that I now know my darkness, and I live. Not I, but Christ in me, and I in Christ. In a word, you have brought me from famine into plenty, and from cold to heat. Now I no longer vegetate, but feel that I am fervent and full of life, and even able to make many rich by participating with them the treasures which you have bestowed on me. It now remains for you to pray God earnestly to guard the seed which you have so luxuriantly sown, and to keep it from all calamities, so that it may bring forth a good harvest and glorious fruit for our true Lord, to whom be everlasting praise. In his grace may you and all yours and our brethren live and do well. Ferrara, 3rd November."

The refined taste¹ and paternal pride of Pellegrino Morato were highly gratified by the consummate abilities of Olympia his eldest daughter; even while at a distance he watched over her education, and his friend Calcagnini willingly lent his aid to foster the talents of this rising muse. She early shewed an extreme aptitude for learning, and so absorbing was her love of study, that what to most young people would have been only a series of lessons, was to her the indulgence of a passion. At twelve years old she knew both Greek and Latin, and had learned something of rhetoric and philosophy. She wrote poetry with taste and elegance, and her studies having been much directed to classical history, she exercised herself, after the manner of the ancients, in writing orations in praise of her favourite characters; one of these is still extant, *Laus L. Mutij Scævolæ*,² both in Greek and Latin.

The duchess of Ferrara, hearing of this prodigy of talent, resolved to invite her to court as a companion and instructress

¹ See Appendix F. for a letter of his on the pronunciation of the Latin tongue.

² *Olympia Morata Fœmina Doctissima ac plane Divina Opera*, pp. 9, 11. Ed. Basil. 1670.

of her daughter, the princess Anna d'Este. If, as is conjectured, this took place in 1539, the year of her father's return to Ferrara, Olympia must have been thirteen years old when she received this mark of favour, and her pupil only eight years of age. Her sojourn at court did not impede, but rather facilitated the prosecution of her studies; for she pursued them with renewed ardour under the guidance of the learned men who frequented the brilliant court of Ferrara. Olympia took special delight in reading and writing Greek, and profited by the instructions of the learned brothers Sinapi, but her rapid progress was mainly owing to her own unaided efforts. She wrote an Apology for Cicero, which the learned Calcagnini, who had ventured to criticise this Roman orator; highly extols. In a letter addressed to herself he congratulates her on the extraordinary talents and erudition which she had displayed, and tells her that "the talents of many women are like the flowers woven in a garland, which soon fade, but hers are like the immortal amarantus of the muses, which never die."¹

Philosophers addressed her as the marvel of the age, and Sardi, in dedicating to her his essay *De triplici philosophia*, praises the facility with which she wrote Greek, and her love of philosophical studies. "She wrote observations on Homer, the prince of poets, whom she translated with great strength and sweetness. She composed many and various poems with great elegance, especially on divine subjects, and dialogues in Greek and Latin in imitation of Plato and Cicero, in such perfection that even Zoilus himself could have found nothing to criticise. And she wrote those three essays on the paradoxes of Marcus Tullius Cicero, which in Greek are called Prefaces, when she was scarcely sixteen years old, and declaimed from memory, and with excellent pronunciation, her explanation of the paradoxes in the private academy of the duchess of Ferrara."²

It is difficult to imagine on what ground Noltenius, quoted

¹ *Olympia Morata Opera*, p. 81. As Calcagnini died in the year 1541, and Olympia was born in 1526, she must have been about fifteen years of age when she wrote the *Apology for Cicero*.

² *Olympia Morata*, p. 109. Lond. 1840, from the preface by Curione to the first edition of Olympia's writings dedicated to Isabella Manricha of Bresogna. Not having this edition, but that of 1570, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England, we have borrowed the translation of this passage from Mrs. Gillespie Smith's very interesting life of *Olympia Morata*.

by the talented author of "Olympia Morata," has asserted that Paleario was her preceptor;¹ no trace is found in his works or correspondence of his having been at Ferrara; his letters to Bartolomeo Ricci, in which he speaks of the duchess and her daughters, shew that he was acquainted with their excellences only from public rumour.

In a letter from Lucca, to his friend Bartolomeo Ricci, Paleario encourages his friend to finish his poem on Glory, and suggests the idea of a nobler subject of glory than that of arms, especially as he writes in the presence of a prince whose ladies have more wisdom than many kings. "Is it not truly glorious to see the daughter of a powerful king, and the wife of a great duke, not only engaged in our studies but well versed therein; and to see Anna, and Lucrezia also, Renée's precious offspring, fathoming the depths of Latin and Greek literature: imitating the example of their mother, they have made no common proficiency. Nor has this princess confined herself to human philosophy, but from her superior intellect and the love of holiness, which shines in her with heavenly light, she has in her maturer years turned to the study of theology and divine things."²

The princess Anna, as she grew up, joined in her friend's studies, and was herself, as Paleario says, no mean proficient. Olympia and her young pupil read and studied the Scriptures together in the original Greek. Precious seed was thus sown in their hearts, which in after years brought forth, in one case at least, abundant fruit to the glory of God. But the precincts of a court professedly Roman Catholic were not favourable to spiritual devotion. Though the opinions of the duchess were decided, and her leaning to reform evidently manifest, yet she was obliged, from consideration for her husband and his new alliance with the Pope, to conform outwardly to many things which her conscience disapproved; so that if Olympia learned anything at court of true religion, she also found much to distract her

¹ "Nor did the Princess Anna," says Noltenius, the biographer of her friend, "neglect Greek, which she learned from Aonio Paleario."—*Olympia Morata*, p. 116. Tiraboschi speaks of this work, *Noltenii Vita Olympia*, but owns he had not met with it. The only authentic information must be derived from the correspondence of Olympia and that of her contemporaries, collected by Curione, who published her letters and writings.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 4.

attention. The extreme precocity of her talents had early called forth her reasoning and reflective powers, but she herself owns that at this time she did not duly relish the sacred writings. They were to her a holy but a sealed book ; her intellect revelled with greater delight in the mazes of human learning and philosophy. The simple reading of the Old and New Testament, she confesses in a letter to Anna duchess of Guise, sometimes inspired her with repugnance.¹ The good seed had not yet germinated, but in the season of affliction it brought forth fruit unto perfection.

The reconciliation of the house of Este with the Pope on the accession of Paul III. was publicly solemnized by the visit which he paid to the court of Ferrara in 1543, when he came to Bologna to meet the Emperor. He embarked on the Brescello, in a richly gilded bucentaur sent for his use. The duke himself went two miles from Bondino to meet him, with sixty carriages, a conveyance not common in those days, and conducted him to the beautiful palace of the Belvedere. The following day the Pope made his public entry into Ferrara, saluted by the roar of cannon and accompanied by a splendid court, in which were eighteen cardinals and forty bishops. The bridge of St. George, over which they passed to enter the town, was richly ornamented and hung with sumptuous draperies of costly tapestry, forming a sort of saloon. At the gate of the city Alfonso, the duke's eldest son, was stationed with a company of eighty young nobles, all dressed alike, with silk jackets and velvet vests embroidered with gold, and bright crimson stockings. The keys of the city were presented to the Pope in a gold basin or salver. After reciting a short prayer, Hercules kissed the feet of the Pope, who replied graciously and desired him to keep the keys, which were in good hands. He then bestowed on him his benediction, kissing his forehead. In the streets where the Pope passed, the windows were dressed with cloths, carpets, and tapestry of the gayest colours, and thronged with richly attired ladies. He was carried under a canopy of gold brocaded silk. The duke preceded him on foot, until the Pope invited him to mount his horse. From the cathedral they went in procession to the ducal palace, where one hundred and forty rooms were prepared, hung

¹ See *Olympia Morata Opera*, p. 81, for a letter written by Calcagnini to Olympia, about the Duchess and Anna d' Este.

with gold and silver brocade, velvet, cloth, and tapestry of various kinds. In the principal saloon there was a hanging of tapestry of five pieces, which had cost the duke 60,000 gold crowns. The Pope staid at Ferrara two days: the last being St. George's day, the patron saint and protector of the city, a pontifical mass was sung in the cathedral by musicians whom the Pope had brought with him. After which he conferred the golden rose on the duke, who, humbly thanking him, kissed his feet; but the Pope raised him and kissed him on both cheeks.

After dinner, to the great entertainment of the Pope and his court, a joust or tournament was held, which lasted two hours. The combatants were dressed in the richest suits, their arms were of the finest temper, and their retainers attended in superb liveries. Ferrara was at that time renowned for these spectacles. In the evening, after the Pope had given the benediction, he was entertained by the representation of one of Terence's comedies, the 'Adelphi,' in which the duke's children were the actors. Anna, the eldest daughter, then twelve years old, was a young man in love; Lucrezia, though only eight, recited the prologue; Alfonso, aged ten, was the hero, and prince Louis, though almost a baby, being only three or four years old, was a page.

Next day the Pope, after making superb presents to the duke and duchess and the principal personages at court, set out for Bologna, highly gratified with his reception. Probably this visit served to excite the cupidity of the church for so fair a possession. The investiture of the fief had been granted with the proviso that, failing natural male heirs in the house of Este, Ferrara should become the property of the church, an event which, unhappily for Ferrara, occurred not very many years after. The young heir Alfonso, who played before the Pope, died without children, and cardinal Aldobrandini took possession in the name of the church, in defiance of the hereditary right of Cesar, the duke's cousin.¹

Some unexplained circumstance seems to have kindled the displeasure of the duchess against Olympia. As the ground of dissatisfaction has never been cleared up, we are left in ignorance whether it was occasioned by some court intrigue, or if it was owing to a suspicion of her protestant opinions

¹ Contrast the splendour of Ferrara, when governed by a native sovereign, with its squalid misery under the papal see.

at a time when so many were banished from court for this reason. This however was not likely to be the motive of the duchess, and in all probability the real cause of offence was that Olympia left the court to attend on her father, who about this time had a dangerous illness, and who died at the close of the year 1548. It was doubtless extremely inconvenient to the duchess to lose Olympia at the period of the princess Anna's betrothment, and evil-disposed persons might have seized this opportunity of prejudicing the duchess against her. Be this however as it may, she was not allowed to return to court. Grief for the loss of her father, sympathy with the sorrows of her invalid mother, and the disappointment of her brightest earthly hopes, wrought a salutary change in Olympia's mind. From this moment she no longer halted between two opinions, but resolved to live and die a follower of the Gospel. Such a resolution she well knew was not without peril in that dark and intolerant age, but her trust was in the living God, and to him she committed herself. In communing with her own heart she began to perceive her need of these trials. Looking back on this period of her life she wrote to her friend Curione: "Oh, how I needed this trial! I had no taste for divine things or the reading of the Old and New Testament. If I had remained longer at court, it would have been all over with me and my salvation."

In the seclusion of her mother's house she employed herself in study and in the instruction of her young sisters, but more especially in spiritual contemplation and devotion. Estranged by the displeasure of the court from many of her friends, one noble heart, a young German, filled with admiration for her talents, and touched with pity for her misfortunes, sought to win a tenderer interest in the affections of this young gifted creature. Andrew Grunthler had been the pupil of Olympia's father, the friend of her instructors, the brothers Sinapi, and had taken his degree in medicine in the university of Ferrara: himself a man of no ordinary professional talent, and of sound protestant principles, he was soon looked on with favour by the desolate Olympia. Conscious of her need of a protector, she blessed the hand of Providence who had provided her so estimable a friend, and the pain of leaving her mother and sisters was greatly softened by the prospect of quitting a country where

she had been treated with such unmerited indignity, and where, on account of her religious opinions, she was surrounded with dangers. Grunthler, having won her consent to be his wife, was so anxious to make her his own, and to shield her from the grasp of persecution, that they were married in the year 1549, before he had arranged his future home, and he was obliged to leave his young wife and take a rapid journey to Germany, with the hope of securing a professorship either in Bavaria or the palatinate. The tenderness with which Olympia wrote to him in his absence, and her extreme anxiety for his return, prove that this marriage was one of sincere affection and unity of spirit. She felt also grateful to her husband for having relieved her from a very painful position on account of the displeasure of the court. From a passage in one of her letters to Grunthler it appears that she was so much out of favour, that even on her marriage her dresses were retained at court. "As regards the dresses it would not be becoming in me to ask for them; the duchess recently sent me a message by one of her women, that it was not true that the wife of the most noble Camillo had said anything about saluting her daughter; but nevertheless, she said, if her daughter wished it, and gave permission, it should be done. She had indeed begged that I might have one dress, but she said it was not to be given till her return. She replied thus: 'I think that I might see that it was not done for my sake, but for hers, and in order, but it is better to be silent on what is so evident, to gratify Lysippa, who was I believe with her; but however this may be, I scarcely think I shall get anything.'"¹

This letter was written in a moment of extreme anxiety for poor Olympia. In losing her father she had lost her chief support at Ferrara. Separated from her husband immediately after their marriage, she was reminded that he was a foreigner; and much as she loved him she could not feel easy during his absence, for she knew that impediments might arise in his native country to delay his return. "I beseech you," she writes, "by the vow you have pledged to me, use all diligence that we may

¹ *Olympia Morata Opera*, p. 83. It is not clear whose daughter is here alluded to, whether it was Anna d'Este, daughter of Renée, or Lavinia della Rovere, daughter-in-law of Camillo Orsini.

be this summer united in your own country. If you love me as I love you, I pray you do this."

The unsettled state of Germany prevented him from attaining the accomplishment of his wishes, but he received such encouraging promises from his friends that he returned to Italy, and resolved to set out immediately with his Olympia for Germany. Furnished with letters to counsellor Hermann at Augsburg, they left Italy for Germany in the spring of 1550. Much as she loved her husband, it cost her some tears to leave her mother and sisters. She took with her Emilio, her young brother, only eight years old, with the view of relieving her mother and carrying on his education.

Lavinia della Rovere, Olympia's friend and former companion, was one of the great ornaments of the court of Ferrara. She was not, as has been supposed, the Princess' Lavinia della Rovere, but the daughter of Niccolò, son of Francesco Franciotto of Lucca, a merchant of Rome who had married Luchina, the widow of Gabriele della Rovere,² his senior by eleven years, and added her first husband's name to his own. The name of her mother is not given. In 1541 Lavinia married Paolo Orsini, the son of Camillo Orsini, papal governor of Parma. When Fannio was imprisoned at Ferrara, Olympia earnestly besought her friend to intercede for him through her powerful connections, to which Lavinia replies, that "before she had received her letter she had entreated them to do what they could, and also to write to the prince (the duke of Ferrara) on Olympia's behalf, and had also begged Ferdinando,³ whose letters would have more weight than hers, to interpose." She then invites Olympia and her husband to go and pay her a visit at Parma.⁴ This letter was

¹ See the genealogy of the Della Rovere family, in the elaborate *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, by J. Dennistoun, in which it is stated that the Princess Lavinia della Rovere, daughter of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, married Alfonso d' Avalos.

² Olympia's letters are addressed, *Lavina Ruverensi Lavinia Ruverensi Ursina Præclariss. D. Lavinia Ruverensi Ursina in Christo Jesu. Illustriss. Lavinia*. Mad-delena Orsini she addresses as *Nobilissima*.

³ This was probably Ferdinand, duke of Gravina.

⁴ In the year 1549, the Pope, Paul III., determined to take possession of Parma as a domain of the Church. He recalled his grandson Ottavio Farnese, and sent Camillo Orsini, ecclesiastical captain-general, with secret instructions to fortify and victual it. Ottavio, duke of Parma, displeased at the appointment of Camillo, went suddenly by post to Parma, hoping to get possession, but Camillo was too vigilant for him. The day before his death the Pope signed a brief commanding Orsini to

written in November. Before Olympia left Ferrara much interest had been excited in favour of Fannio, a prisoner on account of religion. As he was said to be the first martyr in Italy, we give an account of his life and martyrdom from the recital of Giulio di Milano.

Fannio of Faenza was the son of obscure and humble parents. In his early days he was quite unenlightened, but as he grew up he became acquainted with the true principles of the christian religion, for the reformed opinions were at an early period promulgated in his native place.¹ He began to study the Scriptures earnestly, and being unlearned he made use of a translation.² Notwithstanding the clerical prejudice against reading the sacred writings in a familiar tongue, he believed that God could as easily reveal himself to the heart in one language as another. After having devoted some time to religious studies, he found his whole being invigorated, and was filled with an anxious desire to impart to others some of the benefit he had himself derived from the word of God. Accordingly he began to speak in different places to various persons on the doctrines of Christ. When this reached the ears of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, they immediately ordered him to be arrested. While in prison he was assailed by such earnest entreaties from his wife and family, that in a moment of weakness he retracted all that he had before said, and was set at liberty.

But no sooner was he free, than his conscience bitterly reproached him for his unfaithfulness in denying Christ. His remorse was unceasing, for having yielded up his faith at the call of earthly affection, and he could not enjoy a moment's repose till he had resumed his former manner of life. To make amends for his error, he now resolved to confess Christ openly. His zeal thus ardently kindled, he went about Romagna preaching openly in every city. If in any place he found it difficult publicly to announce the Gospel, he tried to get into conversation with any individuals who were willing to hear him. He was

give up Parma to duke Ottavio, but as it did not arrive while the Pope was alive Camillo refused, saying it had been consigned to him by a Pope, and he would give it up only to a Pope.—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 94.

¹ See M'Crie's *Ref. in Italy*, p. 62; and Schelhorn, *Amanit. Hist. Ecol.* tom. ii. p. 64, who quotes Jo. Hen. Hottingeri, *Hist. Ecol.* tom. ix. p. 200.

² Probably that of Bruccioli, published in 1532. See CHAP. IV. p. 125.

not rash, but cautious in the exhibition of divine truth, and fed his hearers with the milk of the word till they could digest stronger food, and finally set before them the full riches of the Gospel. He was supremely happy when he succeeded in making two or three converts. While thus occupied in his Master's service he was arrested at Bagnacavallo, and condemned to the flames. When this was announced to him, he smiled, and said his hour was not yet come. This was true, for he was taken to Ferrara, and remained there long enough to make many converts. The Pope began to fear his influence, and ordered him to be imprisoned in the castle. There he remained eighteen months, and was frequently put to the torture, but not so severely as if he had been in the hands of the Dominicans; his cell was often changed from worse to better, and from better to worse; sometimes he was left in perfect solitude, and at other times he was in company with other prisoners. But none of these changes affected his constancy; he continued firmly rejoicing that all was for good to those who love Christ. When in company with others he earnestly directed them to the path of truth; when alone he employed his pen instead of his tongue in the same cause. Once he found himself confined with some political prisoners, who reproved him for meddling with religion, and told him he ought to wait patiently for the decision of the council. He thanked them for their good advice, but replied that his views were not matter of opinion but divine truth; ought he then to leave what is true to adopt that which is false? As to his being deprived of liberty, the Christian, he said, is always free. Wherever we are, we are in prison as regards the flesh and sin, but the soul is redeemed and made free by the blood of Christ. As for the council, the Gospel was enough for him, and its truths wanted no confirmation from councils. This conversation made such an impression on his hearers that they called him a saint. 'My brethren,' he answered, 'in myself there is no good thing, but I am made holy through the perfect merits of Christ, who has atoned for my sins; and so will you also, if you believe in the gospel and in the grace of God.' Some gentlemen were once put in Fannio's prison, who were full of lamentations at being shut up; but after some days of conversation with him they were so interested in his account of the liberty of the children of God that they no longer sought to be released.

During this interval his relations began to fear that he would be put to death, and his wife and sister went to pay him a visit, hoping the sight of their distress would induce him to recant. They entreated him with tears, if he did not care for himself, to think of them and of his children. His answer shewed his mind was made up, that he had counted the cost, and was willing, if necessary, to lay down his life for the truth. 'My Lord does not desire me to deny him for the sake of my family; you have succeeded in leading me to do this once, before I was confirmed in the truth, but now I am more fully decided.' Then gently dismissing them, he said, 'Go in peace, for now I know that I have brought forth some fruit to the glory of God, and my end is near.' Deeply afflicted they took leave, but he maintained the same calm demeanour, and took no heed of his own fate, but devoted himself entirely to the conversion of his companions.

He was in prison when Paul III. died,¹ and soon after the election of Giulio III. a brief was issued commanding Fannio to be put to death. A messenger was sent to tell him that he would be taken that evening to the common prison, as he was sentenced to die. He immediately embraced the messenger, and thanked him for bringing him such good tidings. 'I accept death joyfully, my dear brother,' he said, 'for Christ's sake,' and continued to edify his companions by dwelling on the happiness of such a death. One said to him, 'Who have you left guardian of your children? have some compassion on them and on your loving wife.' 'I have left them,' he replied, 'in the hands of the best of guardians, who will carefully protect them.' 'And who is he?' 'Our Lord Jesus Christ' was the answer.

As he said these words he was laid hold of by the executioner, and tied to a kind of machine of wood; irons were put on his feet to prevent his escape, his arms alone being free. None were allowed access to him, except the officers of justice, without permission. Those who heard him speak things they could not understand, said he was possessed with a devil; but when they saw his firmness and constancy, and that he spoke of nothing

¹ He died 2nd November, 1549. That same year John Knox was liberated; he had been imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrew's, and afterwards on board a French galley. The following year he was one of the chaplains of Edward VI. when he was offered the bishopric of Rochester, and in 1552 the living of All-hallows in London, but he refused both. He assisted in the revision of the Liturgy, and expunged the adoration of the Sacrament.

but the holy Scriptures, and that his heart was filled with the spirit of truth, they began to listen to what he said. The wives of the officers to whom he addressed himself were moved to tears by his patience and holy demeanour. Even the executioner wept: to all who approached him he said, 'May God save you, my brother! you are come perhaps to rejoice with me because I am going to heaven;' he then poured forth so fervent a prayer that he seemed to rise on the wings of devotion, and his face beamed with joy as if in communion with God.

A notary came to tell him that if he would recant the Pope would save his life; he smiled, and replied that truth could not be suffocated, and that he had no desire to escape death. Leaving this subject as of no importance, he continued conversing on various passages of Scripture; he cited so many texts that it was clear the Spirit of wisdom was with him. He repeated three or four sonnets of his own composition on justification, predestination, and other important points. Surprised at his joyful countenance, some said to him, 'How is it that you are so cheerful when Christ suffered such agony before death?' 'Christ,' he replied, 'though he knew no sin himself, to satisfy the justice of God took our sins upon him, and bore our infirmities. Thus when he was in the garden and on the cross he suffered all the pains and tortures of hell which we have deserved. This caused his sadness in the garden before death. But I, who through faith enjoy the blessings which Christ has purchased for us by his death, rejoice, certain that at the death of my body I shall pass into eternal life. Why then should I not be glad, and exult with joy?' This was his frame of mind when three hours before dawn he was taken to the public square at Ferrara. This early hour was fixed on for the execution that the people might not hear the speech he intended to make in his last moments. A crucifix being presented to him he said, 'Pray do not take the trouble to remind me of Christ by a bit of wood, for I hold him with lively faith in my heart.' Then kneeling down he prayed most devoutly, and ardently besought God to enlighten the benighted minds of the ignorant multitude. He then himself arranged the rope which was to hang him, and with a cheerful countenance desired the executioner to do his duty, and was strangled with the name of Jesus trembling on his lips.¹

¹ In the month of September 1550.

At noon his body was burned in the same place where he was put to death; while it was burning many said that the smoke of that fire which was consuming his body would enter the brains of so many that it would perform the work which the words of Fannio had not been able to accomplish. Towards evening, when the remnant of his bones was to be carried away, neither the authorities, nor the Inquisitors, nor the bishop or his vicar, or any of the doctors of theology ventured to remove them: every one said, 'those who put them there should take them away;' others were heard to say that they could never believe that such a man deserved death. The writings of Fannio give a full account of his opinions; he records the objections of his adversaries and his own replies. Giulio¹ says that when Fannio sat down to write he folded his paper in half; on one side he wrote his own compositions, on the other he noted so many passages of Holy Writ that they occupied more space than his own words. His memory was wonderfully stored with Scripture, and he was so filled with reverence for the divine law that he wrote scarcely a sentence without quoting from the Old and New Testament. At the head of all his writings he put this inscription: *Non moriar sed vivam, et narrabam opera Domini.* This was the motto which screened him from the fear of death.²

Anna princess of Este was married to Francis Lorraine, duke d'Anmale, on the 29th Sept. 1548, when only seventeen years of age; it was a marriage of policy, not altogether agreeable

¹ Giulio di Milano says that many of his works are mixed up together, but whoever wishes to understand them thoroughly should begin with his *Epistles*: of the spiritual part four large books might be made; of the works which he wrote in prison, three books might be put together. Some spiritual songs of his were circulated, which are not among his works. See Appendix G. Another martyr, a native of Bassano, suffered at Piacenza. An account of his death was published under the following title, *De Fanini Faventini et Dominici Bassunensis morte, qui nuper ob Christum in Italia Rom. Pontif. jussu impie occisi sunt. Brevis Historia, Francisco Nigro Bassanensi Authore, 1650.* "From this, pious reader, you may learn what is to be expected from a Council of Roman bishops under the direction of the Pope." "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them." *Apo. xvii. 14.*

² The above account of the life and death of Fannio is taken from an old Italian book found in the library at Zurich. It is a small 12mo. tract, by Giulio di Milano, and is bound up with three other tracts written by him. He must not be confounded with Julius Terentianus, Peter Martyr's friend. Some writers have conceived them to be one and the same person, but they appear to have been two distinct individuals. See M'Crie's *Ref.* and Gerdes' *Syllabus*, p. 245.

to the Este family, but was arranged by the French court in order to attach the duke, who had strong Imperial predilections, to the interests of France. It was somewhat extraordinary that the daughter of a princess so devotedly protestant should be married to the chief of the Catholic party, and the active general of the army arrayed against the Protestants. The friendship of the princess Anna for Olympia did not terminate with their personal intercourse. The latter felt a deep interest in her young pupil, and Anna, when duchess of Guise, exhibited great tenderness for the sufferings of the reformed church at Paris, and even openly expostulated with Catherine de' Medici in their behalf. Olympia, anxious to retain her in these sentiments, addressed to her some years after a faithful appeal, reminding her of the privileges she had enjoyed in the revelation of divine truth; then forcibly appealing to her conscience, tells her she well knows the innocence of those men who are daily thrown into the flames for the Gospel's sake.

The following year, 1551, Ferrara was disgraced by another martyrdom, or rather legalized assassination. Giorgio Siculo, a learned man, was hanged at a window during the night without undergoing any form of trial whatever.¹ The establishment of the Jesuits at Ferrara this same year had probably some connection with these acts of severity. Ever since 1547 a Swiss Jesuit, called in Italian Claudio Jajo,² had been deputed by Ignatius Loyola to Ferrara in the hope that his semi-French extraction might procure him access to the duchess; but in this he was disappointed, for Renée never allowed him, during his stay of two years at Ferrara, the honour of a single audience. Next came Francesco Borgia, the friend and companion of Charles V.; he was distantly related to the house of Ferrara through the duke's mother Lucrezia, and used his influence so successfully that he persuaded the duke to open a Jesuit college at Ferrara. This establishment was greatly aided by the zeal of a widow lady named Maria Frassoni, who from her own funds purchased a convent for their use; two priests, Pascasio Broet and Gio. Pelletario, arrived from Rome to take the direction of this Institution, and were soon followed by six more assistants. They immediately opened three schools, in which they taught Greek and Latin, accompanied by the inculcation

¹ Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. iv. p. 337.

² Of Geneva.

of their own peculiar maxims. These schools soon became popular, and all the others were so empty that the few scholars who remained with them came to blows with the Jesuit pupils.¹

As the Jesuit order extended its influence, it did not forget that the original object of its foundation was to uphold the power and authority of the church by a revival of learning. The mendicant orders had totally neglected all intellectual culture, and were in general composed of men not only profoundly ignorant, but deplorably credulous and fraudulent. But the Jesuits took a higher and more gentlemanly course; they seized on the desire for improvement as an engine made ready for their use, and bent it to their own purpose.

There was so great an increase of persecution² after the election of Giulio III. that he got all the credit of the cruel edicts which issued from the pontifical court; but Giulio, though while Cardinal del Monte he was both active and diligent in business, had no sooner attained the summit of a prelate's ambition, and ascended the pontifical throne, than he gave up the reins to those who surrounded him, and abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and amusement. He looked on the tiara as a holiday to a working man, and from his indolence and weakness embroiled Italy in the miseries of war, and allowed the favourers of the Inquisition to command his sanction for their most bloody decrees. Persecution thus gathered strength, and on the 5th of September 1533, at a public meeting of the cardinal Inquisitors, several prisoners accused of heresy were examined as to their faith. The greater number recanted as they were desired, but Mollio of Montalcino, the learned professor at Bologna whom we have already met with, remained firm, defended the doctrines he had embraced, boldly pronounced them agreeable to Scripture, denounced the tyranny of the papal power, and appealed from their sentence to that of the Eternal Judge. Without fear of those who could only "kill the body," after an animated defence he flung his burning torch to the ground, and was led back to prison under sentence of

¹ Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. iv.

² Paul III. rather consented to, than approved of the Inquisition originated by Cardinal Caraffa; he was averse to cruelty at the commencement of his reign, and a work recently published at Paris mentions his having remonstrated with the king of France in 1535 for burning his subjects alive.—*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, p. 458. Paris, 1854. See Appendix H.

death. He was first strangled and then burned, in company with a Perugian weaver, at the Campo di Fiore in Rome.¹

This was a terrible season of unrelenting persecution throughout Europe for the followers of Christ. "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers took counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed." The absolute sovereigns of Europe combined to tread out every spark of Gospel light. Mary of England, surnamed the bloody, had lighted the fires of Smithfield. Philip II. of Spain, into whose hands Charles V. had put the reins of government, celebrated his autos-da-fè, and Henry II., who began his reign as a persecutor, had become more virulent since the Lorraine family aspired to be heads of the Catholic party. At Ferrara, in consequence of a convention with the Pope in 1545, the Inquisition was introduced and gradually increased in power, till at length, supported by the duke, it was strong enough to offer up victims on the altar of priestly bigotry. Olympia was by this time beyond the reach of its assaults.

While innocent men were being put to death for their heretical opinions, it was scarcely to be expected that the duchess Renée should be unmolested. The duke entertained the highest respect for her; but whatever his own sentiments on religion might have been, he considered it a political duty to make a show of obedience to the Pope. After the establishment of the Jesuits at Ferrara they communicated with their brethren at Paris; and her husband's efforts to induce her to conform to the church of Rome being unsuccessful, it was arranged between the duke of Ferrara and Henry II. of France, who thought to atone for his immoralities by shedding the best blood in France, that the Inquisitor Ori should be sent to Ferrara armed with full powers to bring the duchess back to the bosom of the true church.

Frizzi² records that her establishment in the palace of S. Francesco, besides her ladies, included a preacher, a steward, an almoner, and the Greek master of her daughters, Francesco Porto.³ The first step taken by the Jesuits was to advise the duke through Pelletario to begin his attack on the duchess by sending away this Greek heretic, and all those who were

¹ M'Crie's *Reform. in Italy*, p. 169; Gardes's *Ital. Reform.* p. 103.

² Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. iv. p. 338.

³ See CHAP. XII.

supposed to favour protestant doctrines. The historian thinks that the duchess, displeased with this interference, removed to the Este palace of Consandolo, hoping to be more private and less exposed to censure for eating meat on Friday. But this removal rather precipitated the crisis, for it was reported that she maintained a secret correspondence with Calvin, and was even endeavouring to make converts in the neighbourhood.

Henry II. sent the Inquisitor Ori with the most rigid orders to attempt her conversion. He was desired first to consult with the duke of Ferrara, and then confer with the duchess on the principal points in which she had deviated from the church. After this he was to give her a letter, written by the king's own hand, in which he expresses his grief and distress of mind at her apostasy, for it seems to him "that his only aunt, whom he has always loved and esteemed, has incurred the loss of both body and soul; so that when he hears of her reconciliation, and submission in obedience to the church, his relief and satisfaction will be as great as if he saw her raised from the dead. And he will render most hearty thanks to God when he sees her, as he hopes shortly to do, restored to the bosom of our holy mother church, cleansed and purified from those cursed (*damnées*) dogmas and reprobate errors." He reminds her "of the pure blood of the most christian house of France which has never been sullied by any monstrous birth," and remonstrates with her for leaving the church of her ancestors. He concludes by telling her that "if she persists in her error, she will entirely forfeit his friendship and respect as a nephew, as he has an utter detestation of these reprobate sects."

Then in a higher tone of menace and intimidation he tells her that "if after Dr. Ori has given her instructions she still remains obstinate and will not yield to his persuasions, if she cannot be won by gentleness, he will then consult with the duke her husband how to bring her to reason by severity."¹

The king advises Dr. Ori to preach, the duke being present, before the duchess and all her family on the points in which she is in error, and if after some time he makes no progress in convincing her, and she still continues obstinate and refuses to obey the Catholic church, he then entreats her husband to shut her up in private

¹ Castelnau, *Memoires*, notes by Le Labreur, vol. i. p. 718; Frizzi, *Memoria*, tom. iv. p. 338.

seclusion, and take away her children from her. All her attendants who are suspected of leaning to these errors and false doctrines, of whatever nation they may be, are to be brought to trial by Dr. Ori, who as Inquisitor is experienced in these matters, and is empowered to try all persons in the court of the duchess who are tainted with heretical opinions, and to bring them to condign punishment; providing always that in these trials, and in the execution of justice, due regard be had to the person of the duchess, and all scandal and public reproach be avoided.

The arrival of this missive, drawn up by the Inquisition and signed by the king of France, became a subject of painful discussion between the duchess and her husband, and produced considerable coolness on both sides. Renée had hitherto carefully avoided a full manifestation of her religious opinions, and had in some degree outwardly conformed to some of the ceremonials of the Roman Catholic religion, but lived without confession, and never approached the sacrifice of the mass. The duke, finding her indisposed to yield on these points, at the instigation of the Inquisitor, prepared to execute the threats contained in the letter of Henry II.

On the 17th of September 1544 he sent the bishop of Rosetti and the Cavalieri Ruggieri at night to remove her in a carriage from the palace, and convey her, accompanied by two of her women, to a kind of state prison in the old palace of the house of Este. She was confined in the *Stanze del Cavallo* in complete seclusion, and saw nobody but her female attendants and her steward. Her daughters, the princesses Lucrezia and Leonora, were sent to the convent of Corpus Domini for education. As the duke was an amiable man, and had always lived on good terms with the duchess, it is more than probable that he was somewhat averse to these extremities, but once in the hands of the Jesuit Inquisitors he had no voice in the matter; but from the way in which it terminated we may conjecture that he privately encouraged her to make a show of submission to the church, which would ensure her tranquillity in future. Accordingly on the 23rd of September she suddenly sent for the Jesuit father Pelletario, whom she had always refused to see, and professed her willingness to confess her sins and to receive the communion from him after the catholic manner. The duke, unspeakably relieved by this compliance on her part, restored

her immediately to favour, supped that same evening in her company, opened the doors of her prison, and put her children again under her maternal guidance. On the 1st of November the duchess repeated her submission to the church by a renewal of her confession and a second participation of the communion.

The duke, either believing or feigning to believe in her complete conversion, allowed her on the 1st of December to return to his own palace at St. Francesco, and never again molested her about religion. Could we have access to his secret sentiments we might perhaps find that, with all his respect for the church, he had to struggle against some very audible murmurs in his own heart against an authority which obliged him to treat with disrespect a princess and a wife to whom he was bound by such tender ties, and whom he had so many reasons both to love and honour. She was the mother of his five children: her exemplary character and benevolent disposition were as conspicuous as the intellectual superiority of her mind, and her extreme affability and kindness had gained the hearts of all his subjects; her talents and learning were a universal theme of praise among the learned;¹ but her affections were in a special manner drawn forth by her countrymen; "no Frenchmen," says Brantome, "passed through Ferrara without being relieved by the duchess, if they were in necessity; if they were

¹ Bruccioli, who dedicated his Italian version of the Scriptures to her, calls her a saint, and a most holy person. Giuseppe Betussi extolled her among his celebrated women. Orazio Brunetto, a doctor in Pordenone, and Gianfrancesco Virginio, of Brescia, dedicated their letters, published in 1548, to her; as also a paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul, printed at Lyons in 1551. Fontanini says of this paraphrase: "Il qual libro con alcuni appunto di questi del Bruccioli, di Bernardino Ochino, di Giovanni Valdés, e di altri della medesima farina, nello smurare una casa in Urbino nell' anno 1723 si trovarono insieme nascosti, e quivi murati per salvargli del fuoco, in tempo che Paolo iv. Pontefice zelantissimo nel 1569 promulgò l' editto mentovato da *Ascanio Centorio*, *Comment.* tom. ii. lib. vii. p. 121, contra simil peste di libri, onde era ammorbata la povera Italia. Io resto molto maravigliato che *Lilio Gregorio Geraldini* morte nel 1552 in fine della prefazione alla Duchessa *Renata* sopra la storia de' Poeti, e in quella sopra la Dissertazione *de annis et mensibus*, esalti ancor egli in estremo la santità di Renata anzi di piu, *pietatem, et religionem in Deum* cose che fanno orrore, considerando, come allora in materia di *fede cattolica* si stava in Ferrara e in Italia."—Fontanini, *Elog. Ital.* tom. i. p. 119. A translation of the Colloquies of Erasmus, translated into Italian by Pietro Lauro, of Modena, was published at Venice in 1549, dedicated by the translator thus, *Alla Illustrissima et virtuosissima Principessa Madama Renée di Francia Duchessa di Ferrara.*

ill she gave orders to have them carefully nursed, till they were able to travel, and furnished them with money for their journey. This was indeed both timely and necessary succour, for Italy was too often in this century the grave of Frenchmen.”

But though the duchess had relieved herself from duress and reconciled herself to her husband, yet the victory of the Jesuits and the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church over her weakness must have been exceedingly displeasing to her. All her protestant friends at a distance mourned over her insincerity, and were deeply grieved at her facile compliance. When Calvin heard of the duke's persecution of the duchess, he wrote her an earnest letter of consolation and sympathy, which he sent by a minister of the name of François de Morel, or Colonges. A person formerly attached to the service of the duchess, who had been her secretary after Marot's departure, named Lyon Jamet, left Paris by post for Ferrara the moment he heard that king Henry II. was about to send the Jesuit Ori to Ferrara. On his way he passed by Geneva, and gave Calvin the painful intelligence of this meditated attack on the fortitude of the duchess. A month after, this vigilant and faithful friend sent M^r. Morel to strengthen her for the conflict. He was the bearer of a letter in which Calvin regrets being so detained at Geneva that he cannot himself go to see her, but sends the bearer,—

“A man well suitable for an almoner and fully instructed in doctrine. Being a gentleman of good family, he will be the more presentable among those who turn their backs on good men when they are not of consequence in the world. I entreat you, Madam, to receive him not as sent by me but by God, as I doubt not you will find by experience that your gracious Father has thus provided hope for you. . . . He will also inform you that there is an excellent lady who has agreed to enter your service when you choose to send for her. . . . I look upon it as a great advantage that the lady of whom I speak is of an honourable rank: what she most desires is that in serving you she may also enjoy the privilege of serving God. . . . I beseech our gracious God to keep you in his holy protection, to guide you by his Spirit, and so increase in you all good things, that he may be more and more glorified.”¹

Great indeed was the consternation of Calvin when the report reached him that the duchess had heard mass and confessed her errors to a Jesuit monk. For some time no letters

¹ This letter is dated 6th August, 1554, just a few weeks before the forced seclusion and subsequent fall of the duchess.—Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, tom. i. p. 428.

had been allowed to pass; he was unacquainted with the state of her mind, and uncertain as to the truth of the reports which were circulated concerning her apostasy. She herself, it seems, ashamed of her defection, remained in a quiescent state, and it was not till February 1555 that he again took up his pen and wrote to her in the following reproachful but not altogether discouraging strain :

“MADAM,—As from the time in which it pleased God to examine your faith I have received no intelligence of you but by common report, I scarcely know what to write. Nevertheless, I cannot let slip the good opportunities which the bearer offers me. I was much annoyed when I heard that a person passed through here lately without communicating with me, for he would have safely presented my letters to you. Since the trouble you have been in I did not know who to trust to; being in doubt as to the issue of your affliction, and not having such precise information as I wished, I was in great anxiety, not being able to command any means of writing to you. As I am not even now well assured of your state, I will send you only this one word, that I fear you have left the straight road to please the world; for it is a bad sign when those who warred so fiercely against you to turn you from the service of God now leave you in peace. And indeed the devil has so entirely triumphed that we have been constrained to groan, and bow our heads in sorrow without enquiring further. Notwithstanding this, Madam, as our good God is always ready to receive us to mercy, and when we fall extends to us his hand, that our fall may not be fatal, I entreat you to take courage; and if the enemy for once has taken advantage of you because of your weakness, let him not wholly gain the victory, but rather let him feel that those whom God reclaims are doubly strengthened to sustain the combat. When you think, Madam, that God when he humbles his people does not desire to confound them for ever, this will make you hope in Him that he may strengthen you for the future. I beseech you to reflect how much you owe to Him who has so dearly ransomed you, and who daily invites you to his eternal inheritance. He is not a master in whose service we must spare ourselves, particularly when we look to the glorious end of all the contempt or affliction we may be called to suffer for his name's sake. Call upon Him, then, confident that he is sufficient for all needful supply in our frailty, and meditate on those delightful promises which raise us to the hope of the glory of heaven. Good taste alone ought to make us forget the world and put it under our feet. To prove that the desire of glorifying God is by no means smothered in you, see, Madam, in the name of God, not only to bear witness personally to Him, but so order your household as to shut the mouths of all slanderers. I think you cannot have forgotten what I have said about this before, to my great regret; but for the respect I bear you and the care I take of your salvation, I wish to tell you that I never commissioned any one to say a word to you about it. And what is more, I have been very careful to shew that I did not believe any of the reports which I was obliged to hear. In order that he who has

annoyed you may have no farther means of throwing out these fire-brands, I must tell you that I took great pains to repress his folly though I did not succeed. He only got irritated against me because I reproved him. He is an Italian named Marc. I entreat you, Madam, however this may be, to watch carefully against giving occasion for these calumnies.¹

“Madam, humbly recommending myself to your good opinion, I beseech our good God to receive you under his protection, to support you by his strength, and to increase in you the gifts of his Spirit, and that you may use them to his glory. The 2nd of February 1555.

“Your very humble servant,

“CHARLES D' ESPEVILLE.”

A general impression of sadness pervaded the minds of the reformers both in Italy and at a distance at the inconstancy of the duchess. We have seen how Calvin deplored it: in a letter to Farel he says, “There is sad intelligence about the duchess of Ferrara, and more certain than I could wish; overcome by menace and reproach she has fallen. What can I say, but that examples of fortitude are rare among princes.”² Olympia Morata, who had had experience of the want of firmness in the duchess, writes to P. P. Vergerio:³ “The affair at Ferrara which you wrote about in the month of December we had heard of in a letter from a pious man: we who know her intimately are not much surprised, we are more astonished at the defection of others. My mother has remained firm during this storm. To God be all the glory, for all that we receive comes from him. I entreat her to come out, with my sisters, from this Babylon and join me in this country.” In a letter from Olympia to Curione, written at Schweinfurt, she says they have no intention of returning to Italy: “You are not ignorant how dangerous it is to profess Christianity where the power of antichrist is so great. I hear that now the fury against the saints has come to such a height that in former times it was but play in comparison; such is the rage of the Corycæos, who are sent into

¹ This is quite inexplicable, but probably it refers to the Romish conformity of the duchess, which Calvin scarcely likes to believe or acknowledge; and we have only the authority of Catholic historians for her submission to the Church, and have no means of ascertaining accurately its extent.

² “De Ducisso Ferrariensi tristis nuncius, et certius quam vellem, minis et probris victam cecidisse. Quid dicam nisi rarum in proceribus esse constantiæ exemplum.”—Senebier, *Cat. des MSS. Bib. Genève*, pp. 274, 275, ap. M'Crie's *Ref.* p. 134.

³ Formerly bishop of Capo d' Istria.

all the cities of Italy, nor can they now as formerly be persuaded by entreaties. I do not know whether you have heard that Fannio, a pious man and most constant in the faith, after being two years in prison, whom neither his being half-dead nor the love of his wife and children could detach from the truth, has been hanged and his body burned; and as if this were not enough, his bones were ordered to be thrown into the Po."¹ At a later period, after the duchess had been coerced, and during the reign of Paul IV., Olympia writes to Chilian Sinapi from Heidelberg: "By letters which I have lately received from Italy I hear that the Christians are punished with great cruelty at Ferrara; neither the highest nor the lowest are spared. Some are imprisoned, some banished, and others save themselves by flight."² The sorrows of Christians and the violent persecutions in France and Italy were a constant source of distress to Olympia. Escaped herself from the terrors of the Inquisition, although exposed to the vicissitudes of war, her heart melted within her at the sufferings of the reformed church. Her late pupil and friend Anne, now duchess of Guise, was in the centre of these civil massacres, and Olympia could not refrain from conjuring her to raise her voice against this butchery of the people of God. The following affecting letter, before alluded to, combines the tenderness of early friendship with the firmness and devotion of a christian whose heart is placed on heavenly treasures, and acts as "seeing him who is invisible."

TO ANNA D'ESTE, DUCHESS OF GUISE.³

"Notwithstanding the long interval of time and the great distance which separates us, most illustrious Princess Anna, yet you still retain a place in my memory. I have often for many reasons wished to write to you; now the opportunity is offered me, for a learned and pious man is come from Lorraine to visit us, and my first thought was to ask him about you. If my letter reaches you, I cannot believe that you think so hardly of one who has been the companion of your earliest years as not to be willing to receive a letter from her. You know, though you were my sovereign and mistress, how intimate we were for many years, and how we pursued the same literary studies, the remembrance of which ought more closely to cement our mutual affection.

¹ *Olympia Morata Opera, Epist. C. S. Curioni*, p. 101. As Fannio was martyred in 1560, this letter must have been written in 1552 or 1553.

² *Ibid.* p. 143. This letter was dated Heidelberg, Feb. 1555.

³ By the death of the Duke d'Aumale's father Anna d'Este became Duchess of Guise in 1550, two years after her marriage.

As to myself, most distinguished Princess, I call God to be witness of my great attachment to you, and how much I wish I could be of service to you, (not that I desire to return to the life of a court, for this no longer suits me,) but if in absence I could console you, or in any other way be of use, it would afford me singular pleasure, and be most willingly performed. I desire nothing so earnestly as to see you devoting yourself seriously to the study of the Holy Scriptures, by which alone you can have communion with God, and receive consolation in the trials of life. As regards myself I have no other comfort, no greater delight. Since the day when, by the singular clemency of God, I left the idolatry of Italy and accompanied my husband Andrew Grunthler, it is wonderful how God has changed my heart. Before this I exceedingly disliked the Holy Scriptures; now they alone give me delight, they are become my study, my occupation and care; whatever I do, or wherever I go, they occupy all my thoughts. Riches, honours, pleasures, all that I formerly admired, I can now despise. How much I wish, most excellent Princess, that you also would consider these things. Nothing, believe me, is stable here below, everything changes, and we shall all be summoned to tread the same dark valley. Time flies; neither riches nor honours nor royal favour will save us; nothing but laying hold of Christ by a sincere faith can deliver us from condemnation or save us from eternal death. This faith is the gift of God, and we must ask it in earnest prayer to God. It is not enough to know the history of Jesus Christ, which the devil himself is acquainted with, if we have not *that faith which worketh by love*, which will strengthen us to confess Christ before his enemies, for he says, *Who-soever is ashamed of me, of him will my Father be ashamed*. Not one of the many martyrs would have appeared if they had concealed their faith. And you, my sweetest Princess, whom God has honoured with such great privileges in revealing his truth to you, are not ignorant of the innocence of those men who are daily condemned to the flames, and for the sake of the Gospel of Christ suffer the most cruel torments. Surely it is your duty to excuse them before the king, to defend them, and to manifest your own opinions. If you are silent, or connive at their fate, you in a manner torture them and burn the fathers of the truth; if you do not let a word escape you to manifest your displeasure, your silence makes you an accomplice in their death, and you join cause with the enemies of Christ. You will perhaps answer, If I do this I shall provoke the anger of the king and of my husband, and make myself many enemies. Reflect which is better, to have the displeasure of men, or of God, who can not only kill the body but is able also to destroy the soul in eternal fire. If you have him for a friend no one can hurt you without his permission, for all things are in his hands. Reflect on this within yourself. Oh! that you would seriously cultivate piety and the fear of God. I beseech you to apply yourself earnestly to the Holy Scriptures and to prayer. 'Whatsoever,' says Christ, 'you shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.' Remember you are born in a mortal condition, and do not listen to those who say, 'Life is short, let us comply with our desires, and enjoy the pleasures of the world;' but rather hear what Paul says, If you live according to the flesh, that is, give yourselves up to the pleasures of the body, you shall perish eternally. I could write more on this subject if

I were sure that my letters would be acceptable to you. I could send you some books, if you wish to learn more of Christ. My great love for you makes me write thus. May God call you into his eternal kingdom as he has called me, and make you a partaker of its great and everlasting benefits. Great indeed will be my joy if I hear that my wishes are fulfilled through the mighty grace of God. Adieu. Heidelberg, 1st June, 1554."¹

In the year 1555 the duchess had a visit from a very remarkable man, one of the few nobles who were firm in the reformed faith.² Galeazzo Caraccioli, marquis of Vico, had left houses and lands, wife and children, to profess the Gospel according to his conscience. His family never entirely gave up the hope of his return to them; and when in 1555 Gio. Pietro Caraffa, the brother of his maternal grandmother, was elected Pope, the marquis Colantonio, Galeazzo's father, relying on the clemency of Paul IV., made renewed efforts to persuade his son to abandon his heretical opinions. For this purpose he arranged a meeting at Mantua and treated him in the most affectionate and caressing manner, representing the claims of his family and the duty of obeying his parents. He even promised that his wife should come and join him if he would shew some signs of submission. But he spoke to a heart too well established in the truth to yield to the magic of persuasion, too well acquainted with the wiles of the Romish church to trust to its promises. He reminded his father that the Church of Rome did not deem it necessary to keep faith with heretics, and they parted without coming to any conclusion. The father returned to Naples, passing through Rome to do homage to the Pope. Galeazzo accompanied him as far as his passport and safe-conduct permitted. They separated on the frontiers of the Venetian territory, and being near Ferrara he was desirous of paying a visit to the duchess. He was introduced by Francesco Porto, the learned Greek already alluded to, and received by Renée with the greatest cordiality; she conversed some time with him, listened with great interest to the details of his history, and questioned him a good deal on other subjects, particularly about

¹ *Olympic Morate Opera*, p. 130. Ed. Basil. 1570. J. Bonnet, *Vie d'Olympic Morata*, p. 204. There is here some slight variation from Mr. Bonnet's elegant French translation; probably he followed the edition dedicated to Isabella Manricha; that of 1570 was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

² See a subsequent Chapter.

Calvin and the Italian church which had been recently formed at Geneva; she also consulted him on some religious questions. The duchess took leave of him with her usual courtesy, and sent him in one of her own carriages as far as Francolino on the Po, where he took boat to Venice, and returned to Geneva by way of the Grisons.

It must have been a great refreshment of spirit to Renée to see and converse with a man who had sacrificed so much for the Gospel, although her own faith was not strong enough to imitate such firmness. Though left in peace by her husband the duchess had many trials in her household, and it was by no means easy for her to walk in the straight and narrow way.

Calvin continued to send her both messengers and ministers. On 20 July 1558 he expresses his satisfaction at her approval of a person he had sent her, and hopes that he has been a help to her in the path of safety; reminds her of the warfare which a christian is called to maintain, and that the enemy of souls never allows us to serve God without disturbance, and tells her that this is the way God tries and proves our faith.

“If this appears to you hard and difficult, think of what St. Peter says, ‘that the trial of our faith being much more precious than of gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto praise and honour and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.’ . . . It is good to know our infirmities, not to cast us into despair, but to urge us to seek the remedy. . . . Be not therefore weary of fighting against all temptations; and as you need to be armed against them, have recourse to Him who is all-sufficient to strengthen you, exercise yourself by holy exhortations, and, as I have already said, beware of despising the means, and employ a person to incite and encourage you, which you have hitherto found so useful. . . . Your friends I hope will not fail you in this service, and when you are pleased to desire me to find you a suitable person, I shall most willingly do so. Only, my Lady, take courage. . . . For if the condition of the children of God were a hundred times harder, that would be no reason for us to leave the good to which God by his infinite goodness has called us.

“I have also heard, my Lady, that you are not without thorns in your own household. But this like other evils must be overcome. And though there is some apparent danger that those who will not submit, but remain obstinate, may revenge themselves by censures and calumnies, yet it is better for once to run the chance than for you to be always in this languid state. But the chief thing is to cleanse your house, as God commands, and as David gives you the example in the 101st Psalm. When you take pains to dedicate it pure and clean to so good a King, you may hope that he will be its protector. It is

¹ 1 Peter, vii.

indeed true, that labour as you may, there will always be imperfections, but you must exert yourself to succeed, at least in part. We have this privilege, that in aiming at this end, God accepts the will for the deed. I have still, my Lady, one word to say to you about your scruples as to the presentation of benefices.¹ If you cannot do better, particularly as it is not your own property, that you may interfere as little as possible with such merchandise, hand it over to the good abbot, who will be very glad to relieve you from this charge. In the letters of authority which you give him, this clause may be very well inserted without blame, that to discharge your conscience, and because you will not be mixed up with what concerns the state of the Church, you commit this to him through me. For I cannot see any means of making a good use of it. In all cases, my Lady, I beg of you to harden yourself against being blamed for well-doing, for this is the reward promised to us from on high. As to threats, which are more severe, fight against all weaknesses, because, by encouraging them, instead of going forward you will only go back. Be not astonished if you find a contradiction in yourself, for it was said of Peter, valiant champion as he was, 'they will lead you where you would not.' By which we see that we can never be wholly devoted to God as long as our flesh shrinks from warfare.

"The worthy lord,² whom I know you will like to hear about, passed the sea the end of March, and before the middle of June he was promised some galleys to bring over his wife, for the passage is not long, and the captain could do him this kindness without trouble or expence. I think however he will soon return if God does not most miraculously change the heart of his wife, who would fain draw him to perdition if she could."³

The ministers of the reformation had closely studied and well knew how to practise the Apostolic injunction to "preach the word: be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine;"⁴ and the masculine vigour of their exhortations wonderfully sustained the weakness of the converts.

While we follow with the deepest interest the slight traces which remain of the private and spiritual life of the duchess of Ferrara, we cannot but look with anxious glance across the mountains and watch the steps of Olympia, the brightest ornament of the court, while leaning on the arm of her husband she treads a barren and a barbarous land for the sake of the Gospel. Though she never wished to retrace her steps, her thoughts were much occupied about her absent friends, especially Lavinia della

¹ For property in France.

² Galeazzo Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico.

³ This was a second attempt Galeazzo had made to induce his wife to follow him.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 2.

Rovere. To Curione, her father's friend and spiritual guide, she also wrote most affectionately, giving an account of herself, and expressing the greatest desire for his friendship.

"Your intimacy with and great friendship for my dear father makes me hope you will allow me to share in that regard, and that I shall stand in my father's place as a son or a daughter who inherits the patrimony of their parents. You must know that my father, exhausted by suffering but with strong faith in God, departed this life about two years ago. After his death I was deserted by those whom it least behoved to act thus, and treated in a very unworthy manner; nor was this confined to me alone, my sisters also shared this treatment, and derived no fruit from their labours and services but dislike. You may imagine the excess of our grief. No one defended us, and we appeared to be surrounded with so many difficulties that we saw no prospect of egress. But the great Father of his children did not leave me more than two years in this misery."

She then relates her marriage and journey to Germany, and sketches her husband's character and excellencies in a tone becoming a modest affectionate wife.

"Of the integrity of my husband's character, and how learned he is in Greek and Latin, I should rather you knew from others than from my letters. Thus much I wish you to know from myself, that if I were in the highest possible favour of my prince, and were he even to enrich me, I could not be better situated, though despoiled and destitute, than God has placed me. He (her husband) is learned, not meanly born, and his father has left him some fortune, and his love for me is so great that it cannot be exceeded. I trust that Providence will in like manner provide for my sisters, of whom I have three, all marriageable, whom I left behind at Ferrara with my mother. My little brother of eight years old I have brought with me, and shall instruct him, as far as I can, in Greek and Latin. When by the malevolence and detraction of wicked persons our family became alienated and obnoxious to her who ought to have been our protectress, I no longer fixed my hopes on this short, fleeting, falling world, but God inflamed my mind with the desire of inhabiting his heavenly house, in which it is more joyful to pass a single day than a thousand years in the palaces of princes. I then returned to my divine studies, in proof of which here are some poems which I wrote last year. These I now copy and send you, to shew that in my leisure hours, though oppressed by so many calamities, God has enabled me to devote myself to literature, the more so as he has given me in marriage to a man who takes great delight in literary pursuits."¹

After a short stay at Augsburg with George Herman, a councillor of the king, Olympia and her husband went to Wurtzburg to visit their old friends John and Francesco Sinapi, with

¹ *Epist. Olymp.* p. 93.

whom they had tasted such sweet converse at Ferrara. John Sinapi was at this time physician to Melchior Zobel, prince-bishop of Wurtzburg.¹ Olympia here enjoyed the luxury of friendship and leisure for her favourite studies. While thus occupied her little brother Emilio met with an accident, which very nearly proved fatal. He fell from a window near some precipitous rocks in the sight of Grunthler and Sinapi, but happily by the protection of Providence he escaped the danger by falling on some soft earth, and was taken up unhurt. "The precipice is so deep," Olympia writes to Curione, "that I am horrified to think of it, and dare not write to my mother of this great deliverance, for nothing that I could say would convince her that he was alive, unless she saw him."² While they were at Wurtzburg Grunthler received the appointment of physician to the Spanish troops³ at Schweinfurt, his native place. It could not have been a situation of much emolument, but as Grunthler had some private fortune he probably hoped through his friends to be able to practise in his native town. After five months of uncertainty they were glad to be settled in a home of their own, little dreaming of the storm which awaited them.

Since the publication of the Interim in Germany much dissatisfaction had existed among the protestants; and in places where it had been forced on the inhabitants many christians fled rather than conform to its prescriptions. The Emperor used it more as an engine for absolute power than as a means of promoting religion, but the authority which he thus assumed prepared the way for the emancipation of Germany. At the diet of Augsburg in 1550, which was called for the purpose of procuring its sanction to the Council of Trent,⁴ and a promise to submit to its decisions on religion, Maurice of Saxony declared by deputy that he would not acknowledge the Council unless the protestants were heard and their ministers allowed to vote in the assembly. It was surprising that this should have created no distrust in the mind of the Emperor, for he continued to trust Maurice as before, and had so little confidence in the success of the Interim

¹ Jules Bonnet, *Vie d' Olympia Morata*, p. 90.

² *Olymp. Epist.* pp. 101, 113.

³ *Ibid.* p. 103.

⁴ Summoned by Pope Julius III., met at Trent 1st May, 1551, and began the session 1st September.

that he himself acknowledged that it had been impossible to conquer the difficulties. This was even the case in Suabia, which had for five years been full of Spanish troops; and on this account Charles stationed himself at Innspruck, in the neighbourhood of Trent, eager to observe the progress of the Council and make use of its decisions for his religious requirements. So great was the Emperor's confidence in Maurice that he retained only a slight guard of troops near his person. Suddenly he was roused by the startling intelligence that Maurice had put the Imperial garrison to flight, taken possession of Augsburg, and was marching on to Innspruck. Charles was at this time suffering the tortures of an attack of gout, and could only travel in a litter; he had but just time to escape over the mountains before the arrival of Maurice. This champion of the reformation was moved to take arms by three important considerations; to secure freedom of conscience to the protestants, to defend the liberties of the Germanic empire, and to liberate his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse, for whose freedom he had passed his word. These were objects in which nearly the whole of Germany was interested, and Maurice was so aided by the popular voice and the personal infirmities of the Emperor, that he completely succeeded in securing the religious liberties of Germany, and undoing all the work of the Emperor's confederates against the league of Smalcald. Ferdinand king of the Romans interposed his mediation to bring about the treaty of Passau, which was signed August 2, 1552, and thus, by one of those extraordinary changes not uncommon in human affairs, the same man who had assisted to humble the protestant princes and weaken their cause was now the instrument of their full emancipation. But there were some hot heads, partisans of the Emperor, who refused to be bound by the treaty of peace. Among these we find Albert of Brandenburg, a brave but ferocious bandit warrior, who resolved to fight to the last. Unfortunately he chose Schweinfurt for his stronghold, and from thence he sent his soldiers to pillage and ravage the neighbourhood. The neighbouring princes were resolved to unkennel him as a noxious wild beast. The bishops of Wurtzburg and Bomberg, Maurice, and the duke of Brunswick¹ advanced to besiege him in his lair. The inhabitants were exposed to the licence of an undisciplined

¹ *Olymp. Morat.* p. 121.

soldiery, who with threats and violence demanded gold. To the miseries of famine were added the horrors of the plague. Olympia was distracted at seeing her husband laid prostrate with this frightful disease. In a letter to Lavinia della Rovere Orsini she says: "My beloved husband was seized with this disease, and in such great danger that there seemed no hope for his life. . . . Under all these evils our only consolation was in the word of God, that alone sustained us. I did not even once wish to return to the flesh-pots of Egypt; better to perish under the ruins of this city than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world elsewhere."

She had before this written a most interesting and affectionate letter to Lavinia, earnestly pressing her to attend to the interests of her eternal salvation, and telling her that she prayed day and night in her behalf. In this letter she speaks of some imaginary Dialogues¹ which she had composed between Lavinia and herself, under the impression that her husband might be absent and she very unhappy in consequence. She also sends her some writings of Martin Luther, "which, if you enjoy as much as I have done, will afford you much pleasure. Enter, I entreat you, into these studies, pray that you may be enlightened by true religion. Is God a liar? Has he not promised us all we ask, and shall we not serve him?" Lavinia had taken Vittoria, Olympia's sister, into her service; this was a great relief.² She rejoices at her being safe from the temptation to deny Christ, to which she might have been exposed at Ferrara.

All her letters express the most profound submission to the divine will during the great sufferings of the siege at Schweinfurt: in a letter written in Italian to Madonna Cherubina she gives

¹ These Dialogues represent Olympia and Lavinia conversing together; Lavinia expresses disappointment with her lot in life, and complains of the desertion of her husband. Olympia shews her that she should place her happiness above all earthly good, and remarks that it is not extraordinary if all things have not turned out as she wished, seeing the service of God had not been her chief object.—*Opera Olymp. Mor.* pp. 42, 64.

² Olympia had three sisters, one was with Elena Rangoni Bentivoglio, and the other with her daughter at Milan. Lucrezia Morata, their mother, being left alone at Ferrara, the youngest of her daughters was preparing to go to her, when a rich young man, an only son, offered her his hand and married her without fortune. That same year they joined Lucrezia at Ferrara. The youngest sister, Vittoria, was in the service of Lavinia della Rovere at Rome.—*Epist. Olymp.* p. 102.

so graphic an account of her trials and her feelings under these heavy calamities, that we cannot withhold a translation from the reader.

“Dearest Madonna Cherubina, you must rejoice with us that God in his great mercy has released us from the imminent danger to which for fourteen months we have been exposed. He has fed us in the time of famine, so that we had even enough to give to others. He cured my husband of a pestilential fever which raged throughout the town for seven weeks; he was so ill that if I had not been able to look up with the eyes of faith, seeing things which are invisible, I could never have hoped he would recover, for the signs of death began to appear; but God, to whom nothing is impossible, and who often works against nature, cured him without medicine,—for on account of the war no medicines were to be found at the apothecaries. God had mercy on me, for my grief was almost beyond bearing. I have very often experienced what is said in the Psalms, that God hears and grants the prayers of those who fear him. You know, my dear Madonna Cherubina, that in the Scripture, fire means great affliction, as Isaiah clearly expresses: ‘Thus saith the Lord, Let not Israel fear when he passes through the fire.’ He has been with us who have really passed through the fire not allegorically, but we have really been in the midst of the fire. For the bishops and their companions which have warred against Schweinfurt threw fire night and day into all parts of the city, and fired the cannon with such force and violence that the soldiers who were within the city said they had never heard, in any other war, so many cannon fired in one day. God, in the first attack, by his mercy and aid so invited the people to repentance that not one in the city was killed. In short, God has shewn his power in defending this city and freeing it from so many evils; at last they entered suddenly by treachery, after we had been assured that, by command of the emperor and the other princes, they would go away. Having taken everything that was in the town they set it on fire. God freed us from the flames, and by the advice of one of the enemies we got out of the fire. My husband was twice taken by the soldiers, and if ever I was in distress then was the time, and if I ever prayed earnestly it was at that moment. My distracted heart cried with unutterable groans, ‘Help me, help me! Lord, for Christ’s sake,’ nor did I cease till he did help and freed my husband. I wish you had seen me with my hair all in disorder, covered with rags, for they took our very garments from us. In my flight I lost my shoes, and had no stockings, and I had to escape over stones and rocks, so that I do not know how I got on. I often said, I shall certainly fall down dead, I can go no farther: then I cried to God, ‘O Lord, if thou wilt that I should live, command thy angels to sustain me, for of myself I cannot.’ I am astonished when I think how the first day I walked that ten miles, feeling myself so faint; for I was very thin and weak, having been ill the day before, and I had a tertian fever brought on by fatigue, so that during the whole journey I was always ill. But God did not forsake us, though the very clothes were taken off our backs; for he sent us while on the way fifteen crowns in gold by a gentleman whom we did not know, and then led us to other

gentlemen who clothed us in a suitable manner. At last we came to this town of Heidelberg, where my husband has been made professor of medicine, and we have now as much furniture in the house as we had before.

“ I write you all this that you may thank the Lord, and remember that he never, in their greatest distresses, abandons his children, and that your faith may firmly believe that he will not forsake you, although we suffer somewhat for the sake of the truth; for we must be, as St. Paul says, conformed to the image of Christ, and suffer with him, that we may also reign with him. The crown is only given to those who fight; and if you feel yourself weak, my dear Madonna Cherubina, as I do, but the Lord makes me strong when I call upon and pray to him, go to Christ, who, as says Isaiah, ‘ will not break the bruised reed,’ that is the weak and timorous conscience, he will not alarm but console it; for he calls to himself all who are heavy-laden and weary of sin, nor ‘ will he quench the smoking flax,’ that is, him who is weak in faith he will not reject, but make him strong. Do you not know that Isaiah calls him (Christ) strong as a giant, not only because he has conquered the devil, sin, hell, and death, but because he continually conquers in his members all his enemies and makes them strong. Why do the Scriptures so often enjoin us to pray, and promise that we shall be heard, if not that in all our miseries and infirmities we may go to our Physician? Why does David call him ‘ the God of his strength,’ but because he made him strong? and so he will do for you, but he will be entreated, and we must study his word, which is the food of the soul. If the body loses its strength when it has no food, how can the soul be strong when not sustained by the word of God? So, my dear Madonna Cherubina, be continually in prayer, and read the Scriptures both by yourself and with the lady Lavinia, and with Vittoria, and exhort her to piety; pray together, and you will see that God will give you strength sufficient to conquer the world, so that you will never from fear do anything contrary to your conscience. Do you think he is a liar when he says, ‘ Verily, verily I say unto you, If you ask anything of the Father in my name he will give it you,’ and ‘ where two or three are gathered together upon earth, and pray for anything, I will grant it.’ We are without him when we are weak, because we do not pray to him. You will see that if you do not grow weary in prayer God will make you strong. Pray for us, as I do for all the Christians in Italy, that God may give us constancy so that we may confess him in the midst of a perverse generation. Here there is great contempt for the word of God, and few care about it; we have here also idolatry together with the word of God, like Samaria. How I wish I could have my dear mother with me, but every place is full of war. I must look for the consolation of seeing her in another world. The pious are not without their cross here: may the Lord give to us all faith and constancy to conquer the world.

“ For the glory of God I must write you an account of a wonderful thing which we have seen during our misfortunes. We have been at the court of some of the German nobles who have perilled both life and fortune, and who live such holy lives that I am quite confounded. One noble has preachers in his city, and he himself is always the first to go to the preaching; then every morning before dinner he summons

all his family, not one must be absent, and in their presence he reads a gospel or an epistle of St. Paul, and then he and all his court kneel in prayer to God. All his subjects from house to house are obliged to give an account of their faith that he may see what progress they are making in religion, for he knows well that if he does not act thus he will be called to give an account of the souls of his subjects. How I wish all princes and nobles did the same! May the Lord give you faith and increase of knowledge, for we ought continually to pray that our faith may be increased; for this is the will of the Lord, we should never stand still as if we were perfect, but walk on and grow unto perfection. Study diligently the Holy Scriptures. Emilio, thank God, is safe and well, and I hope that he will fear God; he is fond of hearing preaching and studying the Scriptures. I pray constantly for him, and for all our family, that they may fear the Lord. My husband and Emilio salute you heartily. From Heidelberg, 8th of August.

"If the lady Lavinia feels disposed to write to me, it will be easy for her to find the way and the means. This city is celebrated for its court and university. Your Olympia."¹

It is scarcely possible to realise the sufferings which this little family underwent in a besieged city on fire where the plague was raging at the same time. They were obliged to conceal themselves in a wine-cellar² to avoid the flames. The soldiers being without pay threatened to indemnify themselves by pillage. When the marquis of Brandenburg left the town by night the troops of the bishops entered next day, and after having pillaged it of all that remained set it on fire. In this extremity the Grunthler family could save nothing but their lives, and poor Olympia had her gown torn from her in the middle of the street, leaving her almost naked.³ They directed their steps to Hamelburg, a place about three leagues off, and Olympia says her plight on entering this town was like the queen of the beggars with a tattered gown given her by a poor woman; as before related in her letter to Cherubina, she was barefoot, and her hair in the greatest disorder: and no wonder such a journey in such a state destroyed her health and laid the foundation of an early decline. They found hospitable protection first from Count Rhineck, then from Count Erbach,⁴ who had perilled their own lives and fortunes for the sake of the Christian religion. The eldest

¹ *Epist. Olymp.* p. 122.

² "Atque illo tempore semper in cella vinaria latitare coacti fuimus."—*Epist. Olymp. Casio Curioni*, p. 160.

³ "Imo in medio foro nobis vestimenta detracta fuerint, neque mihi quicquam præter linteam tunicam relictum fuit quo corpus tegerem."—*Olympia Morata Victoria Morata*, p. 175.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 175.

of the three brothers, Eberhard, was married to the daughter of the Count Palatine Frederick II. Olympia wrote to her sister Vittoria that this noble lady was so affected by their misfortunes that she received them with the utmost kindness and compassion, and herself ministered to her necessities during the indisposition which followed the fatiguing walk of ten miles. The countess presented her with a beautiful cloak worth a thousand crowns. It is of this family, and the piety of its chief, that Olympia speaks in her letter to Cherubina. The forlorn condition of the fugitives called forth the sympathies of this christian family, and very probably the countess used her influence with her brother the Count Palatine to procure for Grunthler the professorship of medicine at Heidelberg.

Our space does not admit of indulging our readers with many more particulars of a life which is waning to its close. As soon as her arrival at Heidelberg was known among her friends, letters of condolence and sympathy poured in on all sides. John Sinapi, of Wurtzburg, where she and her husband had so lately been guests, was the first to offer to her those heavenly consolations which he knew she would most prize. "Our hope is only in another and a better country; we know that this world is not our home, but appointed to us as a sojourn for a time. God abundantly compensates us for all misfortunes by his infinite goodness. . . . I have received letters from Italy very lately, dated the 1st of June; some things in them concern you. I do not know whether you are acquainted with what is passing at court. They wrote to me that the whole country is full of evils and dangers, and that God is proving who are his people by the cross. When we think of their lot our own seems lighter."¹

Olympia's friends signified their wish to supply her with books, to replace those which she had lost in the fire at Schweinfurt. One book alone had been rescued from the flames, a volume of the lives of Plutarch, which John Sinapi bought and sent to Grunthler because he found Olympia's name inscribed in the last page. Curione touchingly responds to the recital of her calamities, and reminds her that if she had lost her worldly goods she still retained all that was valuable, genius, learning, wisdom, innocence, piety, and faith. "I wrote about

¹ *Epist. Olymp. Joannes Sinapius*, p. 136. This letter is dated 28th June, 1554.

the books to your husband.¹ Our printers have sent you in my name Homer and other books as a gift. If they are to be found at Frankfort you shall have the Commentaries on the Lamentations of Jeremiah,² that you may meditate with him on the sorrows of your husband's country. We have sent you all the works of Sophocles which are extant, as a laurel you well deserve."³

In the year 1554 John Sinapi had the affliction to lose his wife Francesca, and the widowed father was anxious to place his daughter Theodora under Olympia's care: though much occupied in furnishing her apartment and arranging her household, she willingly consented to receive his orphan daughter, provided he could send her bed also; furniture she says is dear, and they have not the means of purchasing a great deal. This young girl was very precious to Olympia for her mother's sake, and she tells her father that his child will have an opportunity of being in the society of the elegant and accomplished daughters of count Eberhard⁴ of Erbach. Olympia thought much of her friends in Italy, especially Lavinia della Rovere, under whose protection her sister Vittoria was placed; she felt disappointed at not receiving any answer to the many letters she had written to her, and as if taking a last adieu of this dear friend she wrote once again, earnestly recommending her to watch lest she should fall into lukewarmness, and entreating her to study the Scriptures with diligence: while speaking of the state of warfare with which she is surrounded she adds: "but all these things ought to fill us with joy, for we know that they portend that the happy and auspicious day is near when we shall commence an ever-blessed life. It is enough here to correspond by letter and communicate in spirit. I commend to you my sister with the greatest anxiety, not that you may heap riches upon her or lead her to earthly honours, but that she may be enlightened by the knowledge of Christ. Soon will the form of this world pass away."⁵ No doubt she felt that her health had received a shock from which it would never recover, and she gradually prepared her mind to leave this world and to enter into eternal rest.

In the beginning of 1555 she found herself much weaker,

¹ *Epist. Olymp.* p. 165.

² By Peter Martyr Vermiglio.

³ *Idem*, p. 165.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 144.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 175. This letter was dated Heidelberg, 30th August, 1554.

and that same year the plague broke out at Heidelberg. Letters from a friend informed her that Curione was ill, and she immediately took up her pen entreating to have her anxiety relieved about him. Of herself she says, "I grow weaker and weaker, and the fever never leaves me. God thus chastises us that we may not perish with the world."¹ An account of Curione's recovery and that of his daughter Violante revived her, and she wrote to him for the last time. Her letter expressed with touching emotion that sadness which fills the heart at the prospect of separation from all we love. Her affections were indeed fixed above, but the weakness of her exhausted frame drew forth all the tenderness of her nature.

OLYMPIA FULVIA MORATA TO CELIO SECUNDO CURIONE.

"How tenderly the hearts of true friends, Christian friends, are united, you, my dearest Father Celio, may conceive when I tell you that on reading your letter I could not refrain from tears. I wept for joy that you were rescued from the grave. May God preserve you for the service and advantage of his Church. I grieve to hear of your daughter's illness, but my grief is diminished by what you say of there being some hope of her recovery. As for me, dear Celio, know that I have no hope of surviving long. I am beyond the reach of medicines, and though I make use of many they are in vain, so that my friends look every day, and even every hour, for my release, and I think this is the last letter you will receive from me. My body and strength are wasted; I have no desire for food, and my cough both night and day threatens to suffocate me. The fever is strong and constant, and I have such pains all over me that they prevent me from sleeping. Thus nothing remains for me but to expire. But as long as my heart beats I will remember my friends and the benefits I have received from them. . . . I think my departure is near. I commend the Church to your care; let all you do be for its benefit.

"Farewell, excellent Celio, and when you hear of my death do not grieve, for I know that I shall be victorious at the last, and I desire to depart and to be with Christ. . . . Heidelberg is deserted; many have fled on account of the plague. I send you the poems which I have been able to recollect and write out since the ruin of Schweinfurt; all my other writings perished. You must be my Aristarchus and polish them. Again farewell. Heidelberg, 1555."²

Too truly did the dying Olympia foresee that this would be the last letter she would write, for before it reached its destination her spirit had fled to the light of everlasting day.

We must now complete the account of this angelic being by giving a letter written by her husband to the above-mentioned Celio a month after her death. The blow seemed too heavy for

¹ *Epist. Olymp.* 9th July, 1555.

² *Idem*, p. 185.

him to bear after all his losses and calamities; this last rolling wave cast him prostrate.

“ . . . She indeed departed with great eagerness, and I may say that she died with joy, in the firm persuasion that she was called from daily suffering and from a life of sorrow to eternal happiness. I can receive no consolation as yet from the recollection of the sweet and happy days we passed together. She lived with me not quite five years, and certainly never did I see a purer or more candid mind, or conduct so upright and holy. . . . I feel able for nothing; notwithstanding, as I know how much you wish it, I will try to summon strength to tell you briefly how her life ended. Just before her death, on awakening from sleep, her countenance had an expression of happy sweetness and secret joy. I drew near and asked her why she smiled so sweetly. ‘I saw,’ said she, ‘just now, in the stillness, a place filled with a beautiful clear light;’ she could say no more from weakness. ‘Come, said I, ‘be of good cheer, my wife, you will dwell in that beautiful light.’ She smiled again, and gently nodded her head, and a little after she said, ‘I am full of joy.’ She did not speak again till her sight growing dim she said, ‘I scarcely know you, but all around seems full of beautiful flowers.’ These were her last words. A little after, as if overcome by a sweet sleep, she breathed out her spirit. For days before she had often declared with strong assurance that she desired nothing so much as to die and to be with Christ, whose great benefits to her, when the force of her disease permitted, she never ceased to acknowledge; because he had enlightened her with a knowledge of his word, and had alienated her mind from the pleasures of the world, and inflamed her with the desire of eternal life: nor did she hesitate in all her discourses to call herself the child of God. Nothing afforded her less satisfaction than any attempt to console her by expressing a hope that she would recover from this illness. God, she said, had circumscribed the course of her life, which had been very suffering and full of sorrow, and she did not wish to return to prison. Being asked once by a good man if she felt any doubts in her mind which did her harm, she replied, ‘Seven years ago the devil never ceased to make every effort to draw me away from the true faith, but having failed in his undertaking he now no longer appears, nor do I feel anything but the utmost peace and tranquillity in Christ.’ I should be too long if I were to enumerate all the things which we heard her say, to our great admiration, and which shewed the piety, holiness, constancy, and strength of her mind. She died on the 25th of November, at four o’clock in the afternoon, not having completed her twenty-ninth year.

“ She received a letter from you at the last Frankfort fair, which though grievously afflicted she wished to answer, and write to you with her own hand. But afterwards she changed her mind. Not being able from weakness to write, she commissioned me to do so. I therefore send you, as you see, this letter, which predicts her sad end,¹ together with some Psalms which she wrote in Greek, and a few epigrams. When I had written the letter I reminded her of the learned Bonifacio Amberbachio;² she replied, ‘You know we wrote together by Herold to

¹ See the letter to Curione, p. 135.

² Of Bâle.

him, and we have not yet received an answer. And now I have nothing to say, and if I had I am not able.' You, when you write to our Celio, command him in my name to take care of his health. . . .

"I am very anxious as to the manner in which I should communicate the sad intelligence to my mother-in-law. I know how dreadfully it will afflict this excellent lady, who has been already so severely tried. I can see nothing better than for you, with your piety and eloquence, to write first a letter to prepare the way for mine, and to strengthen her mind to bear the dreadful news. . . . Meanwhile farewell, dear Celio; you are happier than I am, for you have a beloved wife and sweet children. Heidelberg, 23rd December, 1555."¹

In this same letter Grunthler proposes sending Emilio, Olympia's young brother, to him, as he feared that his professional absences would prevent him attending to his studies, and he is "very desirous that he should emulate the reputation of the sister by whom alone he has hitherto been educated."

At the suggestion of Grunthler² Celio undertook the painful task of breaking to Olympia's widowed mother the heart-rending intelligence of her pious and accomplished daughter's death. The want of space alone prevents it from being laid entire before the reader;³ it is a most feeling epistle, full of christian consolation and support.

"Our Olympia is not dead, but lives a blessed and immortal life with Christ, and after all her trials and sufferings she is received into her sweet and deserved rest. She lives, lives above. Your Olympia, Lucrezia, lives also here below, and as long as there are men in the world will she be immortal by her works, those divine monuments of her exquisite talents. For that is not the only life which is composed of body and soul, but there is one much higher which shall flourish throughout all ages, which posterity will increase, and even eternity itself sustain."

Curione, in compliance with Olympia's wish, determined to publish as many of her writings as he could collect, together with the encomiums of learned men. "I have myself," he writes to Grunthler, "written not an epitaph, but an apotheosis⁴ of her in a few verses, and I shall add my letters to her and yours to me, giving an account of her death, all of which will be authoritative records of her life. I beg you therefore speedily

¹ *Epist. Olymp.* p. 187.

² Celio, in his reply to Grunthler, tells him he has written to Lucrezia in Italian, and sends him a translation of the letter into Latin, to shew him what he has said.

³ See it in *Epist. Olymp.* p. 195, in Latin; *Vie d'Olympia Morata*, p. 235, in French; and *Life of Olympia Morata*, p. 261, in English.

⁴ See Appendix I.

to send me any writings which either you or others have in your possession, that I may add them to the rest."¹

As the account of Renée's inner life and domestic habits is very imperfect and slender, it is not surprising that no mention is made of the impression which the death of this young gifted creature produced at Ferrara.

The duchess, as we have seen, had private vexations enough of her own to occupy all her attention. Her son Alfonso,² like his uncle Francesco before him, had escaped to the court of France without the permission of his father. He had repeatedly asked leave to make this excursion and been always refused, but he was decided on going, and secretly borrowed nine thousand crowns for the journey. On the 28th of May 1552, under pretence of hawk-hunting, he went out of the gates of Ferrara and rode on to Polesine di Rovigo. There he told his companions he was going to France, and dismissed them to their homes, taking with him only four or five servants, his barber, armourer, and some others. The duke did not hear of his departure till he was far on his road to Paris; but he then shewed his displeasure by hanging in effigy by the feet, from the windows of the palace della Ragione, Gio. Tommaso Lavezzuolo, who he thought had promoted his son's flight. The chief reason of the duke's displeasure was his fear lest Charles V. should take it amiss. Alfonso was well received at the court of France, complimented with the order of St. Michael, and made captain of a hundred soldiers with suitable pay.³ He returned to Italy in 1557, with the army of the duke of Guise, when the hatred of Paul IV. for the Spanish party had kindled the flames of war in Lombardy. The Pope was determined to support the pretensions of the French at any cost, and the duke of Ferrara was forced into the league, partly by the persuasions of his son-in-law the duke of Guise, but chiefly from fear of the Pope.

¹ The edition here made use of is that of Bâle, 1572; the title, *Olympia Morate Femina Doctissima ac Plane Divina Opera omnia que hactenus innotescere potuerunt cum eruditorum testimonio et laudibus. Quibus Cælij S. C. Selectæ Epistolæ ac Orationes accesserunt*. Basileæ, apud Petrum Pernam, 1570. The preface is dated 1562; it is a dedication to D. Elisabethæ Angliæ Franciæ atque Hiberniæ Reginæ, Ecclesiæ Christianæ veræ patronæ. For the other editions see Appendix J.

² Besides Anna, Alfonso, and Lucrezia, she had since borne another daughter, Eleanora, and a son, Luigi, afterwards cardinal.

³ Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. iv. p. 343.

This alliance made him more willing to receive and forgive Alfonso, whose life had been in great danger from mounting a horse belonging to the duke d' Aumale, whom no one had been able to break; he was thrown, and so much injured that for many hours he was considered dead, and he never entirely recovered the consequences of his fall. By joining the league Ercole was involved in expences which he could not meet without injury to his subjects. In order to raise money he was driven to do what his father in his greatest difficulties never did. He closed the university, and appropriated the salaries of the professors to the maintenance of the war, increased the price of salt and made it a monopoly, and reimposed several taxes which had been taken off.

Both Frizzi and Muratori mention the duchess Renée being engaged in the Fieschi conspiracy at Genoa to reestablish French dominion there, but except the fact no details are given. In the year 1558 Ferdinand, king of the Romans, was elected emperor, and a general pacification followed.

The following year the duke, though by no means advanced in years, was seized with a sudden illness, which in a few days carried him off. Under the direction probably of the Jesuits he had made his will the year before, and after leaving several legacies for pious purposes he assigned to Renée the use of the palace and half of the Belneguardo rental, *fin che viverà da buona cattolica*. He left a larger dower to his daughters than was usual. To Luigi he left *il palazzo de' Diamante*, with a sum of money to finish it.

The talents and prudence of the duchess Renée were conspicuously manifest on her husband's death. Her son Alfonso the heir was absent in France. Ippolito and Alfonso the brothers of Ercole were both at a distance. She therefore herself assumed the reins of government, and sent a messenger to France for Alfonso, who immediately gave up his captain's command and set out for Ferrara.¹ The king accompanied him part of the way, and to secure him in his interests assigned him at parting

¹ Alfonso's first act was one of justice and humanity; he liberated Giulio, natural brother of Alfonso I., who, involved in the conspiracy of 1505, had been in prison ever since, fifty-four years. He appeared on horseback in public in the same dress which was the fashion when he was imprisoned, and his costume excited great curiosity and astonishment.—Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. iv. p. 355.

an annual pension of 20,000 crowns in gold. He went by the way of Marseilles to Leghorn, and from thence to Florence, where he visited Lucrezia, his betrothed bride, daughter of Cosimo duke of Florence, and arrived incognito at Ferrara on the 20th of November, and after a conversation with his mother retired to Belvidere. He made his public entry as duke with great pomp on the 19th of January 1560, and immediately began to shew his love for letters by reopening the university closed by his father, and even projected opening a vast printing-press at Ferrara. Renée, trusting to her son's filial affection, thought she would now be permitted to manifest more openly her protestant opinions, but Alfonso having gone to Rome to pay homage to the Pope, Pius IV., he complained of the duchess being so obstinate in her religious errors. Alfonso, on his return in June, told her that even though she were his mother it was his duty to advise her either to change her opinions or quit the country. She chose the latter alternative, and resolved to retire to her estates at Montargis. Much as Renée loved her country,¹ it must have been a heavy trial to separate herself from her daughters by the command of her son; but it was impossible for her to conform to the Roman Catholic religion, and as her opinions might imperil the safety of her son's dominions she unwillingly acquiesced. That same year, accompanied by a suite of three hundred persons, Renée set out for Montargis. Her son Luigi escorted her a considerable part of the way. There were loud lamentations among the poor when she left Ferrara, for she had been to them a constant and generous benefactress.

Neither of her daughters, Lucrezia and Leonora, were married when deprived of a mother's counsel and protection. Though grown up they were still young, the one twenty-five, the other twenty-three years of age; nothing but the being forced² into

¹ "Erano queste Principesse bellissime della persona e di così leggiadre e signorili maniere, che solean destare non meno riverenza che ammirazione in chiunque le riguardavo."—Serassi, *Vita di T. Tasso*, p. 128. "Ces trois filles furent très belles, mais la mère les fit embellir d'avantage par la belle nourriture qu'elle leur donna, en leur faisant apprendre les sciences et les bonnes lettres, qu'elles apprirent, et retinrent parfaitement et en faisaient honte aux plus sçavans, de soule que si elles avoient beau corps, elles avoient l'ame autant belle, &c."—Brantome, *Dames Illustres*, p. 302. 1665.

² See, in *Memorials of Renée of France*, p. 185 sq., an interesting account of Renée's interview with Sir N. Throckmorton, the English Ambassador, soon after her arrival at Orleans, and his letter to Queen Elizabeth detailing the conversation, taken from the State Paper Office.

a religion against her conscience would have induced her to quit them.

Brantome says they were not only beautiful but of highly cultivated minds; their manners combined that happy mixture of grace and dignity which befits an exalted station.

Lucrezia d' Este was married at Ferrara on the 2nd of January 1571, to Francesco Maria prince of Urbino, and conducted home to Pesaro on the 8th. The people received her with enthusaism, but "Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador, while lauding the handsome and gracious princess, admits an early prejudice against her both on the part of her new subjects and her lord. The hope of an heir was the chief object of the people's desire, and as she was many years older¹ than her husband, a chill of disappointment naturally mingled even with their congratulations."²

Francesco Maria, the only son and heir of the duke of Urbino, finished his education at the court of Philip II. of Spain, and was recalled by his father in 1568, partly on account of his extravagant expenditure there, and partly with the intention of providing him with a wife. The embarrassed state of Guidobaldo's finances and the large amount of Lucrezia's dower, 150,000 crown, seem to have blinded him as to the imprudence of giving a young man of twenty-two years of age a wife almost old enough to be his mother. Happiness was out of the question in such an ill-assorted union, but there were also state objections to a connection so disproportionate in age. The natural consequences followed. Lucrezia grew jealous of younger and fairer dames, and felt herself neglected. In the short space of two years, under pretence of health, she went back to Ferrara and never afterwards returned to her husband. Francesco Maria kept a diary, and on this subject he made the following remark. "Meanwhile the duchess wished to return to Ferrara, where she subsequently chose to remain, a resolution which gave no annoyance to her husband; for as she was unlikely to bring him a family her absence mattered little. Her provision was amicably arranged, and their intercourse continued uniformly on the most courteous terms."³

¹ Francesco Maria, son of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino and Vittoria Farnese, was born in 1649; Lucrezia, the daughter of Alfonso and Renée, in 1535.

² Denistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. p. 128.

³ *Ibid.* p. 146. "The Duke's autograph diary was carried to Florence with

Before Lucrezia's marriage that eccentric genius Torquato Tasso made his appearance at Ferrara, and with the refined gallantry of the times he sang the charms of princess Lucrezia. The insanity of the poet is now very generally acknowledged, and this once admitted as a fact, clears up much that is mysterious in his history. Tales are told of his rushing once into the chamber of the lady Lucrezia to attack a servant with a knife in his hand; at another time of his being seized by a sudden impulse to kiss the princess in public.¹ Serassi mentions Tasso being in love with two ladies of the court named Lucrezia and Leonora,² whose praises he sang alternately. Others speak of his absorbing passion for Leonora d' Este, Alfonso's youngest sister.

In judging of these poetical and amorous effusions we must make full allowance for the manners of the times, and remember that a man of talent, especially a poet who aspired for fame, was as much bound to celebrate the praises of some distinguished beauty, as a young scion of nobility was to flesh his maiden sword by some valiant deed of arms. The wholesome purity of modern refinement rightly forbids a poet celebrating in too glowing colours a matron's charms; but in Tasso's time such homage was a compliment due to beauty and to talent, and the ladies of the court were proud of being handed down to posterity as the theme of a poet's dream. The gratification was in proportion to the vanity of the lady whose praise was sung, and it was perhaps on account of the liveliness of the lady Lucrezia's character that she was said to take peculiar interest in the effusions of this mad but gifted poet. That he was crazed is evident, whether from love or vanity it would be difficult to determine. His devotion to Leonora d' Este, whose staid and prudent character put her above all suspicion of trifling, has been exalted into a passion; though probably his admiration of her was only a change of subject, and when weary of well-worn themes he turned with purer homage to a character which has been pronounced faultless by contemporary historians. She

his other personal effects in 1631. It is in the Magliabecchia Library, Class xxv. No. 76."

¹ See Serassi, *Vita di T. Tasso*, for a full and impartial account of the poet's character and writings.

² "Lucrezia Bendidio, Gentil donna di singolare bellezza, di vivacissimo spirito, e di meraviglioso valore, e lodata perciò da molte scritture del suo secolo."—Serassi, *Vita di T. Tasso*, p. 139.

was of a retired and modest disposition, disliked pomp and public assemblies, was not fond of dress, but preferred the quiet of her own apartments, where she occupied herself in study and prayer. Her piety was probably of an enlightened nature, and she must have retained something of her mother's instructions, or, in conformity to the notions of the day, she would have secluded herself in a convent. She enjoyed the society of learned men, and took great pleasure in the productions of Tasso's genius. In his celebrated poem *Gerusalemme Liberata* she is depicted in the character of Sofronia. Her health was not good, and her chest so delicate that the physicians forbade her to sing. She died in February 1581, "leaving behind her sweet memories of her exemplary life, and of the great and superior virtues which distinguished her."¹ Tasso wrote a letter of condolence from Rome to the duchess Lucrezia on this mournful occasion.² The year before he had written an essay, *Della virtù Femmine e Donnesca*, in which he highly lauds the Este princesses.

Lucrezia, though a neglected wife, survived the honours of her race. She was very musical and fond of pleasure, and encouraged her brother Alfonso in giving musical entertainments, so that all the best professors were attracted to the court of Ferrara.

The duke had music after dinner, and in the evening there was generally an assembly in the duchess of Urbino's apartments, where for an hour or two after supper the ladies played and sang. Even the nunneries caught the fashion of the day, so that the taste for music became universally cultivated.³ Lucrezia balanced her love of pleasure by her conformity to superstition. The duke and duchess went in May 1597 to lay the foundation of a temple to the Virgin Mary at Reggio, in honour of some miraculous image. Lucrezia duchess of Urbino not being able from her state of health to bear the motion of a carriage, was carried by eight men in a chair to make her offerings at this wonderful shrine. She arrived on the 22nd of October, but the image, as saith the prophet Elijah,⁴ was either

¹ Serassi, *Vita di T. Tasso*, p. 297.

² *Idem*, p. 297. See Appendix K.

³ Frizzi *Memorie*, tom. iv. p. 414.

⁴ 1 Kings xviii. 27. "Cry aloud; for he is a God; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked."

asleep or absent, and not to be propitiated, for Lucrezia was summoned to Ferrara on the 26th by the alarming illness of the duke. He died the following day without leaving any posterity.¹ Though by no means a man of superior character, he was not altogether deficient in good qualities. His bigotry in religion made him forget his duty to his mother, but he was moral in his conduct and upright in his dealings. In splendour and magnificence he excelled both his father and grandfather, but he lost his popularity by burdening his subjects with heavy taxes, and his severe restrictions on the liberty of the chase gave universal dissatisfaction. Though not learned he had a fine gift of natural eloquence, and took pleasure in encouraging by his patronage the talents of poets and learned men.² He spoke with equal facility the Italian, French, and German languages, and understood Spanish and Latin.

With Alfonso terminated the race³ and dominion of the house of Este, and the direct line as well as the prosperity of Ferrara. It had hitherto enjoyed under all its native princes all the blessings of civilization and cultivation; it was now

¹ Alfonso was three times married: first, to Lucrezia de' Medici, in 1558, who died in 1561; secondly to Barbara of Austria, in 1565, she died in 1572; and thirdly to Margherita Gonzaga, in 1579, who survived him till the year 1581.

² He especially patronised Battista Guarini, born in 1537, the author of *Pastor Fido*. He was a native of Ferrara, and a young man of brilliant precocious talents, who at a very early age was professor of belles lettres at the university. At thirty years of age he entered the special service of the duke, and was employed by him in various foreign embassies. When Henri de Valois accepted the crown of Poland in 1574, Guarini was sent to compliment him. Charles ix. died fourteen days after, and Henri, in his eagerness to take possession of the crown of France, escaped in the night from Poland. Alfonso seeing how easily this crown was won and rejected was fain to have it placed on his own head, and employed Guarini to negotiate this delicate matter. His efforts were not crowned with success, and on his return to Ferrara, though made secretary of state, he thought himself slighted, and retired from Ferrara. In this interval of repose he composed the scenic pastoral on which his fame rests. Guarini was an unhappy instance of that morbid self-love, that "appetite which grows on what it feeds on," till it destroys the happiness of its possessor. He went to Florence, returned to Ferrara, tried Urbino, and finally died at Venice in 1612. The *Pastor Fido* is written in too passionate language to be wholesome reading for young persons; but Tiraboschi quotes Cardinal Bellarmine's opinion, "che senza pericolo, ma non senza piacere, puo esser letto negli anni piu serj, e piu robusti."—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 157.

³ Luigi the cardinal died at Rome in 1586. Though he had an income of 100,000 crowns he left debts to the amount of 200,000 crowns for his heir Cesare d' Este to pay.

to be under the exhaustive protection of pontifical dry-nurses, who reduced the once magnificent Ferrara to desolation and solitude.

Alfonso, disappointed in his hopes of a legitimate succession of his own, went to Rome in 1590 to endeavour to arrange with Gregorio XIII. that Cesare d' Este, his cousin, should succeed to the dukedom of Ferrara. He was received with distinguished honour, an apartment assigned him in the palace of S. Marc, the residence of the Pope, and he was admitted to dine alone in the same room with his holiness, though not at the same table.¹ A congregation of thirteen cardinals was deputed to take into consideration Alfonso's request. Opinions seemed favourable, and the Pope was desirous of having the successor named, hoping the choice would fall on Filippo d' Este, a relation of the Sfondrati family, but the duke had fixed on his cousin Cesare to succeed him. This caused delay; Gregorio fell ill and died; Alfonso was obliged to return to Ferrara without anything being settled, and he never afterwards gave himself any more trouble about the matter. When his will was opened it was found that Cesare d' Este was declared heir to the dukedom; and he was then publicly proclaimed duke of Ferrara. The court of Rome, which had been anxiously looking for the death of Alfonso, had prepared for this event by cultivating a confidential correspondence with Lucrezia duchess of Urbino; she, it is said, owing to some offence given her by Alfonso d' Este, father of Cesare, nourished a deadly hatred against her cousin, which the Roman consistory was only too glad to profit by. Under the pretence that Cesare was not included in the investiture of Paul III., and that there was a doubt of his legitimacy,² the Pope prepared to drive him from Ferrara. The state was formally declared to have lapsed to the church, and he commanded Cesare, under pain of excommunication, to give it up within fifteen days. In vain were terms offered of a tribute and

¹ Our Lord the Saviour of the world ate with publicans and sinners, but his vicar the pope does not condescend to allow a sovereign prince to sit at the same table with himself.

² Cesare was the son of Alfonso, whose mother Laura Eustachio made a left-handed marriage with Alfonso I., duke of Ferrara, after the death of the duchess Lucrezia Borgia. Alfonso married in 1548 Giulia della Rovere, daughter of Francesco Maria I., duke of Urbino. She had two sons, Cesare and Alessandro. From Cesare d' Este descend the dukes of Modena.

a city for the Pope's nephew. Supported by the cardinals the Pope remained firm. Cesare prepared for his defence. Clement VIII. sent a considerable force under the command of his nephew Card. Pietro Aldobrandini, a young man twenty-six years of age. The excommunication was affixed to the doors of the cathedral by an unknown hand. Marguerite, the widowed duchess, took flight to Mantua, and carried with her fifty cart-loads of valuables, and 8000 crowns, which Cesare had given as her dower. In vain the rightful duke pleaded his cause at foreign courts; they wanted the Pope's help against the Turks, and would not stir in the matter. Even France declared itself willing to fight for the Pope's cause. Cesare thus abandoned, with the terrors of excommunication hanging over Ferrara, consulted his confessor, Benedetto Palma, a Jesuit; he advised him not to contend with the Pope, but counselled him to take possession of Modena and Reggio, and hope for better things in future. To this he finally consented, and sent his minister Laderchi to Lucrezia duchess of Urbino to request her to despatch a relation of the family to Faenza, to endeavour to make as favourable terms as possible with Aldobrandini. His choice of a mediator was not considered wise,¹ but she willingly undertook the commission.

Meanwhile a canon dressed himself as a pig-driver, and following his pigs into the town he carried with him a hollow stick which contained the original document of excommunication. Next day the bishop affixed it to the door of the cathedral, and though it was immediately torn to pieces it hurried the movements of the actors. Before noon that same day Lucrezia, accompanied to the gates by Cesare, was carried in a litter through the deep snow which had fallen the night before. Escorted by a troop of horse she made her way towards the Papal forces followed by the Este troops. As they approached within sight of each other both parties went through the form of sounding a defiance to battle, but Aldobrandini on one side and Lucrezia on the other prevented them from coming to blows, and the terms of agreement were arranged.

¹ " Ella era, al dire dall' Ubaldino, una donna di natura altera, e sua nemica, cosa molto certa, e tanto più nota a D. Cesare, quanto che per i giusti sospetti che di lei aveva nel suo ingresso al principato, aveva dato ordine che fosse strangolata, ma non seguì l' effetto alli 2 Decembre, 1597, per la sua irresoluzione ed incostanza."—*Friszi, Memorie*, tom. v. p. 9.

We grieve to say that the Ferrara historians have accused Lucrezia of betraying her trust as agent, and allowing herself to be worked upon by motives of private advantage¹ to sacrifice the interests of Cesare. Vanity never dies, and it is said that though fifty-three years old she allowed herself to be lured by the flatteries of the spirited young cardinal into acts of treachery to her country. Ferrara was to be given up to the Pope; Cesare's young son Alfonso, seven years old, was torn from the arms of his fainting mother and sent as hostage to Aldobrandini till the terms of the agreement² were fulfilled. Mons. Girolamo Matteucci, archbishop of Ragusa, and Mario Farnese, an artillery officer, were sent to Ferrara, the one to receive the books and writings belonging to the city, the other to divide the cannon and arms. Cesare, before his departure for Modena, received the blessing of the archbishop Matteucci in the cathedral at Ferrara; having given up his family property to the Pope he was absolved from all sin. Thus purified, he sent on his wife, children, and baggage, and followed them in a carriage by himself; he was observed holding a letter in his hand as if reading it, but his eyes were so suffused with tears that he could not distinguish a word. Sorrow begets compassion, and as he passed out of the gate degli Angeli he suddenly thought of the poor prisoners in the castle and in the common gaol, and sent a company of sharpshooters to liberate them.

The duchess Lucrezia, who had been for some time in a bad state of health, was so seriously injured by her fatiguing journey in the middle of winter to Faenza that she died on the 12th of January, carrying with her, says Frizzi, the promise of the duchy of Bertinoro.³

¹ She was offered the title of Duchess of Bertinoro and its absolute possession for life.

² It was signed on the 12th January, 1598, and put in execution on the 17th. See the terms in Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. v. p. 12.

³ "Her death is thus noted by her husband Francesco Maria duke of Urbino:

"February 14th, I sent the Abbé Brunetti to Ferrara, to visit the duchess, my wife, who was sick.' In his Memoirs she is the subject of still more brief remark:

"Feb. 15th. Heard that Madame Lucrezia d'Este, duchess of Urbino, my wife, died at Ferrara during the night of the 11th.' Her death occurred after many years, leaving him (the duke) executor by her will of many pious bequests! Considering that the largest bequest was in his own favour, a less chilling notice might have been bestowed. The sum she left him was 30,000 scudi: to her various attendants and

Long before this total disruption of her family, Renée duchess of Ferrara had entered into her rest. When she first resolved to leave Italy Calvin had some hope of her going to Geneva. He relieved the scruples which she felt at having promised her husband on his death-bed not to correspond with Calvin, by telling her that she did wrong in making such a promise; and warned her that in going to France in its present state she only removed from one difficulty to another.¹

In France Renée shewed herself openly a partisan of the reformation, and defended and assisted the persecuted protestants in every possible manner. After the league formed between France, Spain, the Pope, the Venetians, and Piedmont against the reformed opinions, Calvin boldly remonstrated with the duchess Renée about the conduct of the duchess of Guise in not standing up as the protector of the churches of France.²

“I speak to you plainly, Madam, of what is known to everybody, that your prudence may fall on some convenient method of preventing her from conspiring with those whose only desire is to crush true religion, that she may not be involved in schemes, the issue of which must be unhappy, because she is against God. Geneva, February, 1562.”³

servants she gave 12,000 in small legacies, and 20,000 among several convents, in masses for her soul. There was also a fund to be mortified for the endowment of poor girls, half in Ferrara and half at Urbino; and Cardinal Aldobrandini, the Pope's nephew, was named residuary legatee, a selection which has been ingeniously ascribed to the countenance bestowed by his family on Tasso, in the closing scenes of that minstrel's troubled life.”—Denistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. pp. 156, 157.

¹ “Oultre ce que Dieu vous a de long temps montré par sa parole, l'âge vous advertit de penser que nôtre héritage et repos éternel n'est pas icy-bas, et Jesus Christ vant bien de vous faire oublier tant France que Ferrare. Et Dieu par la viduité vous a rendue plus franche et libre, afin de vous retenir du tout à soy. Je vondroye avoir le moyen de vous remonstré de bouche ces choses plus à plein, et non pas pour un coup, mais de jour a aultre. Mais je vous en laisseray plus penser selon votre prudence que je n'en ay escrit. ce 5 juillet 1560.”—Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, tom. ii. p. 340.

² “Madame de Guise suit un train qui ne peut revenir qu'à sa confusion si elle continue, car encores qu'elle ne le pense point, si cherche-elle la ruine des pauvres Eglises de France, desquelles Dieu sera protecteur pour les maintenir. Je proteste de rechef, Madame, que je m'abstiendries volontiers de vous ennuyer, mais d'aultre costé je voudrois bien qu'elle pust estre induite par votre autorité à modérer ses passions, auxquelles elle ne peut obeir, comme elle faiet, qu'en faisant guerre à Dieu.”—*Lettres de Calvin*, tom. ii. p. 457.

³ Calvin, with his usual acuteness, heard the distant murmur of the storm, which proved the destruction of the Protestants in 1572.

There are several other letters,¹ written by Calvin to this his distinguished disciple, in which he praises her for the courage and constancy she had shewn in protecting and receiving the persecuted protestants at Montargis. "I know, Madam, what strength God has given you under the rudest attacks, and by his grace you have virtuously resisted all temptations, and have not been ashamed to bear the obloquy of Jesus Christ." Calvin continually pressed upon her the duty of repressing all immorality and licence in her court, and supporting by her authority the admonitions of the ministers of religion. He sent her a gold coin struck by her father while at war with Giulio II. with the famous motto *Perdam Babylonis nomen*. The duchess acknowledges this present thus: "As to the present you have sent me, believe me I both saw and received it with great pleasure; I had never seen it before, and I praise God that the late king my father took this motto. If God did not allow him to execute it, perhaps the task is reserved for some of his descendants, who, standing in his place, may be able to accomplish it."

The duchess was placed in a painful position by the assassination of her son-in-law the duke of Guise. His sanction of the massacre at Vassy had raised up many bitter enemies against him, and a fanatic of the name of Poltrot, erroneously fancying he would do service to the Protestant cause, tracked out the duke of Guise, who was preparing to besiege Orleans. He was returning late to his tent, after having made arrangements for an assault that night, when in the dark he was wounded in the shoulder by a pistol shot, of which he died in a few days, to the great regret of his party. He was only forty-six years of age, and if it were possible in the estimation of any man's character to put religion aside, we might say there was much to admire in his valour and chivalry; but these qualities, for want of a right discernment, he used to the ruin and destruction of his country. It was impossible for Renée not to sympathise deeply with her daughter under this unexpected stroke. Calvin, at a distance regarding the duke of Guise as the great enemy of the Protestants, reproaches the duchess for too much sorrow on this

¹ In one letter he pleads in favour of Francesco Porto, to whom the duchess had formerly promised a dowry for his daughter.—*Lettres de Calvin*, p. 516.

² *Idem*, p. 514.

³ *Idem*, p. 549.

occasion. She justly thought that the ministers went too far in giving him over to eternal condemnation, and feelingly replied, to Calvin's letter, in his defence.¹

We who have not lived in such exciting times can scarcely understand the intense anxiety of those who could truly say with David, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up."² The man of many labours, "on whom the care of all the churches" had so long depended, was about to give up his stewardship. The pen which had sustained, encouraged, and fortified so many had fallen from his hand. Calvin's last letter to the duchess of Ferrara, in reply to hers, was written by his brother "on account of his great infirmities and manifold diseases; difficulty of breathing, the stone, the gout" were all in turn torturing and consuming his frail body, but the mind retained its full vigour; and the soul, just winging its flight to the regions of eternal repose, yearned over the desolate and persecuted church, and watched over its interests. In this, the last French letter which he dictated, he speaks of the religious sentiments of Marguerite duchess of Savoy,³ and entreats Renée to encourage her niece to fulfil her intention of openly declaring herself. "There is nobody, Madam, who has more authority than you with her, therefore I entreat you in God's name not to spare your earnest exhortations to encourage her to take this step (of declaring

¹ "Je ne veux pas excuser les défauts de mon gendre en ce qu'il n'avoit point la connoissance de Dieu, mais en ce que l'on dit que ce a esté lui seul qui a allumé le feu. L'on sçait bien qu'il s'estoit retiré en sa maison d'ou il ne vouloit bouger, et les lettres et messages qu'il eut pour l'en faire partir, et que encore maintenant qu'il est mort et qu'il n'y est plus, que tels venins de hayne si pestilentieux ne se peuvent jamais acquicter de se déclarer par tous les mensonges que l'on peut controuver et imaginer, il faut que je vous dise que je ne tiens ni estime que telles paroles de mensonges procedent de Dieu. Je sçay qu'il a persécuté, mais je ne sçay pas ni ne croy pour le vous dire librement, qu'il soit reprové de Dieu, car il a donné signe au contraire avant que mourir. Mais l'on ne veut pas qu'il se dise, et l'on veut clorre et serrer la bouche a ceux qui le sçavent. . . . Et ne voyez-vous pas encores que l'on ne s'en peut rassasier après son trepas? Et quand il auroit esté plus malheureux et plus réprové que onques eust été, l'on ne veut jamais parler d'autre chose, &c. . . . Lettre de la duchesse de Ferrare à Calvin Coll. Dupuy, vol. 86, publiée pour la première fois dans les *Archives Curieuses de l'histoire de France*, tom. v. p. 399."—Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, tom. ii. p. 550.

² Psalm lxi. 9.

³ Daughter of Francis I. She was married in 1559 to Emanuelle Filiberto, duke of Savoy, at forty years of age, and died leaving one son in 1574.

herself a Protestant), in which I feel assured you will perform all your duty according to the zeal which animates you, that God may be honoured and served yet more and more.
4th April 1564.”¹

It is not the object of this work to enter into the struggle of the reformers in France. The outline² of the monstrous warfare between popery and true religion is well known, and its tragic conclusion.

Calvin lived only a few weeks after sending this letter to the duchess of Ferrara. He died on the 27th of May 1564, worn out with disease and fatigue. His friend and successor, Theodore de Beze, was with him till the last moment. “On this day,” he says, “the brightest light of the world faded with the setting sun, and he who had been the strength of the church was taken back to heaven.”³ We are left altogether to conjecture the nature of Renée’s feelings when she heard of the death of this great reformer. Events soon followed which led his dearest friends to rejoice that he could no longer suffer from the dangers of the church.

How Renée contrived to escape the perils of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and what her emotions were on the fearful occasion, are things unknown. After having witnessed the second marriage of her daughter Anna to the duke of Nemours, and mourned over her total abandonment of the doctrines of the Reformation, she was herself called from the scene of this world to the presence of her heavenly father. She died at Montargis on the 2nd July 1575, in the sixty-fifth year of her age. The court of Ferrara put on mourning for the dowager duchess, but very properly did not order any funeral service to do honour to her memory.

¹ Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, tom. ii. p. 559.

² A full history of the Reformation in France is still needed. The materials are so abundant, that to combine a circumstantial detail of events with the state of religion, individual spirituality, and the noble self-abnegation of the martyrs whose blood still cries to heaven, would require a lengthened study and an exalted love for the Church of Christ. Smedley’s *History of the Reformed Religion of France* is a succinct and accurate narrative, but it scarcely touches the moving spring, the religious element. Merle d’Aubigné has given an episode of the French Reformation in his general history, in which there is much unction, but it is not sufficiently documentary. A more recent work by Felice, on the Reformation, abounds in interest.

³ See De Beze on the character of Calvin, vol. ii. p. 433; *Life and Times of Calvin*, in German, by Dr. Heinrich, translated by Dr. Stebbing. Ed. 1849.

While these sheets have been passing through the press an interesting volume¹ has made its appearance, which gives a more detailed account of the duchess of Ferrara in France than comes within the plan of this work. To this we gladly refer our readers; it will amply repay the time spent in its perusal. Should it be appreciated by the public as it deserves, and a second edition be called for, it would be a valuable addition to the literature of the time were it enriched by the whole of the correspondence between the duchess and Calvin, and other documentary papers.

¹ See *Some Memorials of Renée of France*. Bosworth and Harrison, Regent-street, 1859.

CHAPTER XIV.

PALEARIO PROFESSOR AT LUCCA.

1546—1550.

UNIVERSITY OF LUCCA—ROBERTELLO—PALEARIO'S ORATION ON THE REPUBLIC—PRINCE OF SALERNO RELATED TO PALEARIO—LETTER TO HIM—HIS ANSWER—INTERVIEW WITH HIM—ACCOUNT OF IN A LETTER—HISTORY OF THE PRINCE OF SALERNO—HIS MISFORTUNES—CELEBRATED MEDICAL SCHOOL AT SALERNO—BERNARDO TASSO—SECRETARY TO THE PRINCE—INVOLVED IN HIS PATRON'S MISFORTUNES—PALEARIO'S ORATION ON ELOQUENCE—LETTER TO LILIO—READING THE SCRIPTURES—ABSENCE FROM HIS FAMILY—ANDREA ALCIATI—HIS SPLENDID TALENTS—PALEARIO SENDS HIM AN ORATION—EQUALLED TO CICERO—ALCIATI'S REPLY—PALEARIO AMBITIOUS OF PATRONAGE—HIGH REPUTATION OF HIS ORATION—LETTER FROM SPHINTER—RECOMMENDS HIM TO PRINT HIS ORATION—PALEARIO STUDIES THE LAW—LETTER TO VINCENZO PORTIOO.

AFTER Paleario's disappointment of the professorship at Siena, and during the negotiation about his appointment at Lucca, he lived chiefly at Ceciniano, making occasional visits to the villas of the Bellanti family. The chair of eloquence at Lucca had been unoccupied for three years, when Paleario, on the recommendation of the cardinals Bembo and Sadoleto, was, as we have seen,¹ appointed professor of eloquence.

The universities of Siena, Lucca, and Pisa were much on a par, as to learning, in the sixteenth century. Occasionally a remarkable man attracted students, but they were in general much behind the university of Padua in sound learning. The frequent wars to which Italy had been a prey not only indisposed the youth for study, and employed them in arms, but troops absorbed the resources which supported the universities. The

¹ See Tiraboschi, tom. vii. pp. 95, 130.

university of Lucca was highly praised by Ortenso Landi in 1534. "Nowhere," says he, "have I seen so much solicitude for the success and prosperity of learning. When needful, ample stipends are granted that the youth may be brought up in good principles and instructed in sound literature. Add to this the wisdom of your professors, and I do not deny that I could scarcely help envying your young men, who are so studiously inclined and so admirably instructed: happy if they know how to profit by all this." Lucca was not without its academy, and Ortenso Landi seemed to dread the criticisms of the *Balordi* of Lucca, *che de' casi miei non facciano qualche commedia*.

Paleario's predecessor at Lucca was Francesco Robortello, a pupil of the celebrated Romolo Amaseo. They were both natives of Udine in the Venetian territory. Robortello began his career at Lucca, and occupied the chair of eloquence there in 1538. He seems to have been of a censorious satirical disposition, and the literary world was much scandalised by his violent quarrel with Carlo Sigonio.¹ Such disputes were but too common between learned men in those days, and, as in this case when both gave vent to sudden explosions of anger, it was frequently difficult to know who was most in the wrong. Sigonio asserted that Robortello was expelled from Lucca for poisoning Pietro Vicentino; but Liruto, who has written his life, produces a copy of the original document of dismissal from the Senate of Lucca, in which he is honourably mentioned, and permitted to accept the invitation to Pisa in 1543. He was one of those restless spirits who never learn experience, and who think by moving from place to place to escape the evils which they carry with them in their own hearts. From Pisa he went to Venice to replace the infirm Batista Egnazio.² His over-

¹ See CHAP. XII. vol. ii. p. 34.

² Batista Egnazio was a priest, he was of mean extraction, but possessed great talent; his original name was Giambatista Cipelli. When only eighteen years of age he opened a private school at Venice, and had so many scholars as to excite the jealousy of Marcantonio Sabellico, public professor of belles-lettres, who meanly decried his young rival; this was resented by a severe public criticism of the professor's writings. This literary war lasted till 1506, when Sabellico was taken ill. On his deathbed he sent for Egnazio to entreat his forgiveness, and left him all his MSS. for publication. Egnazio forgot the past, and recited a funeral oration in praise of his adversary. In 1520 he was elected public professor of eloquence; his lectures drew immense crowds, for he was gifted with a prodigious memory. When he retired in 1549 with his full salary, Robortello took his place; he died in 1553, aged 71 years.

bearing spirit was not yet tamed, for he treated his predecessor Egnazio with so much contempt that the old man, provoked beyond all endurance, drew his dagger to assault him. From Venice Robortello went to Padua, from Padua to Milan, and back again to Padua, where he remained till his death in 1567. After so many removals we cannot be surprised that he died so poor as not to leave sufficient money to bury him.

We have not been able to ascertain with accuracy what salary was assigned to Paleario as professor. His own letters are the only authentic source of information; they often allude to his poverty, but do not mention what he received as salary. In the *Archivio pubblico* the salaries are noted as varying from 180 crowns to 200, and even mounting as high as 500, according to the celebrity of the professor. Robortello, who went to Lucca in 1538, was content with 162 crowns. This being his first essay in teaching, Paleario would probably not have more than 200; but as he was engaged to compose and recite two orations annually before the Senate, this afforded him some additional remuneration.

As far as can be ascertained Paleario went to Lucca in the year 1546,¹ the year of Burlamacchi's conspiracy.² We have already seen what progress the reformed doctrine had made at Lucca by means of Peter Martyr, particularly among the higher classes. In 1545 the municipalities had issued a decree prohibiting all discussions on religious subjects, and menacing severe punishments to the disobedient. But it was pretty well understood that this assumed harshness was intended to keep off the more pitiless interference of the Inquisition. The decree in fact remained a dead letter, but it roused a wish in all generous minds like that of Burmalacchi to shake off the galling authority of the pontifical yoke.

Soon after Paleario's settlement at Lucca he had the misfortune to lose two of his most powerful friends, the cardinals Bembo and Sadoletto.³ They were a grievous loss to him, as he could always count on their good word. Since the establishment of the Inquisition the court of Rome had been gradually be-

¹ *Archivio di Stato Lucca, lib. reform. pub. Archivio Storico*, vol. x.

² See CHAP. X. p. 419. Luther died in February 1546.

³ Bembo died on the 18th of January, 1547: see CHAP. III. p. 111. Sadoletto died the 17th of October following: see CHAP. XI. p. 520. Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England, died the same year.

coming every day more severe and inquisitorial. Paul III. was advancing in years: though not himself naturally harsh or cruel, he was quite willing to sanction anything which could exalt the power of the keys, and was easily induced to submit the Inquisition to the guidance of its originator, the haughty Caraffa. Paleario's task as orator seems to have been to excite the citizens by his eloquence to deeds of virtue and patriotism. The discourse was to be short, occupying only half-an-hour, but animated and delivered in a flowing strain of oratory to captivate and inspire his hearers.

In his first oration he treats of the republic, takes a rapid survey of its past and present state, passes lightly over the visit of Cæsar and Pompey to Lucca; and while he mourns over the decay of the Roman republic, owing to the uncontrolled passions of the citizens, he takes pleasure in seeing its image reflected in the republic of Lucca, and beholds in this small state equality among the citizens, obedience paid to the laws, and order maintained, while at the same time all are free to follow their different kinds of industry. Their weakest point, he tells them, is their military force; they have not so much sought to be formidable to their neighbours as to excel in the arts of peace. But notwithstanding all its excellences the state requires to be regenerated by new institutions, as the walls of a city, when decayed by age, fall down if not repaired in time.

"The republics of Athens and Rome were supported by the eloquence of their orators, and in the same manner the inhabitants of Lucca must strengthen and sustain the state. The Venetians have enjoyed full liberty for nine hundred years; why not study their form of government, as the Senate of Rome sent deputies to Athens to copy the laws of Solon? For the wisest men have declared that the state is more stable when divided into two or three distinctive orders, composed of different classes of men, though all equal in the sight of the law. Popular government is durable if it does not fall into the hands of the nobles. The first place should be given to virtue, the second to rank, and the third to riches; above all things virtue ought to be the most highly esteemed. They are deficient, he tells them, in one thing only—neither their past nor present history is written. Nothing so animating, nothing so enlightening for a people as to have their glories celebrated in writing. In past

times this was scarcely possible; neither the Sienese nor the Genoese have their histories written, and even the celebrated enterprises of Venice were untold until the eloquent and accomplished Bembo, whose death has so lately grieved all good men, wrote the history of Venice, and Giovio, the father of history, who not only records facts but extends his information to all nations and people. Does it not excite the desires of your old men to hear their deeds celebrated in like manner? How would your youth be stimulated to distinguish themselves by the hope of a record in their country's history? He instances the Roman emperors, L. Sylla and C. Cæsar, who, though they were such distinguished generals, disdained not themselves to write the history of their wars to emblazon the courage of the soldier and inflame them to deeds of valour. For this the study of eloquence is of the highest importance, in order that history may be written in a rich flowing style, not confined to the language of our Italian provinces only, but in copious periods, worthy of being admired by the great men of other nations. The history of Lucca, he says, is worthy of being written, especially its late exertions in defending and strengthening their republic. Even your present vigilance is deserving of high praise; how often in the night, while employed in study, do I hear the guard in the fortress challenging the sentinels."

He eulogises the military, the government, and the Senate, and enumerates the tribunes of the people and the other magistrates all after the pattern of ancient Rome.

The city is not confined to the space within its walls, and there is not a town in Europe where the inhabitants of Lucca are not to be found employed in commerce. It is not the span of earth which our bodies fill, but the space embraced by the mind which is our real possession, and great is the injury inflicted by enclosing within narrow bounds the excursive power of mind. But in conclusion, as my time is drawing to a close, I will say that both your ancestors and yourselves are well worthy of being recorded. If you do not take this in hand, I will myself instigate the youth who have devoted themselves to the liberal arts and sciences, and entreat that the champions of liberty and the promoters of the public peace may not be cast into oblivion. Be not wanting to yourselves, O men of Lucca, in this one thing, when you have provided for everything else.

I shall continue this subject not in one oration only, but in the many which by your favour I am deputed to recite twice a year. And, though I know that I am not equal to the task of celebrating your glory, yet this will I do as a proof of my affection and regard both for you and for the republic."¹

The reader has here before him the substance of Paleario's first oration before the Senate of Lucca. The eloquence which was formerly in the hands of the priests, who had power to rouse a whole people to the crusade of the holy war, was then exercised by learned men, and every country had a salaried orator to sustain their glory and defend their liberties. The power of the press, which is now of such gigantic force as to lead public opinion, was faintly shadowed out in Paleario's address to the inhabitants of Lucca, when he urged them to transmit their history to posterity in records of imperishable memory.

We have already hinted in a former chapter² that Paleario was of the Sanseverino lineage, and distantly connected with the prince of Salerno. An accidental meeting at Lucca with Vincenzo Martelli, the *maggiordomo* of the prince, awakened in Paleario the desire of propitiating the favour of so munificent a patron of learning.

The prince was known to be opposed to the introduction of the Inquisition at Naples. Paleario, who had undergone so much persecution at Siena on account of his opinions, thought this was a guarantee for religious liberty at Salerno. Under these impressions he wrote the following letter :

AONIO PALEARIO, OF VEROLI, TO FERRANTE SANSEVERINO, OF ARAGON,
THE EXCELLENT PRINCE OF SALERNO.

"Though the place of one's birth or residence is of no importance as regards the respect due to rank and reputation, for the splendour of your virtue is reflected to the most distant regions, yet it would not have been displeasing to me to have been born in that city,³ where my forefathers so highly revered both you and your father, that excellent man your illustrious ancestor. If those worlds which are inhabited by celestial minds continually revolve and have greater celerity and force according to their vicinity to the globe in which the Great Being presides as ruler and mover of all things, so if I had happened to be born and educated in that city, in which you as a sun are the transfuser of light to awaken and illumine the minds of

¹ Palearii *Opera*, Oratio v. pp. 108—117.

² See CHAP. II. p. 70.

³ Salerno.

men, I should indeed have greatly added to my knowledge and accomplishments; for your benefits would have been showered on me, as on my fellow-citizens, with no small or niggard hand. Daily would you have imparted to me in abundant measure your light and benignity, and I might have attained some excellence in those studies, which by your protection have risen to so flourishing a height in that city. Supported by your favour, I should have been able to undertake anything. What then would have been the joy of my family! What the extent of my vigils and lucubrations! How great my desire of praise in order to gratify such an excellent prince. Deprived of these advantages, not finding in myself that which I most desired to possess, I thought it enough, while hiding myself in the solitude of Latium, or living in the confines of Tuscany, to pay you the secret homage of the heart. I should still have remained of the same opinion, if my book on the *Immortality of the Soul* had not, through my own imprudence, divulged my family name.

“Vincenzo Martelli, a most courteous person, supping at Lucca with Martino Lilio, a young man devoted to the study of the literary arts, spoke in the most honorable terms of the *Palearij* my ancestors. He gave me reason to hope that it would be both agreeable and acceptable if I expressed to you by letter my great devotion towards your excellency. To make this more easy, he advised me, though I have nothing which can give pleasure to a man of your consummate wisdom, to send you my orations. God grant that what he has in so friendly a manner advised may meet with happy success. The orations will now be published, and dedicated to you; they have no other merit than that of being inscribed to a prince of nobility and virtue. The only thing which can give me pleasure is to hear that they are agreeable to you, and that your protection will defend me from the detraction of envy. This will be dearer and more precious than the patronage of the greatest kings or emperors. For you are accustomed by your own authority to pacify kingdoms disordered by sedition, not only by arms but by your eloquence. It is not surprising, while you live in such glorious light, and your name is so universally exalted, that I should conceive the hope that if you approve my orations, they will be acceptable, not to our Italian nation only, but find favour also with all nations and people when sanctioned by your judgment and by your excellent and remarkable talents. Farewell. Lucca, 1st of April.”¹

This letter must have been written after Paleario's arrival at Lucca, probably in the year 1547. The prince of Salerno desired Martelli to return the following answer in his name:

VINCENZO MARTELLI TO M. AONIO PALEARIO, IN THE NAME OF THE PRINCE OF SALERNO.

“From a letter written by you to Vincenzo Martelli, and one addressed to me several days ago, I feel myself obliged not only to thank you in words but to be grateful in actions. Martelli being at that time about to go to Lucca, I commissioned him to execute one of these good offices by word of

¹ *Palearii Opera*, p. 3.

mouth, and the other I reserved to myself, and offer you my assistance whenever you wish to make use of me in any way. I have heard since from him that he was not able to see you. I cannot avoid expressing the interest I feel in your welfare, and beg you to call upon me in any necessity: not only ought I to assist you as a person of high standing, of whom I have always heard the most honourable reports, but also as a citizen and noble of Salerno.

“Whenever you like to come and see your ancient race, I shall have very great pleasure in making your personal acquaintance. Do not spare me in any respect; be assured I shall not forget you.”

No wonder if so flattering a letter, full of what Paleario calls “magnificent promises,” acknowledging him to be of the same “ancient race” as the prince himself, and inviting him to visit the country of his ancestors, kindled hopes of advancement. Perhaps in imagination he already saw himself mounting the ladder of fame and looking down on his detractors unharmed. But the course of events was not favourable to his wishes.

The prince of Salerno was not at Naples when the rising took place on account of the Inquisition,² and therefore could not justly be accused of fomenting sedition; nor did he leave Salerno till he was chosen by the nobles to go ambassador to the Emperor. His friends, especially Tasso his secretary, and Martelli his *maggiordomo*, were divided in opinion whether he ought to accept this appointment. Bernardo Tasso thought the mission worthy of a patriot and an independent man who stood in such near relationship to Charles.³ Vincenzo Martelli on the other hand, though equally devoted to the interests of the prince, knew the world better, and viewed the matter in a different light. He pointed out the suspicions which such a course would generate, and the jealousy which would be excited in the mind of the Emperor on seeing a prince of so much wealth and influence taking so conspicuous a part in the affairs of Naples.⁴ But Sanseverino, moved by a real desire for his country’s good, saw no difficulties, and left Naples on the 21st of May in company with Placido di Sangro, the deputy of the people. They journeyed by land, and passed through Rome on their way to Nuremberg, where the Imperial court

¹ See original in Appendix A.

² See CHAP. IX. p. 359.

³ Ferrante San Severino was the son of Maria of Aragon, niece of Ferdinand the Catholic, and cousin to Joanna, the mother of Charles v.—Bernardo Tasso, *Lettere*, p. 39. Ed. 1557.

⁴ Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, p. 30.

then was. By the following letter we find they took Lucca in their way.¹

AONIO PALEARIO TO GIUSEPPE JOVA.

"On the 6th of October I received a letter written in the name of the Prince of Salerno, which I had been anxiously expecting. One seemed to be written by you, for the handwriting was as much like yours as you are like yourself, and was full of benevolence, kindness, and love. There was also a very polite letter from Vincenzo Martelli.

"The day after, while I was at dinner, the much-desired and joyful news was brought me, that in company with this great man there had arrived at Lucca some superior and heavenly-minded persons.² I did not delay, believe me, to hasten to the house of Cenami, where it was said he was lodged. But when I arrived, neither Tasso nor Martelli were to be found, nor any one who could introduce me: imagine how disconcerted I was, for the hopes which Martelli had inspired me with by letter, and you had confirmed by your promises, utterly vanished: but these letters being recent, and the promises magnificent, I took courage and did not wait for any companions, partly because there were not any, and partly because I had heard, which indeed I found true, that few men were more distinguished or more courteous than the prince. When I entered his presence, and threw myself at his feet, he would not allow it, but embraced me and received with the greatest benignity my expressions of devotion towards him. He then enquired about our studies, but did not mention the letter I had sent him through you. I now understand, that as you are going to Spain, you were afraid of appearing rude and unpolished if you had not answered me. I wonder however that you have accepted this honour which hitherto you have refused.

"Antonio Collino, who is much attached to you, carried the letter to that excellent woman your mother, who is dying with the desire of seeing you. She declared that the letter was written by your own hand; she embraced, kissed it, and almost obliterated it with her tears, and would not put it out of her hand. M. Lilio, who is with me the whole day, remarked that your elegant and dignified style was almost divine. He grieves that we are deprived of your amiable society, and though you are not fixed in any place, we do not enjoy your company, nor you ours. Meanwhile we are uncertain, where, with whom, you are or will be. I can understand the fastidiousness of your taste from a knowledge of my own. In these days the characters of men are such that it is better to be nowhere; but as this is impossible, not to stay long in one place. I am acting towards you as the generality of medical men do when they wish to cure a disease by medicine, that is, aggravate the complaint by their physic. I must confess, however, I have not found any remedy which does not inflict pain. Your long absence is very distressing to Lilio, grievous for your mother, and serious for me. But when your country is so

¹ The Deputies left Naples on the 21st of May 1547.

² Bernardo Tasso and Vincenzo Martelli are here alluded to.

ungrateful, your father so inflexible, and when those who ought to hold you in great consideration do not understand how much they might be enlightened by the splendour of your virtue, what can I say? I feel an incredible hatred for the whole human race, which, either from habit or from idleness or from the influence of some Circe, is so totally changed, that the inanity of men is something quite extraordinary. Be of good courage, and comfort yourself in your own virtue, and rejoice that you are beloved by those whom you yourself love. Of this you cannot have a more faithful witness than myself, for I think of you continually, and every day admire more and more your contempt of human affairs. If this were only so far modified as to induce you to write oftener to those who love you, it would make your character one of the most amiable in existence."¹

Ferrante Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, had been summoned by the city of Naples to go to Germany as deputy from the nobles, and represent to the Emperor how impossible it was to establish the Inquisition at Naples; he was accompanied by Placido di Sangro, deputy from the people, for the same object. But Toledo the viceroy, who enjoyed the full confidence of the Emperor, had taken care to despatch a messenger of his own, Don Gonzalez di Mendoza Marchese della Valle, who arriving before the envoys of the city, had the advantage of making the first report. When the prince of Salerno arrived he was not admitted to an audience for several days, and it was intimated to him that it would be at the risk of his life if he returned to Naples without his majesty's permission. Thus retained as a hostage for the good behaviour of Naples, Placido Sangro was desired to return with the Marchese della Valle, who was the bearer of the Emperor's orders, but Placido declared that he could not return without seeing the Emperor. When told that unless he obeyed he would have reason to repent it, he intrepidly replied they might do what they pleased to him, but he would not stir till he had spoken to his majesty, this being the commission given him by the city of Naples; and he boldly declared it was the Emperor's duty to listen to the just complaints of his subjects in a matter of so much importance. His frankness and decision made their due impression, for Granvelle presented him next day to Charles. In this audience he loudly complained of Toledo's conduct to the city of Naples in needlessly exciting it to tumult, and entreated his majesty to summon the Marchese della Valle and confront him with the deputy

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 17.

of the people, and then he would better understand the real state of the case. The Emperor however, though satisfied to have learned the truth, was too prudent not to uphold the authority of the viceroy.

The prince of Salerno, finding he was likely to be detained in Germany, sent for his secretary Bernardo Tasso¹ to assist him in his negotiations on behalf of Naples. After the lapse of a year he succeeded in procuring an amnesty for the city, and the restoration of its arms and artillery, on condition of its paying a fine of 100,000 ducats, and he himself was allowed to return to Naples, but was enjoined not to interfere in public affairs.

On his return in May of 1548 he went straight to Salerno; when he went to Naples the whole city thronged to meet him. Toledo could not forgive the prince his popularity, and when he visited him at Castelnuovo with an escort of four hundred horsemen and more than ten thousand persons flocked to see the prince, from that moment his ruin was resolved on. He began by obliging him to give an account of the custom dues at Salerno, and connived at a murderous attack on the prince, supposed to have been organized by Don Garcia, Toledo's son. As the criminal though taken was not punished, the prince resolved to go a second time to Charles to demand justice. Afraid of being arrested by Toledo he sent his letters by land, but went himself by sea to Venice. There unfortunately he found the duke of Somma and a number of Neapolitan exiles, who used every effort to draw him over to the French party, but he remained firm to his original intention, and set out for Padua. The wound he received from the assassin began to open afresh; whilst resting to allow it time to heal, he received an order from the Emperor at Innspruck to appear before him within fifteen days. Somewhat alarmed at this he sent one of his people, Tommaso Pagano, to state why he could not immediately travel, and to complain of the intrigues of Toledo which made him fear for his safety. When the Emperor said he might come Pagano replied, 'I may tell him then that he may come safely in reliance on your word:' on which the Emperor angrily rejoined, *Sovra di mi palabra, no digo yo, se*

¹ It was during Tasso's absence in Germany that he wrote that beautiful letter from Augsburg to his wife Portia.—Tasso, *Lettere*, No. 199. See Appendix B.

*quier venir que venga, se no aga lo que le pareze,*¹ and immediately dismissed Pagano, who lost no time in returning to give an account of his mission. The prince of Salerno, finding he was quite out of favour, became alarmed, and his mind reverted to the splendid offers which had been made to him by France. After conferring with the French ambassador and the duke of Somma at Venice, he openly declared himself for Henry II. A fatal resolution, for previous to success his country must have been steeped in blood. He was appointed captain-general of the expedition for conquering Naples, and in the event of success he was to be at the head of the government as viceroy. With the eagerness with which hope waits on desire he already fancied himself master of the kingdom, but the event proved far otherwise. Toledo was a prudent, vigilant governor, and he took care to put the coast in such a state of defence and preparation that there was no room for the foot of an invader. Secretly he was not displeased at the defection of Sanseverino, his rival in popularity and influence. In the month of April 1552 he convened a council of state in the royal palace, and declared the prince of Salerno a rebel, all his estates and fiefs forfeited to the crown, and he himself exposed to the penalty of death. The prince repaired to Ischia in the month of August with twenty-five French galleys, hoping to find there the Turkish fleet to join him in his enterprise against the kingdom of Naples; but it had set sail for the Levant eight days before. He overtook the Turks in the waters of Prevesa, but could not prevail on them to return; on the contrary, they induced him to go on with them to Constantinople and advise with the sultan, who, they assured him, would assist him with a powerful fleet the following spring. But this proved only an empty boast, and after six months' stay in Turkey no alternative was left him but retiring to France. It must be confessed that the decision of the Turks was a wise one. To have wantonly attacked the kingdom of a powerful sovereign at the instigation of a rival power, was an enterprise which would have been severely retaliated on the Turks themselves. During the lifetime of Henry II. the prince of Salerno was well received and munificently entertained in France; but at his death, during the wars

¹ On my word, I do not say, if he chooses to come, let him do as he thinks proper.—Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, p. 44.

of the league the prince having ranged himself on the side of the Huguenots, he was finally reduced to extreme poverty, and died in misery at Avignon in 1568, at the age of seventy-one years. He may be said to have perished a martyr to the cause of civil and religious liberty; for he risked and lost all to free his country from the rigorous government of a bigoted sovereign. The question is, would the country have been more free under France? History replies in the negative.

Thus unhappily ended the life of a man worthy of a better lot, but evidently somewhat deficient in judgment. The barons and nobles of Naples had always maintained sufficient independence to overawe the court. Toledo the viceroy was a Spaniard, faithful to his sovereign, but rigid in his rule. He governed with a rod of iron, and winning the affections of the Emperor's subjects formed no part of his plan; we cannot therefore wonder that he was eager to handle so absolute an engine as the Inquisition. The prince of Salerno on the contrary was a man of mild benevolent character, a patron and a lover of literature, a generous and munificent prince, and a favourer of reform. He himself wrote poetry,¹ and cultivated every species of literature. He reopened the university of Salerno, once so famous as a school of medicine, appointed professors of philosophy,² and assembled all the Neapolitans distinguished for learning in his new university,³ inviting them in the name of their country to devote their talents to its honour.

Salerno was celebrated in the eleventh century for the study of medicine and philosophy at a time when Europe in general knew little of learning or literature. The Arabs, as far as their religion permitted, were diligent students and admirable proficients in certain kinds of knowledge, especially in mathematics, medicine, and philosophy. Aristotle was held in high esteem in their schools, although the original ideas of this great philosopher were somewhat obscured by the labours of his commentators, Avicenna and Averroes.⁴ The Saracens at this period

¹ Some of his verses are found among those of Laura Terracina.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 101.

² "Messer Mattheo Maccigni condotto alla lettura di *Philosophia nello studio di Salerno dal Principe mio Signore*."—Taseo, *Lettere*, p. 247. Ed. 1557.

³ He entreated the Cardinal Trivulzio to allow Gio. Angelo Papio, *suo servitore*, e mio vassallo perche venga a leggere a questo studio.—*Idem*, p. 544.

⁴ See CHAP. V. p. 167.

made frequent incursions into Europe, and particularly in the south of Italy. The school of Salerno owed its origin to an African of the name of Constantine, a native of Carthage. He had been a universal traveller, and visited almost every region of the globe. At Babylon he studied grammar, geometry, and mathematics, and likewise directed his attention to the astronomy and physics of the Chaldees. After thirty-nine years spent in the most assiduous application abroad he returned to Africa; but his countrymen, instead of welcoming him back with joy or endeavouring to profit by the treasures of knowledge he had acquired, were so ignorant as to look on him with the utmost jealousy and ill-will, and even to project his destruction. Having been informed of this plot against his life, he embarked in the night on board a galley, and set sail for Salerno. There he concealed himself under the garb of a beggar, but was recognised by the brother of the king of Babylon, at whose court he had sojourned. Aware of Constantine's learning he presented him to duke Robert, who received him with distinguished honour. This encouragement induced him to take up his abode at Salerno, and he devoted himself with fresh zeal to study, particularly to medicine. His residence at Salerno spread the fame of its medical school throughout Europe; and such was the confidence placed in its science and skill, that when any person of importance was ill a message was despatched to Salerno for a physician. Its reputation was still further enhanced by the publication of a work there by Giovanni of Milano, dedicated to the king of England.

In order to understand why the medical school of Salerno sought for so distant a patron, we must remember that Tancred the Norman was a branch of the family of Robert of Normandy, who conquered Puglia, Calabria, and the principality of Salerno about the same time that William duke of Normandy invaded England. This William, as is well known in English history, had three sons, William Rufus, heir to the kingdom of England, Robert, duke of Normandy, and Henry. Robert went with Godfrey de Bouillon on a crusade to the Holy Land, and was present at the taking of Jerusalem; but the joy of his success was turned into grief when he heard of the death of his brother William without children. Being the eldest son the crown of England belonged to him; the kingdom of Jerusalem was

offered to him, but he preferred returning to occupy his father's throne.¹ On his way home he passed by Salerno, and paid a visit to his relation there, Duke Robert. During his stay the wound which he had received at Jerusalem began to open, and the physicians of Salerno said it had been inflicted by a poisoned lance, and that he could not be cured unless the poison were sucked out of the wound. The humane prince could not be brought to consent that any one should risk his life by performing so dangerous an office. But, as the tale goes, his wife Sibylla, with true womanly devotion, took an opportunity while he was asleep to suck the poison out of the wound, and saved her husband's life.

The grateful and convalescent prince begged the doctors to write out a regimen for the preservation of his health, and this gave occasion to the composition of a book in the name of the medical school at Salerno. It was however written by one hand only, in verse, and dedicated to Robert, king of England, and circulated throughout Europe. This attestation of the singular merits of the school of Salerno rendered it for many ages the highest medical authority in the Western world.

The first school after the fall of Rome and the dismemberment of the Roman academies, was the school of Salerno. It underwent however a considerable change; for medicine and its usual accompaniments, astrology and the occult sciences, were now thrown into shade, and other branches of knowledge more assiduously cultivated.

When Ferrante Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, was declared a rebel, the university was closed, and has never since been opened. Sanseverino left no posterity, and the principality of Salerno was attached to the crown of Naples.²

Bernardo Tasso, the secretary of the prince, was involved in the ruin of his patron, but after having served him twenty-two years under prosperous circumstances, he was too noble-minded to desert him in adversity. By attaching himself to his fallen fortunes he also was declared rebel, and all the property which had been bestowed on him in the principality of Salerno was

¹ This delay cost him the crown of England. Henry I. mounted the vacant throne. In vain Robert pleaded his birthright, and even landed at Portsmouth with a considerable force. Anselm the primate negotiated an accommodation, and Robert retired with a pension of three thousand marks.—Hume, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. i. p. 248.

² Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 101; Giannone, *Storia di Napoli*, tom. iv. p. 322, and seq.

confiscated to the state.¹ Tasso was sent by the prince to reside in Paris as his agent. At first his absence from his family was somewhat alleviated by the favour with which he was received at the French court; but after remaining a year at Paris,² seeing no prospect of the amelioration of his patron's affairs, he requested and obtained permission to rejoin his family in Italy. He then repaired to Rome; tenderly attached to his wife Portia he used every effort to get her and his two children to join him, but unfortunately his wife's brothers, the Gambacorti, were men of sordid minds, who ungenerously took advantage of Tasso being an outlaw to keep possession of their sister's dower. As a rebel Tasso could not plead in court, so that he was completely in their power. Portia herself was very unhappy at this unworthy conduct of her brothers; she longed to get out of their hands and rejoin her husband. Tasso with some difficulty got her placed for protection in the convent of San Festo, with her daughter Cornelia and a waiting-woman.

Meanwhile Tasso contrived to get his son Torquato sent to Rome, with the hope that he would soon be followed by his mother and sister. This separation from his mother made such an impression on the sensitive mind of the embryo poet, that years after he poured forth his feelings in a beautiful sonnet:

Me dal sen della Madre empia fortuna
Pargoletto divelse; ah! di que' baci,
Ch' ella bagnò di lagrime dolenti,

¹ Bernardo Tasso by this edict lost a beautiful house, which belonged to him in Salerno, full of splendid furniture and valuable tapestry, and an income of nine hundred crowns in gold, which he held on the customs of Salerno, Sanseverino, and Burgensatico, and nothing was left him but his wife's dower, and some furniture which he had sent to Naples when his wife Portia removed there.—Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, p. 46.

² Part of the time he was with the court at St. Germain, where he wrote some sonnets in praise of Marguerite de Valois the accomplished sister of Henry II., afterwards duchess of Savoy.

“Angioletta del Ciel quà giù mandata
Dal sommo sole ad habitare in terra:
Ne la cui mente si nasconde e serra
Quanta virtute a gli Angeli fu data;
Che con la luce de begli occhi armata
D' un' invitta honestà, perpetua guerra
Fai con la turba de sensi, ch' atterra
Ogni cosa gentil da Dio creata :”

B. Tasso Rime, lib. iv. p. 53. Ed. 1660.

Con sospir mi rimembra, e degli ardenti
 Pregghi, che se n' portar l' aure fugaci,
 Ch' io non dovea giunger più volto a volto
 Fra quelle braccia accolto
 Con nodi così stretti e sì tenaci.
 Lasso! e seguì con mal sicure piante,
 Qual Ascanio, O Camillo, il padre errante.¹

The arrival of Torquato in Rome, in October 1554, was a great comfort to his father: by the liberality of Cardinal Ippolito II. of Este, a handsome apartment had been assigned him in his palace of Monte Giordano; his happiness would have been complete if he could have been joined by his wife and daughter; but without sacrificing the whole of her fortune, amounting to some thousand crowns, this seemed impossible. The election of the new Pope, Paul IV., the sworn enemy of the imperial party, raised new hopes of success, and all seemed propitious to his wishes, when on the 13th of February, 1556, he received the sudden and melancholy news of his wife's unexpected death. This shock filled his cup of misfortune to the brim. Portia, worn out with anxiety and grief at her separation from her husband, had fallen a victim to an illness of only twenty-four hours' duration. By her death Bernardo was not only deprived of a loving and amiable wife but his children's fortune, which remained in the hands of their unnatural relations. On this occasion he wrote a most lamentable letter to the prince of Salerno, bemoaning the fate of his daughter left alone among her enemies. He says his wife's death must have been a violent one, perhaps from poison, and accuses himself as partly the cause: "I may be said to have killed this my poor unhappy wife, and to have caused my own ruin, for if I had not been instigated by the love of worldly honour I should have gone to speak to Don Gio. Mandrich when you were here, my wife would now be alive and with me, and I should not be suffering from a grief which breaks my heart. God often punishes human ambition. I know that you, who have a noble and generous heart, full of gratitude, piety, and christian charity, will mourn over the misfortunes of your servant and try to help him as much as you can."² In vain he tried to get possession of his daughter and his children's inheritance. He petitioned the

¹ Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, p. 57.

² Bernardo Tasso, *Lettere*, vol. ii. p. 157.

Spanish court, but his brothers-in-law were the strongest, and they had resolved to marry Cornelia at Naples, that they might give her only what dower they pleased. Torquato they said could not inherit anything, being the son of a rebel. Bernardo now decided to take orders, hoping to get some benefice in the kingdom of Naples, and in the privileged character of ecclesiastic to be protected against the machinations of his enemies. But the rupture between Philip II. and Paul IV., and the approach of the imperial army to the gates of Rome, put this idea to flight, and his greatest anxiety was to get out of Rome with his little property as fast as possible. Having first despatched Torquato to his relations at Bergamo, he went himself to Pesaro, where he enjoyed the protection of the duke of Urbino. His son Torquato was subsequently summoned from Bergamo to be the companion of the young prince Francesco Maria.

In the year 1557 Bernardo had finished his *Amadigi*, and was desired by the duchess of Urbino¹ to read it in presence of the court. They were so much pleased with it that duke Guidobaldo, in 1548, proposed it should be dedicated to Philip II. as a means of reconciliation with the king. Tasso was very unwilling to do this, and would not accept the salary which the duke of Urbino offered him, as temporary gentleman of his court, until every application had failed of success both to the court of France and to his ancient patron. Bernardo Tasso went to Venice to print his poem, accompanied by Dionigi Atanagi. The famous Paolo Manuzio was at this time confined to bed with an inflammation of the eyes, but Tasso went to visit him in his chamber.

Meanwhile Tasso's friends were unremitting in their endeavours at the Spanish court to get his property restored, particularly Paolo Mario ambassador from the court of Urbino. There was no great difficulty in getting the outlawry as a rebel taken off, but the restoration of his children's property, and granting him the compensation which he asked of three hundred crowns a-year on the duchy of Milan, were by no means so easy; hopes however were held out that if he dedicated his poem to king Philip he might be propitiated. Bernardo had great comfort in the promising talents of his son; he seemed to have

¹ Vittoria Farnese, granddaughter of Paul III. She was the duke of Urbino's second wife, and was married to him in January, 1548.—Denistoun, *Dukes of Urbino*, vol. iii. p. 95.

so much of the mother's character that his father fondly hoped *che debbia riuscir un grand' uomo*. About the beginning of November 1560, when he had just completed his sixteenth year, his father sent him to finish his studies at Padua, and wrote to his friend Sperone entreating him to see and board him in some house where he would not be exposed to the influence of bad example. That same year the *Amadigi* was published and sent to Spain, but he was not more successful when he asked a fortune for a poem than he of old who offered a 'kingdom for a horse,' and after a year's vain expectation he gave up all hope and placed himself in the service of cardinal Luigi d' Este. In 1563 he was the chief secretary of Guglielmo duke of Mantua, who gave him the appointment of governor of Ostia. In the year 1569 Torquato Tasso was summoned from his dalliance with poetry in honour of the princesses d' Este at Ferrara to the death-bed of his father, who, being at the advanced age of seventy-six years, did not long survive the severity of his disease. He died at Ostia on the 4th September 1569.

Paleario, as we have said, was engaged as orator to the republic of Lucca to deliver two orations a year in Latin on some great subject, such as eloquence, the republic, a defence of the best studies, justice, temperance, happiness, fortitude, prudence, civil concord.

His oration on eloquence was one of the most animated and probably one of the first delivered. He speaks with diffidence in a place which had been always occupied by eloquent men, but is encouraged by the good will evinced towards him in the recent election. For without having any acquaintance or friendship with the inhabitants of Lucca they have conferred on him the honour of this public employment, accompanied by such proofs of esteem and respect that he should feel almost unequal to the task were he not stimulated by a desire to shew himself grateful for the honour done him. On accepting their invitation he figured to himself that he was going to dwell among the sages of antiquity, men, like Brutus, Decius, and Cato, who not only were desirous of cultivating all the liberal sciences, but also the most stimulating of all, eloquence. Where indeed could it flourish better than in a free city, a well-ordered republic? Born at Athens, brought to perfection at Rome,

eloquence flourished there as long as the republic was in vigour; it was rightly considered to be the companion and the offspring of liberty, for when the latter took its departure from the state eloquence soon followed in its wake.

“Bear with me then if, while I thank you for the benefit conferred on me, I launch out at large on the praises of eloquence. In the early ages, when cities were first built and governments systematized, eloquence began its reign; how, think you, could men drawn from the surrounding country, ignorant of civilised life, have been induced to build towns, to enact laws, but by the eloquence of some superior mind? The power of rhetoric tamed the multitude and made them amenable to the common weal. What would be the state of mankind if they could not express their strong sensations and opinions? This faculty of communicating our ideas and rousing the feelings of our fellow-citizens raises us above the birds and the animals. What a wonderful power is that of speech, eloquent speech, which can at pleasure calm an agitated assembly, melt it to tears, or rouse it to indignation.

“The power of oratory in influencing mankind is greater than the authority of the greatest kings. An eloquent man is the most useful citizen of the state. I address you, O young men, whose ardent minds and virtuous hopes look to the fame of immortality, to whatever branch of knowledge you turn your attention you should value none higher than eloquence; and beginning with philosophy, which is said to come from heaven, what part of philosophy is there which does not require to be adorned with the graces of oratory? The first is physics; it needs to be explained in clear distinct language, lest we add darkness to difficulty, and rather detach learners from philosophy than instruct them, an error into which many sophists of the present day fall. Now is the time when men have more acute discernment to obliterate the idea that it is a fine thing not to be understood, and that there is wisdom in useless questions and obscure definitions. As to the second part of philosophy, dialectics, this is in the greatest confusion. The arrangements and arguments of the ancients are despised. People are so superstitious that they are not satisfied with Aristotle the prince of philosophers, who is in dialectics as in other sciences an acute and eloquent reasoner. Whoever dedicates himself to philosophical studies ought first to acquire the eloquence

of the Greek philosophers, and study to write lucidly and methodically in good Latin. For he is esteemed a good orator who speaks with accuracy and method, and while unfolding his philosophical doctrine supports it with logical arguments, clothed in choice and classic language, convincing the judgment and charming the ear, instead of fatiguing the attention of those who are endeavouring to overcome difficulties by wrapping philosophy in obscure phrases and unmeaning sentences. We find this practised both in the study of medicine and law.

“How useful in times of peril to the state to have able and eloquent orators to send as ambassadors for the defence and liberty of the republic. The Italian language is indeed sweet and harmonious, but if it did not receive a certain vigour and force from Greek and Latin literature, in treating of important matters, it might degenerate into light and frivolous expressions. It would be a shame for us to be surpassed by foreigners in the knowledge and use of the Latin tongue; and if we have the honour of Italy at heart we shall certainly take care that our youth shall not be behind in this respect. With this view I propose this year to interpret the oration of M. Tullius, in which he devotes his talent to prove that in eloquence the Latins are equal or superior to the Greeks. Its art consists in its perfection, and in explaining it we shall have occasion to unfold the figures and rules of rhetoric of which he has made use. Here we shall see the consummate talent of the orator, and observe how he uses the Socratic inductions and adapts them to the Peripatetic system.

“In the following year I propose, with your permission, to explain the books of Aristotle on dialectics in Greek, in order that the youth may not drink from the rills and streamlets, but from the fountain-head of the Peripatetics, and thus study unitedly both Greek and Latin.

“This method will, I hope, be useful to all. Those who wish to devote themselves to oratory, or that part of philosophy called ethics, should remember that without a knowledge of dialectics they can never understand that which Aristotle has written on morals.

“For suppose a young man of talent and judgment should be filled with a spiritual desire to investigate eternal things, how would he get over the opposite opinions of theologians if he has

not the benefit of this science? We shall not however dwell long on this point, but only as far as is necessary to teach oratory. If any one thinks that the students will not be able this year to enter on such important studies as Demosthenes and Aristotle, we can put it off till the following year. I shall willingly yield to the opinion of the heads of the college, and if they approve of uniting the study of Greek eloquence with that of moral philosophy, I will turn the attention of my scholars to Isocrates, the parent of eloquence, on whose tomb a Siren was placed to signify the sweetness and charm of his oratory.

As I am the first whom you have publicly invited to this new chair, and being thus honoured by you, O Lucchese, it is not necessary for me to confine myself within the limits of my natural diffidence and modesty, but rather to exert myself day and night, to do not only what I can, but what I ought, in order that the rising youth, who are the strength and vigour of the republic of Lucca, may reap every possible advantage from your benefits.¹

Paleario's private sentiments and warm affections are more amply unfolded in his confidential correspondence, and in order to become fully acquainted with him it will be necessary to draw largely from this faithful transcript of his mind.

The following letter written to a valued young friend, Sylvestro Lilio, who was absent at Rome, shews the strength of his attachments and the sincerity of his religious principles. The young man was a native of Lucca, and had considerable influence in the state. His society was of the utmost importance to Paleario, who was separated from his family and from the comforts of his home: oppressed with poverty and in delicate health, the companionship of a young ardent mind was a support peculiarly needful to him. But self was forgotten under the idea that his friend was reading the Epistles of Paul with the devout Flaminio.² Paleario entreats him, if this is really the case, not to think of his wishes, his parents' entreaties, or the exigencies of the state; but to stay for a while and profit by the religious instruction which a study of the Scriptures, in company with such a character as Flaminio, would afford him.

¹ The above is the substance of the fourth oration, *De Laudibus Eloquentia*, greatly abridged and condensed.—Palearii *Opera*, pp. 98—108.

² Marc' Antonio Flaminio. See *CHAR.* xv.

No apology is needful to the intelligent reader for giving these letters in full: they are fragments which make us live, as it were, in the society of this devoted man, and enter the sanctuary of his secret meditation.

AONIO PALEARIO TO SILVESTRO LILIO.

"If the love of your country and the desire of seeing your friends made you wish to return almost immediately on your arrival in Rome, I attribute this more to your devotion towards us than to the counsels of your family. If, however, the magnificence and pomp of the court, which is the delight of so many, is disgusting to you, and if, though from your noble birth and great riches you can live there in a splendid manner, you prefer returning to us, I do indeed congratulate you for being endowed with rare wisdom; and I rejoice also on our own account, for we shall enjoy once again your delightful society. Do not imagine that I did not guess this would be the case from the first. I knew well you were an enemy to ambition, of unswerving integrity, and not only a friend, but a lover of chastity and modesty. I wondered how you could be absent for a month from the dearest objects of your affection; the more so as nothing ought to be so dear to you as your excellent parents, no place so charming as your native country. And what a country! A free city, regulated by just laws and upright morals; in which the evil-disposed can find no opportunity of committing crime, or any hope of concealment; where great expectations are entertained of you, and where such is the reverence in which you are held, that notwithstanding your youth you are looked upon, and are truly the moderator of the elders, the pattern of religion and holiness of life. . . . After your departure, and that of our Giuseppe,¹ nothing could please or enliven me, and I fell into such a languid and torpid state of mind, that every one was astonished to see the cheerfulness which you used to admire all gone. Both mind and countenance were changed. The only person who could at all revive me by his amiability and sweet disposition, was your cousin Martino Lilio. The bad state of his health, under which he had almost sunk, and the cold of this severe season, try him exceedingly. His illness gives me so much anxiety that I feel as if I were either ill or going to be ill. His mother, his engaging wife, and his excellent brother beg and entreat me to go and live with him. Here I am in my apartment, without wife, children, or servants, and without money. For, as you know, I was obliged some months since to go to Colle by a long and dusty road, but now in consequence of the heavy rains so deep in mud, that I will not allow these poor unhappy creatures to take such a journey on my account. All my friends, your father, Bonvisi, Cenami, Bernardini, and Arnulfini assist me in my necessities, and take care that in my penury I am supplied with everything, though in fact I am content with so little that I feel myself as rich as Crassus. From what I can understand by the letter you have written to your father, we may shortly expect you here. Then my pleasure will be greater

¹ Giuseppe Jova, a poet, afterwards the secretary of Vittoria Colonna.

than the pain which now oppresses me. I see in this same letter that you are reading the Epistles of Paul, and that Flaminio, your friend and mine, is leading you to the study of theology. May God reward him, who, to make you truly happy, is teaching you the sum and substance of true life, the chief crowning point of all study. If you, who from your earliest youth were studious of the liberal arts, and devoted yourself to all that wise men could teach you about living well, were now to apply yourself to deeper studies, what may not be your future progress, and what your exemplary life and conduct? If what I allude to is true,—for I do not know it for a certainty, but am only led by conjecture to this supposition, because I love you more than myself, and have your welfare more at heart than my own,—by no means withdraw yourself from the city (Rome), that is, the house of Flaminio. As he is with the illustrious Pole, whom I name with reverence, what a great benefit this will be for you. Good heavens! What advantages will you derive in many ways from living in daily intercourse with such persons. On this account, though I desire your presence more than any one, do nothing hastily; let neither my letters nor the entreaties or recommendations of your parents, your country, or those of persons the dearest to you in the world, induce you to change your abode, if you are with Flaminio and Pole. Our friends Parenti and Pacini salute you. Adieu.”¹

While Paleario was at Lucca he turned his attention to the law, his original profession. In the oration on eloquence, of which we have given a sketch, he treats it as a branch of philosophy. His capacious mind embraced all the sciences which had the slightest affinity with his own line of study. As under the republic of Rome, lawyers were also orators, who by the vehemence of their eloquence moved and guided the public mind, so Paleario, ambitious of imitating these classic models of antiquity, strove to revive the ancient mode of eloquent harangues; and while he considered the law as a part of philosophy, worthy of the highest praise, and that “without it neither kingdoms, cities, nor human life itself can exist,” he laments that the old laws, so clear and lucid in their use and application, should have been so utterly neglected, and entreats the youth of Lucca not to let this interesting branch of knowledge lie buried under the prosing notes of commentators, but to cultivate and adorn it with all the graces of elocution and oratory, as their forefathers did. He encourages them by the example of Alciati, whose splendid talents had struck out a new path in jurisprudence, and raised it once again to the dignity it had formerly attained.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 3.

Andrea Alciati¹ was one of the luminaries of the sixteenth century; a man of original mind, who dared to introduce innovations and step beyond the narrow circle of the law. He studied history, antiquities, languages, literature and criticism with the view of illustrating his profession; this was so contrary to general custom that it gave a new aspect to jurisprudence. He was the son of a Milanese noble, and passed through his studies at Pavia and Bologna with such *éclat*, that when only twenty-one years of age he wrote in three days notes on the laws of Justinian. This gave him the privilege of defending causes before he attained the usual age. He next published his *Paradoxes of Civil Law*, a work which stamped him as an innovator, but spread his fame so far abroad that he was invited to Avignon as professor of civil law with a salary of 500 crowns. His auditors increased so rapidly that a hundred crowns were subsequently added. The learned Erasmus, in 1521, wrote him a laudatory letter, congratulating him on his great talent: unfortunately the great foible of his character was vanity, and the excessive praise which was lavished on him encouraged this failing to such a degree that he wrote to his friend Calvi that all Europe was ringing with the praises of Alciati. A vain mind is generally an inconstant one, and so it proved in this instance. He left Avignon to return to Milan, where he took up the profession of advocate, but he missed the incense of popular applause which public lectures had brought him. He tried to get a professorship in Italy; not succeeding he returned to Avignon, in 1528, without having any public employment there. Subsequently he was invited to lecture in the university of Bourges with a salary of 600 crowns, a sum by no means equal to his expectations, and his restless spirit again turned his thoughts to Italy. An increase however of 300 crowns detained him at Bourges till 1532. But not all the honours and advantages heaped on him there could suffice; he wrote a satirical poem on the inhabitants of Bourges, and this paper when made public was answered in the same pungent style. At this time he was employing his Italian friends to bargain for a chair in different places as professor of law in Italy. At length he was recalled to Milan by the duke Francesco Sforza, and appointed professor at Pavia with the enormous salary of 1500 crowns;

¹ Born 1492, died 1550.

but wherever he went his inconstant disposition made him restless and dissatisfied. In 1537 we find him at Bologna, four years after at Pavia again, and in 1543 he was at Ferrara when Paul III. visited that court. This pope was ever a patron of learned men, and he conferred on Alciati the title of Apostolic Protonotary. Soon after, in 1546, he was recalled to Pavia, and there his wanderings terminated with his life at fifty-eight years of age. He was highly gifted with intellectual power, but the moral part of his character was so sadly deficient that his defects obscured the brilliancy of his fame. He was taxed with vanity, inconstancy, and greediness both of food and gold.¹ But as a lawyer he greatly raised his profession, and what was once considered the province of hard-working, plodding men, became worthy of the highest energies and acquirements of a philosopher.

Paleario, who fully entered into the comprehensive and liberal opinions of Alciati, wrote an eloquent oration against L. Murena² and sent it to Alciati, entreating his opinion of its merits, and asking whether he should be considered too bold in becoming the antagonist of the great Cicero: should this be Alciati's opinion, or if he otherwise disapproved of the oration, he would suppress it altogether.

AONIO PALEARIO TO ANDREA ALCIATI, JURISCONSULT.

"If you value the defenders of your profession as much as you excel in civil law, my hopes will not be disappointed that the oration I have written against L. Murena will be a bond of union between us; for though the great and brilliant qualities which you have brought to bear on the science of jurisprudence are not to be equalled by others, yet you will not be displeased if I desire that my work may share a slight degree of your vast reputation. It cannot indeed bear comparison with anything of yours, but the scope and intention are the same. You have been the first to adorn civil law with the splendour of elocution, so long clogged by obscure and incomprehensible phrases. I believe I am the first to defend it in a Latin oration from the restrictions of Tullius. In the most flourishing period of the Roman Republic this science was limited, and attacked by calumny.

¹ Something must probably be allowed in the way of exaggeration as to his defects. When a man rises above his compeers in talent or intellectual power, his deficiencies are raised as it were on a pinnacle, and become the theme of envious and inferior minds, whose very element is censure.

² Olivet in his criticism of Cicero's works says of this oration, that the Latin of this piece of eloquence is so perfect that it is impossible to discover any difference between the style of Cicero and Paleario.

"Yours is a far happier lot; from a superior station you fight alternately with the Greeks and with the Latins, often with the barbarians, and always come off victorious. I, under disadvantages of time and place, fight against the prince of eloquence (Cicero), however unequal to him; your praise will be in every mouth, while I am overwhelmed by the cavillers. There are a pestilent set of men, whose chief pleasure is to criticise and to vituperate others. They have no respect for Servius Sulpitius, whom I have defended, nor for that upright man M. Cato; they care little about civil law, which I seek to ennoble, nor the learning of the Stoics, which I have striven to sustain; but they will fix their whole attention on the novel and obnoxious attitude I assume in presuming to rise up against the divine and heavenly-gifted orator. Here, oh Alciati, I appeal to your equity and sincerity. If it is not allowable to examine and discuss the writings left us by the ancients, if we are not permitted to investigate truth, we have no means of avoiding the errors into which so many writers fall, who purposely perhaps, to avoid rousing hatred and envy, refrain from seeking truth. Where do we find those zealous devotees of Cicero, who consider his every word as oracular? There is nothing Cicero more reproves than fighting under the authority of a name. I beseech you, Alciati, by your talents and good fortune, to assist me on this occasion. See what a storm hangs over me! and what a multitude are prepared for attack. There never was a time in which accusers were more numerous. If you still exercise the profession of advocate, remember I pray you to be my defender. Those who dread approaching danger generally seek advice and assistance. To whom can I appeal, or call upon but you, who are so potent a defender and adviser?"

"You are now in possession of the oration, and it shall not see the light except by your command, and unless you approve and prepare to defend it. Considering the learning of a liberal mind I think it would be a shame, if you, the most eloquent of jurisconsults, were not, by your legal ability, to sustain the defender of law; and it would be equally a disgrace, if the most distinguished of lawyers did not shield with the armour of eloquence a man who, in defence of this your favorite science, has exposed himself to great peril. But as I do not wish to do anything contrary to your opinion, if this oration displeases you I will suppress it. Pray oblige me by writing your opinion. Farewell."¹

We see here the energy and modesty of Paleario's character; admirer as he was of Cicero he would not be pinned down to his opinions. The investigation of truth was his most important object, and he was at all times anxious to lay down that great principle, now so thoroughly understood, that truth is to be sought for itself, irrespective of human authority;—a principle which could never find acceptance at Rome, where truth is subservient to authority. This in fact is the reason why all

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 21.

intellectual freedom is denied to the votaries of the Roman church. Paleario, shrinking from the severity of criticism, sought aid from some high and independent authority before he presented his oration to the public.

Alciati entered fully into Paleario's idea and answered his letter without evincing any of that vanity for which he has been so much blamed; he encouraged him to persevere in his efforts to revive the ancient method of declamation, reassured him as to the fear of offering an affront to Cicero by differing from his opinion, and professed himself both delighted and grateful for his eloquent oration.

ANDREA ALCIATI, JURISCONSULT, TO AONIO PALEARIO.

"I have read with great eagerness your oration against L. Murena, in which you answer Cicero; the perusal has given me the greatest pleasure. Not so much because you patronise civil law and defend our profession against the eloquent and distinguished orator, though this also was agreeable to me, but because you revive the ancient manner of declamation, and that you open up and clear the way which rhetoricians during the past careless, and I may say juvenile age, have choked up with their controversies. This is not only useful in encouraging eloquence, but also to us jurisconsults. The prudent answers of Alexander, Corneo, and Socino, which are so much prized, if you take away the legal phraseology, what are they but declamations? Very few professors of the liberal arts can attain distinction; if they desire fame, they prefer devoting themselves to jurisprudence, which really bears fruit, rather than grow old in correcting boys' exercises and scanning quantities; thus the finest exercise of learning has perished. I am rejoiced that this art (eloquence) has been so gloriously revived by you, and confess myself on this account greatly obliged. Nor do I think this will militate against the authority of Tullius, which ought indeed to be held sacred. He himself used sometimes to take the part of his adversaries; it is by this Socratic method that truth is more clearly elucidated. Domitius, if I mistake not, said, 'Speak against me, that we may seem two persons.' You have nothing therefore to fear, my dear Aonio, from those who value Cicero. I, who am one of those, and love you sincerely on this account, am so far from thinking that you have done any wrong to the majesty of Cicero, or been in the slightest degree wanting in respect to him, that I even venture to assert that Cicero himself would have been of your opinion, if the cause which he upheld had not required a different kind of reasoning. In all his works we see marked evidence of the value which he put on civil law. Arise, thou most learned man, and bring us back to our ancient eloquence; reestablish the custom of declaiming, so long lost by the carelessness of our ancestors, and restore to civil law its true dignity. You not only do not detract anything from the estimation in which Cicero is generally held, but, *κατ' ἀντίκλιαν*, by reflection, you make him more refulgent. I who belong to the studious tribe confess myself so

greatly obliged to you for your exertions, that I scarcely know how to express my thanks. Farewell. Ticino, October 1, 1559.¹

Paul III., when he met Alciati at Ferrara, offered him great ecclesiastical rewards and benefices if he would go to Rome, but he preferred living free and enjoying the applause of his scholars. He afterwards wrote to Paolo Giovio: "I am glad I have not allowed myself to be deceived by the promises of this cunning old Pope; you know he wanted to have me at Rome, and great remuneration was offered me at Torino, Ferrara, and Bologna. For my own private reasons I was more cautious than you, prudent philosopher, with all your wise precepts. Why should I, under a vain and uncertain hope of being made cardinal, renounce such great offers and honours, and a certain and ample salary? Why, for this, despise the applause of so many young men who surround me, and foolishly leave my place vacant for the many aspirants who are knocking at the door, and thus lose the esteem and advantage I have acquired with no mean praise."²

The few works which Alciati³ left behind him are chiefly on jurisprudence, but some treat of subjects springing from the study of the law, such as the duties of magistrates, the military and civil offices under the Roman republic, &c. He made a large collection of all the inscriptions belonging to Milan, his native place, of which copies are to be found in the Vatican and Ambrosian libraries; and he used them in composing a history of Milan from its foundation, a work of small extent, but the first which had been written under the authority of ancient and authentic documents.

One of Paleario's weaknesses, which he shared in common with the learned of that day, was an eager desire for the patronage of princes and great men. He addressed his poem on the Immortality of the Soul to Ferdinand, king of the Romans, in hopes of receiving some reward or distinction. This desire for patronage became almost a vice when it encouraged the spirit of adulation. A prince who could raise a man from poverty to

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 22.

² This letter is prefixed to some editions of his history.—See *De Thou*, and Bayle, *Diet.*

³ See Tiraboschi, who says of him, "*Andrea Alciati uomo grande ugualmente e ne' suoi studj legali, e negli amoni della Letteratura.*"—*Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 205.

opulence by a word was worth courting; and unless the patron were really a person of great talent and virtue, there was no avoiding a certain degree of humiliation in paying the homage required, a homage altogether unsuited to Paleario's cast of mind. Judging by our own ideas of independence, we cannot entirely acquit him of using more flattering language than we can approve; but we must recollect that northern temperaments can scarcely sympathise with the impulsive and imaginative natures of the south. Even the friends of Paleario, however, thought him too ambitious in sending his works to Ferdinand.¹

A friend of his, Orgetorix Sphinter, who from his name appears to have been a Hungarian, had seen a copy of Paleario's oration against L. Murena, and wrote the following letter to Carlo Laurenno, praising it in the highest terms.

ORGETORIX SPHINTER TO CARLO LAURENNO.

"When I came lately from Rome to Germany, I saw in the hands of some learned men the oration of Aonio Paleario against L. Murena, which I had read at Milan some weeks before, and which had afforded me the same gratification that all his other productions have done. Do you ask why? I heard here the same opinion as at Milan. Excellent judges affirm that if M. Tullius were to come to life again, he would adopt the opinion of Aonio; and if called on to pass judgment, they would condemn Murena. Those most observant of the purest and most chaste diction, say that there is no doubt that if it had been written in that happy period when the Latin tongue was in the most flourishing condition, it would in all future time have been most highly prized and esteemed. They praise the grave and dignified language, and highly extol the easy flow of its composition. They admire the pleasing and agreeable manner in which he imitates the ancients, and how admirably he represents a Roman citizen, being so solicitous for the commonwealth as to heighten the danger; expressing his fear that if Murena is acquitted, soldiers may at any future time, by following their commander, inflame the civil desires of their general, and thus extinguish every vestige of liberty. Let whoever reads it only fancy himself living in those days when the trial took place, and at a period when such things might, and indeed ought to have been said. Our Henry, who is very diligent and has read through the whole of the oration by M. Tullius in favour of Murena, has particularly observed the arguments which Cicero made use of to influence the minds of the judges, especially in civil law, and the discipline of the Stoics; and he has written them down in opposite columns, so that it may be easily seen how well he replied to every objection. If you write to Aonio, I beg you to tell him that the oration will soon be published. What does he expect? I announce that it will be out in a few days. With his usual prudence he has

¹ See CHAP. III. p. 111.

revised it before sending it to the printer. Beg him also in my name not to despise Henry; for either his summary or the whole of Cicero's oration is to be prefixed, in order that those who are prepared and wish to be acquainted with the reasoning of juriconsults, and the attacks on the discipline of the Stoics, may know with what arguments they are defended. This will, I think, diminish the labour of studious men. For it makes a very great difference, when a thing is to be enquired into, whether the book is at hand, or is to be searched out elsewhere. Adieu. Cologne, 13 January, 1548."¹

Who this Henry was, and what was the exact nature of his work, is unknown, but it appears that he had made a kind of digest of the judicial arguments for and against Murena made use of by Cicero and Paleario. We find no mention of the publication of this oration in any of Paleario's letters. In the following reply to Orgetorix Sphinter he does not even allude to Laureno's work.

After writing the above letter to Carlo Laureno, Orgetorix Sphinter, who seems to have been a man of sense and experience, wrote the following judicious and faithful letter to Paleario.

ORGETORIX SPHINTER TO AONIO PALEARIO.

"I would rather have preferred speaking than writing to you of some things, but have been prevented by the journey I took to Germany after the death of Sadoleto. I am still detained here by business, and cannot tell when I shall be at liberty to return to Italy. I arrived on the 5th of January at Cologne; on the 15th I wrote to Laureno, who I believe sent you a copy of my letter, with Henry's summary. This man, believe me, is one of the most zealous friends you have. He has great and extended communication with Hungary, and enjoys the patronage of very distinguished persons. Last year he was at the court of king Ferdinand; and holding you himself in such high estimation, he concluded your name would be well known, and was surprised to find your books so unknown, that he did not meet with any one who had ever seen them. He asked about Vergerio, who is esteemed a good and clever man, but no letters had been received at court from him for a long time past. How is this? It is clear that your books have never reached the king. Either Vergerio's messengers were not to be trusted, or he was afraid of troubling the king by writing to him, or else he gave the commission to somebody who failed to execute it. For those who enjoy the smiles and favour of princes do not like to tease them about the affairs of others, in order to be able on a suitable occasion to use all their influence for themselves.

"You hoped, notwithstanding the distance, that the books would be faithfully carried, the letter be given, and the recommendation obtain favour as if it were only a day's journey. I do not pretend to give advice, but in my opinion it will be wiser in future not to found the slightest hopes on their

¹ Palearii Opera, p. 3.

recommendations. It is a mistake to think that these things are better arranged here than in Italy. I wrote to Laureno about Henry's summary, so that I need say but little to you, for I do not fear that you will not value the *εὐδοκίαν* (*applause*) of your friends. I think there is nothing more delightful than to be beloved by good men, of which there is a great scarcity. I could remind you of some king who desired to have a couple of friends. You who have them, do you not love them? Who do you think I am speaking of? Of the cardinals?¹ How dear and precious their memory is, I every day experience. Great is the kindness of the middle class; their private and public services, their assistance in our studies and in literature; above all, their sincere and simple friendship; being without dissimulation, they love with all their hearts, and would even die for each other. Turn to this class of men if you wish to be loved and respected. Know that we are expecting from you some dialogues and sonnets, *καὶ τὰ μέλη*, which will be to us as fragrant flowers. So when your muse produces something, remember us. Adieu."²

We cannot deny that this Hungarian gave very good advice, and that his letter was a suitable check to Paleario's love of patronage. Paleario received it with his usual amiability, but we learn from the allusion to Maximilian in his reply, that he could not give up the idea of princely patronage. Both Ferdinand and his son Maximilian were said to be averse to tyranny in religion; and it is not difficult to understand how an Italian groaning under the harsh measures of the Papacy would look at that time with longing eyes to Germany, where the people had won for themselves some measure of religious liberty, and hoped for more extended freedom.³

AONIO PALEARIO TO ORGETORIX SPHINTER.

"Your great love is manifest in every line of the letters which you have lately written from Cologne to Laureno, and to me. He is unjust who calls that country barbarous which produces men civilised by cultivation and enlightened by literature. . . . Ever since I was at Padua, and you at Venice, I have received many proofs of your kindness and politeness, such as might be expected from the most amiable of men. And now you have incited a noble and highly educated young man from the utmost confines of Hungary, happy in the possession of fortune, connections, and friendships, to offer me all kinds of homage and respect, how highly ought I to value your kindness and regard. On this account I heartily embrace you and your, or rather our Henry, if not bodily, most cordially in mind. If we were not so

¹ Bembo and Sadoleta, who both died in 1547.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 26.

³ A hope which was realised at the treaty of Passau in 1552.

far separated I should indeed, as you say, have a couple of friends with whom I would as willingly pass my life as with the celestials.¹ . . . What you say of my books is very nearly true. Where are those ancient patrons of literary men, by whom writers raised their heads, and carried them so high? Oh, fallacious hopes! How vain have been my expectations, if so much labour is to be expended before my writings reach those to whom they are dedicated.

"Vergerio is not to blame; I have always known him to be a good and learned man, full of kindness and attention. Who then, you will say, do I accuse? No one, but fortune. I now see that what Bembo foresaw when I was writing these books has come to pass. Nevertheless I hope, if Maximilian comes to Italy, my books may yet reach the king. The young prince is pious, happy, great, and wise,—will he not read them, and grant what I have been wishing for these sixteen years past? Will he despise my desire for Austrian approval?² I do not think so. If what is said of the Lombards is true, all will go well. I hear that in Germany large assemblies are held. If you know anything about them, and particularly, let me hear. Whatever may happen, we will bear it as mortals. . . ."³

The intellectual compass of Paleario's mind somewhat resembled that of Alciati. Like him he did not confine his studies to his own peculiar branch, but moved by desires more capacious than practicable, if we consider the brief period of human life, he desired to know everything within the reach of human intelligence. The great fame of Alciati stimulated him to devote his attention to legal studies. He had already experienced how difficult it was to consult the accumulated number of books on law, the greater part of which were only copies of former writers, containing a confused mass of citations and useless repetitions, written in barbarous Latin, in so involved a style that obscurity became darkness. Paleario's refined judgment hailed with delight the criticisms of Alciati, and the example he gave of a clearer manner of writing, and heartily agreed with him that a good lawyer should be furnished with a rich store of literature both of a serious and agreeable kind. Paleario was one of the few lawyers who wished to follow the example of Alciati. His sons were growing up; he intended one of them to be educated for the legal profession, and expresses himself on this point in the following letter to Vincenzo Portico.

¹ *Diis immortalibus*, too offensive to christian ears, if literally translated.

² Besides the desire of kingly patronage, Austria, we must recollect, though now so retrograde, was at this time the source of all freedom of thought and religious liberty.

³ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 27.

AONIO PALEARIO TO VINCENZO PORTICO, A JURISCONSULT.

"I am so fond of your old jurisconsults that I consider those almost as enemies who do not sufficiently value them. Thus, my dear Portico, you can understand why I am so much attached to you, and what I wish before I make my request. I hear you possess some ancient commentaries on civil law; so earnestly do I desire to see them, that if I should ever get admittance into the sanctuary of your study, there is some risk of my becoming a thief. Whether it be, that as we advance in life our desire for knowledge becomes more eager and insatiable, or that the more we know, the more sensible we become of our ignorance. I in my mature age am become an actual devourer of books, which is indeed rather a sign of a crude and voracious appetite. I have two sons; one of them I wish to bring up to the pursuit of Greek and Latin literature and natural philosophy; the other to Latin and the study of jurisprudence. I have provided plenty of Greek books for the one; I am searching out works on civil law for the other; and I look to you as a guide, friend, guardian, and father, hoping that under such titles my son may owe much to you. I do not plead only for my own, but seek also the good of others. I will not ask you to have these volumes copied in a clear handwriting, for this would involve immense labour; but I entreat you rather, for the general advantage of students, to decide on publishing these commentaries, and impart to us somewhat of your good fortune; by this you will lose nothing.

"Ut homo, qui erranti comiter monstrat viam,

Quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat, facit

Ut nihilo minus ipsi luceat, cum illi accenderit.¹

"I am much averse to your keeping your riches any longer locked up in darkness, or hiding what would be so advantageous to students. One thing I must add: if in these your commentaries there be anything written by you by way of illustration or explanation, I entreat it may be added to the commentary.

"Si ut habiliter gemmæ geri possint incluse auro fuerint, tunc aurum gemmis cedere dicimus.²

Paul Jurisconsult.

"Quoniam hoc spectamus, quæ res cujus rei ordinandæ causa fuerit adhibita, non quæ sit preciosior.³

Ulpian.

"Et in argento patorio non id duntaxat inesse videtur in quo bibi possit, sed etiam quod ad præparationem bibendi comparatum est.⁴

¹ As he who kindly shews the way
To those who else had learned to stray,
From his own light upholds a ray,
Nor shines the less in open day.

² When gems are set in gold that we may wear them, we think less of the gold than of the gem.

³ For we do not value what is used only as a setting so much as that which is really precious.

⁴ In a silver cup we do not consider the metal out of which we drink, but the liquor which we taste.

“Pomponio used to answer: Additions follow that to which they are attached. See what progress I have made in your studies in half-an-hour, that I dare to give you, who are so well versed in jurisprudence, work in your own profession, and to contend that what is your own does not belong to you; but I do not call upon you to fight about law. I desire to be neither proud nor forward, but modest and gentle in all things: τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ πάντα. φίλοι οἱ σέβει τοῖς θεοῖς. κοινὰ τῶν φίλων πάντα. ἕρα τῶν σοφῶν πάντα. *Everything belongs to the Gods; the learned are the friends of the Gods. All is common between friends; thus everything belongs to the learned.* And if indeed everything comes from God, who not only gives us intelligence and talents, but life itself and the very air we breathe, why should we be so unjustly parsimonious and so odiously envious as to deprive the lovers of belles-lettres (*bonæ artes*), who are most acceptable to God,¹ of works which, if published, would be a glory to us, useful to many, and hurtful to none. But why do I, who have so often experienced your kindness and liberality, waste my time in pressing you with so many entreaties? I fear almost to affront you by my earnestness, as if I doubted your willingness to respond to my desire for the public good, having always found you so ready to do so. Farewell.”²

¹ Doubtful if acceptable on account of their learning.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 18. It is scarcely possible to fix the exact date of the many letters Paleario wrote from Lucca, but we have endeavoured as much as possible to group those relating to one subject together, and thus present a unity of interest.

CHAPTER XV.

VITTORIA COLONNA.—MARC' ANTONIO FLAMINIO.

1509—1550.

HER BEAUTY—TALENT—MARRIAGE TO PESCARA—HE IS TAKEN PRISONER AT RAVENNA—RELEASE—VITTORIA'S POETIC GENIUS—PESCARA'S AMBITION—VITTORIA'S NOBLE LETTER—HER HUSBAND'S DEATH—HER GRIEF—CONSTANCY—POETIC LAMENTS—BECOMES RELIGIOUS—HER OPINIONS—STEDFAST TO THE CHURCH—QUEEN OF NAVARRE—LETTER TO VITTORIA—HER REPLY—CARDINAL CONTARINI—HIS SISTER—LETTER FROM VITTORIA—CARDINAL POLE—HIS HISTORY—ASCANIO COLONNA—WAR WITH THE POPE—ASCANIO RUINED—VITTORIA AT ORVIETO—AT VITERBO—GIVES A PACKET FROM OCHINO—LETTER TO CARDINAL CERVINI—ILLNESS—DEATH—M. A. FLAMINIO—HIS FATHER—FLAMINIO GOES TO ROME, NAPLES—SANNAZZARO—BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE INVITES HIM TO URBINO—FLAMINIO STUDIES AT BOLOGNA—GOES TO GENOA AND VERONA—HIS LOVE OF RELIGION—WRITES A PARAPHRASE ON THE PSALMS—BAD HEALTH—AT NAPLES—VALDÉS—LETTER TO THEODORINA SAULI FROM FLAMINIO—AT VITERBO—LIVES IN CARDINAL POLE'S HOUSE—POLE'S REPRESSIVE INFLUENCE—FLAMINIO AT THE COUNCIL OF TRENT—DECLINES OFFICE OF SECRETARY—HIS PEACEFUL DISPOSITION AND HUMILITY—CARAFFA—ORATORY OF DIVINE LOVE—FLAMINIO DEVOTES HIMSELF EXCLUSIVELY TO SACRED POETRY—ACCOMPANIES POLE TO ROME—DEATH—LETTERS—DEVOTIONAL SPIRIT.

In a history of Paleario's contemporaries it is impossible to pass over the noble and virtuous Vittoria Colonna, the glory of her age and the pride of her race. She was one of those exalted feminine spirits who seemed to possess all the perfections of humanity, a character by no means common at that time in Italy.

Young and beautiful, she was married at an early age to the object of her fondest attachment. Herself descended from a line of heroes,¹ she gloried in being the wife of a gallant young

¹ Vittoria was the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Agnesina di Montefeltro. See Appendix A.

warrior, Ferrante d' Avalos,¹ marquis of Pescara. The marriage had been arranged by the parents when the children were in their infancy, and it proved one of those happy and well-assorted unions in which love seals the vow made at the altar, and rivets the matrimonial bond. But war makes sad ravages in domestic happiness; after a few years of connubial felicity Pescara accompanied his father-in-law, Fabrizio Colonna, to the siege of Ravenna in 1512. The defeat of his party left him a prisoner in the hands of the French; he was taken to Milan, and there beguiled the tedious hours of captivity in writing dialogues on love to his beloved and absent wife. It so happened that Trivulzio, the French general, had married his aunt Ippolita d' Avalos, and he used all his influence with Louis XII. to induce him to accept 6,000 ducats of gold as the ransom of the young captain. Meanwhile Pescara was permitted to leave the fort, and remain a prisoner in the house of Trivulzio till the money was paid: here his wounds were carefully dressed, and he received the kindest attention, and at length he was again permitted to gladden by his presence his anxious and devoted wife. She meanwhile, on the heights of the beautiful island of Ischia, had been uttering her mournful plaints in exquisite verse, and bewailing like the turtle-dove the absence and misfortunes of her mate. In a touching and elegant poem of twenty-five verses she pours forth her anxiety and her hatred of war, and describes a storm and commotion in the air as presages of her misfortune. The winds seemed to say

Oggi, Vittoria, sia stata de' disgrazia alli confini.

¹ Ferrante d' Avalos was descended from an ancient Spanish family of old Castille. His grandfather Inigo came first to Italy as page to Alfonso, king of Naples, was taken prisoner with the king at the naval battle of Ponza, and left with Filippo Visconti, duke of Milan. At his death, Inigo, now an accomplished gentleman, repaired to Naples, where he was loaded with favours by the king, and married a rich wife of the Aquino family. He left three sons, Alfonso, Roderigo, and Inigo; Alfonso, the eldest, took the title of Marquis of Pescara, from the river of that name in Puglia, formerly called Aterno, in which the great Sforza was drowned. Alfonso was the constant companion of king Ferdinand, and skilled both in the arts of war and peace. He lost his life by treachery: he had agreed with a Moor to burn the French fleet in the port, and went by night to scale the walls, carrying with him the price of the Moor's treachery, when he fell a victim to the arts of the intriguer, who killed him on the spot by a gun-shot. Rodrigo was killed in the war with the French, and Inigo the third brother died of a fever, leaving one son, Alfonso, afterwards Marquis of Vasto. Ferrante and Vittoria were contracted in marriage when both were about three years of age.—Paolo Giovio, *Vita del Marchese di Pescara*, p. 170.

Then, when she hears of the safety of her father and husband, and of their defeat, she plays on her name in the following stanza :

Se Vittoria volevi, io t'era appresso
Ma tu lasciando me lasciasti lei.¹

But even the charms of his wife could not long retain Pescara in inglorious repose; he burned to make himself a name to wipe out by his valour the disgrace of Ravenna. This is feelingly described in the poem above mentioned.

Altri chiedevan guerra: io sempre pace,
Dicendo: assai mi sia se il mio marchese
Meco quieto nel suo stato giace.

Non nuoce a voi tentar le dubbie imprese;
Ma a noi dogliose, afflitte, che aspettando
Semo da dubbio e da timore offese!²

The incursions of the French under Francis I. roused all the warriors of the Emperor's party to defend the duchy of Milan. Pescara once more bid adieu to his wife, and for several years after they only met for very brief periods. During the whole of this time Vittoria was a prey to the most agonizing suspense and anxiety. Pescara was sorely wounded at the battle of Pavia in 1525, where he so distinguished himself by his valour that his prowess was thought to have greatly contributed towards the victory over the French.

He imagined himself insufficiently rewarded; jealousy of Bourbon engrossed his thoughts, and it is said he listened to the wily suggestions of the chancellor Morone, who urged him to fight his way to the crown of Naples. Whether he intended treachery to the Emperor or not, it was unworthy of a generous mind to endanger the safety of Morone by not immediately rejecting the plan proposed, and still more so to betray and imprison him. His own account of the transaction represents him as only desirous of getting intelligence of the plans of the enemy; but if he ever wavered in the path of honour, a letter from his noble-minded wife established him in his fidelity. Always in the habit of consulting her on matters of importance, on the first report of these ambitious designs she immediately wrote entreating him not to listen to the seductions of ambition,

¹ *Rime di Vittoria Colonna*, p. 136.

² *Idem*, p. 133.

but be guided by his own rectitude and virtue, which she said "was of more value than the glory and dignity of a king. Honour does not consist in titles and greatness, but in uncorrupted integrity; and the regal state of a prince is far inferior to the glory of an unspotted reputation. That for her part she did not desire to be the wife of a king, but of that valorous captain who was not only a conqueror in war by his bravery, but surpassed all kings in his sense of honour and love of equity and justice."¹ These were sentiments worthy of the exalted character of our Vittoria. Whatever double dealing Pescara might be guilty of, we have no reason to believe he was suspected of treachery by the Emperor, who soon after appointed him captain-general of the forces at Milan. Had he been Italian the temptation would have been stronger, but he was too Spanish at heart to be willing to sacrifice himself for the benefit of Italian unity. To be governor of Milan with the Emperor's sanction and approval, in the event of Sforza's death, was a prize far more worth coveting than the hazardous enterprise of conquering the kingdom of Naples.

But his career of earthly glory was drawing to a close. His enthusiasm as a soldier exposed him to incessant fatigue, and undermined his health. He paid little attention to his bodily ailments, till disease made serious inroads on his constitution. Then he summoned his wife, hoping that her very presence would act as a cure and be a balm to his heart. She immediately set out, but when she arrived at Viterbo the sad and fatal tidings reached her that all was over, and that the light of her eyes was extinguished.² Almost beside herself with grief, she took up her temporary abode in the convent of St. Caterina at Viterbo. Here for some time she spent her days in tears, reading with indescribable agony the account of her beloved husband's last moments. Sensible to the last, and aware of his approaching end, he commended his beloved Vittoria to his cousin Alfonso, the marquis of Vasto, and gave him private instructions how to maintain vigilant discipline and acquire the affection of his soldiers. He made a will, in

¹ Paolo Giovio, *Vita di Pescara*, p. 25.

² Pescara died at Milan and was buried there with great pomp in 1525. His remains were afterwards taken to the church of S. Domenico at Naples, where his epitaph is still to be seen.

which he remembered all his faithful servants, and distributed to his friends about him arms, horses, and money, not as if he were dying, but as tokens of his affection. The fame of his great riches was proved at his death to be much exaggerated. His cousin Alfonso, who was his heir, found the estates so much burthened with debts contracted by Ferrante's father, that the property was almost entirely in the hands of the usurers. Pescara's maxim was that no captain who thought of gain would ever become great, and that a true soldier ought to aspire only to a reputation for valour and honour.

After the first burst of overwhelming grief had in some degree subsided Vittoria returned to Naples, where the body of her husband was to be laid. These last mournful duties over she repaired to Ischia, that "dear rock"¹ where she had passed her early days of wedded happiness, and which was now to be the scene of her sorrow and desolation. For seven years she lived in complete retirement, dividing her time between Naples and Ischia, inconsolable for her loss, inviting death to put an end to her troubles, and unite her "to her kindred soul."² With the brilliant imagination of a poetess she paints the glories which await her in heaven—

Col gran mesto di lei ch' è a Dio gradita,

and describes herself as seated on the '*caro scoglio*'³ watching the rising sun, and thinking how brilliant her sun shines out in heaven. She addresses love as a chaste and modest ruler, from whose allegiance death itself could not divide her:

Tempo non cangiò mai l' antica fede
 Il nodo è stretto ancor, come io l' avvolsi;
 Nè per l' amaro frutto, ch' ognor colsi,
 L' alta cagion men cara al cor mi riede.⁴

All her poems written at this time breathe that steadfast constancy and refined affection which penetrates the heart of a constant and devoted woman. Such feelings were singular in those days, but not quite unique. .

¹ *Caro scoglio*. See Appendix B.

² *Altra mia ver' alma*.

³ *Rime Sonetto* xvii. p. 17.

⁴ "No time can ever change my troth,
 The tie still binds as when at first engaged;
 Not e'en the bitter woe which now I prove,
 Can less endear my heart's most sweet delight."—*Rime*, p. 19.

To all the suggestions of her friends, who wished her to form another connection, she replied that her sun, as she poetically called her husband, was still ever near; and such was the delicate fervour of her affection, that she felt as jealous of a thought bestowed on another as if her beloved were still on earth.

After a lapse of years her swan-like elegies took a higher flight. Her mind became impressed with religious feeling, and the ardour which had hitherto been exclusively directed to the beloved memory of an earthly object was changed into the fervour of devotion to her Creator and her Saviour. She thus expresses her change of theme and its healing efficacy :

Il cieco amor del mondo un tempo tenne
L' alma di fama vaga, e quasi un angue
Si nudria in seno ond' or piangendo langue
Volta al Signor da cui 'l remedio venne.¹

It was just seven years after her great loss that Juan Valdés accompanied Toledo the viceroy as secretary to Naples. We have seen² the earnestness and simplicity with which he explained the Scriptures, and how he gathered round him all the choice spirits of the age. We know that Vittoria Colonna attended these assemblies, and it requires no great stretch of imagination to picture the joy with which her heavy-laden spirit listened to the high and holy truths which Valdés set forth. A new source of peace and consolation was opened to her in the study of the word of God, and she celebrates in verse her former blindness, while she sings in heavenlier strains, seeking to devote herself wholly to communion with God.

Vorrei l' orecchia aver qui chiusa e sorda
Per udir col pensier piu fermi e attenti
L' alte angeliche voci e i dolci accenti,
Che vera pace, in vero amor concorda.³

¹ How blindly once I loved the world,
How eager then for worldly fame,
Nursing a serpent in my breast,
My strength exhausted, languid with desire,
Till from the Lord the healing came.—*Rime*, p. 161.

² CHAP. VI.

³ I would my ear were closed and deaf,
That thought might be the more intent
On Angels' songs and sweetest tones
Where peace with dearest love unites.—*Rime*, p. 200.

Of the enlightened and spiritual nature of her religious views the following lines afford convincing proof.

Due modi abbiamo da veder l' alte e care
Grazie del ciel : l' uno è guardando spesso
Le sacre carte, ov' è quel lume espresso
Che all' occhio vivo sì lucente appare ;

L' altro è alzando del cor le luci chiare
Al libro della croce, ov' egli stesso,
Si mostra a noi sì vivo e sì d' appresso
Che l' alma allor non può per l' occhio errare.¹

Her intimacy with Bernardino Ochino served no doubt to enlighten her still more in the doctrines of grace which we find clearly set forth in her poems. It is matter of great regret that her correspondence with so many of the eminent men of the day, distinguished for learning and piety, should be lost.²

In 1536 Vittoria was at Rome when Charles V. passed through that city; he paid her the honour of a visit, not only as the widow of one of his greatest captains but as a tribute due to her virtue and talents. In 1541 she returned to the convent of St. Caterina at Viterbo, probably attracted thither by the society of cardinal Pole, Marc' Antonio, Flaminio, and Carne-secchi, round whom were assembled some of the most virtuous and religious men of Italy. They were all persons who desired some reform in the church, were favourable to a general Council, and willing to consent to any improvement consistent with the full maintenance of the Pope's authority. They studied the Scriptures diligently, and many ardent and devout minds advanced considerably in that hidden life spoken of by St. Paul.³ They held the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ, which they

¹ Two means we have to measure wide
The high and precious grace vouchsafed :
The one, is searching oft the sacred page,
Where vivid shines the light of truth ;
The other, raising of the inmost heart
To the exalted lesson of the cross,
Where he himself is seen so near,
The soul can never be misled by sight.—*Rime*, p. 346.

² The Buonarotti family were in possession of some letters of hers addressed to their great ancestor Michel-Angelo, which have lately been purchased by the city of Florence as national property, and it is to be hoped they may shortly see the light.

³ Col. iii. 3.

found so fully unfolded in the Scriptures, and were at this period making considerable progress in the knowledge of divine truth. But the establishment of the Inquisition in 1542, the defection from the Roman Catholic church of many who were best acquainted with the apostolical writings, and the flight of Ochino and Peter Martyr sounded the alarm, and taught all those who were good churchmen to ask first what the church taught before they ventured to follow the guidance of divine revelation. Reversing thus the precedence of supreme authority no wonder they went back instead of forward, and that in order to uphold the assumptions of the papacy they overlooked the commands of the Most High God.

Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, was at this time setting a bright example of christian zeal in favour of the reformed doctrine. Vittoria took the opportunity of a visit paid to the French court by the cardinal of Ferrara¹ to write to the queen a friendly letter expressing admiration of her christian virtues, and desiring her friendship. This first letter is not extant, but the queen's answer and the reply of Vittoria are found in several old collections of Italian letters.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA.

"Your letter, my dear cousin, has given me much pleasure, for I see in it your much coveted affection so vividly pourtrayed, that joy has made me forget the pain which I ought to feel in knowing myself to be quite the contrary of what your kindness praises so much. You desire and esteem everybody to be equal to yourself. If I did not know that evil-disposed princes are said to be easier corrected by unmerited praise than by pointing out their defects, I should not be able to understand the charity which you exercise towards me; but this ignorance is converted into a certain knowledge of the love you bear me, shewing me the difference between the triumphs of worldly and exterior dignities, and the beauty and ornaments of the true daughter and spouse of the only great King, which are interior and concealed. It seems to me, my cousin, that in order to plant me on the firm foundation of humility, you cannot do better than to tell me what I am according to the fashion of this world, as concerns rank and temporal appearance, and what you think I am within.

"I confess that as to exterior things God has brought me into existence, and placed me in such a position, that the extent of my demerits ought to impress me with fear, when I feel myself to be so contrary to the good opinion which you have entertained of me; so that if it were not for the hope I entertain that your good prayers may be a spur to make me come out from where I am, I would rather

¹ The cardinal was accompanied by Vergerio, bishop of Capo d' Istria, and the poet Alemanni. See a subsequent chapter.

not have seen your letter. May I be able to run after you. But you are so far advanced, that looking at the space between you and me I lose all hope of the fruit of my labour; but I will not abandon faith which gives us the victory, hoping against hope, that through your good offices all will be for the glory of God. To you will belong the merit: for this purpose the continuance of your prayers is necessary, and frequent renewals of your valuable letters, which I beg you not to be weary of sending.

“Friendship begun from report is so increased by finding it reciprocated in your letters, that I desire more than ever to receive them, and still more to be fortunate enough in this world to hear you speak of the happiness of another. If here below I can in any way minister to your wishes, I entreat you, my cousin, to employ me as a sister, for I shall comply as heartily, as I hope in the next world to be with you throughout eternity.

“Your good cousin and true friend,

“MARGUERITE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE.”¹

The answer of the marchioness of Pescara to this gracious letter is peculiar, and rather hyperbolic. It shews her acquaintance with Scripture, but also discloses the mistaken application so common in those days. Imperfectly acquainted with the omnipotent majesty of the Divine Creator's character, there was a carnal tendency to materialise the mysteries and miracles of Scripture, and to use the allegorical parts not as illustrations to raise the heart to God, but as of individual application levelling the divinity to human comprehension. With these preparatory remarks we give the letter itself; the intelligent reader will at once perceive how much Vittoria was held back from the full participation of Gospel light by her submission to the church and its dignitaries.

THE MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA TO THE MOST SERENE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

“Most Serene Queen, the lofty and religious tone of your majesty's very kind letter ought to teach me that holy silence which, instead of praise, we offer to things divine. But fearing lest this my reverence might be considered ingratitude, I venture, not to reply, but not to be altogether silent, and to endeavour to lift, as it were, the weights of your heavenly timepiece, so that when by your goodness it is pleased to strike, it may define and regulate the hours of this my perplexed life, until God shall grant me to hear your majesty converse about another, as you give me to hope. If infinite goodness should vouchsafe to me so great a good, my most ardent desires will be gratified: for a long time past I have felt that in the long and thorny path of life, we have need of a guide to shew us the way and to teach us both by

¹ This letter has no date, but must have been written in 1540 when Vergerio went to France. See Vergerio.—*Lettere Volgari*, lib. i. p. 211. Ed. Venet. 1567.

instruction and by actions how to overcome the fatigue of the journey. Being of opinion that the examples of one's own sex are the most suitable and lawful to follow, I have turned to the great women of Italy that I might learn to imitate them; but though I saw many very virtuous, yet there was not one above all the rest I could take as a model. In one alone, living out of Italy, I found all the moral perfections united with the gifts of intellect; but she being so high in rank and so far off, produced in me that same kind of awe and fear which the Hebrews felt when they saw the fire and the glory of God on the summit of the mountain, which they in their imperfect state dared not approach, but silently in their hearts asked of God that the divinity might draw near to them in a human form.¹ As in their spiritual thirst the compassionate hand of God intervened at one time by water rushing miraculously from the rock, at another with the celestial manna, thus has your majesty consoled me with your sweet letter; and if to them (the Hebrews) the effect of grace greatly surpassed their expectations, so to me in like manner would the advantage be great of seeing your majesty, and would satisfy all my wishes. I should certainly make no difficulty about the journey to enlighten my understanding and pacify my conscience. I do not think it would be disagreeable to you to have before you a subject, one on whom you could exercise two of the most rare virtues; humility, for you must stoop low to teach me,—charity, because you will find in me a certain opposition to the reception of your favours. But as it commonly happens that a painful labour only more endears the child, I hope that your majesty also will have cause to rejoice for having, though with difficulty, caused me to be born of the Spirit, and created of God with a new nature. I could never have pictured myself appearing before your majesty, if it were not that your own noble nature has turned back to invite me; for this it was requisite that you should see me from afar, and also before you; or perhaps as the servant John preceded the Lord.² Would that I could at least be as the voice which in the desert of our miseries called to all Italy to prepare the way for the much-desired coming of your majesty. But while you are detained by your high and royal avocations, I will meanwhile converse with you about the cardinal of Ferrara, who shews his good judgment in all things, and particularly in his respect for your majesty. I rejoice to see in this gentleman so much virtue that he appears like the ancient worthies for excellence: such characters are altogether uncommon in our days. I often speak of him with cardinal Pole, whose conversation is always on heavenly things, and who regards earthly concerns only in so far as he can be useful to others; and also with cardinal Bembo, who is inflamed with zeal to work in this vineyard of the Lord; who though he entered late is worthy of great reward without murmurs from others. I endeavour that this important subject shall be the beginning and end of all my conversations,

¹ Che la sua divinità nel verbo humanando, si degnasse di approssimarsi ad essi.

² Here the application of Scripture is almost blasphemous, though not intended to be so—an earthly being, a queen, a woman, likened to the Saviour. Nothing derogates more from the glory of God than giving his honour to another, be it angel, saint, or human being.

to gain a little of that light which your mind in its wide excursions so clearly discerns and so highly honours, and which daily more and more illustrates the precious pearl Marguerite,¹ whose riches and splendour you know so well how to diffuse and impart; so that while heaping up treasure for yourself you make others rich. I kiss your royal hand, and commend myself most humbly to your much desired favour.

“Your majesty’s much obliged servant,

“LA MARCHESA DI PESCARA.”²

Among the chosen friends of Vittoria Colonna, cardinal Contarini³ was one of the most prized. We have seen the uprightness of his character, and how he stood forth in a corrupt age as an example of sound judgment and unostentatious piety. His death in 1542 deprived her of this valued and confidential friend, and she pathetically expresses her sorrow on this occasion in a letter to his sister Seraphina Contarini, a nun, and as she addresses her as mother, probably the abbess of a convent.

THE MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA TO THE REVEREND MOTHER, SISTER
SERAPHINA CONTARINI, HONORED SISTER IN CHRIST.

“Reverend Sister and respected Mother in Christ,—If I did not know that you live clothed in the armour of those divine shields which ward off the darts of human sorrow, I should scarcely venture to write to you on so sad and sorrowful an occasion. But remembering the sweet and pious letters you wrote, when invited by your beloved brother to seek to join him in our true celestial country, and your request that he would explain some of the psalms, shewing that the death, passion, and resurrection of Christ were impressed in a lively manner on your heart, makes me venture to rejoice in spirit with you on that which to sense is deeply grievous. I entreat you by the supernatural life to which God has devoted you, to consider that we have not whereof to grieve, nor ought we to desire that this most worthy and christian life should be prolonged. Speaking of inferior things, by you so lightly prized, I will only say that he was so loaded with worldly honours, which accumulated on him as their proper resting-place, that he has early laid them aside as a heavy weight; otherwise they would never have forsaken him, for he always exercised every office in the most holy and upright manner, God being always his great object and end; He who gave him to us so guided him to satisfy the spiritual and temporal expectations of all men, that while he rejoiced his true friends, he never left any cause of just complaint to others. His learning, prudence, and wisdom were so greatly admired by his friends and so envied by the world, that unless he concealed them, all the rest of the world appeared deficient and inane. As to the admirable example which he set to every one, and his great usefulness to the church and to the quiet of our daily life, we ought by lively faith to feel assured that the infallible counsel of the King and Lord of all knows the best and most

¹ An allusion to the meaning of the word Marguerite, a pearl.

² *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 213.

³ See CHAP. VII.

suitable time to draw to himself the members of his church. There remains then only the loss of his most delightful society and of his holy writings. This would excite the deepest compassion both for you and for myself, were it not that his journies and our enclosures left us but little enjoyment of them.

"Thus I do not see great reason for grief, but much for consolation and joy, seeing with our mind's eye his mild spirit entered into true and eternal peace, and his humble soul made great and glorious by Him who impressed such a pattern of humility upon his great intellect that by the aid of the Holy Spirit he surpassed all human excellence. Now, reverend mother, you can speak to him, and his absence will not prevent him hearing you; now you will no longer grieve at being at a distance from your brother in the flesh; on the contrary, in thanking one¹ you take pleasure in the happiness of the other; at the same time, with the same idea and the same light. This I feel assured you will fully experience; I can only with the pen point to what you by long experience know in all the shades and lights and colours of the sacred picture; but I allude to it earnestly entreating you to fix on this alone your inward thoughts. In this I confidently hope that God will assist you. If you deign to command me in anything, do it as the true and obliged servant of that most perfect brother of yours and my guide.² I have now no other spiritual director but the illustrious and reverend *Monsignor* of England, his most true and intimate friend, and more than son and brother to him. He feels this loss much; his pious constant mind, untouched by so many other sorrows, has sunk under this, and grieved more than he has ever done in any other case. It seems as if the Spirit the Comforter which dwells in his lordship had allowed him to be thus grieved as a proof that this loss is that of good men alone. You being loosened from earthly things must stand firm, lest in you that may be considered natural sorrow which in this gentleman is reputed spiritual love; do you who are established for so many years draw closer to your heavenly spouse, and may he grant us to meet together in eternal joy.

"From *Santa Caterina di Viterbo*.

"Your sister and obedient servant in Christ,

"LA MARCHESA DI PESCARA."³

This mention of Cardinal Pole presents a convenient opportunity of saying a few words of this unhappy Englishman, who lived an exile from his country the greater part of his life, and only returned to light the flames of Smithfield, and give his sanction as papal legate to the most disgraceful cruelties. But, at the time spoken of by Vittoria Colonna, he was following the fashion of the day in cultivating religion. He probably had

¹ This is somewhat obscure; we give the original: "Hor non havrete affanno di andar lontana dal vero fratello carnale; anzi ringratiando l' uno, goderete in esso del ben dell' altro, in uno stesso tempo con uno solo concetto, e un medesimo lume." It looks as if Seraphina was to pray to her brother as a saint, and rejoice at the same time as a sister in his happiness in heaven.

² *Signor mio* seems to intimate he was her spiritual adviser.

³ *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 208.

good intentions, and appeared to 'run well,' but he never went so far as to desire 'to obey God rather than man.' Vainly trusting to the delusive hope that the Church would reform itself, he held back the most zealous, and in process of time himself joined the persecutors of those very doctrines which, at the period of which we speak, he appeared to receive.

Reginald Pole was the younger son of Sir R. Pole, Lord Montague, cousin-german of Henry VII., through his wife, Margaret, the daughter of George, duke of Clarence, the younger brother of Edward IV. He passed his younger days in monasteries, first at Sheen in Surrey, and then in the White Friars at Oxford. At twelve years of age he entered Magdalen College, where his instructors were Thomas Linacre¹ and William Latimer. He was soon made prebend of Salisbury and of Westminster, and fellow of Christ Church. Henry VIII. sent him abroad to travel, and he took up his abode at Padua, where the celebrated Longolius was received into his family. After five years' residence in Italy he returned to England, and lived privately at Sheen. When the agitating question of the divorce was broached, Henry VIII. wished to employ Pole to procure favourable opinions from the university of Paris, but he entertained too correct views on this point to yield to the king's wishes. When summoned to his presence and desired to speak his mind, he boldly gave his opinion against the divorce; but when the imperious Henry put his hand to his sword, England was no longer a safe place for Pole. So agreeable was his remembrance of Padua and its society, that he returned thither and devoted himself to the study of literature and theology.

Pole was intimate with many of Paleario's friends at Padua, Bembo, Lampridio, Bonamici; but his greatest favourite was Luigi Priuli of Venice, and they became such sincere and constant friends that from that time they were never divided during life. Here also he became acquainted with the eminent Gaspar Contarini and Pietro Caraffa, bishop of Chieti.

When Henry VIII. cast off this allegiance to the Pope he

¹ Thos. Linacre was fellow of All-souls, Oxford; he took his medical degree at Padua. He was so good an Italian scholar that he taught that language to Prince Arthur and his wife, Katharine of Aragon. He was physician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and was chief founder of the College of Physicians. Linacre was the first Englishman who brought polite learning into England. He gave medical lectures gratis at Oxford, and took orders in 1519.

sent Pole a book written by Dr. Sampson, *Oratio hortatoria ad obedientiam Regis, contra Papam*. Pole highly disapproved of this book, and wrote in answer another, *Pro unitate Ecclesiastica*, which so displeased the king that he summoned him to England; but Pole, knowing that it was high treason to deny the king's supremacy, did not obey; and in consequence lost his pension and benefices. He then went to Rome, where the Pope recompensed his faithful adherent for all his losses. He was lodged in the palace, and made a cardinal in the year 1536,¹ and soon after sent as nuncio to Paris.² This vicinity to England was dangerous, for Henry had his agents at work to lay hands on him, and he was ordered to return to Rome. Pole was afterwards sent privately incognito to France and Spain, to persuade those sovereigns to attack England and force her back to the obedience of the Roman see. In reward for these diplomatic labours the Pope gave him the legation of Viterbo. It was here that Vittoria Colonna came into communication with him; he lived there many years, and was much beloved for his great piety, learning, and moderation. This was the most hopeful and happiest period for all the advocates of religious reform: the devout Flaminio lived in the cardinal's house; enquirers flocked round him, and he himself did not wholly escape the suspicion of heresy. In 1543 he was sent to the Council of Trent, but nothing being done there, he returned to Viterbo.

Pole was one of the many instances on record of upright minds led away from the authority of Scripture by a slavish attachment to the power of the Church. While reading and studying the Scriptures at Viterbo he could not shut his eyes to the gospel plan of salvation, and tried to combine it with obedience to the Roman see; but finding if he held to the one he

¹ Beccatelli says that when the Chamberlain came to Reginald with orders for him to receive the clerical tonsure and accept the purple, he was quite astonished, and instead of rejoicing, it abashed and afflicted him; but as the command was peremptory and required immediate compliance, he rather submitted to, than accepted the dignity.—T. Phillips, *Life of R. Pole*, p. 142.

² Morosine, who is very severe against the Cardinal, says of this embassy: "The bishop of Rome, foreseeing the damages that ensue to him and his by the coming forth of Goddes word, knowing also howe much his vantages maye dayly encrease, if errours be reteyned in all christian kyngedomes, doth and will do what he can to overruene this way with a pestyferous Poole, that floweth out of course, that seeketh against nature to destroy the house whence it fyrst did spring."—*Exhortation to Starve all Englishmen, &c.* 1539.

must relinquish the other, he soon made his election. First he concealed his opinions, and then gradually sanctioned all the excesses of pontifical authority. Caracciolo, in his *MS.* life of Paul IV., says: "Pole, either through the influence of Marc' Antonio Flaminio, or because like many other learned men he was not much versed in scholastic theology, was so imbued with the doctrine of justification by faith and imputed grace, that for a long time he not only held this false and Lutheran opinion, but gathered round him many eminent persons, converts to these views, and filled his house with servants and courtiers of this way of thinking. He gave great offence when President of the Council of Trent, by leaving the assembly on pretence of health, when he saw that the doctrine of justification was about to be decided in a sense contrary to his opinions."¹ This was considered so plain a proof of his heretical doctrines, that in the contest for the papacy in 1549, though Pole wanted only two votes to secure his election, the intrigues of Cardinal Caraffa turned the scale in favour of Del Monte. A political rivalry existed between the French and Imperial parties in the conclave; Pole was an Imperialist, and the Cardinals Guise and Farnese carried the election of Del Monte. Twice were the votes said to be in behalf of Pole, but he declined once, because the election was too hasty, and again because it took place in the night; there is reason however to believe that he avoided this responsible dignity from good motives. The suspicion of heresy breathed against him, and the growing power of the Inquisition under Cardinal Caraffa, induced Pole to retire to a Benedictine convent near Verona, where he remained till the death of Edward VI. in 1553.

When Mary ascended the throne she sent immediately for Cardinal Pole to bring over the kingdom of England to the Roman Catholic religion; but the Emperor Charles V. was so fearful that the queen might marry him instead of his son Philip, that he contrived to delay his arrival till the Spanish marriage was over. Meanwhile a bill was passed to take off the attainder for high treason issued against him in 1539.

At length he was permitted to cross the channel: he did not venture to enter London with the pomp of a legate, but was re-

¹ Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paulo IV.* CHAP. IX. See Appendix C.

ceived with great favour by Philip and Mary. His friends thought him much changed, he was reserved and spoke little; after twenty-one years' exile he seemed more like an Italian than an Englishman. He was accompanied by two steady friends, Luigi Priuli and Nicolo Ormaneto, and they were his only confidants. The shallowness of his reformed views was now put to the test. He would not perhaps have originated persecution, yet his office as legate obliged him to be consenting to the death of heretics. He signed the order for the burning of Cranmer, and was immediately after consecrated archbishop of Canterbury at Greenwich, on the 25th of March, 1555. Dignities were now showered upon him: he was elected Chancellor of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and at both places he sent a commission to disinter the bodies of foreign heretics,¹ and to enquire into the opinions of the living. His old enemy Paul IV. deprived him of his legantine power, but he had the queen's protection, and was soon after reinstated.

If he had any feeling or tenderness of conscience he could scarcely have been indifferent to the cruelties perpetrated in his name. Men do not become hard-hearted all at once; he had hitherto led a retired and studious life, and it has been said that the condition of the kingdom, and his own unpleasant position, gave him so much uneasiness as to hasten his end. He died the day after queen Mary, and his body remained above ground in a leaden coffin for forty days. All he possessed was bequeathed to Luigi Priuli; but this generous and disinterested friend refused the inheritance, and accepted nothing but two prayer-books which Pole was in the daily habit of using. They had lived together in uninterrupted friendship for twenty-six years, and the survivor of such a friendship was indeed to be pitied. Priuli made the same advances towards reformed, that is scriptural, opinions that Pole had done. Could we know what were the secret thoughts of these men, we might perhaps find that they went to England under the hopeful delusion that the country was universally anxious and willing to be reconciled to the Roman see. Cardinal Pole, coming from a country where the Inquisition reigned and the Pope's will was law, could scarcely be prepared for the steadfast resistance of Englishmen.²

¹ See CHAP. IX.

² For further particulars see Pole's *Life*, in Latin and Italian, by Lud. Beccatelli;

Frizzi says the pious Marchesa di Pescara was at Ferrara in 1537, and took the jesuits, who were newly established there, under her protection, as she had done the capuchins, assisted them in procuring an abode and provided them with money.¹ Caracciolo on the contrary, in his MS. life of Paul IV., where he makes such frequent allusion to the *Compendio de' Processi*, in which were entered all the names of those who had been examined before the Inquisition under suspicion of heresy, states that on account of her intimacy with Ochino she was subjected to this ordeal, and her name *Marchionissa Pescaris* is found in the list of inquisitorial examinations. As Caracciolo is often inaccurate and gives no dates, we do not know at what period of Vittoria's life this occurred. Caracciolo says that at Viterbo, the residence of cardinal Pole,² and in his court there were many heretics; and that in the nunnery of St. Caterina in that town the nuns were infected with heresy.³

The year 1541 was memorable for a dispute between the Pope (Paul III.) and Ascanio Colonna, about salt. He was the representative of the noble house of Colonna, and the brother of Vittoria Colonna.⁴ Long accustomed to feudal independence and to contests with the popes, he refused to obey the pontiff's command to use the salt of Rome, which brought a very profitable return to the Apostolic chamber. The papal agents attacked him, and he in return garrisoned his fortresses, and made incursions to the gates of Rome, returning laden with booty. The Pope indignant at this audacity was not sorry to embrace the opportunity of humbling so powerful a vassal; he assembled a considerable body of troops, and gave the command to his son Pier Luigi, duke of Castro, ordering him to destroy the fortresses, and particularly Paliano, a strong castle belonging to Ascanio.

Monsignor Giovanni Guidiccioni was sent as commissary-

Wood's *Athene Oxon.* vol. i., and *Life*, by Philips, in English; Burnet's *Reform.* pp. 506, 518, 543. Ed. 1550, in his defence to prove that his cruelty was not from natural inclination, but from fear of the Pope. See Appendix C.

¹ Frizzi, *Memorie*, tom. iv. p. 330. Visconti says she complained that the air of Ferrara was not favourable to her health.

² *Anch' egli molto sospettato e processato.*—Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paulo IV.*

³ *Com' anche in Firenze (il che dovea dire prima) i monasteri intieri erano infetti.*—*Compend.* Vid. *Monoules*, fol. 13.

⁴ Fabrizio Colonna and Agnesina di Montefeltre had three children, Federigo who died young, Ascanio, and Vittoria.

general, and his letters¹ give a minute account of this affair. Ascanio made a valiant defence. The Marquis of Vasto, his cousin, and the Marchioness of Pescara, his sister, sent their tenants in support of the head of their house. The papal troops began by taking Cava and Genazzano, and then sat down before the strong fortress of Paliano, and occupied themselves in cutting off the water, and intercepting all succours. Ascanio was expecting a reinforcement of troops from Ischia; he therefore refused a battle offered him by the enemy, and contented himself with occasional sallies for provisions and booty. After the papal troops got possession of Rocca di Papa, Alessandro Guidiccioni, brother of the commissary, was sent there to secure the money and valuables, which were reported to be very considerable; but this information proved erroneous, and poor Monsignor Alessandro, finding nothing to reward him for staying in this dreary abode, lamented his hard fate, "that, instead of saying mass, fasting, and carrying the palms, he was obliged during the holy week to remain in that barren spot, from whence even the birds flew away, and in a country where not a creature was to be seen for fear of being assassinated by the peasants."²

It is scarcely possible to describe the horrors of this civil war: to avoid the ill-treatment of the soldiers the inhabitants fled to the mountains, and died in numbers for want of food. Giovanna of Arragon, Ascanio's wife, of princely but spurious birth, was so deeply affected at the misfortunes of her husband and his people, that she sent an autograph letter to the Pope from her retreat at Ischia, beseeching him to desist from ruining and killing so many poor vassals, signing herself the servant and slave of his holiness.³ The bishop of Ischia was the bearer of this letter, and he was commissioned to use his utmost influence to bring the treaty to a conclusion, which, through the intervention of the Emperor, had been already begun at Rome. Ascanio in the meanwhile, seeing himself nearly surrounded by so large a force, went to Naples with the hope of getting additional troops. The garrison he left in Paliano being unpaid began to mutiny, and threatened to go over to the enemy if they did not immediately receive their pay. The besiegers pressed

¹ *Lettere inedite di Mons. Giov. Guidiccioni.* Lucca, 1855.

² *Idem*, p. 199.

³ This letter is in the *Carteggio Farnese* at Parma.

them, the garrison surrendered, the fortress was destroyed, and all the Colonna estates fell into the hands of the Pope.

While the ruin of her house was being thus planned and executed, Vittoria Colonna left Rome and retired to the convent of St. Paolo at Orvieto; here she heard with dismay of the misfortunes of her brother Ascanio, and addressed the pontiff, Paul III., in a piteous lament:

Veggio rilucer sol di armate squadre
 I miei sì larghi campi, ed odo il canto
 Rivolto in grido, e 'l dolce riso in pianto
 La 've io prima toccai l' antica madre.¹

She herself was closely watched, and though it was known that she occupied herself chiefly in study and in the exercises of piety, yet the governor of Orvieto, Brunamonte de' Rossi, was ordered by cardinal Farnese to visit her and extract what information he could concerning her brother. The governor in reply wrote "that both by word and action she shews herself most devotedly attached to our master (the Pope). . . . She has shut herself up (*riserrata*) in the convent of St. Paul with only two maids, and keeps two servants without, to provide what she needs. She lives in those practices of religion which persons of pure and upright lives generally observe. My visits to her from you seem to be very acceptable."²

Rossi, under pretence of consulting her, was continually spying out what persons she kept communication with out of the convent. On the 9th of April he informed Farnese that the bishop of Orvieto had communicated to him the arrival of a messenger to the marchioness, who rode a tall horse, stayed one night and brought news of the war. A few days after the governor wrote again, saying that the bishop had told him the marchioness had received two letters, one from the Emperor, the other from the marquis del Vasto. That of the Emperor bade her be of good courage, for his majesty had written to my lord Ascanio desiring him to comply with the wishes of the Pope; to whom also he had written in his favour, and begged her excellency to be persuaded that his majesty would not fail to sustain the

¹ I see the glistening steel of formed platoons
 Invade my native fields; where I was born
 I hear the cheerful song now changed to cries,
 And the sweet joyous laugh to bitter tears.—*Rime*, p. 300.

² *Lettere inedite di Mons. Guidiccioni*, p. 210. Note by the editor Telesforo Bini.

honour of her house. The letter of the marquis del Vasto spoke the same encouraging language, and expressed a hope that the war would soon cease, for the Emperor was very desirous of depriving the Pope of all pretence of arming or menacing the peace of Italy. But this treaty did not come to any conclusion, for Ascanio was required to repair personally to Rome to make his submission; he was afraid to trust the Pope, and finally secured his personal safety by remaining out of the Pope's dominions.

At the death of Paul III. in 1549 Camillo Colonna, assisted by the vassals of the several fiefs, recovered Paliano and all the other places belonging to his family. Ascanio was then at Venice, but he returned to Rome in 1550. Giulio III. received him graciously, and allowed him to enjoy his estates in peace.¹ But this tranquillity was of short duration, for in 1553 his son Marc' Antonio Colonna, who commanded the Spanish cavalry, on his return from Siena to Naples took this opportunity of avenging himself on his father Ascanio, who refused to grant him an allowance suitable to his birth. He attacked, and in three days took possession of, Paliano and all the other places belonging to his family in the states of the Church.² Ascanio fled to Naples with the hope of securing Tagliacozzo and the rest of his estates in that kingdom; but cardinal Pacecco, the viceroy, arrested and confined him as a prisoner in the castle of Naples, where he died 24th March 1555, not without suspicion of poison. The whole affair is involved in obscurity; some say Ascanio was accused of favouring the reformed opinions, and that this was the cause of his imprisonment and death, but it has not been clearly proved.

Marc' Antonio, who had unnaturally dispossessed his father, was in his turn sent adrift by Pope Paul IV. in 1555, who wanted Paliano for his grandson Giovanni Caraffa. But on the death of this pontiff in 1559 Marc' Antonio recovered Paliano and the rest of his estates, and the usurper was condemned to death.³

It is a disputed point whether Vittoria Colonna may be numbered among the protestant converts. She was suspected of heresy and intimacy with heretics, was not superstitious, and held many scriptural doctrines; but great latitude was allowed to those who owned the supremacy and professed obedience

¹ See Appendix D.

² Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 124.

³ *Idem*, an. 1559; Coppi, *Memorie Colonesse*.

to the Holy See: one of the chief distinctions between Catholic and Protestant, then as now, is the acknowledgment or denial of any infallible authority on earth, deputed by Christ to rule the consciences of men without appeal to the Scriptures. One thing is certain, her devotion was free from superstition; none of her poems are addressed to saints or angels. Christ seems to have been her hope, God's mercy and grace her highest consolation. Nothing can be more beautifully devotional than the manner in which she expresses her sentiments of piety towards her heavenly Father in that exquisite hymn beginning

Padre eterno del ciel, se (tua mercede)
 Vivo ramo son' io dell' ampia e vera
 Vite, ch' abbraccia il mondo, e seco intiera
 Vuol la nostra virtù solo per fede.¹

One only of her prayers is extant in Latin, in which she asks for perfect submission to the divine will, that she may be purified by his holy fire and enlightened by his heavenly light, and so dwell in his love, that no earthly thing may come between to mar her safety or happiness.²

We have seen the confidence which subsisted between Vittoria and Ochino, and that he wrote to her at the moment of leaving Italy³ and openly declaring himself a heretic. This full disclosure of his disobedience to the church rent asunder their friendship for ever. Well tutored by her friends the cardinals, particularly by Pole, when Ochino sent his apology for going away she immediately handed it over to them. Tiraboschi has preserved a copy of the letter which Vittoria wrote on this occasion; he says the original is among the papers of the Cervini family. It was addressed to cardinal Cervini.⁴

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND MONSIGNOR,

“ The more I have had an opportunity of observing the actions of the most Rev. Monsignor of England, the more I have perceived what a most true and very sincere servant of God he is; so that when he is so good as to answer any of my questions I feel sure that I shall not err by following his advice. He told me that if I received

¹ Father Eternal, if by grace divine
 A branch I am of that far-spreading vine
 Which fills the world; and wholly thine
 Where faith with virtue doth alone combine.

Visconti, *Rime di Vitt. Colonna*, p. 191.

² See Appendix E.

³ See CHAP. IX.

⁴ Afterwards Marcello II.

a letter or any other communication from Fra Belardino I ought to send it to your reverence without answering it, unless I was permitted. Having this day received a parcel with the little book which you will see, I send it to you; it was in a packet put in the post here by an express from Bologna, without any writing enclosed. I have thought it best to send it by one of my servants. I beg your reverence to excuse this trouble, though, as you see, it is in print. May God preserve your most reverend person to that happiness which all your servants desire.

“From *Santa di Caterina. Viterbo*, the 4th of December (1542).

“Servant of your most illustrious and most reverend the

“*MARCHESA DI PESCARA.*

“Postscript. It grieves me to think that the more he seeks to excuse, the more he accuses himself; and when he thinks he is saving others from shipwreck, he is only exposing them the more to the deluge, he being out of the Ark which saves and secures.”¹

This letter, written the year of Ochino's flight from Italy, is a very strong proof of her submission to the church of Rome.

In addition we may cite her letter to Michel Angelo Buonarroti, who in the ardour of his friendship wrote to her so frequently both in prose and verse, that she requested him to remember that she could not reply so often without failing to join the sisters of St. Caterina at chapel, and his being prevented to go to work at St. Peter's; thus one would fail in duty to the brides (*spose*) of Christ, and the other to his vicar.²

A severe illness which attacked her in 1543 occasioned great distress to her friends. Tolomei entreats Giuseppe Cencio to use every possible method for restoring the health of this noble lady, “who is of more use in the world by her exhortations and examples than others are with their preaching and learning. . . . If she, unfortunately for us, leaves the world, Italy may say

Spento il primo valor, qual sia il secondo?³

But I hope God will be more compassionate to us than to her, and that you have already gone to Viterbo and will be made the instrument for restoring the health of this most singularly virtuous lady.”⁴ Carlo Gualteruzzi, whose daughter lived under the protection of the marchioness of Pescara, consulted the cele-

¹ See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. viii. p. 43. See original in Appendix F.

² An unedited letter, cited by P. E. Visconti, *Episto. di Vittoria Colonna*, p. 132. Roma, 1840. This very beautiful and complete edition of Vittoria's poetry is not to be bought. It was printed at the expense of Torlonia, duke of Bracciano, who married Isabella Colonna, one of the last remaining branches of this once powerful family.

³ This our great light extinguished, where shall we find a second?

⁴ Tolomei, *Letters*, p. 71. Ed. Venet. 1550.

brated Fracastro of Verona. From the symptoms to which he alludes and the remedies prescribed, her illness appears to have been an attack of bronchitis with spitting of blood. He orders her milk ptisan, and rice with an emulsion of poppy-heads in her soup at night, and an electuary of gum tragacanth and liquorice made up with boiled wine; but above all he recommends that she should have recourse to a physician for her mind, and suggests that cardinal Pole be consulted and requested to lay his authority on her not to exert herself too much; otherwise, he says, "I see that the brightest light in the world will be extinguished and removed from our eyes. . . . Under the risk of appearing presumptuous I may say that I attribute her illness partly to her having too strong feelings."¹ The ruin of her brother and the constraint about religion were no doubt heavy trials, and the more she outwardly submitted and carried a cheerful countenance the more would these misfortunes try her bodily frame. After her recovery she went to Rome, and took up her abode in the convent of St. Anna belonging to the Benedictines. It was here Visconti thinks she composed great part of her religious poetry and the prayer in Latin, which language he says is more suited to the gravity of prayer. Her health still remained feeble, sorrow had undermined her strength, and the sad tidings of the death of Alfonso d' Avalos, marquis del Vasto, her husband's cousin, was a new source of affliction to her. He was a boy at the time of her marriage, and when her husband, the marquis of Pescara, went to the battle of Ravenna she undertook the difficult task of taming this young cousin and inciting him to study. No persuasions of his masters had hitherto succeeded in making him think of anything but horsemanship and warlike exercises. Vittoria however induced him to turn his thoughts to literature, and he began to write poetry: she, who had no children, whenever this was alluded to, replied, pointing to Alfonso, "Unfruitful I cannot be called, since with the mind I have brought him forth."² His death was unexpected. As governor of Milan he had been harsh and arbitrary, and like all foreign rulers had little compassion for the people; complaints of exactions reached the Emperor's ears; the revenue of the state

¹ *Lettere de Messer Girolamo Fracastro*, tom. i. p. 76. Patavia, CCCCXXXIII.

² "Già sterile non posso io essere chiamata, quando ho del mio ingegno generato costui."—Visconti, *Rime di Vitt. Colonna*, p. 78.

was not properly accounted for; Vasto was summoned to Spain in 1545, and returned with directions to make up his accounts; but in the month of March a higher sovereign called him "to give an account of his stewardship:" he was the last of his type, and his fame as a captain stood high.

The following year, 1546, Vittoria, feeling her end gradually approaching, removed from the convent to the house of her relation, Giulia Colonna, married to Giuliano Cesarini; she was the only relative Vittoria had in Rome, and she did not wish to die in the convent. She left her brother Ascanio her heir, and wished to be buried with the simplicity of a nun's funeral. She died the end of February 1547, aged 57 years,¹ and was buried in the common burying-ground of St. Anna. No stone marks the place where she was laid, and this favoured beauty and distinguished woman lies in a spot unnoticed and unknown in company with the nuns of the convent. A woman and a widow, her natural protectors dead, her family out of favour at court, though so greatly honoured during life, no one came forward to erect a monument to her memory. But her pure spirit had gone where earthly honours lose their value.

Some of her poetry, written probably during the last days of her life, beautifully expresses the state of her mind:

Anima, il signor viene: omai disgombra
 Le folte nebbie intorno del tuo core,
 Acciò che l'ugge del terreno amore
 All'alta luce non faccian ombra.²

During the sixteenth century no less than six editions of her poems appeared,³ besides later editions, of which the last by Visconti is the most complete, and does honour both to the editor, and to the munificence of Prince Alessandro Torlonia, at whose expense it was completed a few years ago.⁴

¹ Visconti says he has discovered her will, which was committed to the notary Girolamo Piroti the 15th of February, 1547. She left 1000 crowns to each of the convents in which she had resided. Her executors were Bartolomeo Stella and Lorenzo Bonorio, and the Cardinals Pole, Sadoletto, and Morone, her protectors.—*Visconti, Rime Vitt. Colonna*, p. 140.

² My soul, the Lord appears; disperse
 The clouds which gather round thy heart,
 And clear thee from the mist of earthly love,
 Lest it o'ershade thy heavenly light.—*Idem*, p. 355.

³ See Appendix G.

⁴ We regret that our space permits only a short and inadequate account of this

Vittoria's friendship with the great Michel Angelo Buonarroti,¹ and the influence she obtained over this master-mind, at once a distinguished sculptor, painter, poet, is a beautiful instance of the power of virtue and religion. Admirers of each other's talents, they were united in spirit by the purest and the most intellectual affection. Minds of the highest order can alone understand one another. Seeing Buonarroti so eminently gifted with genius, and that he possessed powers capable of the loftiest contemplation, she gradually drew him to the consideration of divine truth, and to the exercise of that simple trust in God which befits a created being. He wrote some exquisite sonnets in her praise, and sculptured for her a figure of Christ just taken down from the cross, so closely imitating a dead body that it seemed as if falling to the ground if not supported by two angels. A figure of the Virgin Mary is represented at the foot of the cross raising her hands and eyes to heaven, and exclaiming,

Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa!²

Bonarroti's grief for her death was so intense that he was almost beside himself. On going to see her in her last moments he tenderly kissed her hand, and was often heard to regret that he had not also kissed her cheek. Their refined and chastened attachment led them frequently to contemplate the end of all things here below: he acknowledges having owed much to her:

Per voi si scrive, voi che 'l viver mio
Volgeste al ciel per le più belle strade.³

Condivi his biographer says, "he was a great admirer of beauty in all things as well as in the human form." His creative genius conceived ideas of beauty distinguished from passion, and while he was never heard to utter a word which could offend the chastest ears, his imagination revelled in ideas of perfection both material and intellectual.

gifted lady; we had contemplated and even commenced a much fuller account of a character whose virtues made her the light of her age, but for the present have been turned aside from its completion by the greater attraction of the martyr's death.

¹ Born 1474, died 1563.

² We think not of the blood it cost.

³ For you I write who changed my day,
And turned me to the living way.

Rime di M. A. Buonarroti, p. 127.

He took great pleasure in reading the Old and New Testament: having heard Savonarola preach he paid great attention to his writings. As he advanced in life he shrank from death, as all must do whose future hopes are not brightened by faith. It was probably to draw him from this state of feeling that Vittoria's influence was most powerfully exercised, as she went frequently from Viterbo to Rome on purpose to enjoy his society. In his later sonnets he seems to regret not having earlier devoted his whole mind to these divine subjects. We cannot refrain from indulging the reader with one of the aspirations of this wonderful man.

Perchè si tardi, e perchè non più spesso
 Queste possente mio nobile ardore
 Mi solleva da terra, e porta il core
 Dov' ir per sua virtù non gli è concesso ?

Forse ch' ogni intervallo n' è permesso
 Dall' alta provvidenza del tuo amore,
 Perch' ogni raro ha più forza e valore
 Quant' è più desiato e meno appresso ?

Le notte è l' intervallo e 'l di la luce,
 L' una m' agghiaccia il cuor, l' altro m' infiamma
 D' amor, di fede, e di celesti rai ;

Onde, se rimirar come riluce
 Potesai il fonte ognor della mia fiamma,
 Chi di più bello incendio arse giammai ?

This sonnet has been very elegantly translated by a modern author.¹

Why with such slow and interrupted flights
 Doth the strong noble ardour of my soul
 Raise me from earth, and upward bear my heart
 To where by its own powers it ne'er could rise ?
 Such intervals, it may be, are allow'd
 By the high providence that rules thy love,
 Since what is rare has greater force and power,
 The more it is desired, the less approached.
 The interval is night, the light is day
 That chills my spirit, this enkindles it
 With love, with faith, and with celestial rays.
 Then could I but behold with ceaseless view
 How shines the source from whence proceeds my flame,
 Who with more glorious ardour ever burn'd ?

¹ See a most interesting work by J. E. Taylor, *Michael Angelo considered as a Philosophic Poet*, p. 133. 1852.

MARC' ANTONIO FLAMINIO,

BORN, 1498.—DIED, 1550.

Flaminio was one of those pure devout spirits who formed a link between the best of the Roman Catholics and the best of the Protestants in the early days of reform, before persecution on the one hand, and false doctrine on the other, had quenched the spirit of christian charity and extinguished the hope of union. He passed his life with men of talent and of liberal and enlightened principles. He was the friend of Carnesecchi, the pupil of Valdés, the companion and intimate friend of many pious men, and a sincere lover of those who were thirsting after righteousness and animated by a zeal for divine truth.

His father, Giovanni Antonio, was an elegant scholar and an accomplished poet. The original name of the family was Zarabbini de Cotignola; his grandfather Lodovico, on being chosen member of the Venetian academy, took the name of Flaminio, which was ever after adopted as the family name, first by Giannantonio, then by Marc' Antonio. They were originally of Imola, a city of Romagna, which was given as a dower to Catherine, a natural daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan,¹ on her marriage in 1485 with count Girolamo Riario, the nephew of Sixtus IV. Riario, pleased with his new possession, took so much pains in its improvement and embellishment that it soon became one of the most beautiful cities of Romagna. He was cruelly murdered at Forli in 1488 by three of his own captains, leaving behind him an only son, Ottavio, too young to assume the reins of government. But women were heroines in those days. Catherine his mother ruled in his name, and administered justice with equity and moderation till her son's estates were forcibly taken from her by the detestable Cæsar Borgia.

When once the church had obtained possession of a state or province, on whatever pretext, it was never after voluntarily relinquished. Thus Imola became under Julius II., the successor of Alessandro VI., an integral part of the ecclesiastical states.

¹ In a war between father and son, Taddeo and Guidazzo Galeazzo Visconti came with a powerful force and took possession of Imola for himself.—See Alberi, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*.

It would have been well for Europe if the church had issued a decree incapacitating any man who had children from being elected Pope. It is one of the many curious anomalies in the Papal see, that while the clergy live in enforced celibacy a pope may set up his children, either legitimate or illegitimate, as princes, load them with honours, and enrich them by matrimonial alliances. The aggrandizement of the temporal dominions of the Papacy has been the end for which all the evil passions of human nature have been let loose, and Europe has been too often set on fire to gratify its immoderate and insatiable cupidity.

Imola at this time was a well-situated and agreeable town, surrounded by a richly cultivated country, abounding in wine, corn, and olives. The people, Alberi says, are of a lively, penetrating genius, with abilities capable of excelling in the arts of peace, and valour to distinguish themselves in the contests of war.¹

The family of Flaminio had been driven from their native place by political changes. Lodovico, the grandfather, served in the Venetian armies; Giannantonio, his father, studied at Bologna till the plague drove him to Venice, where he prosecuted his studies with so much diligence that in 1489, when only twenty-one years of age, he was invited to Seravalle near Treviso to fill the office of professor of belles-lettres, at a salary of 200 crowns. Here he married a young lady of noble family called Veturia; from thence he went to Montagnara as professor, and stayed there fourteen years; but finding the air did not suit his wife's health he returned in 1502 to Seravalle, and again took possession of his former chair. War and rapine subsequently made such havoc in the country that Giannantonio lost all he had saved during long years of labour, and was obliged to return to Imola and settle among his friends and connections.

Through the influence of cardinal Rafaele Riario, Pope Giulio II. assisted him to open a school of belles-lettres, which he did with every hope of success; but no sooner was order restored in his former scene of labour than the inhabitants of Seravalle entreated him to return amongst them. In 1517 he yielded to their urgent supplications and removed there with his family. The fame of his talents attracted thither the youths

¹ Alberi, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*.

of several noble families; among these was Alfonso, son of Gasparo Fantuzzi, of a noble and very rich Bolognese family, who so highly esteemed him as to desire to have him altogether domiciled with them at Bologna. He proposed that he should undertake the instruction of their sons and other young nobles, and invited him to reside in his house. After some hesitation, in 1520 he finally accepted Fantuzzi's proposal, and spent the remaining sixteen years of his life at Bologna, and died there on the 18th of May 1536. He was greatly beloved and esteemed, not only for his talents but for his virtuous and upright life. He cultivated his taste for poetry, but was thought to excel more in prose.¹

Marc' Antonio Flaminio, his son, was born at Seravalle in 1498. His father's most anxious care was his early instruction in the best Greek and Latin authors, and he saw with no small joy his son's inclination for poetry, and his youthful talent for writing verses.

When in 1514 Leo X., the great Mecænas of letters, was elected Pope, Giannantonio seized the opportunity to solicit his patronage. He sent the young Flaminio to Rome with some complimentary verses on his election, and desired his son to accompany them with some of his own; at the same time he wrote to his friend cardinal Cornaro² on the 1st of May thus: "I have sent my son M. A. Flaminio to the Pope; he carries with him his first attempts at poetry. As the work of a lad scarcely sixteen years of age, the lines are not deficient either in talent or erudition. Were I not his father I should say still more, but I hope he will speak for himself to your eminence."

The young poet was introduced by cardinal Cornaro and the cardinal of Aragon,³ and most graciously received by the Pope. So highly did he think of his talent after hearing his verses, that he begged his father would allow him to remain at court, and recommended the young Flaminio to the special care of Rafaello

¹ His works consist of twelve books of Letters, the Lives of some Saints of the order of Preachers, a Dialogue upon the Education of Children, a Treatise on the Origin of Philosophy, a Latin Grammar, and other works not printed, a list of which is given by Capponi, the editor of his letters.—See *Vita di Ino. Antonio Flaminio da Imola*, scritta da Fra Domenico Giuseppe Capponi Ord. Praed.

² A Venetian, Card. di S. Maria a Portico, created by Alexander vi.

³ Lodovico d' Aragona, an illegitimate branch of the royal family of Naples, Cardinal of S. Maria, in Aquino, created by Alexander vi.

Brandolini,¹ a famous orator and poet, who at that time inhabited Rome. His father would have preferred that his son should return home and prosecute his studies, but on finding how acceptable he was to the Pope he changed his mind, and left him to make his way at court. He wrote to his friend Giambattista Pio entreating him to carry on his education in literature, and not let him neglect his studies. He was presented a second time to the Pope at one of his villas, who on this occasion seemed still more charmed with him. On bidding him farewell he said, "My son, I shall not forget you at Rome." He kept his word, for as soon as he arrived in the city he gave him substantial proofs of his munificence and regard. One day, wishing to put his talents to the proof, he summoned him to his presence, and before several cardinals began an argument. The young Flaminio reasoned with so much coolness and self-possession that he astonished the whole company. The Pope was delighted, and addressed him in the words of Virgil—

*Macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,*²

a wish which may almost be called prophetic in a sense the Pope knew not. He did progress to higher aims, and rose to heavenly themes.

As soon as the enthusiastic young poet had obtained his father's permission to remain awhile at Rome, he could not rest satisfied till he had paid a visit to Naples to see Sannazzaro the Neapolitan poet, whose fame was ringing throughout Europe. He was the first person who used blank verse throughout an entire poem. His pastoral poem, the *Arcadia*, was considered as perfect in Italian as his *De partu Virginis* in Latin. Sannaz-

¹ Raffaello was brother or cousin of the famous Aurelio Brandolini, a Florentine, whose extraordinary genius and talent for improvising verses was celebrated as the wonder of the age in which he flourished. Both the brothers were blind, or very nearly so; thus their talents were not acquired by study, but the splendid gift of nature pouring forth in a moment without the slightest hesitation. Aurelio could compose verses in any metre on subjects presented to him. It is said that he once recited in elegant impromptu verse the substance of all the thirty-seven books of Pliny's natural history. He was an Augustine friar, and so fond of studying the Holy Scriptures and Jewish history that he wrote a book of great research on the sacred history of the Jews drawn from the Bible and Josephus. Raffaello was not much behind his brother in genius or talent, either as an *Improvvisatore* or orator. He taught belles-lettres at Rome on Flaminio's first arrival there.—See Tiraboschi, *Leti. Ital.* tom. vi. pp. 237—241.

² Speed on, my child, to higher aims, and raise your fame to heaven.

zaro was forty years older than Flaminio, and we may imagine how this unfledged bird looked up to the eagle eye of the finished poet. Though his visit was short, Sannazzaro's talent made a deep and lasting impression, and he reaped all the benefit which respect for superior talent impresses on the youthful mind. The real name of Sannazzaro was Jacopo d'AZZO Sincero; his family was of Spanish origin, and had come over with some of the Aragonese princes and nobles in the fourteenth century. Sannazzaro was born in 1458, when the love of study flourished more at Naples than in any other part of Italy. He was grounded in Greek and Latin at the admirable academy of Pontanus, and it was here that he followed the example of the rest of the students, and changed his name.

Love for a beautiful and virtuous girl inspired his poetic genius and exalted the strain of his poetry; but he found it serious work to play with fire, and was obliged for a time to leave not only Naples but Italy itself with the hope of cooling his passion. He took a journey to France, but the remedy proved more painful and desperate than the disease, for he was filled with a continual desire to see the object of his affections. He returned, but, alas! found his Carmosina no more. Whether she died of a broken heart, and pined away after her lover's departure, or was carried off by some sudden illness, history does not say.

Sannazzaro was welcomed back by his sovereign, Ferdinand I., as one of the glories of his reign, and admitted to his private and intimate society. Of a noble and grateful disposition, he adhered to the Aragonese party in all the wars and misfortunes which befel their race, followed them to the field of battle, and was faithful in all their reverses. Frederick, when he ascended the throne after the death of Ferdinand II., gave him a pension of 600 ducats and the beautiful villa of Mergogliano; and when this unhappy sovereign in 1511 lost his kingdom and took refuge in France, Sannazzaro accompanied him in exile and remained with him till his death. The poet then returned to Naples, where he continued to reside in very reduced and unhappy circumstances. His beautiful and favourite villa of Mergogliano had been destroyed by the Prince of Orange and his army, an event which so distressed him that he shewed some unchristian joy when he heard the prince had fallen in battle.

Sannazzaro was not only an elegant poet but a man of true worth and virtuous character, worthy of the friendship of our Flaminio.

The year following Flaminio's visit to Naples the celebrated Baldassare Castiglione invited him to the court of Urbino, received him with a father's affection, and cultivated his genius with affectionate assiduity. We find in his father's letters frequent expressions of gratitude for Castiglione's kindness to his son. Flaminio writes to a friend at Bologna, Alessandro Mazzoli, "I send you an Eclogue I composed a few days ago on my return from Mantua to Urbino under the name of Thyrsis." In these verses he pours out his thanks to Castiglione as a man of accomplished virtue, who had received him into his house and liberally assisted those who like him had lost everything, even their homes, during the commotions of war. But, however agreeable this literary leisure might be to Flaminio, his father, a man of strong sense and unbending principles, disapproved of his continuing to lead an idle life; and as his patrons had not procured for him any specific advantage he urged him to choose his career in life, and devote himself steadily to it. These views induced him in 1515 to refuse cardinal Sadoletto's offer of taking Flaminio as secretary to assist him in writing the Pontifical letters; rather choosing to send him to Bologna to prosecute his studies in philosophy. Here he lived in the house of Francesco Bentivoglio, to his father's great satisfaction. In 1519 he was again at Rome, while the famous cause of Longolio was pending. Sadoletto wrote to him that Flaminio had offered, during his absence, to recite the oration which Longolio had written in his defence.

In 1522 he went with Stefano Sauli, the Pope's prothonotary, to Genoa, and passed some time in a delightful villa in the neighbourhood, where Sauli had assembled a company of learned men and formed a literary academy, which met under his patronage and guidance. So great was his respect and admiration for talent that he took great pains to gather round him all who were distinguished for learning or erudition. As a proof of his literary predilections an amusing account is recorded of a visit which Sauli paid to the learned monk Gregorio Cortese who lived at the island of Lerins. He went as a traveller, disguised in the character of a Genoese merchant, for the purpose

of conversing with Cortese; but in his efforts to draw him out on literary subjects he forgot his mercantile disguise, awakened the suspicions of the monk, and was finally obliged to own his real name.

Flaminio thus became known to the chief literati of the age, by whom he is often spoken of as a rising poet and as a young man of virtuous habits.

Francesco Maria Molza, of Modena, a very different character, but a man of splendid talent, was at Rome at the same time with Flaminio. They were often mentioned together as men of rising genius, but there was a striking dissimilarity in their conduct and principles.

Flaminio left the service of Sauli for that of Gian Matteo Giberti, the Pope's datary,¹ for what reason does not appear. Probably as Giberti was then living at Padua his father wished him to pursue his studies with more regularity. The university of Padua was at that time distinguished for the talent of its professors, among whom was the famous Romulo Amaseo, who had been claimed by the Venetian republic as their subject, and recalled from Bologna (where he was lecturing with great applause) to fill the chair of eloquence at Padua. In one of his letters he mentions having had Marc' Antonio Flaminio "to dine with him, whom he had received with great pleasure both as an old acquaintance and because he was residing with Monsignor the datary."

Giberto was made bishop of Verona in 1524; Flaminio accompanied him to his diocese. He spent the summer months in a charming villa attached to a convenient little farm on the Lago di Garda, which his patron had given him. Sometimes he went to Rome with Giberti. His verses indicate that he was there a short time before the sack of Rome in 1527; but it does not appear whether he was present at this horrible catastrophe, though, if he continued there he could not escape seeing some of the atrocities committed; Giberti being one of the hostages given as security for the Pope's ransom. In this character he was treated with great indignity, and several times brought out in the Campo di Fiore and threatened with immediate death.²

¹ The datary was a secretary who dated the answers of the memorials presented to the pontiff.

² See CHAP. I. p. 33.

After these miserable scenes, Giberti wisely resolved to withdraw from Rome, and devote himself exclusively to his episcopal duties at Verona. His little court was entirely composed of learned and able men, distinguished for their virtuous lives and purity of morals. It was an admirable school for the young Flaminio. Here he cultivated his muse and formed his taste, and was protected from those temptations most ensnaring to youth. In the society of erudite scholars he learned to write poetry, not only with elegance after the purest models of antiquity, but chastely with christian delicacy of thought and expression; an excellence but little practised in those days. His wise and judicious father contributed greatly to the purity of his muse in early life, for he would never suffer him to write amorous poetry, and early checked those morbid effusions, fearing that his mind would be unnerved for higher pursuits if left to wander unrestrained in this flowery path.

While in the service of Giberti he applied seriously to study, and translated into Latin and paraphrased the twelfth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which he wished to dedicate to Giberti, but he rather advised him to prefer Paul III. It was printed at Venice in the year 1536. Cardinal Cortese wrote from Venice to cardinal Contarini on the 8th of March of that year: "M. Marc' Antonio has arrived unexpectedly from Verona, and has been with me all Lent, not only by day but also part of the night, which I have found a great comfort. Thus you have Messer. Galeazzo, and I, M. M. A. Flaminio, who came here to print his paraphrase of the twelfth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. The press is already at work, and I have no doubt it will be very generally approved both for the beauty and excellence of the subject, as well as for the elegance and lucidity with which it is treated. I have always had great hopes of the talent and good judgment of M. A. Flaminio, but he has surpassed even my high opinion of him in treating a subject of this nature for the first time. His style of writing is so clear and methodical, that in my judgment he is not behind the first writers of the day; and if the rest of Aristotle's works were commented on in the same manner they would be more generally understood, and more persons would become learned."¹

But though, at his father's desire, he prosecuted his philo-

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 235.

sophical studies, they were not his favourite pursuits. His was not a mind of that original cast which loves to grapple with difficulties and finds its energies rise in the maze of metaphysical science. Highly as we justly esteem intellectual power, there are holier and more sanctified views in which the love of knowledge turns to heavenly things, when the aspiring soul seeks to know more of its Creator, crying, 'Oh! that I might know where I might find Him.' Such was the bent of Flaminio's spirit; his greatest delight was in the study of sacred subjects, the Psalms especially were his daily food. He wrote a paraphrase on thirty-two Psalms, which was printed at Venice in 1537. On the 12th of September of that year Cortese wrote to cardinal Contarini: "I expect M. A. Flaminio here and at Praglia in a few days, to print his paraphrase on thirty-two Psalms, a work worthy of his talents and energy; it is not concise like that of Campense, but full and diffuse, and will I think be very useful. I grieve to say that his weak state of health will not allow him to go on; what he has already done has entirely deprived him of sleep."

This was indeed true. When he began a Psalm he could not leave it till finished, however far advanced into the night the hour might be; morning light often found him sleepless, still meditating the lays of Jesse's harp. His rest was by this means so broken, that his friends began to be seriously anxious lest he should lose his health altogether. Change of air was advised and tried without much benefit, till he was sent to Naples, where he appears to have found great relief. He went first to visit M. Galeazzo Florimonte, bishop of Sessa, and from thence he wrote on the 11th of November, 1538, "that if he could find a convenient apartment at Naples in the spring he would go there, if not he would return to Verona." Happily he found what he wished, and remained some time at Naples, going occasionally to Caserta; he resided in this part of the country till the year 1541, and his health became gradually reestablished.

If a biographer were permitted to hazard a conjecture from the inference of circumstances, we should say that his illness arose in great measure from the state of his mind. Ever since he began in earnest to study the Scriptures he had doubts on some points of faith inculcated by the Roman Catholic church. Sincerely desirous of submitting his own opinion to the authority of the

Church, and yet fervently anxious to believe what God had revealed, he was often perplexed by the difficulties and contradictions which presented themselves. He lost his sleep and his appetite; his stomach refused to perform its office, and languor and disease prevailed.

Ever since the year 1536 he had been occupied in reading the works of the Reformers, which were then spread throughout Italy, and in diligently studying points of doctrine. It appears that some persons in authority had interfered in his case. A letter written by Cortese to cardinal Contarini entreats him to obtain for him a permission from the Pope to read these books; "for," says he, "I should not like to be exposed to what happened to Messer. Marc' Antonio in the Holy-week, particularly if Mons. di Chieti (Cardinal Giampetro Caraffa, bishop of Chieti,) should know it."

At Naples Flaminio became acquainted with Valdés, and often joined the little select assemblies which met in some favourite tower or shady garden, to hear him talk of divine things. Flaminio, who was all curiosity to know the truth, found the simple announcement of the Gospel a balm to his troubled spirit, and he eagerly received the joyful sound. We have elsewhere seen in a letter from Jacopo Bonfadio to Carnesecchi (after the death of Valdés), an account of these meetings; Bonfadio says, "I condole with M. Marc' Antonio, who loved and admired him more than any one."

While Flaminio was at Naples, cardinal Contarini was appointed legate to the Colloquy of Worms. He wished Flaminio to go with him as secretary; but either his health did not permit him to undertake the journey, or his friends, knowing his pliable nature, dissuaded him from going. He remained at Naples and its neighbourhood till the year 1542, daily growing in spiritual knowledge and love of divine things. A beautiful letter, written in February of this year to the lady Theodorina Sauli of Genoa, seems to have been part of a series which he wrote to this lady, building her up on the true foundation as a living temple to the glory of the Most High. Theodorina had invited him to continue, and he here gives her some systematic instruction on the spiritual virtues, faith, hope, and love:

⁴ Valdés died of a fever in 1540. See CHAP. VI.

“Christian faith (he says) consists in giving credit to the whole word of God, and particularly to the Gospel of Christ. The Gospel is nothing else than the joyful news which the Apostles have published to the whole world, that the only begotten Son of God, taking our flesh, has satisfied the justice of his Eternal Father for all our sins. Whoever believes this most joyful news believes the Gospel, and through faith has the gift of God; believing the Gospel he leaves the kingdom of this world, enters the kingdom of God, and partakes of the general pardon; and from a carnal creature becomes a spiritual creature, from a child of wrath a child of grace, from being a son of Adam becomes a child of God, is guided by the Holy Spirit, feels a joyful peace of conscience, and seeks to mortify the affections and appetites of the flesh: feeling himself dead with Christ his head, he seeks to have his spirit renewed and to live a heavenly life, knowing that he is raised from the dead with Christ. Such and such like are the stupendous effects of living faith in the soul of the christian, and for these we should wrestle in prayer with God that he may bestow them on us; and if we already possess them, pray that they may be daily increased.

“Christian hope consists in waiting with patience and continual desire and joy till God fulfil in us those promises which he has made to all the members of his beloved Son, in which he engages to make them conformed to his glorious image; the which shall be accomplished at the resurrection of the just, when we shall be glorified in our spirits and in our bodies. He who has this hope in him continually cries out, ‘Thy kingdom come’; which kingdom will come in perfection when Jesus Christ, after the last judgment, shall give up the kingdom to his eternal Father.

“Love consists in loving God for himself, and all things for God; directing all our thoughts, words and actions to the glory of his divine majesty, the which cannot possibly be done by those who do not believe the gospel and who are not animated by the hope of eternal life.”¹

The whole letter is so beautiful that it is difficult to break off. It was written in the full fervour of a soul which had just begun to comprehend the joyful loving-kindness of the Gospel message, and desired, in admiring gratitude for the glorious gift, to devote the whole powers of mind and spirit to the service of the Creator.²

On leaving Naples he took up his abode with cardinal Pole at Viterbo, at that time legate of Viterbo. He wrote to Con-
tarini on the 9th Dec. 1547, expressing his delight in Flaminio’s society in the following terms:

“The rest of the day I spend in the holy and edifying society of Messrs. Carnesecchi and Marc’ Antonio Flaminio. I call it edifying because in the evening Marc’ Antonio imparts spiritual food to me and to

¹ *Lettere Volgari*, vol. ii. Venet. 1667.

² See Flaminio *Alcune Lettere*, by the author, for the whole letter in Italian. Turin, 1852.

the greater part of the family in such a manner that I do not think I ever felt more comfort or derived greater edification."

Cardinal Pole was at this time himself much occupied in the study of religious subjects, and was disposed, like many others, to go as far as he could in the adoption of truth if it did not involve any sacrifice, or separation from the dominant church. We have seen what a check in his christian course this submission to human authority proved; having once quitted the dictates of inspiration as a guide, he was led gradually on to use the fierce persuaders of fire and flame against heretics, which his church sanctions and enjoins. But as yet he was far from going these lengths, and was content even to use his influence with Flaminio in a covert manner, lest the genuine faith of the real disciple of Christ should take alarm, and be driven to make his election between the Church and the Scriptures.

There is a passage in the life of cardinal Pole, written by Beccatelli, which fully explains Flaminio's state of mind on returning from Naples, and Pole's anxiety and influence. It is as follows. "When cardinal Pole's old and dear friend M. Marc' Antonio returned from Naples, he found him somewhat tinged with doubtful opinions which he had imbibed in conversing with Valdés. Knowing the purity and uprightness of his mind, and desirous of assisting him without entering into explanations, he invited him to stay at his leisure with him at Viterbo, where he then resided. By conversing sometimes on classical studies, in which Marc' Antonio was a proficient, sometimes on sacred subjects, he managed, without entering into controversy, dexterously to bring him round in process of time to the catholic doctrine; thus he remained sound in the faith (of the church). He occupied himself a good deal in writing sacred poetry, and died as a good christian in the house of the cardinal, who often used to say that, besides the benefit to the soul of his friend (?) he had done no small good to the Catholic church in retaining Flaminio within its pale, and preventing him from falling away like other heretics, (to which he was greatly disposed), as he might have done a great deal of harm by his easy and elegant manner of writing both in Latin and Italian."

Pole succeeded in preventing Flaminio from leaving the church, which the sincerity of his character would have urged

him to do had he seen it to be right; but he could not root out from his heart those scriptural views of the gospel which his writings exhibit.

In 1542 Cardinal Pole was chosen one of the legates to preside at the opening of the Council of Trent; Flaminio accompanied him. We find in a letter from Aonio Paleario to Lampridio: "Pole is appointed legate at Trent. Flaminio goes with him, and Priuli, and perhaps also Carnesecchi, men such as the world scarcely ever saw."¹ All these were persons favourable to the reform of the church, and were considered powerful and willing instruments for the renovation of christian doctrine and discipline. Great expectations were entertained of the benefits to be derived from a general Council; and if a really free Council could have been assembled, unawed by either temporal or spiritual authority, truth might in some degree have prevailed. But we must recollect that those who appealed to Scripture as the highest authority in matters of faith, were not only in the minority as to numbers, but were for the most part too inexperienced in revealed truth to be either clear on all points, or able to make head against the prejudices riveted by custom and superstition on the strongest minds. True, a large number had no belief at all, and had already thrown overboard the whole array of wonder-working miracles: but from these very persons as a body the strongest opposition was to be expected. They were the first to assert, for the sake of order, that these things were necessary to uphold the church in the eyes of the people.

The journey to Trent was a useless one, for the Council was not opened. Flaminio and his party returned to Viterbo; in May that year Pole was one of the cardinals who accompanied the Pope, Paul III., to Busseto to meet the Emperor, and he took Flaminio with him.

Cardinal Pallavicino says that in 1545 the post of secretary to the Council was offered to Flaminio, but that he declined it for fear of being obliged to record opinions contrary to his conscience: he went however to Trent with cardinal Pole, and while there dedicated to cardinal Alexander Farnese his poetical version in Latin of thirty Psalms, which was printed in 1546.

His paraphrase on these Psalms contains the very essence of the Gospel. Man's corruption, helplessness and sinfulness,

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. i. ep. 17.

God's greatness, power and goodness, are finely and truly contrasted. Our inability to save ourselves is clearly set forth; the need of a Saviour and the promise of the Holy Spirit are distinctly stated, and all human righteousness proved of no avail before a pure and all-seeing God. No purging fire, no pleading saints are invoked; but, confessing that all is naked and open to Him with whom we have to do, he presses upon his readers purity and sincerity of life, while he owns man can never attain to perfection, and can only be counted righteous in God's sight through the blood of Christ.¹

Though Flaminio never entirely left the service of cardinal Pole, and died in his house, he was sometimes with cardinal Farnese, the munificent patron of learned men. We find several of his poems addressed to him, expressing gratitude for many and great favours received, and he particularly mentions the grant of a farm which had been taken from him after his father's death. Nor was he his only benefactor. Cardinal Rodolfo Pio gave him several farms, cardinal Guid' Ascanio Sforza excused him the tithes due, and cardinal Benedetto Aceolto presented him with a gold cup of very great value. His amiable disposition and pleasing manners won the love of his friends, as well as the esteem and liberality of his patrons.

The great piety and holiness of his character fitted him to taste the joys of the purest devotion. Controversy and intolerance were un congenial to his nature. The love of his Maker filled his heart, and enabled him to understand something of the goodness and lovingkindness of God towards men: but when the Church declared itself adverse to these encouraging views of the divine good-will towards mankind, he acquiesced in the decision, and with a meek but mistaken humility bowed submissively to its authority.

He saw that the Roman Catholic church differed in many points from the Scriptures, but he had not energy enough to separate from her communion. His position was by no means singular; many had gone as far as he had, and much latitude was allowed on particular points, provided a general obedience to the church was professed.

In the doctrinal discussions among theologians at the Council of Trent we find the most opposite opinions, and many near

¹ See *Carmines*, lib. i. 10.

approaches to scriptural truth ; but they were always prevented from going farther by a whisper of Lutheranism. It is tabooed, said the Otaheitan savages before they embraced christianity. It is forbidden, said the Roman Catholic divines, upon which they recoiled from truth as they would from the bite of an adder. Pole himself believed that the christian is justified by faith in Christ: this he considered as an opinion which he was at liberty to hold, but was not obliged to confess. He continually advised his friends to leave the errors and abuses of the church alone, not to intrude into those things, but patiently wait till events permitted them to speak out. Many listened to his advice, hoping for a fuller display of the truth, till they learned to be indifferent about it.

But this was not Flaminio's case. A flame of the purest piety was kindled in his heart. His one earnest desire was to devote himself and all his powers to the glory of God, and he continually aimed at the imitation of the perfect example of Christ.

The doctrine of the real presence in the wafer of communion was greatly instrumental in retaining him within the bosom of the Roman Catholic church. Did we not know that in the finest minds there are the greatest incongruities, we should feel some surprise that Flaminio, after having understood the doctrine of justification by faith, should hold to the sacrifice of the Mass, and not perceive that the one annulled the other. If we are justified and made righteous in God's sight by faith in the one and all-sufficient oblation offered by Christ for sin, what need have we of simulated sacrifices, or a nominal repetition of the great vicarious atonement for sin?

There were men at this time in the church whose devotion was of a fierce nature. They had mistaken their vocation; they should have been soldiers, and not priests. Storming cities and shedding blood would have given an outlet to the natural ferocity of their character, which otherwise was left to prey on the helpless victims, whom they called heretics.

At the head of these was cardinal Caraffa, bishop of Chieti. He began well: during the reign of Leo X., when religion was entirely laid aside and divine worship absolutely neglected, he organized a meeting for devotion called the "Oratory of Divine Love."¹ It was composed of sixty members who met to pray for

¹ This society met in the church of St. Silvestro and St. Dorotea in

the revival of piety. Caraffa, of an ardent, zealous, and austere disposition, afterwards founded an order of brethren whose object was to reform the clergy, attend the sick, assist the dying, and combat heresy. They were bound by the strictest rules of poverty and abstinence; were not to possess lands or revenue; were forbidden to beg, but trusted for their support to the liberality of the faithful. Zeal of whatever nature, but especially religious zeal, when not tempered by the gentle precepts of the Gospel, is always harsh, intolerant, and cruel. Caraffa was an eminent example of this; his zeal was not according to knowledge. He so ill understood the character of God, and was so little alive to the softening influences of the Gospel, that he imagined the more torture was inflicted, the more agreeable to God. He carried to the pontifical throne, as Paul IV., these same ideas, with the unfortunate addition of ability to carry out his opinions. But even he was fond of the gentle Flaminio, visited him in a severe illness, and prayed for his recovery; a kindness which the young poet commemorated in verse.

As years rolled on Flaminio's poems became more and more inspired with the love of Christ, and he was entirely occupied with sacred subjects. He wrote an apology for Aonio Paleario's work entitled "Benefits of the Death of Christ," which is not now known to exist. His books were put in the Index, and even his comments on the Psalms prohibited after the accession of Paul IV. By continual meditation, prayer, and reading the Scriptures he had attained some comprehension of the character of God. Great errors have arisen among professors of religion by mistaken ideas of the attributes of the Creator. He is too often pictured as a gloomy tyrant, instead of a loving father who pities our infirmities. Caraffa and the whole tribe of Inquisitors have made the beneficent Creator of the universe a Moloch delighting in human sacrifices. Flaminio's Latin poems were like the song of the dying swan; they were his last work. In them not a word is to be found of other expiation for sin save the sacrifice of Christ. He felt no anxiety about purgatory,

Trastevere, where it was said St. Peter the Apostle had lived. Guglielmo Bathi, who had great influence with Leo X., was the curate; he had been married and had one daughter before he became a priest. The chief members of this "Oratory of Divine Love" were Contarini, Sadoletto, Giberti Caraffa, Gaetano di Thiens, Bonifaccio da' Colle, Paolo Consigliero, Tullio Crispoldo, Latino Giovanale, Luigi Lippomano, and Gratiano Balbi.—Caracciolo, *Vita di Paolo IV.*, MS. Brit. Mus.

believed not in its purifying fires. There is not a trace in any of his writings of an address to the Virgin or the saints; but on the contrary, he frequently reiterates that there is no other hope for the christian but in God's mercy through the expiation of our Lord Jesus Christ. His whole soul was animated by love to his Saviour, and he admitted no rivals near the throne.

He dedicated his sacred poems to Margaret duchess of Savoy.¹ This illustrious lady, sister of Henry II. of France, loved the Scriptures and the blessed truths they contain. She was on all occasions the ready champion of those who were oppressed on account of religion. Having imbibed the reformed opinions from her aunt, Margaret queen of Navarre, she used her influence with her husband Philibert Emmanuel to stay the persecution against the Waldenses.

Some time after his recovery from the severe illness in which cardinal Caraffa prayed so earnestly that his life might be spared, Flaminio thought of going to settle at Imola, his native place, and there, in the retirement of a beautiful little farm which had belonged to his father, enjoy repose and quiet and the society of his early friends for the rest of his days. But cardinal Pole could not be persuaded to consent to his departure. Thus time passed on till the year 1549, when the death of Paul III. called the cardinal to Rome. Flaminio² accompanied him, and fatigued himself so much at the election of the new Pope Julius III. that the pain in his side returned with fresh violence, and it soon appeared that his life was in danger. He commended his soul to Christ, and died in the cardinal's house at Rome on the 17th of February 1550, aged 52 years. The cardinal buried him in the church belonging to the British nation, to prove that he loved him as a friend and a countryman. Carried off in a green old age his death was unexpected, and all Italy mourned his sudden departure. The Catholic church deplored the loss of so great an ornament; the favourers of reform regretted a protector disposed to serve them in case of need.

Cardinal Pole, who especially loved him, collected his poems,

¹ We have been sorry to see in a recent modern publication, a tale, that the religious character and opinions of this excellent lady have been so little known that she is described as a violent and intriguing Roman Catholic. Such mistakes, even when involuntary, are literary crimes. No author has a right to traduce or travesty the character or opinions of persons who figure in history.

² See *Vita di M. Antonio Flaminio*, by M. Manourti.

and, in concert with others to whom his memory was dear, printed them together with his version of the Psalms. Paleario, who ranked him among the number of his friends, felt his death as a heavy affliction, and wrote immediately to his friend cardinal Maffei a letter expressing his great sorrow at the sad intelligence.¹

Few learned men have been so universally beloved and so sincerely lamented as Flaminio; his gentle disposition and christian spirit raised him above those petty jealousies and rivalries which so often create enmities. His letters prove the spiritual state of his mind, and that the love of God and of divine things was really his delight, his crown, and joy.

He wrote to Peter Pompilio, in 1535, that he had bid adieu to all studies except the study of divine things, and that he proposed to dedicate the remainder of his life to meditation on christian truths :

“As soon as the heat is over, please God, I shall begin diligently to read over again the New Testament, and to study the works of St. Augustine. Verona, 9th of August, 1537.”

To the Abbot Anisio, who had proposed some questions as to the immortality of the soul, he writes :

“Those philosophers who doubt of the immortality of the soul are not so greatly to blame. The light of nature is indeed dark on this subject, and affords but slight means of ascertaining the truth; thus those who, either in meditation or contemplation of human actions judge by this light fall into error, and finally grow blind in the darkness of ignorance. The christian, on the other hand, whose mind is illuminated by the light of the Holy Spirit, and considers Divine Revelation as the foundation of all doctrine, who takes Christ, the eternal Source of Truth, for his master,—how can he doubt the immortality of the soul?”

He closes this admirable letter with a striking passage :

“Perhaps you expected from me a long Platonic or Aristotelian argument; but I acknowledge no other master than Jesus Christ crucified. He was a stumbling-block to the Hebrews, and foolishness to the wise of this world, but is for the elect the power and wisdom of God, the salvation of the faithful. For this I cease not to thank the wonderful loving-kindness of him in whom I believe. I rest my faith infinitely more on his words than on all the reasoning and philosophy which human intelligence suggests. These have always deceived, and will continue to deceive those who trust to their vain and fallacious arguments.”

This letter was written at Naples in 1539, when his heart

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 23.

was just opening to the reception of divine truth: how precious it became to him, and how he progressed in spiritual knowledge, we find expressed in many of his letters. To a lady of high rank, whose name is not mentioned, he dwells much on the virtue of humility:

“The creature (he says), considered in himself, and in the corruption of his nature, is a disgusting mass of sin. What in him is worthy of praise is the work of the Spirit of Christ. This it is which purifies and regenerates the elect through faith; and inasmuch as they seek to have no opinion of themselves, and are convinced that they are nothing in themselves, but all in Christ, so much the more do they become noble and perfect.”

To Ulisse Bassani, a Bolognese poet, who had asked some explanation of the Lord's Prayer, he draws a distinction between two classes of persons. Those who confess God with their mouths, and deny him by their actions; to these he says the Lord's Prayer does not belong: not having the spirit of Christ, they are not of Him, but of the devil. Till their minds and lives change, they cannot pray in faith or acknowledge God as a Father, nor desire that his name be glorified, his kingdom come, or his will be done. They may indeed repeat this holy prayer with their lips, but not with their hearts. This kind of prayer is empty and useless. Others again confess God both by their words and by their actions; these are really good and pious christians, whose most ardent desire it is to obey the commands of God, repent of their sins, and rest with confidence on the mercies of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. The whole letter is highly edifying; it is the effusion of a mind deeply conversant with the spirit of prayer, uniting the deepest humility in itself with the holy boldness of a believer: “we cannot,” he says, “be considered presuming, if we, on certain occasions, implore divine favours, all our petitions being founded on his promises.”

In a letter to Lelio Torello, chief counsellor of the duke of Florence, he consoles him under some misfortune in a most scriptural manner. This Torello was, it appears, a religious man, for Flaminio says:

“Pious men, among whom you are numbered, are easily consoled by their own reflections, for they accept from the hand of God both good and evil. They look on him as their Father, acknowledge him as such, and know that he desires not to inflict pain by his chastisement, but that we may be purified as gold in the furnace of affliction to make us fit for eternal life. In fact, if we read the Scriptures from

beginning to end, we shall see that divine goodness generally leads his children to heaven by a thorny path of sorrow. The most holy man must pass this way to reach the kingdom. Thus the Gospel says, *He who will be my disciple must take up his cross daily, and follow me.* Here lies the difference between the true christian and other persons. He who has not the spirit of God flees from the cross as from a horrible and insufferable thing; while the true Christian bears it willingly, following Christ's example that he may reign with him, knowing also that afflictions, life, death, the world, the present, the future, all combine to form the happiness of the servants of God. Rome, 30th of November, 1549."

We have before given an extract from another of his spiritual letters, addressed to Theodorina Sauli, a christian lady.

After his return from Naples to Viterbo he kept up a correspondence with his friends in the south; to some of them he was much indebted for assistance in his christian course; to others he himself proved a light shining in a dark place. One letter in particular is deserving our attention, for it was written to a very distinguished and remarkable convert, Galeazzo Caracciolo, when Flaminio first heard from his friend Francesco Caserta that Galeazzo was seriously turning his attention to the study of Gospel doctrine. He was one of the select party whom Flaminio often met at Naples, listening to the exhortations of Valdés. We shall hear more of him hereafter, and see what great things he left in this world to follow Christ.

Flaminio, after quoting the text, "Not many great, not many noble according to the flesh are chosen," congratulates Caracciolo that "God has particularly favoured him by choosing him to be among the few nobles whom he honours with incomparable nobility, making them, by true and lively faith, his own children." He exhorts him to do nothing lightly to please men; for as Jesus Christ says in the Gospel of St. John, "No one can truly believe in God while he seeks glory from men," whom David says are vainer than vanity.

"Thus, my dear Sir, let us arm ourselves with holy pride against the calumnies and derision of the world, laughing at their cruel mocking; or rather, as true members of Christ, let us have compassion on their blindness, beseeching God to give them that holy light which he has given to us, that they may become children of the light, and be freed from the miserable servitude of the prince of darkness, who, with his ministers, persecutes Christ and the servants of Christ. For this, my dear Sir, may we pray day and night to our heavenly father to increase our faith, and make it produce in our souls those sweet and happy fruits which it brings forth in the good soil of all predestinated

to eternal life; for if our faith is fertile in good works, we then know it is not feigned, but true; not dead, but alive; not human, but divine; and on this account a precious pledge of happiness."

This letter is long and full of overflowing love to God and adoration of his greatness. Caracciolo had wished to be encouraged and established by a letter from him. Flaminio says:

"I know it is more suitable to hear than to speak, to be a disciple than a teacher; but for this once your request has conquered my resolution. The most reverend legate, Cardinal Pole, loves you as his beloved brother in Christ, and earnestly desires an opportunity of shewing his love by his actions. His most reverend lordship, and the most illustrious lady the marchioness of Pescara, salute you; the other gentlemen, with myself, kiss your hand, praying with all their hearts that God may cause you to become by his grace much poorer in spirit than you are rich in castles and worldly goods; that your spiritual poverty may make you rich in divine and eternal possessions. Vitarbo, 14th February, 1543.

"Your most devoted servant,
"MARC' ANTONIO FLAMINIO."

We hope the reader is too much interested in following the outpourings of this truly christian character, not to read with pleasure one extract more from a letter to his cousin Cesar Flaminio. He appears to have been a man of violent passions, ready to revenge himself for some injury received. Flaminio, who as a faithful monitor unshrinkingly held up the light of the Gospel to all with whom he had any intercourse, thus writes:

"I tell you, my dear cousin, you must decide to be either a christian or a man of the world. If you choose to be a man of the world, be assured you will never find peace or quiet; wherever you are there will be annoyances and vexations from the world, and still more from yourself, for you can have no greater enemy than your own self. If then you are dead with Christ, why are you so sensitive to injuries that you confess yourself in danger of doing some great evil from revenge? You do indeed shew that you know little of christian doctrine, and that faith has little or no such influence over you, as it has on those who sincerely accept the Gospel.....

"God says expressly in Deuteronomy that vengeance belongeth to him. Thus those who revenge their own injuries proudly usurp the office of God, and deserve to be abandoned and severely punished by that Divine Majesty, who would have favoured or defended them if they had patiently allowed him to act; rendering good for evil, praying for their persecutors, and doing good to those who hated them, as Jesus Christ expressly commands us in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

"But you may perhaps answer, these things are easy to say but difficult to practise. I own they are impossible to our corrupt nature without the grace of God, but easy to those who, mistrusting their own strength, look to him alone who gives strength and to whom all things

are possible. To him, I say, to whom the Father has promised that he would graciously grant whatever we ask in his name."¹

This practical use of the faith of the Gospel is highly useful. Faith and works should never be separated either doctrinally or practically. It is refreshing to find the true root of all holiness acknowledged, and at the same time its inevitable fruits pressed home.

His opinion of the work called "The Imitation of Jesus Christ" is recorded in a letter to Carlo Gualterazzi, who had asked him what devotional books he would recommend :

"I cannot suggest any book (I do not speak of the Scriptures) more useful than the little book called "The Imitation of Christ;" if you wish to read not from curiosity nor from the love of reasoning or disputing on points of christian doctrine, but to edify your soul and attain the practice of living in a christian manner, in which lies the whole sum and substance of the matter, when once man has accepted the grace of the Gospel, that is, justification by faith.

"One thing I wish was not to be found in this book, for I do not approve of the way of fear which he often makes use of, but it is enough to be warned of it. Not that I blame every kind of fear, but I blame fear of punishment, as being a sign of unfaithfulness or of very weak faith. For if I believe in very truth that Christ has satisfied for all my past sins, present and future, I cannot possibly fear to be condemned by the justice of God, more especially if I believe that the justice and holiness of God are become mine through faith: this I ought to think if I wish to be a true christian."²

We have now given extracts from several of Flaminio's letters on religious subjects, and have him before us filled with the deepest devotion. In many minds such piety would have ended in a convent, or driven its votaries to the desert in the hope of shutting out all but God; and we cannot but admire the enlightened piety which a deep knowledge of the Scriptures and a lively apprehension of their spiritual meaning opposes to all ascetic views. In the Gospel he found the God of our Lord Jesus Christ a God of love, "not willing that any should perish," inviting all to be saved. Had there been many such hallowed spirits, the church might indeed have been regenerated and its abuses reformed; but in all things it shewed itself as a body adverse to spiritual purity. Flaminio wrote no less than three hundred poems and sonnets, addressed to different individuals,

¹ *Lettere Volgari*, lib. ii. pp. 116—123. Dated Rome, 15th of February, 1543.

² *Idem*, p. 124. Date 28th of February, 1542.

on various occasions. They are all in Latin; some of them very touching, especially the verses on the execution of Savonarola and on the death of Vittoria Colonna.

When we remember the manners of the times in which he lived, it may well be considered an uncommon circumstance that among all his poems not one love sonnet is to be found. He tried this kind of writing in early youth, but being reproved by his father never resumed it, and sanctified his muse by versifying the Psalms; they filled his mind with heavenly thoughts, which left their savour through life.

Besides the writings already mentioned, in 1545 he published a short exposition of all the Psalms in prose. Many of his Italian letters are to be found in different collections,¹ as they were considered models of easy and graceful composition.

¹ Especially in *Lettere Volgari*, Aldus. Venet. 1567. Francesco Maria Mancurti, of Imola, collected and published all his poems in one volume, divided into eight books or parts. He has also given a complete account of all his works both printed and unedited.

CHAPTER XVI.

COUNCIL OF TRENT.

1545—1563.

DIET OF SPIRES—LETTER OF THE POPE—COUNCIL CONVOKED—SPEECH OF MIGNATELLI—JUBILEE—COUNCIL OPENED—SERMON—LUTHER'S DEATH—THE CREED—CANON OF SCRIPTURE—BASIS OF FAITH—TRADITION—THE GOSPEL RESTS ON THE CHURCH, NOT THE CHURCH ON THE GOSPEL—AUTHENTIC VERSIONS—INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE—SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY SUPERSEDES THE SCRIPTURES—VULGATE EDITION APPROVED—MISUSE OF SCRIPTURE—THE POPE'S INSTRUCTIONS—PRINTING REPRESSED—MONASTIC ORDERS—BISHOP OF FISSOLE REPROVED—TEACHING AND PREACHING—PREDESTINATION—GRACE—BELIEF—THE BISHOPS IGNORANT OF THEOLOGY—THE VIRGIN MARY—IMMACULATE CONCEPTION—DOMINICANS AND FRANCISCANS DIFFER—RESIDENCE—DECREES PRINTED—LUTHERAN DOCTRINE CONDEMNED—DIET OF RATISBON—TREATY BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPIRE—JUSTIFICATION—WARLIKE PREPARATION—THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS—THEIR AUTHORITY—TRANSLATION OF THE COUNCIL TO BOLOGNA—DEFEAT OF THE PROTESTANTS—DIET OF AUGSBURG—PIER LUIGI ASSASSINATED—DRAMATIC SCENE—THE POPE'S INTRIGUES—INTERIM—COUNCIL MEETS AT TRENT—TRANSUBSTANTIATION—PENANCE AND EXTREME UNCTION—HERETICAL BOOKS—CELIBACY OF THE PRIESTS—DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL—CARDINAL MORONE—ACCUSED OF HERESY—ARTICLES OF ACCUSATION AGAINST HIM—IMPRISONED IN ST. ANGELO—PRESIDES AT THE TERMINATION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

We have already laid before the reader a slight sketch of general history up to the year 1543, when Charles V., after his unfortunate expedition to Algiers, met the Pope at Busseto, and endeavoured to persuade him to convoke the long-promised Council. Distrustful of each other's intentions they parted with mutual dissatisfaction. War still raged between France and Germany, and the Turks, with whom Francis I. had made an unchristian alliance, carried destruction to the coasts of the Mediterranean. Their united forces besieged and took Nice in the autumn of 1543, but the citadel still held out. Its sovereign,

Carlo duke of Savoy, persuaded the marquis of Vasto and Andrea Doria to unite their sea and land forces to protect this maritime city. As soon as Doria's fleet reached Villafranca, Barbarossa and the French sacked the city and raised the siege. The following spring Francis, somewhat ashamed of his unnatural alliance with an infidel power, persuaded these corsairs by handsome rewards to return to the Levant; but they exercised great cruelties on the coast of Italy on their passage home. The seat of war was now transferred to Piedmont; the French besieged Carignano, and the marquis del Vasto advanced at the head of a considerable reinforcement to succour the place; the duke d'Enghien intercepted his approach, and an engagement took place. At first the Imperialists seemed victorious, but an unaccountable cry of *Volta, Volta*, 'Turn, Turn,' put the German cavalry to flight, and the victory was complete on the side of the French.¹ Knowing how acceptable the news would be, a courier was immediately despatched to Rome with the issue of the battle; the messenger arrived when the night was far advanced and the Pope already in bed. Mattioli the postmaster himself took the despatch to the palace; Paul III. on hearing the contents was relieved from great anxiety, turned in his couch, and said, "Now thank God I can sleep for the rest of the night."²

The loss of the battle of Carignano made Charles more willing to consent to peace, and a convention was arranged on the following terms. Charles engaged to give in marriage to Charles duke of Orleans, the second son of Francis, either the infanta Maria his daughter, with Flanders and the Low Countries for her dower, or Anne his niece, the second daughter of Ferdinand king of the Romans, with the duchy of Milan for her marriage portion. Both these princesses were in their infancy, and it was not believed that Charles had any intention of executing his promises. Another article in the treaty was simply an act of justice; all the states of the duke of Savoy were restored, except Pinerolo and Montmilian. The Pope after the

¹ It was believed that the Imperialists lost 10,000 men; others swelled the number to 14,000 or 15,000, besides prisoners. The battle took place on the 14th of April, 1544, and the garrison of Carignano capitulated on the 22nd of June.—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 59.

² Segni, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. iii. p. 671.

peace of Crespy found himself at liberty to build up the fortunes of his children and grandchildren, and rejoiced that the field was now open for the extirpation of heresy.

Hitherto the Emperor had imagined it would be an easy matter to calm the religious agitation in Germany, but he was now beginning to discover that the German princes would not submit to be dictated to in matters of conscience. His last hope was in a Council, but it had been delayed too long; and there were difficulties on both sides for which there seemed no remedy. The Pope would hear of no Council where his infallible power was not acknowledged in matters of faith; the Protestants altogether rejected his authority and sought for a Council, where, as Palcario says, "all may speak without fear or danger;"¹ but the hope of such an assembly was fast dying away. The Protestant creed was taking such deep root, that the reformers felt they would be able to stand without the assistance of a Council, and were satisfied to take their religious opinions from the Scriptures, irrespective of human authority.

The Emperor, while engaged in the war with France and Turkey, held a diet at Spire,² in which he suspended all rigorous edicts on account of religion, promised to call a Council in Germany to settle the reigning controversies, and meanwhile allowed the reformers the free and unmolested exercise of their religious worship. The Pope was so much displeased at these concessions³ that he wrote a long expostulatory letter to Charles. Having heard of the decrees of the Diet of Spire, he felt himself obliged, in virtue of his paternal office, to exhort him not to imitate the example of Eli, who was so severely punished by God for too great indulgence to his children. These decrees were fraught with danger to the Emperor's soul, and threatened the destruction of the church. He ought on no account to depart from the infallible rule that points relating to religion are to be referred to the church of Rome. The Pope alone, by all laws human and divine, has power to assemble Councils or issue decrees upon sacred subjects. Charles had allowed

¹ See CHAP. VIII. vol. i. p. 347.

² It was opened in person by the Emperor on the 20th of February, 1544.—See Bradford's *Itinerary of Charles V.*, p. 545.

³ Charles made these concessions from policy; but after the peace of Crespy, which took place on the 24th of September, 1544, he prepared to change his tactics.

ignorant heretics to judge of religion and to issue decrees on ecclesiastical property, and had restored rebels to their dignities and honours whom he had formerly condemned. He wished indeed to believe that these things were not done by the spontaneous will of the Emperor, but from the pernicious counsels of the enemies of the church of Rome. The Scriptures were full of monitory examples of the wrath of God inflicted on the usurpers of the office of chief priest; for instance, Dathan, Korah, and Abiram, king Uziah, and others: God had always exalted the princes most devoted to the Holy See, as Constantine, Theodosius, and Charlemagne, and chastised those who had been wanting in respect to papal authority.¹ The Emperors Henry² and Frederic II.³ had on this very account been severely punished through their own children. He praises the Emperor for desiring improvement in the church, but begs him to leave it to those to whose office it more peculiarly pertains. Desires him to recollect that he is a minister and not a ruler or head of the church. He himself is extremely anxious for reform, as he had shewn by intimating a general Council; he would perform his part, and it was the Emperor's duty to facilitate it by making peace and avoiding war while religion was being discussed. He concludes by enjoining obedience to his paternal commands, to exclude all religious discussion from the Imperial Diets, and to leave it to the Pope to revoke the concessions granted to the Protestants; if this is not done, he will be visited with greater severity than is to be desired.

Those who knew the history of Pier Luigi,⁴ the Pope's son, and were witnesses of his profligate conduct, thought the paragraph about Eli more applicable to the Pope himself than to the Emperor. In pursuance of his promise of a Council the Pope sent three legates to Trent with a commission to open this assembly on the 15th March 1545; Giovanni Maria del Monte cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Marcello Cervini, cardinal priest of

¹ If Paul III. had seen the reign of queen Elizabeth, and especially that of the prosperous and beloved queen Victoria of England, he would perhaps have thought differently.

² Henry II. was deprived of the empire by his son Henry, and died in misery at Liege in 1106.

³ Frederic II. was strangled in his bed by Manfred, his natural son.

⁴ "Questo personaggio era uomo sceleratissimo, brutto di volto, ma più deforme d'animo, immerso nella più nefanda libidine, e in altri enormi vizj."—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 79.

Santa Croce, and cardinal Reginald Pole of S. Maria in Cosmedino. They were all men favourable to reform, and two of them were subsequently raised to the papacy. The first was chosen on account of his frank, easy, pliable character; the second for his firmness and intrepidity, and on account of his consummate knowledge of affairs; the third because he was an Englishman, to shew England that she was represented at the Council, and that all the royal house of Tudor were not inimical to Papal authority. They made their public entry at Trent, accompanied by cardinal Madruccio, bishop of the town, and immediately issued a grant of three years' indulgence to all who should be present at the Council. The cathedral was chosen as their place of meeting; it was capable of holding about four hundred persons.

Ten days after the entrance of the legates, Don Giacobbo di Mendoza, the Emperor's ambassador, arrived from Venice: there were only three other bishops¹ present besides Madruccio. The Spanish ambassador read his instructions and announced that the bishops of Spain were on their way to the Council. The legates at first communicated to the ambassador and the bishops all the letters they received from Rome or Germany, but finding that Mendoza claimed to be on an equal footing with them, and that the bishops took more upon them than was customary, they wrote to Rome to beg to have secret despatches besides the communications which were to be publicly read.

The arrival of Fabio Mignatelli,² nuncio at the court of Ferdinand king of the Romans, gave rise to a good deal of by-play and dissatisfaction. He brought word that the Emperor had made peace with France for the purpose of prosecuting the war against the Turks and pacifying the religious agitation in Germany, and that the king of the Romans had promised his assistance and would send a representative to the Council. That the Emperor had at last persuaded the Pope to convoke a Council, and that in consequence of the decrees issued at the Diet of Spires he had commanded men of learning and conscience to draw up articles of reformation. This had been done, but the Emperor suspended their execution till he saw what might

¹ Tommaso Campeggio, bishop of Feltre, nephew of the cardinal Tommaso di San Felice, bishop of La Cava, and Cornelio Musso, bishop of Bitonto.

² Bishop of Grosseto, in the Sienese territory.

be expected from the Council. If it progressed well, then these articles would be useless and another diet would be called to decide upon religion. This gave great umbrage to the Protestants. They refused to submit to a Council purely papal, where no freedom of opinion could exist, and declared they would not contribute to the war against the Turks unless they were assured of uninterrupted peace in religion.

Nor did the Emperor's two-faced policy give more satisfaction to the Pope; he was indignant at his having taken all the credit of calling the Council, and using the diet as a check upon the movements of his holiness. What the Pope dreaded above all was that the Emperor might finally grant amicable concessions to the Protestants: to avert this he saw no better course than to bring about a religious war, from which he hoped the papacy at least would come out victorious.

Meanwhile the bishops of Italy, beginning to believe that the Council really was about to open, took their way to Trent; many were so poor that they could not appear with the splendour suitable to their rank; this opened up a convenient source of corruption, and a fund was raised to assist the poorest, on whose good offices the Pope might count. But they were so slow in assembling that by the end of May there were only twenty bishops, five generals of the different monastic orders, and one *Auditore di Rota*, a lawyer. Those who had arrived in March were tired of waiting, and Mendoza the Emperor's ambassador returned to Venice.

The Emperor, in defiance of the Pope's remonstrance, cited Herman, prince archbishop of Cologne, before the Diet of Worms within the space of thirty days, either in person or by proxy, to answer the accusations laid against him. This prelate in 1536 made an attempt at reformation, and held a provincial synod composed of the principal bishops, in which several decrees were instituted. Some time after, thinking he had not gone far enough, he assembled the clergy, the nobles, and other principal persons of his states, and promulgated a much fuller reformation. This was opposed by the greater part of the clergy, and particularly by John Gropper the canonist, who had published the decrees of the archbishop's first reform on the ground that he was becoming altogether Protestant. But the archbishop persisted, and refused to wait for the sanction of a General

Council or of the Imperial Diet. They then appealed to the Pope and to the Emperor, but Herman disregarded these appeals, and published a declaration in which he asserted that he would not give up what he considered was for the glory of God and the reformation of the church; he did not take the Lutherans or any human opinions for his model, but derived his doctrine from the word of God. Hence the Emperor's citation, which gave equal offence at Rome and at Trent. The prelates objected to this assumption of power in ecclesiastical matters, and the Pope himself cited the archbishop to appear at Rome within sixty days: this was done only to have a pretext for excommunicating the archbishop on his non-appearance. A brief was issued which deprived him of all his ecclesiastical rights and benefices, and dispensed his subjects from their vows of allegiance. This brief declared that Herman had incurred the censures of the bull of Leo X. by sustaining and publishing Luther's doctrine against ecclesiastical laws, the traditions of the Apostles, and the ceremonies of the Christian religion. This sentence was printed at Rome, and Paul III. sent a brief to Adolphus Count Schawenburg, his coadjutor, which conferred the archbishopric on him with all its rights and privileges.

But the Pope's most urgent entreaties could not induce the Emperor to allow this sentence to be executed; for he was fearful that the archbishop might range himself with the Protestant party. Thus the Pope's authority was openly contemned, and the Protestants complained that while the Council was sitting to examine disputed points in religion, the Pope deprived an archbishop of his see for heresy, when as yet it was not decided what heresy was.

On the 22nd of May the Pope published what is called the Bull of Indiction; in which he stated that he would no longer await the consent of monarchs, but on the 1st of November next would open the Council at Trent, and, "confiding in the authority of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and of the Blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, whose power he exercised on earth, with the advice and consent of the cardinals, all suspension being now removed, he convoked at Trent a free city, convenient to all nations, a General and Œcumenical Council to begin on All-Saints' day. All patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots are invited, and all others who either by right or by

privilege have a deliberative voice in General Councils." And he especially "invites the prelates and princes of Germany, since it is principally on their account that the Council is held."

The Emperor returned for answer that he thought it very desirable the Council should be opened to treat of reformation, without touching doctrines or heresies, not to irritate the Lutherans. This was by no means a conclusive argument to Paul III., who saw with displeasure the authority of the court of Rome in a measure subservient to that of Imperial diets in which Protestants took a part. He determined however to open the Council, and resolved that points of doctrine should be first discussed.

On the 13th December 1545 a bull of Jubilee was published at Rome, which stated that the Council had been convoked in order to close the wounds made in the Church by the detestable heretics. It enjoined everyone to pray for the fathers of the Church assembled at Trent; and to make their prayers efficacious they must fast three days, join in the public processions, confess, and take the Communion, when a general pardon would be granted.

That same day the Council was opened with great pomp at Trent. The three cardinal legates and twenty-five bishops, followed by the whole population, went in procession to the cathedral, where they heard mass and a sermon. Then they all knelt down and offered a short prayer, after which the president recited *Adsumus Domine Sancte Spiritus*, 'Behold us here present, O Holy Spirit.' Then they sang the Litanies: the deacon read the Gospel, *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus*, 'If thy brother sin against thee.' The president then asked if it was their pleasure that the holy Council of Trent be opened for the glory of God, the extirpation of heresies, the reformation of the clergy and of the people, and the extinction of the enemies of christendom. They all replied, *Placet*: first the legate spoke, then the bishops, next the divines. The assembly was then prorogued till after the Christmas holidays, and the first session was fixed to be held in January 1546. The notaries wrote down what had taken place; a *Te Deum* was chanted, the assembly rose, and the legates returned home preceded by a cross and accompanied by the fathers.

The attention of both Germany and Italy was awakened

to this famous assembly, so long expected, and so earnestly desired. The opening address by the legates was highly approved; it was considered both modest and christian, but the sermon by the bishop of Bitonto was justly esteemed replete with ostentatious vanity and bombastic eloquence. Reflective and pious minds contrasted the language of the legates, "that without true contrition of heart it was in vain to invoke the Holy Spirit," with the boasting expressions of the bishop, "that the Holy Spirit would not fail to open their mouths."

The sermon was a curious mixture of unapt quotations from Scripture, unsuitable imagery, and false eloquence. It began by shewing the necessity of a Council, as it was a hundred years¹ since the last was held at Florence.² Difficult points in religion could be treated of only in Councils, for in them creeds had been drawn up, heresies condemned, corruptions reformed. In them christian nations had been united, war against infidels declared, kings deposed,³ and schisms extirpated. After this historical retrospect he descended to puerile and blasphemous illustrations of the nature of Councils. The poets he said had imagined feigned councils of the gods, and the decision to create man, and to confound the giants was the result of a council. Religion had three heads, doctrine, the sacraments, and charity, all of which required a Council. The Pope, to remedy the abuses which had been introduced into religion, had called this assembly under the protection of the Emperor, the king of France, and other christian princes. Here he made a long digression in praise of the Pope, and a shorter one in commendation of the Emperor; and then spoke of the three legates in the same

¹ The Lateran Council, which sat from May 1512 till March 1517, was assembled to overthrow the decisions of the Council of Pisa, and to abolish the pragmatic sanction in France. Many theologians do not acknowledge it as a legitimate General Council. Bellarmine leaves it doubtful.—Langlot Du Fresnoy, *Cronologie*, p. 384.

² In 1439, called the 18th General Council; it was a continuation of that of Bâle, which had been opened at Pavia, and transferred first to Siena and then to Bâle in 1431. Pope Eugenio iv. transferred it to Ferrara and to Florence. The members of the Council who remained at Bâle deposed Eugenio iv., and elected Felice v. The chief subject treated of in the Council of Florence was the union of the Greek and Latin churches, but a durable agreement could not be accomplished. *Ibid.* p. 374.

³ He might also have said that popes as well as kings had been deposed by Councils.

laudatory strain, taking each of their names and surnames as a subject of encomium. The Council being now opened, the bishops, he said, ought to shut themselves up in it as in the horse of Troy. He next addressed himself to the magistrates and notables of Trent, beseeching them to invite all men to submit to the Council, lest it might be said that the light of the Pope being come into the world, men loved darkness rather than light.¹ This gross misapplication of words belonging only to the Saviour of the world shocked all devout minds. "Would to God," he said, "that the Emperor were present, or at least his ambassador Mendoza." After congratulating Madruccio the bishop of Trent upon the honour the assembly conferred upon the town, he addressed the prelates, telling them that the opening of the Council, like the opening of the gates of Paradise, would cause living water to flow and fill the earth with the knowledge of the Lord. He exhorted the fathers to open the dry soil of their hearts to receive it; if they did not, the Holy Spirit would not fail to open their mouths as he did that of Balaam and Caiaphas, so that the Church would not err even if the Council failed in its duty: he entreated them to lay aside all passion and prejudice, and say truly, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*, 'It seemeth good to the Holy Spirit and to us.' He closed by inviting all christendom to the marriage-feast, but nothing was said of the wedding-garment. Last of all he addressed himself to Jesus Christ, and begged him, through the intercession of St. Vigil the patron of Trent, to be present with them in the Council.

This discourse was variously criticised; it seemed to many a most preposterous idea that so small a number of bishops should rule the whole Church. There had been, it was said, Councils composed of 700 bishops, who had not ventured to decide any point of doctrine; others asserted that infallibility belonged to the Pope and not to Councils; their decisions were null unless sanctioned by papal authority. But the difficulties were not all mastered by the mere opening of this assembly, for no one, not even the legates, knew what subject was first to occupy their attention. They wrote to Rome for instructions, and on the return of their messenger a congregation was held on

¹ *Papæ lux venit in mundum, sed dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem.*

the 5th of January, 1546, in which some minor points were discussed, such as the name to be given to the decrees issued by the *Sacra Sancta Synodus*. The French wished to add, *which represents the universal Church*, but the legates objected, fearing some might propose adding, *which holds its power from Jesus Christ alone*.

At length the second session of this celebrated Council was opened on the 7th of January, in the presence of forty-three fathers.¹ The principal point of discussion was what subject should first be debated—Doctrine or Reformation. The Imperialists were for beginning with the reformation of abuses; others, but few in number, wished to begin with doctrines, alleging that faith was the foundation on which rested the virtues of a christian life, that we do not begin to build an edifice at the roof but at the base. A third party, who were perhaps most in the right, said faith and reformation ought not to be separated, but always work together. This subject was fully discussed in a congregation held on the 18th of January. In another meeting it was proposed to seal the letters written by the Council with a leaden seal, on which was engraved a dove as an image of the Holy Spirit.

At the third session, Ambrogio Catarino, of Siena, preached the sermon, but nothing essential was done, and their next sitting was fixed for the 8th of April following.

During this interval the report of Luther's death reached the assembled prelates, and was received with unholy joy. Such was their dread of his energy and influence, that they considered his death, just at the time the Council was assembled, as a good omen for its future success, and as a divine interposition in their favour; not considering that there was nothing singular in the death of a man of sixty years of age, worn out with fatigue both of body and mind.

He died at Eisleben, his native place, having left Wittenberg accompanied by his three sons, with the view of appeasing some enmities which had arisen between the nobles and the people at Eisleben. His health had long been failing, but he would never remit his pastoral labours; the journey inflamed a wound in his

¹ Besides the legates and the cardinal bishop of Trent, there were four archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, three abbots of the congregation of Monte Cassino, and four generals of the monastic orders.

leg, and sensibly affected his whole system, but this did not prevent his preaching. Twice he administered the Lord's Supper, and officiated as a minister in church; he was much in prayer, and his conversation directed to religious subjects.

The evening before his death he seemed weaker; during supper he suggested the question, "Whether in the eternal world we shall recognise each other?" When his friends wished to hear his own opinion on this subject, he replied, "How did Adam know that Eve was bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh but by the revelation of the Spirit of God? Thus in another world our faculties will be so renovated through Christ, that we shall recognise each other more perfectly than Adam understood Eve." Retiring to his chamber he said, "I go to rest with God," and repeated the words of the Psalmist, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit," and stretching out his hand bade them all good night, saying, "Pray for the cause of God." He then went to bed, but about one o'clock he awoke Justus Jonas and another person who slept in his room, and desired that a fire might be made in his study, exclaiming, "Oh God, how ill I feel! I suffer dreadful oppression of the chest—I shall certainly die at Eisleben." He remained some time in his study, frequently repeating, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." He was somewhat relieved by medicine, and a profuse perspiration came on which raised the hopes of his children and friends. But he said, "It is cold, it is the forerunner of death; I shall soon yield up my spirit." He then began to pray, nearly in these words: "Oh Eternal and Merciful God, my Heavenly Father, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and the God of all consolation, I thank thee that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom I believe, whom I have preached and confessed, and whom I love and worship as my dear Saviour and Redeemer; he whom the Pope and the multitude of the ungodly do persecute, revile, and blaspheme. I beseech thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul! Oh Heavenly Father, though I be taken out of this life, though I must now lay down this body, yet do I know assuredly that I shall dwell with thee for ever, and that none can pluck me out of thy hands." He then repeated three times over, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit;" also, "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlast-

ing life;" and the twenty-first verse of the 68th Psalm, "Our God is the God from whom cometh salvation, God is the Lord by whom we escape death." He then became silent, and life seemed slowly ebbing away; but when Jonas said, "Reverend father, you die in the confession of Christ and his doctrine which you have preached?" he distinctly answered, "Yes." This was his last word. About a quarter of an hour after, between two and three o'clock in the morning, with his hands clasped together as if in prayer, he gently breathed his last, without pain or any disturbance of feature or person.¹

Thus peacefully ended the life of a man who for thirty years had waged open war with the corruptions of the Church of Rome. He was one of those extraordinary beings raised up to fulfil a great mission: "he entered into his rest, and his works do follow him." His body was carried to Wittenberg, and followed by his widow, children, and friends with sorrowing reverence to the grave. The papal party rejoiced that so unshrinking an adversary was silenced, but the Church of Christ mourned the loss of a father. While the last offices were being paid to his honoured remains, the Council of Trent was discussing a subject which Luther, above all men in the world, was best able to handle, the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures.

A congregation was held on the 22nd of February, in which the legates said that having fixed one basis of religious faith, the Creed, it was now time to consider another, the Holy Scriptures. This caused much discussion; the theologians, about thirty in number, proposed to extract articles from Luther's writings which were considered contrary to the orthodox faith, that they might be discussed and censured by the Council. These were:

1. That the doctrines of the Christian faith are all to be found in the Scriptures; that oral traditions said to be transmitted from Christ and the Apostles are only fictions, and that it is sacrilege to give these inventions the same authority as the Old and New Testaments.

2. That we ought only to receive those books which were

¹ This account is taken from Melchior Adam and Scott, who have copied the recital which Justus Jonas sent to the secretary of Count Albert, that the circumstances attending this good man's death might be faithfully reported to the Elector of Saxony.—See *Melchior Adam*, p. 154. Ed. 1620; and *Scott's Church History*, vol. i. p. 476.

transmitted by the Jews in the Old Testament and the Gospels, the six epistles written by St. Paul, those of St. James, St. Peter, St. John, Jude, and the Apocalypse in the New Testament.

3. That to come to a true understanding of the Holy Scriptures it is necessary to cite the exact words, and study them in the languages in which they were originally written.

4. That the Holy Scriptures are plain and clear; we do not need either glossary or comments to understand them, but only the spirit of Christ's followers.

Whether these articles deserved to be anathematised was the subject of discussion in four different congregations. All the divines concurred in opinion that the Christian faith rests partly on the Scriptures, and partly on tradition, and cited the fathers in corroboration of their opinion. Some even went so far as to assert that tradition was the sole foundation of the Christian faith. Vincenzo Lunello, a Franciscan, said that as the Scriptures and tradition were the basis of faith, the Church ought to be placed in the foreground as the chief foundation. The Scriptures, he said, derive all their authority from the Church, and like Augustine, "*I should not believe in the Gospel if the authority of the Church did not oblige me.*"¹ The surest foundation to build on was this, *All christians are under an obligation to believe in the Church.*

Antonio Marinaro, a Carmelite friar, was much more enlightened; he said that before they spoke of tradition they must decide whether the question was one of fact, or of right; that is, whether the christian doctrine is composed of two parts: one which God has commanded to be written, and another which he has forbidden to be committed to writing, but ordered to be taught by word of mouth; or whether the doctrine having been all taught, a part has been forgotten to be written. It was manifest, he said, that God when he gave the old law ordained that it should be written, for he had written the Decalogue with his own finger on stone,² and ordered it to be enclosed in the ark. The Gospel was not in the same case, for it needs neither chests nor tables nor books, but is written by Christ "on fleshly tables of the heart."³ The Church had attained great perfection before the Apostles wrote; if nothing had been written, still

¹ *Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Ecclesie commoveret auctoritas.*

² Deut. xxxii. 15, 16.

³ 2 Cor. iii. 3.

nothing would have been wanting to the perfection of the Church. But though Christ laid the foundation of the christian doctrine in the heart, he did not forbid it to be written. It is an undoubted truth, that what has been written by the Apostles, and what has been taught by word of mouth, are of the same authority; both the speaking and the writing being inspired by the Holy Spirit. Thus there are not two kinds of articles of belief, one published in Scripture and another communicated orally. If there were any persons of this opinion they would have two great difficulties to contend with; one, how to explain the difference between these articles of faith; and another, how the Apostles could have written what God had forbidden. To enter upon this subject would be to sail between Scylla and Charybdis; better then imitate the fathers, who had never handled this point except in cases of absolute necessity, and who were very careful not to put tradition on the same footing with Holy Scripture.

This speech, notwithstanding a slight shade of obscurity, was too scriptural to be relished by the Council. Cardinal Pole said it was more worthy of a German Colloquy than a General Council. That for the preservation of the Church the Lutherans must receive all the doctrines of the church of Rome; and to shew the world that it was impossible to agree with them, their errors should be fully unfolded.

About the canon of Scripture there were three opinions; the third, which made all the sacred books of equal authority, was carried by a plurality of votes; but there was a warm discussion, between the divines who understood Greek and those who did not, which was to be the standard version.

Friar Luigi da Cataneo said that cardinal Caietano's opinion in the decision of this point was conclusive, for he had from his earliest youth been a diligent student of theology. This cardinal, who stood so high among divines, was sent legate to Germany in 1523.¹ In disputing with the Protestants he took the plain and literal sense of Scripture in the original text; and devoted the remainder of his life, about eleven years, to the study of the sacred records, not in the Latin translation only, but in the original Hebrew and Greek. As he did not understand these languages, he employed learned men to translate for him word

¹ At the accession of Clement VII.

for word that he might discover the literal sense.¹ This indefatigable cardinal did not consider the Latin version as the infallible word of God, but only that it contained the sense in a translation. St. Jerome has rightly said that to prophesy and to write the holy books of Scripture was the office of the Holy Spirit, but to translate them into other languages was a work of human agency. On this account Cataneo said that the Latin text should be revised and corrected from the original; then it might be considered authentic. But he added in conclusion, as their revision must be a work of time, it was perhaps better to leave it alone and be content with what they had had for fifteen hundred years.

The majority of the assembly differed entirely from the beginning of this discourse, thinking it would give a triumph to the Protestants, and that endless controversies would arise if the doctrines of Holy Mother Church founded on passages of Scripture were to be examined, criticised, and translated afresh from the Greek and Hebrew languages. This reasoning was very generally applauded, and they even departed so far from common sense as to say, if God has given authentic Scriptures to the Jews, and an authoritative New Testament to the Greeks, why should he not give an authentic translation to the Latin Church which was the choicest and the most beloved of all? They forgot that the Hebrew and Greek were different in substance, while the Latin was identical with both, though in a different language.

Isidore Clario, of Brescia, a learned Benedictine abbot, reminded the assembly that the primitive Church had several Greek versions of the Old Testament, and that Origen had collected them all together in six parallel columns. The most important is the Septuagint, from which several Latin translations have been made; many versions have also been made of the New Testament from the Greek, the best of which is the *Italic*; but St. Augustine observed that though it is read in the church, the Greek text is to be preferred. That great linguist, St. Jerome, having observed that some errors had crept into this translation, made a new one direct from the Hebrew, and corrected the New Testament from the Greek. Envy and prejudice prevented this

¹ All linguists will acknowledge that this was by no means an unerring system of interpretation, as words in different connections have various modifications, and those which appear synonymous have shades of difference.

version from being received at first, but at length it was universally accepted by the Latins as the *New Version*.

Andrea de Vega, a Franciscan, took a middle line of argument; he acknowledged with St. Jerome that translations are not inspired, and approved of their being corrected from the original text. This he said would not prevent the Vulgate being considered authentic and free from all errors of doctrine or morals. That though the Vulgate had been used for a thousand years in the church, had been cited in Councils and venerated as true; yet the learned were at liberty to use the original text. The great number of versions ought to be suppressed as creating confusion. A lengthened discussion followed upon the study and interpretation of Scripture; some were for discouraging it, and others said that a variety of spiritual gifts constituted the perfection of the church, witness the great diversity of opinion among the ancient fathers. Richard du Mans, a Franciscan, went so far as to assert that scholastic reasoning had so thoroughly explained the doctrines of faith, that it was no longer necessary to learn them from the Scriptures. Formerly they were read in churches to instruct the people, but now they are only used in prayer, which indeed was their chief use; this, and not the study of them, was the way to shew due reverence to the Word of God. The investigation of Holy Writ ought to be forbidden to all not versed in scholastic reasoning, for the Lutherans had most influence among those who studied the Scriptures.

Others, again, said the meaning of Scripture must neither be taken from the allegorical interpretation of the fathers, nor from too close an attachment to the bare letter. The Church varies her interpretation according to circumstances.

Dominico Soto, a Jacobin, said that when the Pope interpreted a passage in their decretals they did not exclude other reasonable explanations, for St. Paul says, 'prophesy according to the proportion of faith.'¹

Finally, the edition of the Vulgate was almost unanimously approved, the prelates being much afraid lest grammarians should undertake to teach bishops and divines. In contradiction however to this, six persons were selected to revise it, that an authorized and corrected copy might be printed under the supervision of the Council.

¹ Rom. xii. 6.

With regard to books, the Council decided that it was necessary to hold printers in check, and to forbid them to print any book on religion which had not been approved according to the decree of the last Lateran Council.

Many abuses were brought forward, shewing that from ignorance holy things are often put to a use for which they were never intended, such as superstitions, entertainments, exorcisms, &c. The idea of carrying about passages of the gospel, or the name of God, as a preservative against misfortune or a cure for sickness, was strongly reprobated; as also the indecorous use of verses of Scripture in defamatory libels and in pasquinades. All the divines agreed that the Word of God ought to be treated with the utmost reverence, and that it is a sin to make use of it in the praise of men. But some said that the application of words of Scripture to human affairs could not be altogether forbidden; for St. Antony does not condemn the Sicilian ambassadors, who when entreating the forgiveness of Martin IV. repeated three times, "Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy on us;" they thus concluded that the Lutherans were wrong to blame the bishop of Bitonto for having said, *Papæ lux venit in mundum, et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem.*

About this time Peter Paul Vergerio, bishop of Capo d' Istria, arrived at Trent to justify himself before the Council against the accusation of heresy. But the legates would not admit him till he had cleared himself at Rome.¹

The Pope, now beginning to think the Council was becoming of some importance, increased the number of cardinals and prelates, to whom he entrusted the management of affairs, and sent the legates three precise directions:

1. Not to publish any decree without making him first acquainted with it.

2. Not to introduce points which had never been controverted.

3. Not to allow the authority of the Pope to be discussed on any pretence whatever.

The first article of faith proposed was Original Sin. The

¹ He then left Trent to return to his bishopric, but at Venice he found the Nuncio had received orders to summon him to trial. This decided him to leave Italy and forsake the Church of Rome. See a subsequent chapter.

Spanish bishops opposed this, saying it was quite enough in one session to treat of abuses. The Pope when consulted advised delay, but in May they were desired to proceed. Toledo,¹ the Emperor's ambassador, said that his letters expressed a wish that they would treat of reformation and abuses, not of doctrine.² He intimated that as the doctrine of Original Sin had never been controverted in Germany, it was unnecessary to discuss it, and instanced the Emperor having named the article of Justification as the first point to be treated of in the Diet at Ratisbon. Some signs of diversity of opinion between the legates and the bishops now began to appear: the former wished to abolish the privileges and immunities of the monks, the legates supported them, especially the mendicant orders. To touch the monastic orders was to undermine one of the great props of the papal throne. A summary of the opinions already delivered was read, but Braccio Martello, bishop of Fiesole, wished to hear the reasons of each individual speaker. The legates were much offended at this suggestion, and reproved him in keen but measured terms. The next day they asked for a copy of his speech, and sent it to Rome as a proof of his rebellious spirit, advising that he should be sent away from Trent. The bishop of Chiozza, who was of the same stamp, that is favourable to the power of free action of the Council, had defended the opinions of Marinaro in a dispute with cardinal Pole on the subject of tradition. On this account the legates hinted that as he had quitted the Council on pretence of illness, it would be as well to prevent his return.

In speaking of teaching and preaching, it was a very general complaint, particularly of the Spanish bishops, that the office of preaching was entirely taken out of the hands of the bishops, who had been instituted by Christ to teach his doctrine and preach in the churches as the fathers did. They complained that the friars had taken their place, and that this was the cause of all the disorders which had invaded the Church. They were strangers to the flock, ignorant of their spiritual deficiencies, and thought only of collecting money for the benefit of their order; thus they flattered and soothed their auditory without

¹ Francesco Toledo from Naples.

² Should the scriptural doctrines of the Lutherans be condemned, he knew it would set all Germany on fire.

thinking of their souls. The monastic orders, when first instituted, devoted themselves to weeping and praying in their cells for the sins of the people, and were forbidden under the severest penalties to preach. If Luther had remained in his cell weeping and praying, the church would not have been thus reduced to extremity. The abuses of Indulgences and begging friars were so great that they could not be spoken of without tears. To remedy these things they proposed to restore to the bishops, as their natural vocation, the task of teaching and preaching, and allow them to choose as assistants persons whom they knew to be suitable for the ministry.

The generals of the monastic orders replied that the bishops and clergy had for hundreds of years laid aside entirely the office of teachers and pastors. There was no preaching in the churches, no teaching in the schools of theology. God had raised up the mendicant orders to supply this deficiency; if they had not stepped in to perform these offices of christian love, there would be no vestige of christianity now left in the church. For three hundred years they had been engaged in this work by permission of the sovereign Pontiff; and there was no reason for depriving them of it. As to preaching for private ends, or for the advantage of their monasteries, that was a gross calumny; they received nothing but food and clothing, the rest was for the worship and service of God. The legates thus pressed on both sides referred the matter to Rome; the Pope had discernment enough to perceive that if the bishops were allowed to preach, they would acquire too much influence in their dioceses and become too independent of Rome. It was also recollected how much the primacy of the Holy See owed to the support of this body of ecclesiastical militia, and how zealously it had been defended by the Benedictine order on its first foundation, subsequently by all its various ramifications, and finally by the mendicant orders. Thus it was decided that their privileges should be continued, and their immunities preserved, as a balance to the authority of the bishops.

Notwithstanding the opposition from the Imperial prelates the assembly now passed to the subject of Original Sin, and introduced for censure nine articles of a Lutheran tendency. After considerable discussion these nine articles were condemned as heretical.

When they spoke of sin being transmitted to all mankind the general of the Franciscans contended that the Virgin Mary must be exempted, but the Dominicans insisted on her being comprised under the common rule. Cardinal del Monte, wishing to avoid the discussion of this difficult point, said they had met to condemn heresy, not to discuss the opinions of Catholics.

The eighth article, which averred that sinful desires still remained even in the baptised, was severely condemned, except by friar Antonio Marinaro; he was unwilling it should be thought heretical, and thus drew upon himself a suspicion of Lutheranism. It was remembered that on the fourth Sunday in Advent he had preached a sermon in which he had heretically exhorted his hearers to place their whole confidence in God, and not rely in any degree on their own works. He even went so far as to affirm that many of the heroic acts of the ancients, so highly extolled in the sight of man, were sinful in the sight of God. He touched on the certainty of grace, but with so much ambiguity of expression that it would have been difficult to point out where the taint of heresy lay.

They next passed to the doctrines of Zuingle, and severely condemned his doctrine of predestination.¹ Among the eight articles drawn up from his writings for examination and censure the first was declared a Catholic doctrine, namely, "In predestination and reprobation it is not man but God who acts." It was argued that the best scholastic writers, as St. Thomas and Scotus, had declared that God, before the creation of the world, had in his infinite wisdom and mercy chosen some for eternal life, and had prepared for them the means of attaining it. In proof of this they quoted St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, where he speaks of Jacob and Esau² being elected for certain purposes before their birth. If any are offended at this let them be answered in the words of the Apostle, "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?"³ "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." This is why, they said, these dealings of God are called heights and depths of knowledge "past finding out."

God by depriving man of all confidence in himself makes him humble, teaches him to see the evil of sin and the excellence

¹ Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 216. ² Romans ix. 12—16. ³ *Ibid.* v. 21.

of grace. The opposite party supported their opinions by human reasoning; but when Scripture was appealed to, it was found in favour of the predestinarians.

Ambrogio Catarino, a Dominican, finding Scripture against him, invented a middle way of escape by saying that God in his goodness had chosen to save some few; and for them he had prepared powerful and infallible means of security, while others were left at liberty to accept or refuse the terms of salvation. Election saves the first class, and acceptance of the offered mercy the second. Augustine's opinions, he said, were not known before his time, and he himself said they were not to be found in any previous writings;¹ but Catarino forgot that Augustine found them in the Scriptures, the only true source and fount of Christian doctrine.

The articles considered heretical on Free-will, Predestination, and Justification were all included in one series of anathemas, and were so expressed as only to condemn the Lutherans, without touching points of controversy among Catholics.

The arguments about grace were recapitulated without coming to any conclusion as to its certainty or uncertainty. Seripando,² Vega,³ and Soto⁴ ranged themselves with the Dominicans, who denied the certainty of grace, declaring that such a doctrine was likely to make men proud and careless. Catarino and Marinaro cited passages of the fathers in favour of a contrary opinion. In the gospel Christ forgave sins, and said, 'Believe that thy sins are forgiven.' The Scripture obliges us to thank God for our justification in his sight; this we cannot do unless we feel we have obtained it. They also cited the words of Christ when speaking of the Spirit, "whom the world cannot receive because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you."⁵

These passages made a great impression on many; but lest they should incur the suspicion of heterodoxy by quoting Scripture, they made a distinction between the private faith of an individual and the Catholic faith of the Church. All the Carmelites were of Catarino's⁶ opinion. Soto contended that it was

¹ Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 219.

² General of the Augustinians.

³ Andrea Vega, a Spanish Franciscan.

⁴ Domenico Soto, a Spanish Jacobin.

⁵ John xiv. 17.

⁶ It would seem that Catarino, the champion of the Roman Catholic faith, had learned something since the time when he so strongly opposed Bernardino Ochino and his views of justification.

too favourable to the Lutherans, and too much akin to their views. No subject occupied so much time as grace, nor could they lay it aside till the cardinal hinted it had occupied time enough.

The next point closely connected with that of grace was free-will. Catarino said that without the special help of God man could do no moral good; thus far he was not free. The fourth article therefore ought not to be too hastily condemned, namely, "Free-will is only exercised in doing ill, but has no power to do well." Vega said, that between the Lutheran doctrine and the Catholic there was but a shade of difference.

A very difficult question was now brought forward:—Whether faith was within the power or under the control of human beings? The Franciscans denied this power of the will, and said, We cannot believe what we wish, but only what we think true. They owned with Augustine that free-will was lost at the fall, when mankind became the servants of sin.

Few of the bishops knew anything about theology. They were in general lawyers or literary men, courtiers or diplomatists, and were both astonished and perplexed by the scholastic reasoning on these difficult points. Puzzled at the various shades of opinion, when the decrees came to be drawn up, they could form no judgment on the essence of original sin. The greater part were willing to adopt the definition of Catarino, which he thus explained. A compact was made with one person for himself and his posterity; his transgression falls on the whole race of mankind, "as in Adam all have sinned."

Fra Dominico Soto was of a somewhat different opinion; but as to baptism, all were agreed that it washed out the stain of original sin, and this they thought should be explicitly declared to be an article of faith.

At last they resolved to pass five anathemas on the doctrines before them. I. On the personal sin of Adam. II. On its transmission to posterity. III. On the remedy by baptism. IV. On the baptism of children. V. On evil desires remaining after baptism.

All were unanimous on these points, but the Franciscans spoke in favour of Mary and her immaculate conception. The Dominicans opposed this doctrine, and cited St. Paul and the fathers.

Ever since the heresy of Nestorius, who denied the divinity

of Christ, the church had conferred on Mary the title of *θεοτοκος* in Greek, and *Mater Dei* in Latin. This supreme title led gradually to the worship of the mother as well as her divine Son; finally adoration was almost entirely confined to her alone. When images became common in the churches Christ was represented as a child in the arms of his mother, and by a gradual but natural transition preachers left off speaking of Christ, and addressing themselves to the strongest affections of the human heart, invented new names, services, and praises for the Virgin Mary. About the year 550 a daily service was instituted during the seven canonical hours to the Virgin, and the form and manner was precisely the same as that formerly consecrated to God himself. During the lapse of years this veneration had increased to such a degree that they ascribed to her all the attributes of divine wisdom. Among other novelties she was said to be exempt from the taint of original sin. This however was only a private opinion, and had no place in church ceremonies. In 1136 the canons of Lyons ventured to introduce it into the church services. St. Bernard, though so great a partisan of the Virgin that he called her "the neck of the church through which grace passes from the head," severely blamed the canons for having introduced dangerous novelties into the church. He declared that this presumption could not be agreeable to the Virgin, and that such an act was "the mother of temerity, the sister of superstition, and the daughter of frivolity." He very justly observed that the same reasons which confer on her so high a privilege might be used to extend the exemption from original sin back to her father, mother, grandfather and grandmother, and so on in an inverse ratio till we reached Abraham, when in his case they would acquire double weight. To him was made the promise of the Redeemer; Christ is called the seed of Abraham, and he is named the father in Christ of all believers, the pattern of the faithful, the friend of God, which are much higher honours than that of bearing Christ in the womb. Christ himself said, when a woman poured out blessings on her who bore him, that those who hear his sayings, and keep them, are more blessed than that favoured individual.

In the following century scholastic divines, both Franciscans and Dominicans, refuted this doctrine, and it lay in abeyance

till the year 1300, when John Scott, a Franciscan, desirous of making himself a name, said that God *might* have chosen that she should not bear the stain of sin, or bear it but for a moment, or for a certain period of time. God only knew which of these cases applied to her, but he rather inclined to the first, if it was not contrary to the authority of the Church or of Scripture. The opinions of this friar were taken up by his order, but as to her immaculate conception he had only suggested the idea as possible or probable, yet doubtful.

The Dominicans refused to admit this notion, being contrary to the opinion of St. Thomas of their order. The Pope, to depress the Franciscans who adhered to Lodovico Bavaro, whom he had excommunicated, canonised St. Thomas and his doctrines. The university of Paris, the Sorbonne, agreed with the Franciscans, and the doctrine being an attractive one the Council of Bâle forbade it to be contradicted. Finally Pope Sixtus IV. issued two bulls; one in 1473, which approved of a new service in honour of the Virgin, composed by the learned Leonardo Nagarato, prothonotary, and granted indulgences to those who attended this service: another in 1476, which condemned as false the assertion that it is heresy to believe in the immaculate conception, and a sin to celebrate it. But as it had not been decidedly authorised by the Papal See, the point was still left open for discussion, and the altercation between the two communities of friars, being constantly renewed, became every year more bitter.

Leo X. had proposed to determine the point at issue, but the reformation in Germany gave him too much occupation. For a time the friars were silenced, but they could not remain long tranquil. Giovanni di Udine, a Dominican, said that St. Paul and the fathers either believed in the immaculate conception of the Virgin, or they did not. If they believed it without confessing this belief, do you imitate them. If they did not believe it, then your opinion is a novelty. Lombardello, a Franciscan, replied that the authority of the Church is as great now as it was in the time of the Apostles: if by universal consent they declared her exempt from original sin, we, who celebrate her fête day, cannot overlook this exemption. Singular reasoning! The Roman Catholic Church then has power to conceal or to manifest a doctrine of faith, and take it up or lay it down according

to the leanings of general opinion. Doctrines become under this system like moving quicksands, which appear and disappear. The Church itself has seen the inconvenience of this, and we should scarcely have thought the arguments of the Franciscans worth recording, if now, in the nineteenth century, this age of light and knowledge, the reigning Pope Pius IX. had not immortalised himself in the eyes of the Church, by issuing in 1855 a decree which commands the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary to be received by the Roman Catholic Church as an article of faith necessary to salvation.

There was great satisfaction at Rome on account of the Lutheran articles being condemned and anathematized. The Pope bade the Council avoid controversy about the Virgin, as the Church had not yet given its opinion. The Franciscans said that *unless* she were excepted the canon would be against them. The Dominicans contended that *if* she were excepted they would be condemned. The Council, thus driven to find some means of satisfying both parties, introduced a clause declaring that the Virgin Mary was not intended to be either comprised or excepted.

The duty of bishops to reside in their dioceses produced an animated discussion: the Spaniards were very zealous for the independence of bishops, the Italians for the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope. The best informed divines said that in the primitive church there were two classes of workmen; the one, ministers of the word, having as we now say the care of souls; the other to whom were consigned all temporal matters, such as the care and support of the poor and the sick; these were called deacons. These all did their work personally. As the Church increased and became free from persecution, other offices were instituted for reading the Scripture and regulating church discipline; colleges and seminaries were opened, and in process of time abuses entered, and the priestly office was exercised by a substitute who was obliged to reside. Thus arose the corrupt distinction of benefices with and without residence, and frequently a title and a salary of 10,000 crowns were given where no duty was done beyond taking up a breviary and reading the service in a monotonous tone as fast as it was possible for the tongue to utter. No attention was paid to the sense, no thought of devotion. When the reform began in Germany, attention was

drawn to the total neglect in which the bishops and clergy left their flocks. Some pious and zealous men, among whom was Fra Tommaso Gaetano, cardinal, said residence was of divine institution. Fra Bartolomé Carrança, archbishop of Toledo, and Soto, both Spaniards, declared the bishop's office was *de jure divino*. Bishops, they said, were instituted by Christ as ministers and labourers: this denoted personal activity which an absent man could not bestow. Christ describes the qualities of the Good Shepherd who gives his life for the sheep, knows his sheep by name, walks before them, and they follow him. The Italian bishops and canonists granted non-residence was an evil, but said that on this point they did not receive their laws from God but from the Pope, and all their obligations arose from ecclesiastical regulations. There was no instance to be found in ancient documents of a bishop being reprov'd for transgressing the divine commands, but only for violating the laws of the Church. This was a fruitful subject of contention which lasted as long as the Council.

The decrees of this fourth session when printed gave ample matter for discussion in Germany. It was thought unnecessary to have introduced the Pelagian heresy, which had been condemned more than a thousand years ago by the common consent of the Church and by the decrees of Councils. If the ancient doctrine had been confirmed there would have been some amends. But after granting that the sin of Adam had passed on all his posterity, they had made an exception not authorised by Scripture; an exception not absolute but ambiguous, which made the general rule uncertain. It was said the world was under great obligations to the Council for owning that evil desires arose in the heart after baptism, otherwise we should be driven to deny what we actually feel. Severe remarks were made on the Council for ascribing divine attributes to the Pope, adoring him as a god, making him infallible, and raising him above the Saviour by saying he was more clement than Christ. They blamed the scholastic divines who converted the philosophy of Aristotle into a foundation for Christian doctrine, overlooked the Scriptures, and enveloped truth in such an atmosphere of doubt that the very existence of God was a subject of argument. It was thought a strange thing that they had been so long without knowing that it was the office of a bishop to preach the

Gospel, and observed that no care was taken to avoid the abuses of preaching vanity, or to do away with its merchandise under the name of charity: anything but Christ was heard in the pulpit.

In drawing up the anathemas, Sinigaglia suggested that it would be better to draw up two separate decrees; one approving and stating the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the other condemning and anathematising heretical doctrines, and this met with universal approbation. Cardinal S^{ta} Croce took great pains in the framing of these decrees, working at them assiduously from the beginning of September till the end of November. He was assisted by more than a hundred prelates and divines; but after all they were more remarkable for their condemnation of Lutheran doctrine than for any clear exposition of truth. With the view of pleasing all parties so many words were added and suppressed that the sense was greatly obscured.

When the session was over, Fra Domenico Soto, the general of the Dominicans, wrote a book entitled, *De natura et gratia*. As soon as it appeared, Fra Andrea Vega, general of the Franciscans, published a much larger work on sixteen points of the decrees, containing opinions quite different from those of Soto. They were both printed in 1548. Whoever reads them will observe that they give such opposite and doubtful meanings to the decrees, and use such vague expressions, that it is difficult to come to a definite knowledge of the real opinions of the Council.

The Augustines being of Luther's order were loud in their condemnation of his doctrines, particularly their general, Girolamo Seripando.

In handling the subject of justification they began by discussing what sort of faith it is which justifies, and what kind of works it includes; and distinguished three kinds, preceded by divine grace. They could not deny that the Scripture avers that it is faith which justifieth,¹ but the nature of this faith gave rise to much argument. To avoid accepting the plain meaning of St. Paul's assertion, "we are justified by faith," they entered into long verbose definitions of the different senses in which faith or faithfulness might be taken: but Domenico Soto said this was tearing faith to pieces; it could have but two significations, one, the truth or faithfulness of him who promises, the other the

¹ Rom. v. 1; Gal. ii. 16.

belief and trust of him who receives the promise. The first belongs to God, the second to us: all the passages of Scripture which speak of faith must be taken in this sense. St. Paul never meant to take the word faith in the sense of trust or confidence in God; such confidence could only amount to hope; and to say that justifying faith was a certain and confident belief that our sins were remitted through Christ was a great heresy, for a man could never without great presumption be sure of possessing grace. This was the opinion of the greater number.

But Catarino contended that without the special grace of God no man could perform works really good, and therefore this part of Luther's proposition ought not to be condemned, but only where he speaks of the preparation for justification, hatred of sin, fear of hell, terror of conscience.

The Dominicans and Franciscans took different sides on this and all other questions, but Catarino did not confine himself to the opinions of his order.

The doctrine of Christ's imputed righteousness was next discussed. No one doubts, it was said, that Christ has acquired merit for us, but the word *imputed* was not used by the fathers, except by St. Bernard, who used it in his 109th epistle. Vega said that though it was not used in Scripture,¹ yet it is correct to say that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to mankind in the sense of satisfaction and merit, and it is continually imputed to all those who are justified by satisfying for their sins, but it does not mean that his righteousness is imputed to us as if it were our own.

While the Council was sitting at Trent the Diet assembled at Ratisbon, in which the Emperor expressed his displeasure that the Colloquy had been broken up without coming to any decision on religion, and desired that everyone should give his opinion as to the best method of pacifying Germany. The Protestants requested the Emperor to call a national Council for this purpose, as the only way of coming to a satisfactory conclusion. The ministers of the Emperor replied that it had not been possible to execute the decrees of the Diet of Spires, because in order

¹ In our English version we find the word used in this sense, Rom. iv. 22, "imputed to him for righteousness," as a translation from the Greek, *Διὸ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.*

to make peace with the king of France it was necessary to please the Pope; and that national Councils had never treated of doctrine or of religion. The Catholics approved of the Council of Trent, and entreated the Emperor to oblige the Protestants to submit to it. They, on the other hand, declared that it was not a free Council, but entirely under the power of the Pope, and as such they could not acknowledge its decisions.

But the Emperor was only feigning to reconcile the Protestants, while he was secretly making preparation for a war of religion. However carefully he concealed his intention, it came to the ears of the Protestants while the Diet was sitting. It was rumoured also that Ferdinand king of the Romans and the Pope were arming, and the Protestants perceived that it was time to think of defending themselves against this powerful coalition.

The Emperor, finding his designs discovered, threw off the mask, and on the 9th June sent cardinal Madrucci to Rome to request the Pope to furnish him with the assistance agreed on last year by cardinal Farnese. The reasons alleged for this armed intervention were the perseverance of the Protestants in their heretical opinions, and their refusal to submit to the Council of Trent. By a treaty concluded on the 27th June the Pope agreed to deposit 100,000 crowns, in addition to the same sum already advanced, to be used in the prosecution of this holy war! He also engaged to equip at his own expense a body of troops, give the Emperor for one year half of all the ecclesiastical revenues in Spain, and permit him to take from the dues of the monasteries a sum amounting to 500,000 crowns. In return for this pecuniary and military aid the Emperor promised not to enter into any terms of agreement with the Protestants for the next six months without the consent of the Pope, to give him a share of all advantages gained within that period, and if the king of France broke the peace, he was to be visited with the utmost wrath of the Pope's spiritual power.

In vain the Protestants, when they heard of this iniquitous convention, reminded Charles of his coronation oath at Frankfort. In vain they complained of the Emperor linking himself with a foreign power to destroy his own subjects. Some keener wits said the benign vicar of Christ, the father of Christendom, was an avenging power, who in this crusade against Christians forgot they were not infidels.

Herman, archbishop of Cologne, although formally deprived by the Pope, still continued in the exercise of his functions: the Emperor wrote to him not to take arms with the adverse party; but this upright elector and archbishop published a manifesto denouncing the conflict as a religious war, and publicly declaring that the Emperor's sole object was to divide and ruin the Protestants.

During these warlike preparations the Council opened its fifth session. "Having," they said, "by divine inspiration condemned the heretical doctrine on original sin, they now proposed to examine the modern doctrine of divine grace, the second article in the Augsburg Confession."

There were twenty-five Lutheran propositions on this point which the Council considered heretical. It was a subject replete with difficulties, and not easily understood by human reasoning. When Luther's idea of justification was read, that it consists in a simple trust in God and faith in his promises; when the distinction between the Law and the Gospel was explained, and the different kind of works which follow from each; this subject was so new to the greater part of the assembly that they were totally at a loss to comprehend the propositions laid before them. The number of theologians was now increased to forty-five, and they were in general tenaciously attached to the opinions of the schools. The principal speakers were Ambrogio Catarino, a Dominican of Siena, Andrea de Vega, and Antonio Marinari, and they hesitated to condemn entirely Luther's explanation of justifying faith.

While the Council were pursuing their deliberations, and obscuring by their scholastic reasonings some of the fundamental truths of the Gospel, the Pope proclaimed a jubilee of rejoicing for the war against the Protestants. Prayers and fastings, confessions and communions, were ordered for the success of the war, in honour of the Divine Majesty, for the exaltation of the Church of Rome, and the extirpation of heresy.

On the 20th of July, Charles promulgated an edict against John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, and Philip Landgrave of Hesse, accusing them of disobedience and sedition, of warring with the princes of the empire, and of having displaced bishops and governors by their own authority, in the name of religion, but with very different ends in view. He proscribed them as per-

fidious rebels, guilty of high treason, and disturbers of the public peace; openly declared war against them, absolved the nobles and people from their oath of allegiance, and included all under the same ban who lived under their obedience.

The Pope was annoyed that the Emperor had openly declared the object of the war, and Charles was equally dissatisfied with the Pope for pronouncing it a religious war and declaring a jubilee. Their objects were the same, but their tactics of dissimulation different.

Italy was filled with alarm lest the war should spread to her borders, and feared that when Germany was subdued she would be next attacked. Charles sent an envoy to Trent, desiring that in all cases the Council might be kept open, and enjoined them to treat of reform and not of doctrine, in order to avoid irritating the Protestants. Having heard that Cardinal S^{ta} Croce was much disposed to break up the Council, the Emperor sent him word that if he made the slightest movement in this direction he would have him thrown into the Adige.¹

This decided language kept them together in spite of the Pope's desire to dissolve the Assembly. A suspension of fifteen days was commanded, in order to keep the jubilee with due solemnity.

During this interval the Protestant army advanced to occupy the passes of the Tyrol, and prevent the Italian troops from joining the Emperor; but the whole country rose in opposition. The prelates, who were weary of the Council, magnified the danger in order to get away; the most timid actually set out, and the Assembly would have gradually dissolved itself, but for the arrival of Madrucci, cardinal of Trent, who expostulated in the name of the Pope, and thus kept them together.

The town of Trent was kept in perpetual commotion by the passage of troops northwards from the various states of Italy. According to the convention of the league, the Pope sent 12,000 foot and 500 horse; Tuscany 200, and Ferrara 100 troops. The Protestants were exasperated in the highest degree at this formidable force being arrayed against them, and published a manifesto complaining of the cruel designs of the Emperor

¹ "Che se lui (Sta Croce) avesse operato alcuna cosa contra la mente de sua Maesta in questo, l'avrebbe fatto gettar nell' Adice."—Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 208.

and his agent the Pope, whom they called antichrist and the man of sin.

The Pope's soldiers arrived before Landhut on the 15th of August. Charles gave Ottavio, his son-in-law, the collar of the golden fleece in token of his satisfaction at the fine appearance of his men. But causes of dispute soon arose, for cardinal Farnese had orders, as papal legate, to carry the cross at the head of the army, and to publish indulgences, as was the custom in the time of the crusades. This however Charles would not permit, as his object was to retain in his camp those Lutheran princes who had not as yet declared themselves against him. If a religious colour had been given to the war they would have immediately returned home. The cardinal in disgust retired to Ratisbon, on pretence of waiting for the Pope's instructions.

The two hostile armies of fellow-countrymen remained for some time inactive watching each other's movements, both unwilling to come to an engagement. The Protestants had the great disadvantage of being led by two commanders of equal authority but of different character. Charles hoped to gain his point without bloodshed, and preferred delay to risking a battle.

The divines at Trent were acting on the same plan, and lengthening out the time till the difficulties of their position could be obviated, unwilling to come to any precise conclusion. It must be confessed however that their task was a difficult one, for in front of the opposition of the Protestants they had to reconcile Scripture with the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, instead of modelling its doctrines in conformity with the inspired Word.

The remainder of the session was occupied in drawing up censures and anathemas of the Lutheran doctrines of grace, free-will, justification, and faith.

The doctrine of perseverance in grace was almost unanimously condemned, as it had never been an article of the Roman Catholic Church, which has always taught that grace may be lost, and quotes in proof of this opinion the capital sins of many of the Scripture saints. But this argument is of little value, their repentance and forgiveness being also recorded, witness David and Peter. The Pope decided on publishing what had been already decreed by the Council, that if the Protestants ever came to the Council they might be bound to conform to its decisions.

In taking this resolution he used his favourite Florentine motto, *Causa fatta capo ha*.¹

The decrees on justification contained sixteen heads and thirty-three anathemas. The old canons against the non-residence of the bishops and clergy were renewed and enforced by progressive penalties. The ambiguity of these decrees was much commented on in Germany. It was said that in all the Councils which have been held since the time of the Apostles, there were not so many articles promulgated as in this one session. Politicians observed that the tenth article ordered the commands of God and the Church to be obeyed, but no mention was made of obedience to princes and magistrates, though this was a duty clearly laid down in Scripture.

The divines, when discussing the work of the next session, agreed to continue the order of the Augsburg Confession. This brought forward the subject of the Sacraments and their administration. Fourteen heretical propositions were extracted from the Protestant Confession.

The sixth session met on the 13th of January with the usual ceremonies. Tommaso Stella, bishop of Salpi, preached the sermon, and the decrees about faith and reformation were read. The divines had decided at the close of the last session to follow the same order of subjects as that of the Confession of Augsburg. This brought the Sacraments and their administration before them.

The Council, though they pronounced Luther's doctrine of two Sacraments heretical, found great difficulty in deciding who instituted the other five. They were ascribed alternately to Christ, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and to tradition. Peter Lombard,² the master of sentences, and the first who clearly defined the number of sacraments to be seven, was said to have quoted St. James and St. Bonaventura for extreme unction. They allowed that Confirmation was introduced after the time of the Apostles. Matrimony must be called a sacrament because it was introduced by God in paradise. The sacrament of penance or penitence Bonaventura had ascribed to the Apostles. A discussion arose about the use of the sacraments. Ordination

¹ 'That which is done, has already a head.' It is impossible to convey the idea precisely in a translation.

² See Appendix A.

and matrimony were not suitable for all. Marinaro said the vows used in sacraments were introduced by scholiasts, they were unknown in the primitive church. The prayers of Cornelius in the Acts of the Apostles were agreeable to God before he was baptized. All his house, when they believed on hearing St. Peter preach, received the Holy Spirit before they knew anything about the sacraments. The dying thief on the cross could not receive them, and they were beyond the reach of many holy martyrs, converted during the heat of the early persecutions. The Council evaded the force of these scriptural facts by explaining that there were two sorts of vows, one clear and specific, the other implied; for had the converts known that they were necessary, they would not have hesitated to take them if opportunity offered.

The divines appointed to draw up the decrees, framed fourteen anathemas on the Protestant doctrine of the Sacraments, ten of which were on baptism and three on *crisma*, or anointing with oil. The definitions of doctrine presented great difficulties; for it was impossible to find terms which gave universal satisfaction, and finally they left it to a general congregation to explain in what manner the Sacraments convey grace.

The residence of bishops and the plurality of benefices were again brought forward. Loud complaints were made of existing abuses. Bernardo Diaz said such was the disorder in the church at Vicenza that it would require an Apostle for a bishop. Cardinal Bidolfi enjoyed the revenues of this bishopric, but left it without any kind of spiritual instruction: he had not been episcopally ordained, and was quite indifferent to the concerns of people whom he had never seen.

The Spanish bishops, about twenty in number, with cardinal Pacecco at their head, finding that there was no likelihood of any thorough episcopal reform, drew up a censure of the reforms sanctioned by the Council. It contained eleven articles, which claimed greater independence for the bishops, and power to deprive the clergy for non-residence, ignorance, or immorality. This concerted union on the part of the Spanish bishops was displeasing to the legates, as it tended to the restriction of pontifical authority. They wrote to Rome for instructions, but the only remedy which the Papal Court could suggest was the summoning other bishops to the Council in order to outvote the Im-

perial party. He enjoined the legates to exercise great prudence, to grant the whole, or part of what was desired, according to necessity, but if possible not to make any concessions. Better, he said, pass over the heads of doctrine on the Sacraments, and only publish the anathemas; but above all he commanded them to be on their guard against any diminution of the authority of the Apostolic See.

The death of the king of England¹ was joyful news to the Council, for they fancied the kingdom would return immediately to the obedience of the Roman See. Henry VIII. had rejected the authority of the Pope within his realm for his own private ends. He retained indeed the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, but it was a step in the right direction to disown the papacy. The good sense of the English people completed what the king had begun, and never again voluntarily submitted to the yoke of Rome.

The Pope, finding his grandson cardinal Farnese was not allowed publicly to exercise his office with the army, recalled him, and shortly after, the stipulated time of their service being over, he recalled also Ottavio Farnese and his troops, to the great dissatisfaction of the Emperor, who said they left him just as he wanted their assistance.

The seventh session of the Council met on the 3rd of March. Marinaro had been appointed to preach, but having been slighted in a very marked manner on account of his enlightened opinions, he could not preach without dwelling on those sentiments which gave offence, and did not choose to contradict himself; thus his only alternative was to decline preaching under pretence of illness. There was consequently no sermon, for though there were sixty bishops, and thirty friars present, not one was either able, or ready to prepare a sermon within a few hours.

Nothing was done in this session but reading the decrees and anathemas about the Sacraments, in which there were fourteen on baptism,² and the articles of reform which concerned the bishops. The prelates who had before opposed these decrees reiterated their sentiments, and the legates immediately prorogued the session till the 21st of April.

The same day a message was received from the Pope com-

¹ He died on Friday the 28th of February, 1647.

² See Appendix B.

manding them to remove to Bologna. Cardinal S^{ta} Croce was greatly confounded, but Monte boldly lauded the Pope's wisdom, for it was necessary to sustain the authority of the Apostolic See. Paul III. had taken this method of stopping further discussion; the Italian bishops were weary of debating points which they imperfectly understood. One of their number had been taken ill; they pretended the air was unwholesome, the disease contagious, and that it was dangerous to remain at Trent. Next day it was put to the vote. Thirty-five bishops and three generals of the monastic orders were favourable to a removal. Cardinal Pacecco and the seventeen Imperial bishops voted against it. Cardinal del Monte severely reproached the bishop of Sinigalia for his ingratitude in voting against the Pope's wishes; but he coolly replied, 'We must obey God rather than man.'

The session broke up, and the legates set out in solemn procession for Bologna, preceded by the cross and followed by the bishops.

This change of residence and division of the Council was very displeasing to the Emperor, for it betokened a disregard of his wishes, and extinguished all prospect of religious union. He immediately wrote to the prelates of his party highly approving of their not joining the schism, and desiring them to remain where they were.

At Bologna the session was opened with great pomp on the 3rd of April, but there were only thirty-four bishops present, and they transacted no business except writing a letter to their brethren at Trent entreating their presence. The second session, which assembled on the 2nd of June, was equally unfruitful; it seemed as if the body of the Council had removed to Bologna, and left the spirit behind at Trent.

Meanwhile Charles was so wholly occupied with the war in Germany that the Council had become quite a secondary object. A decisive battle was fought at Muhlberg, in which the Elector of Saxony was wounded and taken prisoner, and his army totally routed. The Landgrave of Hesse, yielding to the persuasions of Maurice his son-in-law, appeared spontaneously before the Emperor, and in company with the Elector of Brandenburg, tendered their submission; but they had reason to repent having trusted to the Emperor's generosity, for they were retained

in captivity. The duke of Saxony was condemned to death as a rebel, but his life was granted him on very hard conditions; he submitted to all except the articles relating to his religion, and they were not pressed. It was proposed to the Landgrave that he should obey the decrees of the Council then sitting, but he refused, saying he would submit to a free religious Council of which both the head and the members were truly reformed.

Religion had been to Charles a stalking-horse for his own aggrandisement; in its name he had achieved a victory which brought all Germany within his grasp, filled his coffers with money, and his arsenals with artillery. His next object was to call a Diet at Augsburg for the final regulation of affairs.

But what was peace and joy to Charles was gall and wormwood to the ambitious old Pope. He looked round for help in the coming danger, and sent a flattering embassy to Henry II. king of France, who had just succeeded his father, offering him every material advantage he could confer, and leaving him at liberty about obeying the decrees of the Council if he would enter into a strong alliance with him. Henry was by no means unwilling to secure himself against the ambition of his hereditary enemy, and offered the Pope Diana, his natural daughter, for his grandson Orazio Farnese.

Paul III. had recourse also to more certain and more subtle weapons; he sent cardinal Sfondrato to Augsburg with secret instructions to treat with the clergy and bring them over to his party.

In August Charles went to Augsburg to hold the Diet, accompanied by a brilliant retinue and a large body of Spanish and Italian troops. He opened the Diet on the 1st of September with an explanatory speech, in which he recapitulated all that had been done in different Diets to conciliate religious opinions; for this purpose he had caused the Council of Trent to meet, but finding it inadequate to accomplish the ends proposed he had been obliged to take other measures. God, he said, had been pleased to give success to his efforts to reduce Germany, and he now assembled the princes of the empire for the purpose of reformation. They must first begin with the differences in religion. The opinions of the Diet about the Council were various and discordant; the clergy, prompted by the Pope, made no conditions, but were favourable to its meeting. Others,

and especially the Lutherans, wished it to be free and religious, not presided over by the Pope or by the cardinals. The bishops, they said, ought to be absolved from their oath of implicit obedience, and Protestant divines allowed to vote freely.

The Catholics were satisfied with the constitution of the Council, but were willing to allow the Protestants to go to Trent and give them liberty to speak freely, provided they would engage to be bound by the decrees of the Council.

While the Pope was anxiously watching the proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg news of a very painful domestic nature was brought him from Parma. Pier Luigi, duke of Parma, his son, was murdered in his own palace; and a few hours after Ferrante Gonzaga, the Imperial governor of Milan, sent a body of troops to take possession of the city in the name of the Emperor. Pier Luigi had long made himself hateful to his subjects by his excesses and exactions; he was a cripple from disease, and the conspirators taking advantage of this, chose a moment when he had only two young pages with him, rushed into his apartment, and pierced him with a hundred blows, cut off his nose, and hung the dead body out of the window exposed to the derision of the people. To the Pope's grief for the loss of his son was added the indignity offered to himself in his person.

The shadow of a Council was still sitting at Bologna. During the Pope's affliction they abstained from troubling him, and Del Monte only assembled them to say that their future time of meeting was indefinite.

At the instigation of the Emperor the prelates of Germany wrote to the Pope entreating him to allow the Council to return to Trent. They dwelt on the perilous state of Germany, the importance of the Council, and the suitability of Trent as a place of meeting; and concluded by beseeching his Holiness to re-assemble the Council at Trent, when he would find them his obedient servants.

It was not an easy matter to induce the Pope to bring the Council back, but it was still more difficult to bring the Protestant princes and their followers to submit to the Council. Both entreaty and menace had been tried in vain. The Elector was taunted with his recent pardon, Maurice with benefits received, and the Landgrave amused with hopes of liberation, till at

length they consented to send deputies to the Council. The Protestant cities still held out, alleging that it was impossible for them to submit to the decrees of a Council directed by the Pope. Granville, wearied out with negotiations, threatened to mulct them severely if they did not comply; their envoys waited in a body on the Emperor, and presented to him written conditions on which they would receive the decrees of the Council. The paper was received but not read; an outward conformity was all that was desired.

Cardinal Sfondrato used all his diplomatic skill to persuade Charles to recognise the translation of the Council to Bologna. He pointed out the unprotected state of England, her king being a child. Now was the time to attack her, and the Pope would assist him with troops and money for the expedition. But Charles was quite as good a diplomatist as the Pope, and could see as far, for he knew that the object was to divert attention from the Council by embarking him in a new expedition. He replied that in religion he wished to work in unison with the Pope, but that in war he was master of his own actions, and hinted that he could not count on an ally who had deserted him in the German war.

Cardinal Madrucci was sent to Rome to press the return of the Council to Trent. He was received in full conclave, and as spokesman of the Emperor lauded his zeal for the Council, and tried to influence the cardinals by covertly hinting at the future vacancy of the papal chair. The Pope, nothing daunted, gave fair words and conditional promises, but no decisive reply. After summoning Mendoza from Siena, to remain at Rome as the Emperor's agent, Madrucci returned to Augsburg.

The Pope was three months before he returned an answer to the letter of the German bishops, and it was most cautiously worded. He praised their piety and desire to extirpate heresy; for this the Council had met, and they had condemned many heretical opinions. Bologna being within the territory of the Church ought to be considered a suitable place for the Council by those who had received their religion from the Church. The place of meeting was to him a matter of indifference, but the letter of the fathers themselves, of which he sent them a copy, would shew why they did not return to Trent.

On the receipt of this letter in Germany the Emperor resolved

to apply to the Council itself. He sent Francesco Vargas¹ and Martino Velasco to Bologna with letters addressed *Conventus Patrum Bononiæ*. They were read by Vargas in a public audience, but cardinal del Monte said these letters were not addressed to them, for they were not a *conventus* but a *concilium*. Notwithstanding they would hear them under protest.

Vargas, in an earnest and eloquent speech, begged them for the sake of the whole of Christendom to act with justice and equity, and avert great public calamities by acceding to the Emperor's request. He was proceeding when Del Monte again interrupted him by saying in a solemn tone, "I am here as president of this most holy Council, and as legate of Paul III. the successor of Peter, and vicar of Christ on earth. These fathers are met together to seek the glory of God in this Council, which is legitimately transferred from Trent. We beg the Emperor to change his opinion, to assist us, and to restrain the disturbers of the Council. His majesty knows that whoever throws impediments in the way of holy Councils incurs grievous punishments, whatever be his rank or position. We are not to be intimidated by threats, or persuaded to fail in guarding the honour of the Church, the liberty of the Council, or our own freedom of action."

This being a dramatic scene got up for the edification of Europe, Velasco next played his part, and read a protest against the translation of the Council; he then presented a written copy and requested it might be registered. Cardinal del Monte, acting under instructions, replied in a high and haughty tone that he would rather die than submit tamely to so insulting a precedent as that of the dictation of a secular power. The Emperor, he said, was the son, not the lord or master of the Church. He and his colleagues were legates of the Holy Apostolic See; they did not refuse to render an account of their actions to God and the Pope, and would shortly answer the protest.

Meanwhile Mendoza,² by the Emperor's command, appeared before the Pope, and throwing himself on his knees, in that

¹ A Spanish juriconsult and man of letters, sent by Charles v. to assist his ambassadors at Trent.

² Don Inigo Lopez Urtado di Mendoza; he succeeded cardinal Granville as Viceroy of Naples, in 1575.

position he read a protest against the translation of the Council, the concluding paragraph of which declared that, if the Pope failed in his duty, the Emperor as ruler and sovereign would act according to ancient precedent. Then turning to the cardinals he said, "since the Pope refused to promote religious concord and reformation, if they also were in default, he would protest against them." A dead silence followed this speech. No one attempted to reply. Mendoza rose from his knees, laid the paper on the table, and left the audience.

More negotiation followed between Rome and the Council at Bologna, and the point would perhaps have been much sooner conceded had the Pope been able to succeed in another of his projects. He wanted Piacenza, which was held by the Imperialists, to be given up to Ottavio Farnese, his grandson, but Charles had made up his mind to attach it to the duchy of Milan. The Pope was now eighty years of age, and could not long continue his importunities; but meanwhile, disappointed at seeing his wishes thwarted on every point, he intimated to Charles in an authoritative manner that if he occupied the states of the Apostolic See he would incur severe censures; and if within a given time they were found of no avail he would be exposed to the utmost rigours of ecclesiastical law.

But Charles was not to be intimidated by threats, and returned a very resolute answer, warning the Pope not to foment discord at Naples, for his machinations and schismatical calumnies were well known; but this was only because the Emperor favoured union, and desired the return of the Council to Trent. As to Piacenza, that belonged to the duchy of Milan, and it had been a very short time in the possession of the Pope. Let the Church prove her rights and justice would be done. The Pope, finding spiritual threats powerless, began to consider how he could best form a league against the empire.

When Charles heard the evasive answer which had been given to Mendoza about the Council he felt convinced that nothing would be done by the Pope to promote peace. His late success against the Protestants would thus become fruitless unless some settlement about religion was arranged for Germany. Fearing to disband his army till this was accomplished he brought the subject before the Diet, and proposed that suitable persons

of good reputation and talent¹ should be employed to draw up a form of doctrine in religion. The persons chosen applied themselves diligently to this work, and at length produced a form of doctrine and reformation which was presented to the Protestants for their approval. It contained twenty-five articles.

1. Man's state by nature.
2. His condition after the fall.
3. Redemption by Christ.
4. Justification.
5. Its fruits.
6. How received.
7. Of charity and good works.
8. Ministers of the Church.
9. Signs of a true Church.
10. The Church.
11. Its authority.
12. The chief Pontiff and his bishops.
13. The Sacraments.
14. Baptism.
15. Confirmation.
16. Penance.
17. The Eucharist.
18. Extreme unction.
19. Ordination.
20. Matrimony.
21. Sacrifice of the Mass.
22. Invocation of Saints.
23. Prayers to the dead.
24. Communion.
25. The ceremonies and uses of the Sacraments.

This, as a temporary remedy, was called *Interim*. It excited the utmost astonishment and indignation at Rome. Was ever such a thing before heard of, they said, as a temporal prince intruding into the province of religion and regulating a code of belief! They began to fear that Charles would imitate the example of Henry of England, and assume the title of Head of the Church in his dominions. They complained that doctrines were not explained according to the decrees of the Council of Trent; that justification was defined in a Lutheran sense; too much was attributed to faith; and unity under a visible head, the Pope, was not sufficiently enjoined. They had done still worse by acknowledging the existence of a visible Church united together by love. It was, they said, a concealed attack on the hierarchy, for they had dared to assert that holding sound doctrine and the legitimate use of the Sacraments were signs of the true Church. This was a dangerous error, for it made it easy for any sect to call itself a church, though the only infallible sign might be wanting—obedience to the Roman see. It was insufferable to give to schismatics any power of reformation. To allow priests to marry, and to give the cup to the laity would be the ruin of the Roman Catholic faith. The whole court of Rome began to exclaim that the foundations of the

¹ Jules Pflug, Michel Sidonius, and John Ialebis Agricola were selected for this important task; the two first were moderate Romanists, the last had defended the Confession of Augsburg in concert with Melancthon and Brentius.

church were crumbling to pieces, and that measures must be speedily taken to enlist princes in their defence.

The acute old Pope saw with keener vision than the whole college of Cardinals; he rightly predicted that the Interim could not last long, for it would please neither Catholics nor Protestants. He sent instructions to cardinal Sfondrato neither to make any opposition, nor sanction its publication by his presence, or by remaining at the Imperial court.

The Protestants disliked 'the Interim' even more than the Catholics; they considered it only as an establishment of popery with some slight alterations, a kind of reform which precluded the hope of a better. Notwithstanding the Emperor's utmost efforts to force it on the chief towns in Germany, he met with little success. Strasburg² in particular made so noble and persevering a stand³ for religious liberty that at length the Protestants were allowed to compromise with their bishop, and three churches were given up for their use; other places, as Magdeburg and Halle⁴ in Suabia, suffered severely.

After a suspension of the Council for two years at Bologna the presiding legates were suddenly summoned to Rome by the death of Paul III. A report that his grandson Ottavio was treating with Ferrante Gonzaga, the Imperial general, to get possession of Parma, threw him into so violent an agitation that it brought on a fit which left him insensible for some hours; fever succeeded, and he died three days after, on the 10th of November 1549. The Council dispersed, and the election of a Pope wavered between cardinal del Monte and cardinal Pole: the latter would perhaps have been preferred, but that Caraffa insinuated he was tainted with heresy. The choice fell on cardinal Maria del Monte, who took the name of Julius III.

¹ The *Interim* will be found in Calvin's works, and in Goldstat, *Constitutiones Imperii*, tom. i. p. 58.

² It was on this occasion that Bucer, as already related, was sent for by the Elector of Brandenburg. During the struggle Bucer and Fagius accepted the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer to England. See CHAP. IX.

³ Sleidan, *Comment.* p. 664.

⁴ Brentius, who lived at Halle, having freely expressed his disapprobation of the Interim, was sent by Granville's order in chains to Augsburg. His house was sacked by the Spanish soldiers, his wife and six children expelled from the city, and he himself banished, after residing there twenty-six years.—Scott, *Church of Christ*, vol. ii. p. 32.

The Council was reopened at Trent in 1551, under the new pontiff, Julius. His policy differed greatly from that of his predecessor, for he was desirous of consulting the wishes of the Emperor, and favorable to a reformation of abuses. He sent a flattering letter to the Swiss inviting them to the Council, and established a guard of Swiss soldiers for the protection of his person.

He gave up Parma to Ottavio Farnese, but as he would not assist him to recover Piacenza by force, the duke of Parma employed his brother Orazio, duke of Castro, to try what he could obtain from Henry II. of France, who, ever emulous of Austria's power in Italy, willingly took the house of Parma under his protection, and promised to defend his possessions at Parma. The Pope ordered Ottavio to give up this city to the papal see, on his refusal he declared him a rebel, and the Emperor deprived him of the income of his wife's dower. De Termes was sent with a French garrison to occupy Parma, and war was openly declared against the Emperor. To alarm the Pope, Henry, though a bitter persecutor of the Reformers, wrote a circular letter to the bishops, telling them to prepare themselves for a National Council. This measure had the desired effect, for the Pope sent Ascanio della Corna, his nephew, to entreat Henry not to uphold a feudatory of the Church against his lawful sovereign. But the king persisted in his plans, and as the Emperor had occupied Piacenza, the Italians were not sorry to see France protect Parma.

In Germany efforts were made to induce the Protestants to appear at the Council. Maurice, duke of Saxony, desired Melancthon and some other divines to draw up certain articles of doctrine to be presented to the Council. They wished to have the inviolability of their safe-conduct secured, and Maurice wrote on this subject to the Emperor.

On the 1st of September, 1551, the Council met once more at Trent; Charles sent three ambassadors. Jacques Amiôt brought letters from the king of France in the form of a protest, declaring that he could not send his bishops to Trent while Europe was in arms. The Council deferred its answer, and the session was concluded without the transaction of any other business. Henry soon after published a manifesto against the Pope, declaring him to be the cause of the war, and forbidding the clergy to

send money to Rome. At the same time, to counteract the bad impression which a quarrel with the Pope might have on the public mind, and to prove himself a good Catholic, he issued an edict of increased rigour against the Reformers.¹

On the 2nd of September a Congregation was held at Trent to discuss the doctrines of Zuingle. This subject was divided into ten articles, the chief of which was the first: That in the Eucharist there is neither the body, blood, nor divinity of Christ, but only the emblems. The divines were desired to compare these propositions with Scripture, the traditions of the Apostles, the opinion of Councils, and the authority of the Fathers. Permission was given them to read prohibited books, that they might weigh the arguments on both sides. The Italians were not pleased at scholastic theology being excluded; the citation of Scripture and the Fathers, they said, was only an effort of memory, and though ancient they had been found insufficient by the divines who for the last three hundred years had defended the Church; and to use them would be yielding the victory to the Lutherans. They indeed excelled in the knowledge of languages, but a good theologian must exercise his ingenuity: the method proposed was meant to please the Germans, but would put the Italians to shame.

In discussing the heretical propositions they were particularly shocked at the fifth article, which held that Christ ought not to be adored in the Eucharist, nor carried about in procession to the sick, and that such worshippers were idolaters. In favour of the communion in one kind they quoted the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Luke, where our Lord blessed the bread only, which he gave to the two disciples, and the Lord's Prayer, in which we say, 'Give us this day our daily bread': the second chapter of the Acts, 'breaking bread from house to house,' and the twenty-seventh, in which St. Paul 'took bread, and gave thanks to God.' Then, without appealing to the original institution of the ordinance by Christ himself, when taking the cup he said, "Take this and divide it among yourselves,"² or, "and they all drank of it,"³ they concluded by anathematising all the propositions

¹ This was called *l'édit de Chateaubriand*. All religious books were forbidden under the severest penalties. None to be opened from abroad except in the presence of two ecclesiastics.—Smedley, *Reformed Religion*, vol. i. p. 56.

² Luke xxii. 17.

³ Mark xiv. 23.

of the Reformers. In condemning those who denied the real presence, they wished it to be more explicitly stated that in the Eucharist there is the very body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, was buried, rose again, ascended to heaven, and which is seated on the right hand of God, and will judge the world. The Imperial ambassadors were very unwilling that the Cup should be refused to the laity, knowing that this alone would prevent the Protestants from coming to the Council, and proposed that the decision of this point should be delayed till they arrived. A safe-conduct from the assembly was demanded in addition to that provided by the Emperor. The legates wrote to Rome for instructions, and consent was given to grant the safe-conduct, and delay the discussion about the Cup for three months. When they came to express the *manner* in which Christ was present in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Dominicans and Franciscans contended about the terms used to express the nature of transubstantiation. The subtlety of their definitions, particularly those of the Dominicans, shewed that they comprehended the difficulty of explaining this miraculous article of faith. Christ, they said, is not in the Eucharist because he has come from any other place, but because the substance of the bread is changed into the substance of his body; both the material and the appearance being transmuted, it is called transubstantiation. Christ has two modes of existence, both real and substantial: one in heaven, the other in the Sacrament—a word scarcely suitable, for it means not really, but as a sign, unless indeed it be understood in a sense belonging to this ordinance only, and not to the others.¹

The Franciscans wished that it should be clearly expressed that a body may, by the will of divine omnipotence, be truly and substantially in many places at once; not by leaving one to go to another, but with an instantaneous presence, which arrives at one place without leaving that in which it had been before.² God had so ordained, that where the body of Christ is, all other substance ceases to be; not by annihilation, but because it is displaced by the body of Christ; this is transubstantiation. In this they avowed their belief, though in a different sense from the Dominicans. The abuses of this ordinance next came under consideration. Many received the communion who lived in open

¹ Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 337.

² *Idem*.

sin, and others were so ignorant that they could not even say the Lord's Prayer.

When they came to treat of episcopal jurisdiction they were obliged to confess that this office had undergone much change since the days of the primitive church. The superiors had become imperious, the inferiors disobedient, and the frequent appeals to superior courts had taken away all influence and authority from the bishop.

The third session was opened on the 11th of October, and the sermon was entirely in praise of the Eucharist.

The Council now went through the ceremony of calling out loudly from the door of the church, asking if there was anybody there on behalf of the most christian king. The answer to the letters of the king of France were then read, before they passed to the discussion of penance and extreme unction. Vargas¹ wrote to Granville bishop of Arras, that penance touched so closely on contrition or satisfaction for sin, that it could not be separated from the doctrine of justification, and therefore would be better delayed till the Protestants came to the Council. Maurice duke of Saxony had announced that forty persons had set out on horseback, among whom were eight divines and four juriconsults.² The Pope invited the Swiss to go to Trent, but Vergerio, late bishop of Capo d'Istria, wrote a book to dissuade them from appearing, and the Grisons recalled Tommaso Planta, bishop of Coire, from the Council.

The Lutheran articles were unanimously condemned and anathematised after a discussion in which the divines of Louvain took a prominent part. The extent of episcopal jurisdiction was a point not so easily decided; appeals to Rome were the cause of so much licence that the authority of the bishops remained null and void. Vargas writes that great caution must be used not to offend the Pope.³ While this subject was under debate the ambassadors of the duke of Wurtemberg arrived; they had orders to present their confession of faith to the Council, and to intimate that their divines were ready to give any explanation

¹ Vargas, *Lettres et Mémoires traduits de l'Espagnol par M. Le Vassor*, pp. 116, 168.

² *Idem*, p. 173.

³ "Ce seroit perdre tout, que de parler d'une reformation entière des abus de la Cour de Rome: on ne feroit aucun fruit."—Vargas, *Lettres et Mémoires*, p. 197.

which might be needed, if they were furnished with a safe-conduct which thoroughly ensured their safety. When desired by Count Monfort to present themselves to the legates, presidents of the Council, they replied that the Pope's presidency and authority was the very point to which the Germans most objected. This was a great dilemma for the legates, as more Protestants were expected to arrive, and they referred the matter to Rome.

In the beginning of November Charles came to Innspruck, within three days' journey of Trent. This gave the Pope some uneasiness, and hearing of the arrival of the Wurtemberg ambassadors at the same time, he began to fear that the vicinity of so powerful a protection would embolden the Spanish bishops to insist on a jurisdiction independent of the papacy. These misgivings put the old balancing manoeuvres into motion. France, if reconciled, would send her bishops to support papal authority, and in case of necessity the Council might be again removed; anything to sustain the supremacy of the Holy See.

Under these cloudy auspices the Council met on the 25th of November, and the ambassadors of the duke of Wurtemberg renewed their entreaty to be allowed to present their confession of faith, and their request for an inviolable safe-conduct in order that the Protestant divines might appear before the Council. But both these petitions were indignantly rejected. The Protestants could never be allowed to advance or defend their doctrine; if they were in any perplexity let them humbly ask instruction from the Council, and it would be given. More than this could not be granted if life itself were at stake. As to requiring an inviolable safe-conduct the very demand was an insult to the Council, and an insufferable affront to the Church of God. The cardinal of Trent somewhat softened his instructions in communicating them to the ambassadors, and on the return of Count Monfort the refusal was given under the convenient form of delay. Thus was the promise of the Emperor, that every one should be heard at the Council, openly violated. Strasburg and five other cities sent ambassadors with the same commission as those of Wurtemberg. They were advised to wait till the envoys of Maurice, Elector of Saxony, arrived. Meanwhile Maximilian, the son of Ferdinand king of the Romans, passing through Trent, the Protestant ambassadors laid their complaints

before him. He advised patience, and promised to use his influence with his uncle in their behalf.

In the beginning of the year 1552 reports of a general arming in Germany reached Trent and alarmed the three German Electors; but Charles quieted their fears by saying that the ambassadors of Maurice were at Innspruck and would soon be at Trent. They arrived on the 7th of January, and the Imperial ambassadors, Monfort and Toledo, exercised all their ingenuity to persuade the Council to hear them; insinuating that if the Saxon ambassadors were presented to the presidents of the Council it might be said they submitted to their authority. With some difficulty he obtained that they should be heard in the house of Crescentio, one of the legates. Toledo pleaded that the salvation of one soul was dear to Christ, and now by their delays they refused to save all Germany. The Imperial ambassadors next communicated with the Protestants, and tried to induce them to desist from some of their claims. But they firmly demanded a safe-conduct similar to that granted to the Bohemians at the Council of Bâle, which contained four concessions. 1. That they be allowed to vote. 2. That Scripture, the practice of the ancient church, councils, and interpreters of Scriptures be appealed to. 3. That they might enjoy the exercise of their religion in their own houses. 4. That no insult or contempt be offered to their doctrines. These were hard conditions for a papal Council to grant. The ambassadors were however heard, and presented their proposals in writing, but finally the prelates resolved to refuse their requests.

The fifth session, which opened on the 25th of January, treated of matrimony; thirty-three articles on this subject were presented to the theologians for discussion. The Protestants complained of the haste with which the Council now carried on its deliberations, and Charles, anxious to keep his word, at least in appearance, with the reformers, sent an envoy to Rome requesting a delay of some days. This request was presented at an unfortunate moment, when the Pope was extremely irritated against the Imperial party for the following reasons. Georgio Martinuccio, who had been created cardinal at the earnest entreaty of the Emperor, had taken part with the Turks against king Ferdinand in Transylvania, and been cruelly murdered. This was considered an affront to the whole college of Cardinals, whose

persons are considered sacred and inviolable. Their indignation was increased by a report that the murdered cardinal died worth a million of money, which of right belonged to the Pontifical treasury.

A sermon preached on the 6th of February on the parable of the tares gave great offence; for although the Protestants were likened to the tares sown among the good seed, our Saviour's command was also given not to root them out, but to let them grow together till the harvest, the end of the world.¹ In February the ambassadors of the Elector of Saxony were recalled and retired privately from Trent, to the great satisfaction of the Council. Other Protestant divines arrived, two from Strasburg and four from Wittenberg, but they were not allowed to appear in the Council, and were put off with various excuses till Maurice's attack on Augsburg gave the Pope a very good excuse to suspend the Council altogether.

It is not very clear what motives urged Maurice to take up arms against the Emperor. It could not be for the sake of religion, as he himself had been greatly instrumental in humbling and weakening the Protestant party; but by taking Charles at a disadvantage he obliged him to grant religious liberty to Germany. King Ferdinand, after conferring with Maurice, went to Innspruck to mediate with Charles. But as the enemies' troops drew near, the Emperor, though crippled with the gout, fled with all his court by the mountains to Villach in Carinthia. In this conjuncture the Protestants faithfully performed their duty; they published a manifesto declaring they had taken up arms to obtain for Germany the most precious of all human rights, religious liberty; that gained, they were ready to lay them down. They summoned the divines to reassume their instructions according to the Confession of Augsburg, and absolved them from their oath to observe the *Interim*. Thus was this favourite scheme of Charles V., which imposed a system of belief neither Catholic nor Protestant, totally overthrown.

The good John Frederic, Elector of Saxony, was liberated by Charles after being five years a captive, and took possession of the small remnant left him of his great estates.² In this his

¹ Matt. xiii. 29, 30.

² Sleidan, *Comment.* p. 767. Ed. 1621; Coxe, *House of Austria*, i. 511. See Robertson, *Charles V.* vol. iv.

fallen condition he preserved the same equanimity and greatness of mind which had adorned his prosperity. His course on earth was nearly run.

On the 21st of February 1554 he attended the deathbed of his beloved wife Sybilla of Cleves, and when he laid her in the grave he desired that a place might be reserved for him at her side, for he should soon follow her. His prognostication was fully verified, for he died on the 3rd of March, just eleven days after his wife. Feeling himself sinking he desired a sermon to be read to him while lying in bed, commended his soul to God, and left this miserable world, in which he had suffered so much, to pass to a heavenly inheritance.¹

Philip Landgrave of Hesse, who had been so unjustly imprisoned, was restored to liberty at the same time² as the Elector; but he was of a very different character, and we much fear he belonged to that class of persons who hear the word with joy but have no root in themselves: "for when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended."³

The Council of Trent was suspended for ten years, during which many striking changes took place in Europe. In England the ray of light enjoyed during the reign of Edward VI. was extinguished in blood under the unhappy Mary, but shone out again in 1558 when Elizabeth came to the throne.

Three Popes had been laid in the dust, Julius III., Marcellus II., and Paul IV. Henry and Francis, kings of France, were succeeded by Charles IX. The most potent Emperor Charles V., disappointed with the world and a victim to disease, had retired into a monastery and there ended his days.⁴

Pius IV., who was elected Pope on the 24th of December 1559, was not unwilling that the Council should reassemble for the reformation of abuses. He was a man of mild and peaceable disposition, and the fierce persecutions which had raged during the reign of Paul IV. now entirely ceased; if he could not accomplish all that he projected it was owing more to the defects of the system over which he presided than to any want of good will on his part. In fact, as the head of a power bent on ruling

¹ Sleidan, p. 816; Scott, *Church of Christ*, vol. ii. p. 19.

² September, 1552.

³ Matt. xiii. 21.

⁴ He died at Yuste the 21st of September, 1558.

the consciences of the world he had a very difficult part to play. Europe was beginning to think for itself; and public opinion fighting its way to power. England had slipped away; France was divided between Catholic and Protestant; Germany claimed liberty of conscience, and Maximilian was known to be more than half Protestant.¹ The Low countries were fighting for civil and religious liberty, and while the noble heads of Egmont and Horn were brought to the block, William, the distinguished Prince of Orange, took refuge in Germany, and lived to see the Protestant religion established in Holland. Spain indeed was faithful, though her bishops claimed independence.

Under these circumstances Pius IV. made a show of consulting the ambassadors, hoping that the variety of opinions might delay the meeting of the Council. But France, distracted with religious wars, shewed symptoms of following the example of Germany, and calling a national Council to determine the doctrines of religion. This was decisive, and the bull of Indiction² was published on the 29th of November, 1560.

The religious agitation in France continued to increase, and Catharine, the queen dowager, wrote a long letter to the Pope just before the Council was about to assemble, entreating him to employ the remedies of conciliation and concession for the peace of the Church. She declared that the number of persons who had left the Church of Rome was now so great that it was no longer possible to reduce them by violence. That among the ranks of the Protestants were to be found the principal nobles of the kingdoms, none of whom denied any of the general articles of the Christian faith, or the decrees of the first six Councils; and it was the opinion of many that they might be received into communion with the Church. But if this was not possible something might be devised in the way of conferences; and conscientious scruples must be removed by reasonable con-

¹ It was rumoured that he supported a Protestant minister and often heard him preach, and that he favoured the communion of the Cup.—Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 436.

² The ex-bishop, P. P. Vergerio, published a book against this bull, in which, after inveighing against the luxury and ambition of the court of Rome, he declared that the Council was about to assemble, not to establish the doctrine of Christ, but for the oppression of Christian souls. None being admitted who would not swear obedience to the Pope, how could there be concord or freedom of opinion?—Sarpi, p. 445.

cessions, such as removing the images from the churches, their worship being forbidden by God, taking away the use of the spittle, and the exorcisms in baptism, and all things which are not of divine institution. The communion of the Cup to be restored, and prayers to be said in the vulgar tongue. That on the first Sunday of every month, or oftener, the curates ought to assemble the people who desire to partake of the communion, and psalms being sung in the vulgar tongue, prayers to be publicly offered up for kings and magistrates in the language of the country, and an explanation given of the passages in the Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul which treat of the Eucharist.¹

No Pope could be expected to promote such doctrinal reforms as these; for what pontiff dare submit his own infallibility to the dictates of divine inspiration? Pius IV. therefore, though somewhat moved by such explicit demands, dissembled his displeasure, and deferred his reply till the Council assembled. Even the cardinal of Ferrara, the Pope's legate, wrote that there was great danger that the Roman Catholic religion would be altogether extinguished in France, and entreated that the communion in both kinds might be conceded to them, for this would be the means of gaining 200,000 souls, and dispose them to receive the decisions of the Council. The Pope replied that he had always been of opinion that the communion in both kinds and the marriage of the priests was *de jure positivo*. That the Emperor had made the same request through his son the king of Bohemia (Maximilian), but that the cardinals would not hear of it; yet he would propose the subject in the next consistory. But before the assembly met, the well-intentioned Pope had been so well taught by his friends the cardinals, that he wished to recal his promise. All the Spanish prelates were opposed to any alteration. Cardinal Paccoco pointed out the danger of schism, if one country differed in doctrine from another. Cardinal Alessandrino (Fra Michele) said that it was impossible to grant this request, not for want of power to bestow, but from the incapacity of those who made the request. The answer was thus finally given in the negative.

The time now approached for the meeting of the Council, and the first session was opened on the 18th of January 1562.

¹ This letter of the queen was written by the liberal and enlightened Jean Moulin, bishop of Valence.

The first subject proposed by the legates was the prohibition of bad or heretical books. They went back to the origin of this prohibition, quoting the decrees of Emperors and Popes. The credit of the first printed Index¹ was given to Philip of Spain,² who in 1558 published a catalogue of prohibited books. Paul IV. ordered the Inquisition to prepare an Index, which was published in 1559. With the hope of shutting up the intellect within still narrower bounds, it assumed a much wider jurisdiction than former Indexes.³

While the Council was sitting Lansac arrived from France to give an account of the state of affairs, and the hopes they entertained from the Council. A conference had been held at Poissy,⁴ in which it was proposed to forbid all similitudes of the Trinity; that the images should neither be crowned nor dressed; nor were they to be carried about in procession or hung about with votive offerings: but Nicole Maillard, dean of the Sorbonne, and other divines defended the worship of images, though they owned it was mixed up with many abuses.

In the second session, held on the 25th of February, the nature of the safe-conduct to be granted to the Protestants was again discussed; a decree was drawn up about prohibited books, and the fathers were invited to suggest what more could be done to promote concord and to separate the tares from the wheat. The Imperial ambassadors entreated the legates to make some reforms, and invite the Protestants to take part in the Council. Articles were then drawn up about the residence of the clergy, ordination, and other ecclesiastical offices, and ambassadors were received from several countries in Europe. The discussion about the residence of bishops gave rise to a rather stormy debate between the Spanish and Italian bishops. Much time was lost in discussing whether the present Council was a continuation of the former assembly convoked by Paul III.

¹ See Mendham, *Account of Indexes*, p. 29; and Appendix C.

² The *Catalogo*, which we have so often cited, was printed in 1549; see Mendham, *Account of Indexes*, pp. 17, 23.

³ It was divided into three parts. The first was a Catalogue of all the names of authors and their works, both profane and sacred, Roman Catholic and heretical. The second, a list of all the names of books prohibited. The third, a Catalogue of books without names, all of which were prohibited, and all writings without names were condemned which had been written since 1519.—Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 484.

⁴ See CHAP. IX.

with the object of sanctioning the former translation to Bologna. The Emperor however would not permit this, and sent orders to his ambassadors to quit Trent if any such declaration was made. There was much dissatisfaction among the liberal members of the assembly; they complained that they were kept in too much subjection by the court of Rome, and not left sufficient freedom in debate.

In the fourth session, which met on the 4th of June, communion in two kinds was brought forward, and the difficult point of residence gave rise to some irritation. Sixty divines spoke on the question of the Cup, but finally they were all agreed that it was not necessary to give it to the laity. Some few members of the assembly thought the request of such powerful princes ought to have some weight, and were willing to grant it by way of favour.

At the opening of the fifth session, on the 16th, the bishop of Thiano preached a remarkable sermon on the Cup. The use of the Cup, he said, was common to all christians as long as they were united in the bonds of charity; but when love diminished, abuses crept in. It was not indeed altogether forbidden, but some were advised to abstain from its use. He exhorted the fathers of the Council to extinguish the conflagration which threatened to set the world on fire, and to adapt themselves to the weakness of their children who were clamouring for a benefit of no less importance than the blood of Christ. Since, then, so many kingdoms and people were earnestly seeking to partake of this precious blood, there was no longer the same danger of abuses; and he besought them to reflect that Christ's blood was shed to unite mankind in bonds of love, not to tear them to pieces by distracting conflicts. This discourse was by no means pleasing to the legates, who would have preferred to see the subject passed over in silence. On proceeding to business four anathemas were passed, on all who said, I. That there was a divine command to receive the communion in two kinds. II. That the Roman Catholic Church sees no reason for giving the Cup to the laity, and does not err in withholding it. III. All who deny that under the one kind, bread, a whole Christ is not received. IV. Against those who say that children should partake of the Eucharist. The next subject discussed was the sacrifice of the mass. Long arguments

followed, in which they endeavoured to shew that Christ was offered as a sacrifice under the appearance of bread and wine. Christ, they said, as a priest after the order of Melchisedec, offered himself in the bread and wine when he said 'Do this in remembrance of me.' Some indeed averred that if Christ had offered himself in the bread and wine the sacrifice of the Cross would have been needless. That Christ had commanded his Church to offer this sacrifice was sufficient, without adding that he sacrificed himself. Others wished this opinion to be anathematised. A fortnight was employed in warm discussion on this point.

On the 24th of July, Georgio d' Ataide, a Portuguese divine, declared that the sacrifice of the mass was founded on tradition, and handed down from the Apostles to the fathers; that it was needless to seek in the Scriptures for what could not be found there; and then cited all the passages of the Old and New Testament to prove that no such sense as sacrifice was to be found in them. Having once acknowledged that this doctrine was not to be found in Scripture, he launched out into long obscure definitions about the word 'adore.' A sacrament which is composed of visible and invisible cannot be purely spiritual. The words, 'This is my body given for you, the blood shed for you,' clearly refer to the body and blood of a living being, not to the sacramental sign. In the sacrifices under the law the victim was presented entire to God; a part, which was the sacrifice, was burned, and of the rest, part belonged to the priest and the remainder to the person who made the offering.

He then adverted to the Protestant arguments, by which he proved that the Eucharist is not instituted as a sacrament, but as a sign; and that the mass could not be called a sacrifice but from the authority of tradition. His hearers were much dissatisfied with his manner of treating the subject, as he seemed to state the Protestant doctrines with force and energy, while the opposite arguments were weak and inconclusive. Giacomo Pavia, another Portuguese, followed on the same side, and confirmed the arguments of his colleague. Giovanni Camillo, a Jesuit, supported the idea of a sacrifice by relating the miracles on record. Protestant arguments, he said, ought never to be adduced except for the purpose of being condemned.

A Dominican, Fra Antonino da Valtellino, speaking of the

rites of the mass, observed that formerly each church had its own ritual of the mass; and that the Roman ritual differed greatly from the Milanese. But the present Roman ritual was no longer the same as the *Ordo Romano* which was used three hundred years ago. In the old ritual the communion in both kinds was allowed to the laity, and it would be wise to revive this ancient practice. The assembly was much offended with this discourse of the friar; but Cardinal Cinque Chiese, who was of the same opinion, defended him, reminding the Council that the friar was not speaking to the ignorant, but to an assembly of learned men who ought not to be shocked at hearing the truth; those who blamed the friar condemned themselves for not being able to bear the truth.

The Pope, finding it difficult to maintain absolute command over the Council on account of the difference of opinion between the prelates, thought he would try arguments of another temper, and began to collect money and troops to fight his spiritual battles.

The Spanish prelates presented a protest against the abuses in the conclave at the election of a Pope. Salmerone, a Jesuit, busied himself in getting votes in favour of the sacrifice of the mass; and the assembly decided on using the word oblation, and not propitiation.

Cardinal Cinque Chiese made a long speech in favour of giving the communion in both kinds to the laity. Fifty of the wisest and most moderate prelates wished the Council to concede this point under certain conditions. Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, and Madruccio of Trent were of this opinion. The Spaniards were all against it on account of the danger of heresy at Milan and the Low Countries. The archbishop of Rosano said some bitter words both against those who made the request, and those who favoured it, meaning Maximilian king of Bohemia. The negative votes prevailed, and they resolved to submit the matter to the Pope and be guided by his decision.

Various ecclesiastical reforms now occupied their attention, such as plurality of benefices, authority of bishops, and the session closed, after much diversity of opinion, by drawing up decrees on the sacrifice of the mass and on the communion.

On the 17th of September the sixth session was opened. The bishop of Ventimaglia preached the sermon, and exercised

his ingenuity in various comparisons to shew that a body could not be without a head. In a few words he said that Christ was the head of the invisible Church; and in a long discourse endeavoured to prove the Pope to be the visible head of the Church on earth, and entreated the Council to defend the dignity of their chief.

The ecclesiastical reforms asked by the French and Imperial ambassadors on ordination and the jurisdiction of the bishops were refused by the legates. The Jesuit Lainez made a discourse of two hours in favour of the power of the Pope, which was thought by some learned and conclusive, by others heretical and adulatory. The bishop of Paris, who was absent from illness, declared that in the next congregation he would give his opinion against a doctrine unknown to past ages, and only introduced by Gaetano de Thiene fifty years ago when he wanted a cardinal's hat. Was there ever such a monstrous idea as that one bishop should erect himself head over the others and deprive them of all authority? The bishops had an independent authority till the rise of the Cluny and Cistercian monks in 1050, but this was almost totally extinguished in the year 1300 by the establishment of the mendicant orders. This army of monks overran the Church and assumed the episcopal office, and now it was proposed to destroy its authority entirely by declaring it not to be of divine but of human origin. The legates were much annoyed at this speech, but Lainez having made such a long discourse, they were obliged to let the bishop proceed in answering him.

In the midst of these perplexities a new source of uneasiness was added by the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine. He entered Trent with some pomp, riding between the cardinals of Mantua and Seripando, but the legates looked on him with much suspicion. Pius IV. having suddenly been taken ill, there was great alarm at Rome lest so untoward a circumstance as the Pope's death should occur during the sitting of the Council.

Though it was contrary to the rules of the Council for an ambassador to speak except on his first introduction, Lorraine, pretending that he had fresh instructions from the king of France, was allowed to speak once.

He had prepared himself with a pathetic oration, which narrated the miseries of civil war, the demolition of churches,

destruction of images and relics of saints, the expulsion of pastors, conflagration of libraries, and assassination of monks: then, after relating the civil commotions, he said one remedy still remained. The hopes of the nation rested on the Council, and he was there to make two requests from the king. First, that they would avoid discord and useless questions, promote a suspension of arms, and not allow the Protestants to think that the Council were more occupied in forming confederations, than in seeking the unity of the Church. The second was a request common to Europe in general; that the Council would treat of ecclesiastical discipline and the reformation of manners if they wished to retain the kingdom of France in the obedience of the Holy See. Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, in reply praised Lorraine's zeal for the service of God, and said that the Council would take measures to reform manners, restore tranquillity to the Church, and promote the worship of God. The French ambassador, Ferrier, made a severe and cutting speech, in which he covertly satirized the unwillingness of the Church of Rome to reform abuses. "The Council," he said, "asked why France was not tranquil: what reply could he give, but that which Jehu gave to Joram,¹ What peace so long as"—here he stopped, then added, "you know the rest;" and subjoined, "We can wait no longer; the blood of those who perish will be required of the Council." Fear lest France might free itself from the papal yoke imposed silence on the Council, and this bold speech passed without comment.

The private meetings in the house of the cardinal Lorraine to gather opinions on the jurisdiction of bishops, gave the Council great offence: they opposed intrigue to intrigue, and having privately gained Jacques Hugon, a Franciscan, and divine of the Sorbonne belonging to the cardinal's suite, they kept up a secret intelligence with him, and communicated his information to Rome.

The arrival of Lorraine and an additional number of French bishops did not produce increased respect for the Pope's authority. They boldly affirmed that the jurisdiction and power of the bishops was *de jure divino*, and handled the subject with more frankness and less delicacy than the Italians, whose interest it was to support the court of Rome and to maintain

¹ 2 Kings ix 22.

that the decision of the Pope was more binding than that of a Council. Lorraine, in advocating the residence of the bishops, brought forward so many cases of excuse and exemption, that it was difficult to understand what was his definite opinion.

News of the death of the king of Navarre¹ at the siege of Rouen, gave the Council so much satisfaction that they went in public procession to thank God for his benefits. François de Bellay made an historical oration on the state of France, and urged the Council to promote peace by granting the necessary reforms.

Both the French and Spanish bishops presented articles of reform in ecclesiastical discipline, the authority of the bishops and power of the Pope, which, when laid before the Pope, excited his utmost displeasure. "These," said he, "if granted, would do away with the *Datario*, the *Rota*, the *Segnatura*,² and the authority of the Apostolic See;" but Viterbo shewed him Lorraine's instructions, which were to ask a great deal in order to gain what they most desired. Their chief demands did not touch the authority of the Papal See, but were necessary to tranquillise France. These were, communion in both kinds, the use of the vulgar tongue in prayer, and the marriage of the priests. These articles were submitted to a conference of divines and canonists, who it was well understood would necessarily pass censure on such unreasonable demands. As tithes were said to be *de jure divino*, so the tithe of tithes of all churches belonged to the chief pontiff. The censures passed at Rome on the Spanish and French articles of reform were sent to Trent, where they produced great disturbance and displeasure. Madruccio went so far as to say there was a council within the Council which assumed the supreme authority. The papal party began to talk of a dissolution of the Council; Lorraine complained of this to all the ambassadors, and begged them to write to their several princes to obtain the continuation of the Council, otherwise religious liberty would be granted in France to every one, till the assembling of a truly free assembly. The Pope however knew that this was only an idle threat, and coolly

¹ He was not regretted by either party; his death augmented the authority of the Duke of Guise, whose influence over the Catholic party became as great as if he had been a prince of royal blood.—Etienne Pasquier, *Lettres*, xvii.

² The different offices and courts through which all deeds, bulls, and briefs pass, the fees of which bring in large sums to the pontifical treasury.

replied that he was not to be frightened by words; he did not fear a national Council, for he knew that the bishops in France were Catholics, and that the Germans would never submit to a Council presided over by French bishops.

Letters soon after arrived from the king of France entreating the Council to promulgate the reforms required. Ferrier, the French ambassador, represented the kingdom as well governed and valiantly defended by the queen-mother and the duke of Guise, who looked to the Council as the Aaron to sustain the hands of the most christian king by its wise decrees. The fathers were determined not to lay the French articles of reform before the Council; but on the return of the cardinal of Lorraine to Trent¹ he found letters from the Pope consenting to the reforms without further delay. As it was generally known that the legates had received orders precisely opposite, the cardinals rather maliciously printed the Pope's letters at Trent.

Notwithstanding the earnest entreaty of Lorraine and the French party that the article of episcopal jurisdiction might be decided, the subject of matrimony was brought forward. Whether it was a Sacrament, or not; if it was lawful for all to contract matrimony, were the chief points discussed. Salmerone, a Jesuit, in a speech replete with scholastic learning, cited the Council of Florence, in which marriage was declared lawful by the consent of the contracting parties, and that neither parental, nor any other authority could dissolve such a marriage. It was declared that the vow of celibacy taken by the monks was *de jure divino*, and that even the Pope could not grant a dispensation from it. The legates were blamed for bringing this subject before the Council, seeing it touched so closely the feelings of mankind. If, they said, priests were allowed to marry, all their affections would be centred in their wives and families, and their attachment to the Apostolic See greatly diminished.

The sudden death of Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, in March left Seripando the chief direction of the Council. He wrote privately to the Pope, that if it was the will of his Holiness that

¹ He had gone to Innsbruck, to confer with the Emperor and to unite their influence in the Council to obtain the required reforms, namely, communion in both kinds, the marriage of the priests, and the use of the vulgar tongue in public worship.

he should remain as principal legate he begged he might have liberty to act as God inspired him, otherwise he preferred being recalled.

In April news arrived of the loss the Catholics in France had sustained by the murder of the duke of Guise,¹ brother of the cardinal. Soon after Cardinal Cinque Chiese and the Imperial ambassadors arrived at Trent with letters from the Emperor to the Council and to the Pope, in which he expressed his earnest desire to see matters brought to a more fruitful conclusion, and all obstacles removed which impeded the service of God and the welfare of Christendom.²

In his letter to the Pope he expressed his regret that the Council had not produced the desired result, and his fear that it would become the derision of Europe. Its deliberations were not free, but too much under the guidance of the legates and the dictation of the court of Rome; and instead of seeking to maintain the peace of Europe by reasonable concessions, the great object seemed to be the support and advancement of the court of Rome. The Council was assembled to reform the Church, and ought to be left at liberty to perform its office.

¹ This chivalrous young nobleman was suddenly cut off by the vile hand of the assassin Poltrot. He died like a brave man, though unenlightened in the religion of the Gospel. His wife, Anna d'Este, received his dying instructions to watch over the education of her children; and to his young son Henry he gave the counsels of his experience, warning him against the snares of ambition, and the danger of trusting to the favour of the court. If suffering could expiate guilt, the poor misguided Poltrot's sin would have been washed away in the unparalleled tortures which he underwent for the crime of regicide. One of the ladies who were present at his execution, Leonore d'Humieres, died a few hours after from horror at what she had witnessed. The heads of the Protestant party, particularly Admiral Coligny, were accused by the assassin of commanding this murder, but no proof was ever brought of the truth of this accusation; and though such deeds were often done in that unscrupulous age, the whole life of Coligny belies the possibility of his being privy to so dastardly an act of secret assassination.—Compare Anquetil, *Hist. de France*, tom. vii. p. 155; and Smedley, *Ref. Religion in France*, vol. i. p. 264.

² This was the Emperor Ferdinand I. Charles V. had abdicated in favour of his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans; but the imperious pontiff, Paul IV., would not acknowledge him as Emperor because the electors were heretics, and refused to receive the Imperial ambassador. The Germans, both Catholics and Protestants, irritated at this assumption of papal authority, declared that a coronation by the Pope was not necessary. Thus did Ferdinand, by the force of public opinion, achieve for the empire that independence which Charles V. in the height of his power was not able to accomplish. No Emperor of Rome has since been crowned by the Pope; and it is much to be regretted that the reigning Emperor, Francis Joseph, does not see that submission to Rome is prejudicial to his best interests.

To this remonstrance the Pope returned an angry reply; he denied that he wished to dissolve the Council, for, on the contrary, he wished both its continuation and completion. The writings of the ancient Fathers and the decrees of Councils were full of acknowledgments that the Pope, the successor of Peter and vicar of Christ, was pastor of the universal Church; but notwithstanding this, meetings and conventicles had been held at Trent, in which this great truth was impugned. Among the disorders of the Church enumerated, a striking one had been forgotten: those who ought to receive laws from its dictates, shewed themselves disposed to impose them.

About this time another president of the Council, cardinal Seripando, died at Trent.¹ On the day of his funeral, the 18th of March, there was no congregation; but the French ambassador presented himself before two of the legates, to complain that though they had been eleven months at Trent, the reforms requested were not granted. The legates excused the delay on account of the death of presidents Mantua and Seripando; but Morone and Navagiero were expected, when business would proceed more rapidly. The Pope however was determined to refuse the reforms desired, and finding France and Germany so restive, turned to Spain for support.

Cardinal Morone, on his arrival at Trent, made a conciliatory speech to the Council, intimating that he came by the orders of the Pope to establish the articles of faith, correct abuses, and promote the peace of nations in as far as was consistent with the dignity and authority of the Apostolic See.

Having thus opened his commission, he proceeded to obey the Pope's orders to wait upon the Emperor and dissuade him from his purpose of coming to Trent. He was directed to propose a translation of the Council to Bologna, where the Pope and the Emperor might meet, and the Imperial coronation be performed in the presence of the Council, an honour never yet conferred on any monarch. Morone joined the Emperor Ferdinand at Innspruck; after considerable delay he brought back an answer, couched in general terms, promising to defend the authority of the Pope; instead of consenting to transfer the Council to Bologna, he rather wished to remove it to Germany; but this he said could not be done without the consent of the king of France

¹ See Appendix C.

and other European princes. As to his coronation a German diet could alone decide that point; meanwhile he pressed the Council to decree the reforms demanded. This was the public letter; but a report was current, and very generally believed, that the cardinal had come to a secret understanding with the Emperor and his son Maximilian king of the Romans. He had convinced them that the communion of the Cup, the marriage of the priests, and prayers in the vulgar tongue, were points which the king of Spain and other princes would never concede; and that as the Council, from the variety of opinions, could pass no measures of any importance, the next best thing was to close it in an honourable manner.

The cardinal of Lorraine returned from Venice on the 20th of April, and that same day news came of peace being made with the Huguenots in France. This was highly disapproved at Trent; they would rather have had the whole country destroyed, than the smallest concession made to liberty of conscience.

The Count de Luna, the Spanish ambassador, after some disputes about precedence, made his appearance in the congregation. A divine who accompanied him, Pietro Fontadonio, pronounced in his name an oration in praise of king Philip's zeal against heretics, and finished with an invective upon Protestants, "persons not to be gained either by benefits or kindness." He exhorted the Council not to shew them any consideration or make them the slightest concession.

The Council listened to this strain of argument with pleasure, but it was not relished by the ambassadors. The question of precedence between the ambassadors of France and Spain was still a point of contention. France had yielded in the congregation, but in the session maintained her precedence.

Lorraine left Trent¹ to have an interview with the cardinal of Ferrara who had just quitted France. In passing through Piedmont he had found the people as desirous of reform as the French were. In the marchesate of Saluzzo all the priests had been driven away. In Savoy numbers had adopted the Huguenot opinions; and even in the court of the duke they were openly professed.

In Bavaria there was so great a commotion among the people about the communion in both kinds and the marriage of the

¹ On the 17th of May, 1563.

priests, that the Duke was obliged to declare that if, during the month of June, neither the Council nor the Pope decided these points to their satisfaction, he would himself grant them both. This promise so alarmed the Council that Nicolò Ormaneto was sent to dissuade the Duke from taking upon himself to make this concession, engaging that the Council would do its duty. In obedience to the Apostolic See, he replied that he would do all in his power to restrain his people, but hoped what was so absolutely necessary would be granted.

The seventh session was opened on the 15th of July, 1563. They began business by reading the decrees of the last session on the Sacraments:

I. The sacrifice and the priesthood are united. In the New Testament there is a visible priesthood, which by divine command has power to consecrate, offer, and administer the Eucharist, and to remit or retain sins.

II. That this priesthood being of a divine nature, it requires many orders of ministers to serve in it: the Scriptures mention deacons; from the beginning the Church made use of sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and *Ostiarîi* (keepers of the host).

III. As ordination conferred grace, it is properly one of the Seven Sacraments.

IV. It imparts what can never be effaced; and the Council condemns those who confine the priestly power to any limited time, and say that persons who have received orders can become laymen if they cease to minister. Those also are condemned who say that all Christians are priests and have all the same spiritual power.

Then followed the Anathemas, eight in number, against those who deny that there is in the New Testament any priestly power to offer sacrifice or remit sins, or assert that there is only a simple command to preach the Gospel; and against those who deny either that ordination is a sacrament, or that the Holy Spirit is received at ordination, &c.

A curious proof of the partiality of the Council occurred during this session. The divines who were deputed to examine prohibited books, declared that in the work¹ of Bartolomé

¹ *Comentarios de don fray Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, Arçobispo de Toledo, sobre el catechismo Christiano: divididos en quatro partes.* The work was dedicated to Philip II., and printed at Antwerp by Martin Nucio in 1568. This Catechism was

Carrança, archbishop of Toledo, there was nothing worthy of condemnation. This decision was approved in the congregation, and at the request of the archbishop's agent it was publicly divulged. But both the author and the book being under the censure of the Spanish Inquisition, its secretary complained to the Condé de Luna, who requested the approval might be retracted. But this the archbishop of Prague, who presided over the congregation of the Index, would on no account allow. Morone made peace by promising that no copy of the approbation should be taken, and the original be given up to the Spanish ambassador. Thus the power of the Inquisition was exalted above that of the Council, and the accused unjustly oppressed.

Towards the close of the session the Pope took the extraordinary step of citing the heroic Jeanne, queen of Navarre, to appear before him within the space of six months, and defend herself against the sentence of deprivation of her crown and kingdom. Her marriage with Antony de Vendôme was declared invalid, her children illegitimate, and she herself sentenced to all the penalties incurred by heretics. This citation, together with the condemnation of five contumacious French bishops, was publicly affixed to the doors of St. Peter's and other public places. The cardinal of Lorraine remonstrated, and told the Pope that public opinion was very different in France and in Rome, and that this interference with the queen and the bishops would never be allowed. But the Pope remained inflexible, till Henry II. indignantly complained of the affront offered to the majesty of sovereigns by this citation of his relative the queen of Navarre. "It was an insult," he said, "offered to himself: many kings and princes had left the Roman Catholic Church during the last forty years, but none of them had been cited to Rome; this proved that religion was not the motive." The Pope should recollect that he held the power entrusted to him for the salvation of souls, not for the purpose of depriving princes of their states, or for interfering in temporal affairs. This severe remonstrance brought the Pope to his senses, and the citation was revoked, as well as the condemnation of the French bishops.

published in the vulgar tongue, and inculcated the doctrines of the Bible more than the traditions of the Church.—M'Crie, *Reform. in Spain*, p. 322. See De Castro, *Spanish Protestants*, pp. 130, 377; and Appendix D.

Letters arrived from Milan informing the Council that king Philip was going to establish the Inquisition there. The assembly, and particularly the Italian bishops, were greatly moved by this intelligence; but the Pope, persuaded that it would be a means of upholding his authority, was not unfavourable to the measure. The city of Milan sent Sforza Brivio to entreat the Council's protection against so fearful an evil as the Spanish Inquisition. Already were they sufficiently oppressed by the cupidity of their foreign masters; what would be their condition if this terrible engine of persecution were established, and their lives and substance left to the mercy of a tribunal which ignored the sentiments of humanity? Cardinal Morone encouraged them to hope for the assistance of the Council.

The jurisdiction of bishops still occupied the attention of the Council. Lorraine persevered so steadily in opposition, that at length the Pope determined to try what influence blandishments would have on this active self-important French cardinal, and invited him to Rome. There he was lodged in the Pope's palace, and the pontiff paid him the very unusual honour of going to visit him in his apartments. This attention was extremely grateful to the vanity of the cardinal; and as since the death of his brother he had begun to think it was more for his interest to uphold the authority of the papacy and leave the reforms to fight for themselves, there was not much difficulty in bringing him over to the Pope's views. Marks of favour were abundantly lavished on him; he was allowed to nominate persons suitable for the purple, and it was gently insinuated that he might perhaps succeed to the papacy. Meanwhile at Trent, Ferrier, the French ambassador, a Protestant at heart, held language somewhat different; but the close of the Council was decided on, and the Catholic party united their forces to accomplish this.

During the last two sessions of this memorable Council no new subject was brought forward. The Pope was again taken ill, and as he was at an advanced age, fresh alarm was excited lest he should die during the sitting of the Council. On his recovery they resumed their deliberations, and passed decrees on matrimony, prohibited books, purgatory, the saints, images, abuses in the monastic orders, fastings and holidays. All these subjects were of such purely human invention, and

so entirely without scriptural foundation, that it would be wasting time to descant on them.

All the decrees passed under Paul III. and Julius III., both in faith and practice, were read over; then the secretary, standing up in the midst of the assembly, asked if it was their pleasure to put an end to this Council, and to confirm in its name all that had been done under the Popes Paul and Julius, as well as under the reigning Pontiff Pius IV. They all called out with one voice *Placet*. Cardinal Morone, as president, granted to all who had assisted the Council, and been present in this session, plenary indulgence, and dismissed them with his blessing. After returning thanks to God they retired.¹

The peaceful conclusion of this assembly, without any diminution of the pontifical authority, was matter of great rejoicing at Rome. In France, where the papal yoke had always been rejected, much dissatisfaction was expressed with the words of one of the later decrees, *Solicitudinem Universæ Ecclesiæ*, this being the very point they had most contested. Lorraine was blamed for too much submission to the Pope, and the French bishops and divines spoke derisively of the Council, marvelling that it should assume more authority than the Apostles did, and without seeking divine enlightenment, promulgate decrees based on their own judgments. It was equally despised in Germany. The Catholic divines were disappointed that the communion in both kinds was not at least left optional. They presented a memorial to this effect; stating also that both in the Old and New Testament priests and ministers were allowed to marry: the greater number of the Apostles were married, and Christ did not command them to put away their wives. The Pope shewed some disposition to concede these points, but the cardinals, the guardians of the Church, objected; it would be an injury, they said, to the property of the Church, for if the priests were married they must provide for their families.

Under any other patronage than that of a Pope, an assembly of intelligent well-intentioned men, left free to compare their faith and practice with the commands and example of the Great Founder of the Christian religion, would probably have apprehended something of the nature of that free and willing service which the Gospel requires; but chained to the car of their idol,

¹ On the 4th of December, 1563.

bound to support his spiritual and temporal power, they struggled in vain for emancipation. We can easily understand what temporal power means. It is the strength which compels others to do our bidding; but to an intelligent mind spiritual power¹ is a word without meaning. Can power over the spirit or soul of man belong to any but to the Creator? Can any mortal man, be he priest or Pope, force the mind into an allegiance to error? Tell us not of the influence of miracles which constrain belief against the evidence of the senses. Preach not of keys opening heaven and hell, and showers of money extinguishing purgatorial flames, or forms of absolution opening heavenly gates. These are but the ravings of priestly ambition. Christianity and its precepts have no share in this spiritual power. It is nothing more than the *δεισιδαιμόνια* of the ancients, the worship of a dreaded and unknown deity.² In an age of vigorous intellect the weakness of human nature stood out conspicuously, for it preferred "to believe a lie" rather than come to the "True Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

It is only a very imperfect sketch of this memorable Council which can be given within the limits of a chapter; but those who are acquainted with the history of the times know how important a feature of the sixteenth century this Council was, and how rich a vein of reading and reflection it opens.³ In an historical point of view it was simply a contest for power, in which religion was levelled to the dust, and the commands of Christ totally ignored. "Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."⁴

¹ It is this mistaken respect for what is deemed sacred but which has no divine authority, which at this present moment, 1860, upholds the cheating fabric of Pontifical power. Were the Roman Catholic nations not hoodwinked, they would perceive that it is not so much the temporal power of a prince-bishop which needs to be abridged, as the misnamed spiritual power which men should reject. He who has no freedom over his own spirit is a slave.

² See some valuable remarks on this subject in a volume of *Select Discourses*, by John Smith, reprinted by the Rev. H. G. Williams, p. 26. Cambridge, 1869.

³ The books chiefly used in this slight outline are Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*; Pallavicino, *Concilio de Trento*; Sleidan, *Commentaria*; Mendham, *Council of Trent*; and Scott, *Church of Christ*. The reader may also consult with advantage Faber, *Difficulties of Romanism*; and Garbett, *Nullities of the Roman Faith*.

⁴ Matt. xxiii. 8.

CARDINAL MORONE.

BORN 1509—DIED 1580.

Giovanni Morone, who presided at the close of the Council of Trent, was one of that brilliant group of able men who were created cardinals by Paul III. on account of their talents and integrity, and commissioned by him to reform the abuses, and uphold the lustre of the Roman Catholic Church.

He was born on the 25th of January 1509, at Milan, and descended from a noble family. His mother's name was Amabella Tiserago, and his father, the prime minister of Sforza duke of Milan, is of historic celebrity from the efforts he made to free his country from the yoke of Charles V., and for his subsequent devotion to Imperial interests. During the younger years of Giovanni Morone's life he was carefully instructed at home, and afterwards sent to Padua to pursue his more serious studies. There his talents and assiduous application procured him honours which enrolled his name among the chief philosophers and jurists of the university, and enabled him in after life to fill the highest diplomatic missions. He took orders in 1529, when about twenty years of age. Besides being made bishop of Modena, he was sent by Paul III. in 1530 as resident Nuncio to Ferdinand king of the Romans, for the purpose of preparing the king and the princes of Germany for the holding of a general Council to decide the differences on religion. When in 1540 the Diet of Spire was transferred to Hagenau on account of the plague, Morone, in obedience to private instructions, refused to comply with this change of place. His pertinacity was much disapproved of by cardinal Cervini, and his observations and those of Farnese induced the Pope to recal Morone to give an account of his mission. Paul III. was accustomed frequently to recal his legates to communicate orally with himself, especially on points regarding religion. Morone having given a satisfactory account of his negotiations, received ample instructions, and was despatched to the Diet of Spire in 1541; he was present also at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1542, when all hope of union between the two churches was entirely extinguished. During his absence he was made a cardinal, and afterwards sent with Parisio and Pole to the nominal opening of the Council of Trent. His consummate knowledge of affairs caused him to be sent again to Germany when the Diet was sitting at Spire, in which Charles

seemed disposed to make concessions to the Protestants. Morone was commissioned to complain of the Emperor's indulgence to heretics. On his return, the government, or legation of Bologna, vacant by the death of cardinal Contarini, was conferred on him. He gave up the bishopric of Modena, and the duke of Milan made him bishop of Novara. Paul III. died in 1549, and was succeeded by Julius III. At the earnest entreaty of the Emperor and the king of the Romans the Pope sent Morone to the Diet of Augsburg in 1555, where most important points of religion were discussed: he willingly undertook the charge, but scarcely had he arrived at Augsburg when the unexpected intelligence of the Pope's death obliged him to return to Rome. He indulged great hopes for the reformation and purification of the Church at the election of Marcello II. But his short reign of a few months destroyed these bright anticipations.

Then came the election of Caraffa, as Paul IV., of a noble Neapolitan family, but dreaded for the harshness of his character, and especially by Morone. For Caraffa, when cardinal, had shewn much bad feeling towards him at the meetings about the Inquisition, because Morone was averse to this tribunal. Notwithstanding this, Morone, moved by the sentiments of a generous mind, thought to disarm his enmity by promoting his election as Pope. But the result proved far different. Paul IV., having formerly had reason to suspect Morone of leaning to the doctrines of the reformers, imprisoned him in the castle of St. Angelo, and caused him to be rigidly examined by four cardinals. At the head of these was Michele Ghislieri, grand Inquisitor, called Cardinal Alessandrino. Nor was Morone the only victim of Paul's suspicions. He imprisoned at the same time Sanfelice bishop of Cava, Egidio Foscarini bishop of Modena, and Reginald Pole, a Cardinal. Notwithstanding the ready acuteness of the Inquisitors the answers of Morone prevented their finding any proof against him of heresy, and he was declared innocent. When the Inquisitors had pronounced cardinal Morone free from all heretical taint, Paul IV. gave orders for his liberation, but he refused to go out of prison unless the Pope publicly declared he had been unjustly accused. This he could not be persuaded to do, and Morone remained in prison till the death of Paul IV. in 1559. On this occasion, after some discussion among the cardinals, he was liberated, and allowed to sit in the

conclave which elected cardinal de' Medici Pope, who took the name of Pius IV.

The only proofs of the heretical opinions of Morone are to be found in the articles of accusation drawn up against him. Vergerio, bishop of Capo d' Istria, who had left Italy, published these articles with scholia or remarks on each article. No one was better acquainted than Vergerio with the facts alluded to under the several heads. Though this little book came out anonymously it bears marks of its origin. Printing being then comparatively in its infancy, each printer and the place of his habitation was pretty well known by the form of his types. Vergerio lived a good deal at Tübingen after he left Italy, and it was thought that these articles were sent to him, and that he printed them in despite of the Church of Rome.

Vergerio speaks of these articles of accusation in a letter to Sigismund king of Poland. These are his words: "I will not delay to prove that Giovanni Morone, bishop of Modena, who, besides being appointed legate to the Council, had been twice sent legate to Germany, was imprisoned as guilty of the great crime of having kept in his house and read Lutheran books. Look at the heads of accusation which I received some time ago, and to which I have added some notes." As the book is extremely rare, and the articles curious, we give a translation, leaving out Vergerio's notes, except the first, and inserting his preface.

"TO THE PIOUS READER.

"Giovanni Morone, bishop of Modena, a Milanese of noble family, was sent by Paul III. as internuncio to Ferdinand king of the Romans, and gave so much satisfaction both to his Roman Demi-God and to Ferdinand, that on his return to Rome he was admitted into the college of Cardinals, and afterwards made legate of Bologna. He was then sent as legate to the Council of Trent, and again to Augsburg. Notwithstanding these honours, this great man, according to the world's estimation, (though according to Christ and his doctrines I know full well that persons who bear the titles of Cardinals are only despicable worms,) was thrown into prison a few months ago by Paul IV. as guilty of Lutheranism. Having procured a copy of the articles of accusation against him, I have thought it advisable to make them known to our churches, that they may fully understand that the Tiberine Beast considers himself deeply wounded by the word of God. He is so displeased and indignant that he cannot even pass over the dignified Cardinals, but pursues them with unrelenting severity, or rather cruelty, and a kind of wicked and diabolical eagerness. This you will

see when you read what a variety of subjects these articles embrace. It seems that every word and observation of Morone, at Rome, Modena, Bologna, Trent, and elsewhere, has been carefully watched.

“Such is the practice of these lions and bears, hateful wild beasts called Inquisitors, and attorneys who are encouraged and led on by rewards and titles of honour to perform these offices. No hunters are so active as those who seek to obscure or tread under foot the doctrines of Christ; for they are not able to endure the sentence of death which these doctrines bear against them. We ought to render thanks to our Heavenly Father, that by means of Jesus Christ he has begun to awaken and draw to himself some of the chief and most powerful enemies of Christ, for such these Cardinals are. God grant that he (Morone) may not resist nor affront the Holy Spirit, as I fear he will, for these men love the glory of men better than that of God.

ARTICLE I.

“The underwritten articles, partly heretical, partly giving occasion for scandal and suspicion of heresy, are given, compiled, and presented by the attorney of the Fiscal of the Apostolic chamber in the name of the office of the Holy Inquisition, both jointly and separately against the most reverend Giovanni Cardinal Morone, to prove that which was denied in the Roman court. Beyond which jurisdiction he requests that a mission may be confided to some honest man in any city or place where it is necessary, to summon the witnesses anew, or to make fresh examinations, and also for the said most reverend gentleman to send remissory letters, including the interrogatories, to different persons; but he expressly protests against their being obliged to give superfluous proofs. First the attorney-general, who recites the accusation, claims to be heard on the matter recited, and weighs every word, act, deed, fact and confession. According to his report everything is summed up till all be made manifest. He proves and weighs the words of the most illustrious and reverend Cardinal, who, unmindful of his salvation and of the benefits received from the Holy Church, has both publicly and openly deviated from the Catholic faith taught, held, and preached by her, and this we aver to be true.

SCHOLIA OR NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

“The perverse and impious Inquisitors and attorneys call him unmindful of his salvation, who aspires to the knowledge of the genuine doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, corrupted by impostors with the vilest idolatries most wickedly devised. If they call Morone ungrateful, he was so certainly to the Popes who have loaded him with so many titles. Had he introduced and defended doctrine contrary to the Word of God they would have defended him. It is in this light that favourers of the Pope look upon these matters; as if we ought to esteem him more than the truth taught by Christ. I am not surprised that besides being ungrateful he has offered to swear, for all the bishops oblige themselves by oath to defend the papacy and persecute the rebellious.

ARTICLE II.

“*Inasmuch* as he holds, and asserts that he believes, that the article of justification by faith was to be remodelled before and after the Council of Trent.

ARTICLE III.

"*Inasmuch* as he said to a certain prelate that the Council of Trent ought to retract its opinions on the article of justification, and that it would do so.

ARTICLE IV.

"*Inasmuch* as when he was at the Council of Trent, he wrote to his vicar at Modena desiring him to declare to the people that they ought to trust only in the blood of Christ.

ARTICLE V.

"*Inasmuch* as he holds and believes, or professes to hold and believe, that the priest does not absolve the penitent who confesses his sins to him in the sacrament of confession, but only declares him to be absolved.

ARTICLE VI.

"*Inasmuch* as he wrote letters from Trent to the aforesaid vicar, desiring him to assemble in his name all the priests who were in the habit of hearing confessions, and explain absolution to them, and state that it was Christ who absolved them.

"This letter was matter of great rejoicing to the Lutherans of Modena.

ARTICLE VII.

"*Inasmuch* as he holds and believes, or professes to hold and believe, that the Pope is not to be obeyed as vicar of Christ, but only as a temporal prince; and that he asserted that he did not consider himself bound as bishop of Modena to obey the Pope, except as a temporal prince.

ARTICLE VIII.

"*Inasmuch* as he holds and believes, or professes to hold and believe, that our good works, though done by the grace of God, are not meritorious; and that he himself owns that for any good work, such as celebrating the mass, he deserves hell.

ARTICLE IX.

"*Inasmuch* as in holding this opinion in view, he reprov'd a certain preacher at Modena because he preached on justification in a sense contrary to the opinions of Luther, and said that good works done by the grace of God merited eternal life. He (Morone) not only prohibited him from preaching, but sent him away from the city.

ARTICLE X.

"*Inasmuch* as he holds and believes, and professes to hold and believe, that we ought not to pray to the saints.

ARTICLE XI.

"*Inasmuch* as he reprov'd a certain preacher because he preached upon the merits and the invocation of saints, and enjoined him to preach Christ and his Gospel, and not so many merits and so many saints.

ARTICLE XII.

“*Inasmuch* as he reproved certain friars who with a loud voice sang these words: ‘Arise our Advocate, (in Antiphony); God save the Queen.’

ARTICLE XIII.

“*Inasmuch* as while conversing with a learned monk about the adoration of the Holy Cross, he gave an heretical opinion against such adoration.

ARTICLE XIV.

“*Inasmuch* as when informed that some persons were shocked because proper reverence had not been shewn to the relics of a saint, he reproved those monks, saying he wondered how they could hold those relics in such veneration.

ARTICLE XV.

“*Inasmuch* as he interpreted those words, ‘do not rouse one nation against another by the sword,’ to mean it was not lawful to go to war.

ARTICLE XVI.

“*Inasmuch* as to a certain preacher, whom he took for a Lutheran, he said that he ought to preach upon justification, upon the invocation of saints, upon predestination, and similar topics according to Luther’s opinions, except on the subject of the sacrament.

ARTICLE XVII.

“*Inasmuch* as he keeps by him, and reads the writings of heretics, and gives them to others to read.

ARTICLE XVIII.

“*Inasmuch* as he took great pains to distribute a little book entitled *The Benefits of Christ*; and gave orders to a heretical bookseller, or suspected of heresy, to sell as many of such books as he could, and give them freely to those who could not pay, and he would repay him.

ARTICLE XIX.

“*Inasmuch* as he kept heretics in his house, and persons suspected of heresy, and had many of them for servants, and was intimate with many others, particularly with certain prelates, and that he gave money to poor heretics or persons suspected of heresy.

ARTICLE XX.

“*Inasmuch* as he favoured heretics or persons suspected of heresy, more particularly at Bologna; for he promised them that if anything was decreed against them, or if they were arrested, if they let him know, he would declare that these heretics were not to be persecuted, since God himself tolerated them.

ARTICLE XXI.

“*Inasmuch* as that in returning from the Council of Trent he asked pardon of some Modenese heretics, or persons suspected of heresy, for having on former occasions persecuted them.¹

¹ These articles are to be found in *Wolfi Lect. Memorab.*

If these articles are genuine, which we have no reason to doubt, Morone was certainly in a Romish sense a heretic. The reader will recollect how greatly the reformed opinions prevailed in Modena,¹ and how he endeavoured to hush up the scandal cast upon his diocese by the signature of a Confession of faith. If the above were in very deed his opinions it was not in his power to change, but he might and did conceal them, and after his imprisonment he shewed himself so little of a heretic that as president of the Council he upheld the pontifical power. It was by his energy and skill that it was brought to a respectable termination. Moderate men, under a bad system and at critical seasons, are not so useful as they appear; for their soothing influence often tends to establish evils which might otherwise be uprooted. Cardinal Borromeo, though a good and well-meaning man, obscured the light and restrained the liberty of the Gospel by his slavish attachment to the ceremonious ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. At a later period the Jansenists, though largely acquainted with divine truth, were prevented from receiving it in its entirety by their blind obedience to pontifical authority. Their 'voluntary humility' clogged the chariot-wheels of the Sun of righteousness, which they might otherwise have been privileged to roll triumphant throughout their native land.

Morone spent the remainder of his life in honourable ease and leisure. He united with Borromeo in encouraging the learned Venetian printer Paolo Manuzio² to come and establish his press in the Capitol at Rome in 1561.

At the death of Pius IV. in 1566 Morone was very near being elected Pope;³ unfortunately for Italy sterner counsels prevailed, and the Inquisitor, Cardinal Alessandrino, was raised to the papal chair. We have no means of ascertaining what were Morone's feelings when he saw the power of the Inquisition, from which he had suffered so much, again seated on the papal throne. Whatever might be his reflections, he is not the first statesman or moralist who has discovered that a single step in a wrong direction brings with it grievous and inevitable

¹ See CHAP. XII.

² See Appendix E.

³ Pius IV. gave him a salary of 600 crowns, but in 1570, finding the air of Rome disagree with his health, he returned to Venice. He might have had other reasons for this change during the reign of Pius V.

consequences. He was twice sent by Pius V. on missions of state; to Genoa in 1575 to appease civil discords; and to Maximilian II. to persuade him to accept the offered crown of Poland.¹ Morone died at Rome in 1580, and was buried in the church of the Minerva. His active occupations prevented his leaving behind him any writings of importance; some letters of his are to be found among those of cardinals Pole and Cortese, and some of his orations are also extant.²

¹ Maximilian II. died at Ratisbon on the 12th of October, 1576. This amiable and enlightened sovereign was devoid of ambition and inclined to the principles of the Reformation. His conduct in private was no less admirable than the clemency of his rule as Emperor. He married his cousin, Mary, daughter of Charles V. She was a bigoted princess, and Maximilian is to be blamed for leaving the education of his children in her hands. Out of sixteen children, three daughters and six sons survived him.—Coxe, *House of Austria*, vol. ii. p. 57.

² The above history of Morone is taken from Schelhorn, *Amanitates Literarie*, tom. xii. p. 53, in which is inserted his life by Joannes Georgius Frickius; Poes. Prof. Publ. in Gymnas. Ulmens; and Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 260.

CHAPTER XVII.

PALEARIO PROFESSOR AT LUCCA.

1550—1555.

THREE POPES—JULIUS III.—WAR—MARCELLO II.—HIS CHARACTER—LETTER OF BERRIPANDO—PAUL IV.—HIS CHARACTER—LETTER OF PALEARIO ON THE DEATH OF FLAMINIO—ANSWER BY CARDINAL MAFFEI—CORRESPONDENCE WITH RICCI—HIGH REPUTATION OF PALEARIO—HIS OCCUPATIONS AT LUCCA—GADIO—LETTER OF INTRODUCTION—ORATION ON THE BEST STUDIES—DISSATISFACTION—LETTER FROM CORSINI—ANSWER BY PALEARIO—PUBLICATION OF HIS ORATIONS—FAGANIO WISHES TO GO TO LUCCA AS A TEACHER—CESAR GRASSUS WOUNDS THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY AT PISA—IS PUT TO DEATH—PALEARIO'S OBSERVATIONS—UNIVERSITY OF PISA—ILLNESS OF PALEARIO—DANGEROUS CONFINEMENT OF HIS WIFE—LATIN EPIGRAM—PALEARIO IMPROVES HIS VILLA—BROKEN HEALTH—LETTER TO PTERIGI—ORATION ON HAPPINESS—LEAVES LUCCA.

WE left Paleario at Lucca lecturing on eloquence. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how long he remained there; some say that he occupied the professor's chair for nine or ten years, others only five. However this may be, a number of interesting letters which he wrote while at Lucca will now occupy our attention. It is much to be regretted that we have no account of the anxiety with which he doubtless watched the deliberations of the Council of Trent, but from the plan which he drew up of a free General Council¹ we may be sure he deeply sympathised with the disappointments of the Protestants.

After the death of Paul III. three Popes had appeared in rapid succession, all of essentially different characters. Julius III., the president of the Council of Trent, was elected through the influence of the cardinals Farnese and Guise. His one act of importance seems to have been the recalling the Council to

¹ See Vol. I. p. 343.

Trent and commanding it to resume its deliberations there. The public were somewhat shocked at his departing from the judicious system of Paul III., of choosing men of known worth and experience for the office of cardinal. To the great disgust of the consistory he conferred this dignity on his favourite Innocenzo del Monte,¹ the son of a poor beggar-woman. Julius took part alternately with Austria and France during the warfare about Parma and Piacenza, and leagued himself with the latter power while his allies the Turks were ravaging the coasts of the Mediterranean. The people of Siena rose against the Emperor's lieutenant, Diego Urtado de Mendoza, who was building a fort to overawe and oppress them, and assistance was secretly entreated from France. Ambrogio Catarino, Claudio Tolomei, and all the liberals of Siena, thought by changing masters they would maintain their freedom, but Charles ordered Toledo viceroy of Naples to march his troops into Tuscany. The Pope, though nominally neutral, sent 8,000 troops under the command of Ascanio della Cornia his nephew. Cosimo duke of Florence also was thought favourable to French influence,² though he furnished the Imperial forces with money, provisions, and artillery. The fact was, he wanted Siena for himself; and when Henry II. recalled De Thermes and gave Pietro Strozzi the command of his troops in Siena, Cosimo had then the double motive of destroying his bitterest enemy and acquiring additional territory: he went openly to war, and finally succeeded in getting possession of Siena and incorporating it with the duchy of Tuscany.

While this disturbance was going on in the centre of Italy war raged between Austria and France, but the states of the Pope were at peace. Julius himself was entirely devoted to his private amusements; his great delight was making a beautiful garden just out of the *Porta del Popolo*, and for this diversion he neglected all public business. One thing he desired as the glory of his reign, the arrival of an English ambassador to pay him homage and announce the reestablishment of the Roman Catholic religion in that kingdom; but this satisfaction was not granted him, for he died in a fit of the gout on the 29th of

¹ Julius happened once to see him seized by an ape, and was so pleased with his spirit and courage that from that moment he adopted him as his own, and gave him his family name.—Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 72.

² Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 98.

March 1554, leaving behind him the character of an inoffensive but undignified pontiff.¹

A few days afterwards, on the 9th of April, to the great gratification of all good men, Marcello Cervini² was announced Pope as Marcello II. Endowed with no common talents and learning, of a pure and upright life, filled with a disinterested zeal for improvement, this choice seemed to promise a glorious pontificate when he was suddenly cut off after a short reign of twenty-two days. Whatever might have been the hopes of his contemporaries, as one of his greatest excellencies was the grave and judicious manner in which he upheld the authority of the Roman See, there is no reason to suppose that when he held that power himself he would have ventured on any substantial reforms. If sincere he might have reiterated the complaints of the upright Adrian, that a Pope was not at liberty to do good, and lamented that the restrictions of an antiquated and worn-out system were opposed to all progress. But it is more than probable he would never have got thus far, but contented himself with transmitting to his successors untouched the infallible authority which aspired to govern the world.

Girolamo Seripando, archbishop of Salerno, general of the Augustine order, expresses himself with much acuteness and judgment in a letter to Braccio Martelli, bishop of Fiesole³ on the probable success of his reforms, had he been spared to make them.

TO THE BISHOP OF FIESOLE.

“As your reverence deigns to converse so frankly and familiarly with me and to express your opinion so fully by letter, I must also satisfy myself by openly giving you my views of the events which are occurring. I never could bring myself to believe that the cardinal de Santa Croce would ever be Pope. . . . But behold, against my belief, I have seen him elected. When I heard of it I began to think of God’s omnipotence, which so often makes men do what they do not wish, and, according to human judgment, what they ought not to do. When we rightly invoke the Holy Spirit it will always be so, for to

¹ See Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 135; Platina, *Vite de’ Papi*, p. 549; and Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, Kelly’s translation, p. 71.

² Born in 1501 of a noble family at Monte fano della Marca, died 1555.

³ It will be remembered that this bishop was severely reprimanded by the legates at the Council of Trent for sustaining the authority of the Council instead of that of the Pope, and that in consequence he was recalled from Trent.—Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 172.

invoke sincerely the Holy Spirit means that we do not wish to be governed by our own spirits. Thus it often happens that men do not approve what they have done by the Holy Spirit; when they come to compare it with their own, they repent and are grieved, and would like to retract. This is because they have not really invoked the Holy Spirit, but only desired to be assisted in carrying out their own will. When I heard this unexpected news I said, *Non est impossibile apud Deum omne verbum*. As for the public benefit of the Church reformation, about which your lordship writes, certainly I hoped for a good deal, but yet I was somewhat doubtful, for I knew how great the difference is between contemplating a thing, talking, and even writing of it, and putting it in practice. In imagining or planning there is great pleasure and gratification. Conversing and writing brings us applause, and as long as we are laying our plans and discoursing about what can be done, there is no fatigue or bitterness, nor anything to annoy us. We are like merchants, sure of gain, and not calculating on any loss. But as soon as we begin to act and put our designs into execution, then comes the labour and struggle, which before perhaps we had never thought of, and we begin to experience how much more pleasant it is to criticise other people's actions than for our own to be subject to their judgment. The more we feel we are right, the more displeased we are at being blamed; and we need a great deal of grace to be able to bear patiently what our blessed Christ so patiently endured, when it was said of him, 'But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel.'¹ These words may be applied to all who in any enterprise do not equal the particular expectations of every body, a thing which we know to be impossible, as there is so much variety in the inclinations of men. Thus, though from the reformation and public actions of this good pontiff I certainly hoped much, I feared still more; and I seemed to see my friend removed from a broad, safe, and delightful path, where for his own pleasure he had securely walked for many years, into a narrow, rough, and dangerous road, where he could not move a step without fear of falling. When death carried him off, after twenty-two days' reign, what did I say, seeing, as your lordship remarks, all hope of renovation and reform cut off in so sudden and unforeseen a manner? What were my feelings when I heard all good men around me exclaiming, 'We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel'? Your lordship knows what I felt and said when I heard of this death. To conceal nothing from you, I may say that my words and feelings were like those of the Shunammite woman, who when she found her son dead, laid him at the feet of Elisha, saying, 'Did I desire a son of my lord? Did I not say, Do not deceive me.'² I remembered that I had not prayed by name for him that he might be Pope, but only that one might be chosen who would take away the great opprobrium and derision which for so many years had been attached to the holy names of Church, Council, and Reform. Our hopes had been raised to the utmost, and indeed were no longer hopes, but facts and secure possession, when death destroyed all, and threw us into a worse state than before; that is, into a kind of despair and fear that we are

¹ Luke xxiv. 21.

² 2 Kings iv. 28.

under God's displeasure, and as if He had been sleeping when the election took place, and had roused himself to destroy this good work in a moment, being done against his will and in contempt of his Omnipotence. But this is far from being the case. The creation of Pope Marcello was of God, for in all that we do God works in and for us. The death of Pope Marcello came from God, for both death and life are in the hand of the Lord; but as your lordship says, who can penetrate the deep secrets of the counsels of God? . . . Blessed be God in all his works. I commend myself to your lordship with all my heart. Salerno. 9th of May, 1555.

"Servant of your Reverence,
GIROLAMO SERIPANDO."

The sorrow for the death of the upright and well-intentioned Marcello II. was much increased by the election of the fierce and imperious Giovan Pietro Caraffa.² He was of a noble Neapolitan family, and had been put forward in the conclave by cardinal Farnese on account of his known dislike to the Imperialists. The election was hurried on, and in the short space of twenty-three days it was decided in favour of Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. As we have before had occasion to remark, his genius was more of a military than of a civil or religious nature, and he did not at the age of seventy-four bring with him to the Pontifical throne a single quality befitting the title of vicar of Christ. During a long life his active and impetuous temper had tried various outlets for its energy, and now when he least expected it he was raised to that supreme station which made him in a certain sense the master of Europe. He was a man of natural talent and sufficiently learned, exemplary in his conduct, and had in his younger days joined the Oratory of Divine Love, a society whose members sought to revive the flame of piety in the Church. In concert with Gaetano Thiene he founded the order of the Theatines, and seemed to despise all worldly advantages; but ambition often lurks beneath the cowl, and this was eminently the case with cardinal Caraffa. No one contested with him the honour of founding the Holy Inquisition, and his biographer, Caracciolo, justly claims for him the merit of combating heresy by means of this odious tribunal. "Before its institution," he says, "in various cities in Italy, and particularly at Florence, there were so many Macchiavelli and Carnesecchi that scarcely a vestige of the Catholic faith remained."³

¹ *Lettere di Principi*, lib. iii. p. 160.

² Born in 1476, died 1559. He had been bishop of Chieti, and was thence called Cardinal Teatino, from *Theate*, the Latin of Chieti.

³ Caracciolo, *Vita de Paul IV.* capo iii. p. 22. See Appendix A.

Muratori, in his forcible style, says that he resembled the Vesuvius of his native country, always boiling up, hard, passionate and immoveable, actuated by a zeal for religion, but a zeal so contrary to the principles of the Christian faith that instead of attracting it repulsed. Physiognomists, when they beheld his proud haughty countenance, his flashing sunken eyes, presaged the calamities he would bring on Italy. At the commencement of his reign, however, he made such liberal concessions to the Roman people that they decreed him a statue on the Capitol.

These public causes for sorrow were most acutely felt by Paleario; but the death of Flaminio in the same year that Paul IV. was elected Pope deprived him both of a friend and a protector, and he bewails his loss with much feeling in a letter to his friend cardinal Maffei.¹

ANONIO PALEARIO TO CARDINAL BERNARDINO MAFFEI.

"When the sad news reached Tuscany of Flaminio's death, I was deeply affected at the loss of so excellent a man and so dear a friend, and by the conversation of all who commiserated and lamented the fate of learned men. I had not yet recovered the wound I received at the death of Sadoletto and Bembo, and this last blow grieved me the more, because, if his holy life had been prolonged, he would have relieved me from great annoyance. Only a few days before he was taken ill he had been conversing with some persons from Lucca about me, in such terms that I could see plainly that on any occasion when my credit and reputation were at stake he would not have failed to assist me. Even when suffering from the quartan fever he enquired of Lilio,² to whom he knew I was much attached, where I was, what I was doing, how many children I had, and how he could serve me. Thus I feel persuaded, that if he had lived, I should in future have found him ready to assist me. When Lilio wrote me this I was so deeply moved, that never will his remembrance be effaced from my heart. It is sad indeed to think that his immortal genius has so soon passed away; but when I recal his courtesy and greatness of mind, his activity, industry, and piety, I cannot but dwell on so soothing a subject. In short, I find it impossible to refrain from thinking and speaking of Flaminio; this is my only consolation and relief. As I do not see how my grief for the death of three such learned men can be assuaged, I try to beguile my thoughts by remembering their divine and heavenly virtues, and thus lose sight for a moment of these sad times in which we have lost such distinguished men, and are left without hope of ever again seeing their equals. What I think of them your wisdom will not need to ask; for you know that

¹ See Appendix B, Vol. I.

² Silvestro Lilio. See CHAP. XIV, p. 175.

when for many successive years the heavens are propitious and the soil fruitful, a period of sterility generally follows. Thus as this our age has produced more orators and poets than have been seen for generations past, so I fear that in these stormy times there will be a great poverty of talent. I need not explain myself more fully; you will understand me perfectly, and will only add that no Bembo, or Sadoletto, or Flaminio will again appear, and that at their departure the sun seems to have left the world.

“Of Pole, your worthy colleague, I have heard nothing, or how he bears the death of Flaminio. He is a man of strong mind, great gravity of character, and well furnished with wisdom; but great is the power of habit and affectionate attachment. What could have befallen him more unfortunate? You should go every day to see him; for his upright life and sincere character are acknowledged by all good men, and he must be very dear to you who are so well versed in the liberal arts, and have always been so devoted to the most refined studies. Do all you can to console him: you have much at command, both by your learning and natural disposition, to comfort the afflicted; particularly your cheerful countenance and lively conversation. Bring it all forward: though absent, I see his sadness and depression of spirits. How I wish I were now at Rome, that I might go daily to visit the last relics of a golden age, and especially yourself whom I honour and venerate, not only for your high rank, but for your virtue and excellence. While I have you, I shall always think God has provided a refuge for my children and myself. Although I have lost a great deal by the death of those great men, much still remains in your friendship and well-proved kindness towards me. Adieu. March 7th, 1550. Lucca.”¹

CARDINAL BERNARDINO MAFFEI TO AONIO PALEARIO.

“When Lilio, who is a most accomplished gentleman, comes to see me, his presence and conversation are always most agreeable, but never more so than when he came lately to bring me your letter and to speak of you. I received it as a precious gift; and having read it, I was much pleased with the seriousness and elegance with which you lovingly deplore the death of the most learned and holy Flaminio, and condole with those who have suffered so great a loss, and particularly with yourself. His death is indeed an irreparable loss to literature, on account of his fine taste and learning; to religion, for his piety and the admirable purity and sanctity of his life; and to all good men, on account of his great partiality for every one who shewed any signs of virtue. He died in so devout a manner, and in such a christian frame of mind, that it would be almost wicked to doubt that he has exchanged the great misery and unhappiness of this life for the infinite blessedness and happiness of another world. We who love him ought rather to rejoice that he has entered into so much joy, than grieve for the loss we ourselves have sustained. Especially since he has left us so many great proofs of his talents and learning in every kind of literature, that the pleasing occupation of reading them may soothe our grief and sadness. These and

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 23.

such-like reflections are not wanting to my colleague Pole, as means of consolation for the death of Flaminio; but his own holiness and learning furnish him with still greater support. So you need not think that he requires to be comforted by me or by any other person. The strength and virtue of his character have been proved in many heavy misfortunes and dangers. As gold tried in the fire only shines the brighter and becomes more precious and valuable; so he in his sorrow does not appear so much an object of pity as of congratulation, on account of his great firmness and strength of mind. I sent him, however, your letter, and he is grateful for your regard and affection, and highly praised your elegant manner of writing. As to your private concerns, be firmly persuaded, my dear Aonio, that I shall take under my special protection whatever regards your interest and advantage; and be assured you will not find yourself mistaken in the opinion you entertain of my affection and good-will towards you; depend on me for all that desire and anxiety to serve you, which you have lost in the friends whose death you deplore. Embrace our Lampridio for me.¹ Adieu. Rome, 20th of April."²

While Paleario was at Lucca he kept up a literary correspondence with Bartolomeo Ricci,³ the tutor of the young princes d'Este, sons of Ercole II. duke of Ferrara, and of Renée of France. Ricci was a native of Lugo in Romagna, and a pupil of the celebrated Romulo Amaseo at Bologna. He completed his studies at Padua, and went from thence to Venice to study Greek under Marco Musuro. At a later period he spent several years in the house of Giovanni Cornaro as tutor to his son Luigi who afterwards became cardinal. In the year 1534 he married Flora Ravana, and shortly afterwards opened a public school at Ravenna. But a severe illness incapacitated him from the fatigues of so great a charge. Desirous of again enjoying the leisure and refinement of a tutorship in a great family, he besought his friend the learned Celio Calcagnini, professor of belles-lettres at Ferrara, to procure for him the appointment of tutor to the sons of the duke. The request was granted, and in 1539 Ricci went to Ferrara and was presented to his young pupil Alfonso, a child of six years old. His second pupil, Luigi, was born that same year. These royal children being placed under him at so tender an age became greatly attached to their tutor, and he was held in considerable estimation by the learned men⁴ of Ferrara. The work most suited to the cast of his mind was

¹ Paleario's son, about fourteen years old.

² *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 24.

³ Born 1490, died 1569.

⁴ His chief productions were some orations, letters, and essays on different sub-

his *Apparatus Latinæ Locutionis*, a methodical kind of grammar, in which verbs and nouns are ranged apart and rules given for the use of them conjointly. This work did not sell, and he threw the blame upon the printer and bookseller. The same complaints were made then, says Tiraboschi,¹ which are made now, that the booksellers asked a high price for books on purpose that they might not sell, and that they might themselves enjoy the profit of exchanging them for others. Gryphius, he says, has thrown off a new edition of 3,000 copies.

We have no account of the commencement of Paleario's friendship with Ricci, but that they had long been known to each other is evident from the following letters; probably they met first at Padua, that concentrated focus for learned men.

Ricci good-humouredly reproaches Paleario for writing in Italian. "But I acknowledge that I am as unable to imitate your Tuscan style as if I had been brought up in a remote country, though we are only separated by the Apennines."² In this letter he mentions a report that a mutual friend, Jacopo Grifolo, is dead, who had gone to Siena to teach classical literature. He concludes his letter by speaking of his works :

"I have not any copies of my *Apparatus* which you ask for. I hear they are to be had at Florence; you can enquire of the booksellers and arrange with them. I began a little while ago a work on Glory, (see what a notion I have taken into my head). I have divided it into three books; the first is already finished, and I am working at the other two. Were you only near me, and we were not separated by such Alpine heights, I might hope to profit by your judgment. Farewell. 1 May."³

The reputation of Paleario as a man of letters was at this time very great. Ricci, in a letter to Alberto Lolli,⁴ extols Paleario as a writer, and thinks his style equal and even superior to that of Bembo and Navagiero, the models of the day, especially his Italian compositions. Ricci dedicated to him his eulogium on the Tuscan language.⁵ Except the *Beneficio*, none of the Italian compositions of Paleario have been transmitted to posterity; but the following letter shews that he was in the habit

jects. Among his works we find *De Imitatione*, in three books, which was highly approved by Bembo. He wrote a comedy in Italian, called *Le Balie*, which Quadrio thinks the best in the Italian language.—See Bart. Ricci, *Opere*.

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 314.

² Palearii *Opera*, p. 514.

³ *Ibid.* lib. iv. ep. 6.

⁴ Ricci, *Opere*, lib. iv. ep. 25.

⁵ Lazzeri, *Miscell.* tom. ii.

of writing and lecturing in Italian, and that he took pleasure in the elegance of the Tuscan language.

AONIO PALEARIO TO BARTOLOMEO RICCI.

"I do indeed confess that I take great pleasure in the language which is at present commonly used in Tuscany; both on account of its beauty and elegance, and because it is not so very different from the language of Italy in which we were born and brought up, and have as it were sucked in with our milk.

"What would I give, dear Ricci, if nature had relieved us from the trouble which we daily take to learn languages. This would certainly have been the case, as the sensations of all people and nations are the same if τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων σύμβολα, the sounds of the voice corresponded to the sensations of the mind. I say it in Greek because I could not express it so well in Latin, nor perhaps could I find it better worded even in Italian. As with a friend we have no need of studied phrases, I interpret this as meaning that we ought to write the sentiments of our hearts as they naturally suggest themselves. I should fear to affront our ancient friendship, if, when conferring in a friendly and familiar manner by letter as if we were conversing together, we were to occupy ourselves about conjugating Latin verbs. Why then, you will say, do you introduce a Greek quotation into a Latin letter? Because on account of my habit of translation I do it unconsciously. As while we are in a profound sleep things often present themselves to the mind, which when awake we are accustomed daily to think and speak of; so when we write, those words spontaneously occur which in writing and reading engage our attention. I may also tell you, as you have imparted to me your resolution, that in my Latin and Greek interpretations I do not make use of the Latin tongue, that I may not be too much curbed or restrained. Having begun to take a different course, I make use for a time of the Tuscan language; I do not say Italian, for I do not approve of all [the Italian dialects]. As in Greece the Attic dialect was admirably adapted to oratory, so in Italy the Tuscan is peculiarly suited both for speaking and writing. In the letters which you have so often written to me, I perceive that you are not a vain or ostentatious, but a careful and accurate writer. But of this enough: I now proceed to tell you, to-day the fifth I have received the letter you wrote to me last year. See how rarely your letters reach me; I no longer wonder that those I sent from Florence have not come to hand. For the future, to overcome all obstacles, I will expedite several letters containing the same subject whenever your interest or mine makes it desirable. With regard to the names of the old Roman families, no one cognisant of antiquity dissents from your opinion. Those same persons (here I congratulate you) who follow the Greek system, and even the barbarians, to appear of Latin origin, admonished by your writings, have altered their second name after the Roman manner. I shall certainly go in the summer holidays to pay a visit to our friend Grifolo, and meanwhile I shall assure him by letter of your friendly sentiments towards him. I have already written about the *Apparatus* of the Latin language. The money was

paid at Florence in the name of Bonvisi, and our young men amply provided; on this account they love you exceedingly, and eagerly expect your book on Glory. Adieu."¹

This letter introduces us into the presence of these two learned men, and makes us acquainted with their private thoughts and studies. We are also here given to understand how many of Paleario's letters are lost; but his correspondence shews that up to this time he had not been at Ferrara.² In his allusion to the princesses of Ferrara he expresses his high esteem for those who directed their attention to divine things, and greatly exalts this study above all earthly glory. Speaking of Renée duchess of Ferrara, he acknowledges the divine light which drew her to the consideration of the highest species of knowledge, theology. We observe also in these letters the refined and philosophical turn of his mind, and how much he felt the drudgery of teaching. Ricci, on the contrary, was more of a pedagogue; he was not troubled with any large or aspiring ideas, nor exposed to the mortification of being disgusted with his own compositions.

In the next letter Paleario gives some account of his occupations at Lucca.

AONIO PALEARIO TO BARTOLOMEO RICCI.

"If I write to you more seldom than our long friendship would seem to require, I beg you to attribute my silence rather to my occupations than to negligence, or forgetfulness of your regard for me. . . . All who come from your neighbourhood with a message from you, extol your great kindness and courtesy; and whenever you publish anything, you make honourable mention of my name; for this I can make no return. May I die if I am not disgusted with my poor translations, both Greek and Latin; an occupation into which I am thrust as into a tread-mill, not from imprudence, but from necessity. For, as you may know from the nature of my studies, I have always thought it a mean and sordid thing for a person who has sufficient talent for composing original works to stoop to the servile occupation of translating the works of others. But as my patrimony is

¹ Palearii, *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 7.

² The author of an interesting memoir of Olympia Morata says that Aonio Paleario was tutor, in company with Ricci, to the Este princes, and quotes a passage of the above letter in proof. But this letter is dated Lucca, and written from thence. The same writer also says that it was probably when he was a harassed wanderer that he exercised his talents as a teacher at the sheltering court of Ferrara. Paleario was never "a harassed wanderer;" he was a small proprietor, had a villa of his own, and went from Siena to Lucca, and from Lucca to Milan as professor.—*Olympia Morata*, *Her Times*, pp. 51, 64. Ed. 1840.

small, my wife rather sumptuous, and my children costly, and my expences consequently very great, I have undertaken to devote myself to the kind of study I have always most disliked.

“Thus when the honourable men, inhabitants of Lucca, invited me to interpret (the classics) for an hour every day, and promised me suitable remuneration, I accepted it, however tiresome and even hateful it is to me. For I have to speak every day without preparation, which is the part of a sophist. Not to do this I always devote a certain portion of time to the consideration of my subject; which time I generally take from my night’s rest. As I do not approve of translations being unfurnished with the inexhaustible treasures of Greek literature, I employ the rest of the day in studying Greek authors. But this didactic, *διδασκαλικός*, manner of speaking is too concise and cannot be long practised without risking the sacrifice of spirit and vigour in composition. When I perceived there was a danger of my falling into this error, I returned to that method which you so much approve of. See what confidence I have in your judgment. From the letter which I lately received from you, I find that you are pleased with some of my writings; this has given me fresh hope of being able to write some orations. If the printer does not delay, you will very soon see them, such as they are.¹

“Do you on the other hand send your book on Glory. I beseech you not to keep me expecting it any longer. If it is not finished, know that it is a book worthy of being terminated by you, who by your talents and assiduous application have acquired so elegant a style of diction, and who reside among princes whose ladies are wiser than many kings.² I write you this in order that, in composing your work on Glory, you may not in the presence of such illustrious and glorious princes, worthy of being set forth as an example to the whole world, propose for imitation those who are famous for warlike deeds, and who think all excellence confined to feats of arms. They are such bitter enemies of our studies, that from their disapproval we see the hopes of literary men grow feeble and vanish. It is scarcely credible how great is the pride and ignorance of some men. I believe myself to be beloved by you as much as I desire—that is a great deal. If then you love me let these people³ remain in dust and darkness; for were we even to prostrate ourselves at their feet they would not extend a hand to raise us. When I arrived at Colle, I sent my children to make precise enquiries about Grifolo; the next day they brought back from Siena the joyful and much-desired intelligence that he was in full vigour of mind, immersed in study, and highly esteemed by his scholars; that he was busy writing

¹ This must have been the first edition of Paleario’s *Orations*, a very rare volume now before me, printed at Lucca by Vincentius Busdraçus in 1551. This scarce edition contains only the orations delivered, with a short preface by the printer. See Appendix B.

² For the remainder of this passage about the Duchess of Ferrara and her daughters, see CHAP. XIII., p. 101.

³ Paleario rightly judged that war and ambition were the ruin of literature.

some work, and retained a lively remembrance of you and of me. Lucca. 8th October, 1550."¹

This second letter to Ricci gives us an insight into Paleario's literary tastes, and brings us into closer contact with his intellectual character. His was not a mind that could occupy itself exclusively with verbal criticism, his thoughts took a higher range; and he gently hinted that in letters of friendship he preferred freedom of expression to a punctilious attention to diction.

In the collection of Paleario's letters there are several between him and his pupils, in which they express the highest esteem and affection for him; names lost to posterity, but whose friendly effusions are illustrative of the affectionate disposition of the Italians. Giovan Battista Gadio wrote to Paleario from the Villa Pancrazio, belonging to Arnulfini,² inviting him to pay them a visit. After deploring that he (Gadio) is obliged to remain in the country, to the great detriment of his studies, and regretting his absence from Paleario, whom he had thought never to leave, he gives an account of a severe illness he had lately been afflicted with, and which had prevented him from writing:

"When Francesco Arnulfini, a young man of great promise, and who is, as you know, very modest, brought me a courteous message from you, judge by your own feelings how precious and joyful it was to me. Having interrogated him minutely about your studies and opinions, he said that in a short time we should be together; and smiling added, "I bring you good news. Our Aonio, when we were speaking of you, said expressly that he would go to the Villa Pancrazio." This made me exult with joy, and I was quite excited with delight, for I felt what a happy thing for me your arrival would be. More willingly would I spend a single day with you than the whole of my life with the greater part of mankind. I press you therefore afresh to execute your intention, and come to us as quickly as possible. I will not now say anything of the magnificence of the villa belonging to Girolamo Arnulfini. When you see it with your own eyes, you will say it does not yield in splendour to that of Lucullus. As to the excuse of health, it is inadmissible, unless you are unable to bear the fatigue of a long journey. . . . The villa, which I think you must have seen, is about four miles from Rome. Lay aside for a time the idea of a town life, and banish all literary occupations; then your mind, freed from care, will revert to the joys of nature.

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 4.

² The Arnulfini family were persons of great wealth and influence at Lucca.

Remember that for a long time past you have given up all recreation; for this reason alone you ought in the great heats to take care of your health in the first instance. If you comply with our advice, it will enable you to relax at least, if not entirely to free yourself from your tiresome occupations. I again therefore entreat you to set out as quickly as possible. In order to perform the journey with comfort you can set off at break of day, or in the afternoon when the heat is diminished, so that you may fly to us as quickly as possible. From the Villa Pancrazio of Arnulfini. 1st of June."¹

To this affectionate invitation Paleario replied as follows :

AONIO PALEARIO TO GIOVAN BATTISTA GADIO.

"While in the enjoyment of as much leisure as my continual warfare with the barbarians, and my public employment of transporting Athens to the foot of the Apennines, permit, I received the very kind letter in which you invite me to Pancrazio, the villa of Arnulfini. I hear it is a very delightful and beautiful place, and that your companions are adorned with the choicest gifts of nature, and enjoy all the advantages of fortune. If my friend Eutyohus and his wife, who is a superior woman, had not engaged me by a previous invitation to go to their villa of Gragnana, I should by this time have been with you, but now I must accompany my wife, and defer my visit to Pancrazio to a future time. Take all possible care of your health, that when I come you may be able not only to take two or three turns with me under the portico, but to wander round the farm, and accompany me to the neighbouring villas, and prolong our supper and our conversation far into the night. Adieu. Lucca, 2nd June."²

This answer to Gadio's invitation appears to have been very long in reaching him. The messenger had forgotten to leave the letter at the Villa Arnulfini, which greatly irritated the impatient young man. Having sent for the letter, Gadio says he read it with greater eagerness from its being detained.

"I accept your excuse about Eutyohus, and greatly rejoice that you are beloved and revered by men of every class, and I envy you not a little the happiness of living in such brilliant society. While the greater number are highly polished, you alone are witty, or at least the brightest of them all. Now I beg of you, if your important occupations permit, take leave of literature for a while. A plague take the barbarians who give you so much trouble. I wish that we may be able some day to route them by our united forces. Meanwhile, do you like a brave general vigorously sustain the impetus of the enemy. We shall expect more letters from your Athens, if you delay coming: if you do not write, remember we are expecting in a few days the joy of your arrival. Adieu. From the Villa Pancrazio of Arnulfini."³

We have no information whether Paleario made his visit

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 10.

² *Ibid.* lib. iv. ep. 12.

³ *Ibid.* lib. iv. ep. 13.

or not. In this series of letters there is one written to Cornelio Graphæo as a letter of introduction for Alessandro, the son of Luigi Bonvisi of Lucca. Who this Graphæo is remains unknown; but Paleario, desirous of obliging his friend, speaks of the extensive commerce of the people of Lucca, says he is intimate with many of them, and that they are all very generous and liberal to him, particularly the Bonvisi, who are the first merchants in the place. Alessandro Bonvisi, he tells him, is in Belgium; he is an elegant young man, and a great favourite for his diligence in study and affection for Paleario.

"I love Alessandro as a son, and I had so great a veneration for his father, that if the dead have any knowledge of what is passing here below I hope that his father may know it; if however he is not cognisant of what is passing, but if spirits *ἀνευ θανάτου, ἀνευ φαρμάκου*, are free and unconfined and like the rays of the sun, which when they leave our earth remain in the sun itself, so they have gone to God, I wish that survivors may know that I have chosen this one out of all the families, and esteem him worthy of my recommendation and of the favours of such as resemble you."¹

It must be confessed here that Paleario, in his desire to fulfil the wishes of his friend, has given him rather a superlative recommendation, and has fallen into a hyperbolical style of expression which it is difficult to follow; but these are traits of times different from our own. A mixture of pagan and christian imagery was visible in the writings of those days. Men were just emerging from the trammels of the ancients, who had been hitherto looked up to with the same reverence that we pay to the dictates of divine inspiration.

One of the subjects of Paleario's lectures before the Senate and people of Lucca was a defence of the best studies.² He entreats them to hear him complacently, and not allow themselves to be prejudiced against him by his adversaries; and then briefly explains why he had deferred till now lecturing on so important a subject.

By what we can gather from this oration it appears there had been considerable difference of opinion among the citizens, not only as to the manner of conducting the studies of youth, but also as to the subjects on which he himself was to lecture. Remembering his determination, when he accepted the invitation

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 11.

² Oration VIII. *De Optimis Studiis Defensis*.—Palearii *Opera*, p. 134.

to come to Lucca, to bear anything rather than excite discord between its citizens, he had carelessly and even tamely put up with an attack not so much on himself as on learning itself; he recalls to their minds the regulations of the last year, when, while they were assembled in this very place and he was lecturing on prudence, he was enjoined to speak also on the other virtues. This he intended doing at the first convenient opportunity, but entreats their indulgence now while he descants on the best studies, and frankly claims it to be his right to complain of the difficulties of the times and the unfortunate condition of teachers.

There are two classes of opinions which fight against literature: the one is, that it is of little or no importance; the other, that it may be acquired without any attention to style or elegance of expression. The first, however irrational, has been very much adopted by governments in general, but the ancients thought very differently. He then gives an outline of the different subjects which had occupied the minds of men; the study of the stars and planets, the wisdom of the Egyptians, the eloquence of the ancient orators, and the philosophy of the Greeks. The Romans, the conquerors of the world, cultivated literature and called it the study of humanity, because it tamed mankind and brought them from a savage to a civilised state. *Blessed are those states which are ruled by wise and learned men. What glory can be greater than that which lasts as long as the world endures, where knowledge is extended and literature encouraged? He contrasts this with the misery produced by martial fame, and entreats them to continue in the course they have begun. By a decree of the Senate they had opened the way for the liberal sciences, and ordered that eloquence, dialectics, and civil law should be taught in Latin discourses. "Not a single day passed without a great concourse of young men; and such was the influence on them of one man's oration in praise of eloquence, that not only did they purify their style from false Latinity, but conceived a dislike for its votaries. Nothing prevented their attending our daily lessons, neither the invidious remarks of other teachers nor the altercations and threats of their parents and relations. Much has been borne on my account from quarters whence least might have been expected. Time would fail me if I recorded the number of books full of bar-

barisms. In France and Germany the work of renovation has begun; but in Italy it still reigns supreme. Obscure commentaries please the idle because they save them the trouble of accurately expressing their ideas. No attention is paid to style, and the less a writer is understood the better he is thought to write. Nor is your city exempt from these corruptions. Delay no longer, O Lucchese, spare no trouble or expence to have the rising generation carefully instructed."

This was the object the Senate and people of Lucca had in view when they invited him some years before to come among them as professor. He was "the first to break into the cloisters of the barbarians, and liberate the young men who were shut up as it were in dark dungeons." He had declaimed and taught daily at home, in the school, at the court, and much he wished he could have spoken also in the Senate. While thus occupied he verily believed he was doing them good service, but to his grief and surprise he found that he had roused the envy and hatred of his adversaries. This he discovered when the favourers of sound learning, of civil law, dialectics and eloquence proposed the renewal of his engagement as professor, for the opposers of progress had influence sufficient to obtain a refusal. Although he was supported by many of the principal senators, who approved of his manner of teaching and praised his unblemished life, yet his adversaries voted against the renewal of his appointment, and notwithstanding his gratitude to those who advocated his cause, yet he sensibly felt the disgrace of so mortifying a repulse. All sorts of rumours were set afloat about him both far and near, which, however devoid of foundation, were not the less annoying. He was peculiarly sensitive to such an affront from the inhabitants of a city which, both by his writings and discourses, he had endeavoured to honour and commend to the utmost of his power.¹

These complaints were not without effect, as he continued to be professor at Lucca for many years after.² Castelvetro was

¹ This oration must have been delivered before 1551, as it was printed in that year, *Luca exudebat* 1551.

² Tiraboschi quotes a passage from Castelvetro, *Memorie*, as authority for saying that Bendinelli was invited to Lucca: *a leggere pubblicamente con gran premio a pruova di Antonio dalla Puglia, che si faceva chiamare Aonio Paleario il quale per l'avversario valente si partì di Lucca e andò a leggere a Molano*; but he did not go to Milan for five years after Bendinelli went to Lucca.—Tiraboschi, *Leti. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 260.

at a distance, and only judged from report when he said his friend Bendinelli was superior to his rival Paleario. It seems from the expression *a pruova* that the two scholars measured their strength with each other.

We find in the history of Lucca that Bendinelli, so far from being superior to Paleario, had not originally received a learned education. He was a soldier, and fought under Filippo Strozzi at Montemurli; when his party was defeated he went to Modena, where Lodovico del Monte took compassion on him, received him into his house, and employed him in teaching his children to read and write. He learned Latin and Greek, and then went to teach in the house of Niccolò Molza, and afterwards had the charge of a school. It appears that some monks having preached against the heresy of Luther, Bendinelli attacked them in writing, and was for this imprisoned by the governor of Modena in March 1539. He was liberated a few weeks after, not as innocent, but not having named any person in particular he could not be proved guilty. The warning was sufficient, he took care to be more prudent in future. In 1550 he was invited to Lucca to teach, and arrived there the end of April.¹

It was probably a short time previous to the arrival of Bendinelli at Lucca that Pagano Paganio wrote to Paleario, expressing a wish to offer himself as a teacher of the classics at Lucca, either in a private or public capacity. Vincenzo Menocci, a Lucchese, had come over to Pisa with some ladies of rank on horseback to see a comedy; he had paid a hasty visit to his friend Paganio, offered his services to procure him this office of teacher, and desired him to write to Paleario about it. After complaining in a friendly manner that Paleario had not visited him when he came over to Pisa, he goes on to say that he had heard from Antonio Luca, a physician of Pisa, that Paleario, Niccolò Guidiccioni, Benedetto Manfredi, Dimo Sardo, and other literary friends, were preparing the way for Paganio going to Lucca—

“I wish to go there either in a public or private capacity, or in both;

¹ As he remained at Lucca twelve years teaching in the same school, and left it to fill a similar post at Parma, and Paleario's successor was appointed in 1555, there is reason to believe he was either an assistant to Paleario, or taught in some other school.—*Libro delle Riformazioni di detto anno*, f. 7, e. 15; Lucchesini, *Memorie*, p. 142.

but should rather prefer teaching classical literature privately to young men." [He begs him to consult with his friends on the subject, and promises to do his utmost to acquit himself well.] "I do not know if it is the custom out there to send a diploma to a professor of classical literature when he is chosen. If I am elected by the state I should like to have such a diploma sent me." [Menocci, he says, told him to send some of his compositions which he has done, that he may judge of his style and ability, and his letter closes with an account of a tragical occurrence.]

"You have heard perhaps that the Rector of the University (as he is called) the day before yesterday received three slight wounds in the shoulder from Cesar Crasso, a Milanese noble. This unhappy youth was arrested by the police immediately after perpetrating the deed. He defended himself valiantly with his sword, being without any kind of armour. This morning a little before dawn he was beheaded, and his dead body lay for four hours at the gate of the palace [of Justice], a miserable spectacle to the people of youthful rashness and imprudence. But I break off this sad story. Continue to love me as you have hitherto done, and be assured I will not allow you to exceed me in this. I expect a letter worthy of yourself, I mean an Aonian and most elegant letter. Pisa. 18th March."¹

AONIO PALEARIO TO PAGANO PAGANIO.

"I wish indeed you were with us here, for you would then see with your own eyes my zeal, and the diligence of your friends in your behalf, and we should enjoy your pleasant company. But as you cannot leave your wife and children, and all that is most dear to you, we must continue to long for you. The affair does not go on so quickly as I could wish. After your departure, as you may have heard from Menocci, scarcely a day passed without talking about you, and contriving together how we could arrange matters. I think it is best to speak first to the prefects of the college about the public appointment, and then enquire about the private one. He, on the contrary, thinks it wisest to enquire first about the private [teaching], fearing that after having obtained everything from the prefects, individuals whose opinions are changeable, may prevent the contract being signed. I will not dissent from the opinion of this friend who loves you so truly, and who is so disposed to do all in his power for you, and shall therefore follow his counsel in all things, believing that this will be agreeable to you. I cannot however be persuaded that it will be easier to form a contract with the prefects than with private individuals; and I believe your reputation stands so high at Lucca, that when they see that others are about to employ you, we shall have to make herculean efforts that the rulers of the state may not oppose us. This is the more likely to happen, as I see that certain schoolmasters will wage continual war against you on account of your receiving a higher salary than they do. As they are closely connected by intimacy and long friendship with the principal citizens, there is some danger of their alienating the minds of the Senators from us. On this account I wished, before it came to their knowledge, to treat with the prefects,

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. iv. ep. 14.

and to request the Senate to hold a *Senatus Consultus* in your favour. This would not prevent your making an arrangement afterwards with private individuals. The avarice of men is I confess great, greater indeed than I could have thought possible; but it is important and most desirable to find a good and eloquent man to whom young people may be safely confided. Although I believe that before you receive this letter you will have heard how active Menocci has been, I still wished to write you my opinion, and tell you that I rather fear a disappointment than hope for success. As to your complaint of my having been some days ago at Pisa without seeing you, excuse it, as I was in a great hurry. My business was with the custom-house officers; to satisfy them I was obliged to return to Lucca the same day I went to Pisa, and I was afraid, if I spent any time in visiting my friends, that I should be overtaken by the night during my journey. In proof of this I cannot bring a stronger testimony than Robertello, who had only a glimpse of me as from a window when I was leaving, not when I was arriving; though I would gladly pass not only a day with him but whole years. The rain coming on accompanied by a storm, I could not satisfy the custom-house officers, so that I was obliged to take a journey of three days by a very bad and muddy road, to prevent my wife losing her female ornaments. They had been detained because the boxes were not plumbed. I write this by way of excuse, but why should I dwell so much on it? You know well the great influence of a wife, so you must not be angry with your friend who was overheated, and in a shabby travelling hat attending to business. I have not seen your letter. Now that I know your wishes I shall not expect any more letters; whatever concerns your advantage, honour, and dignity, shall be diligently attended to, and I will do my utmost to forward your desires and those of your friends. Farewell. Lucca. 24th April.

"I could not read what you wrote about Cesar Crasso without tears. His father¹ is a man of most gentle and temperate disposition, and on this account I love him much; but his son, to the great grief of his father, was of a harsh and ungovernable temper. If by discipline and years this had been corrected, Lombardy would have been able to boast of him as an excellent and superior young man; but carried away by too fierce a spirit and too great eagerness for glory, he did not attain that honour which distinguishes his father. I deeply compassionate this young man, but would not dare to pity his father, who cannot be overwhelmed by grief or unhappiness; for if ever there was a wise man, he is one. I feel quite uncertain whether I ought to write a consolatory letter to him or not.²

These letters inform us that in those days ladies of high rank thought it worth while to go from Lucca to Pisa, a distance of fifteen miles, on horseback to see a play. Paleario, it seems, had gone to Pisa on purpose to pass his wife's baggage and

¹ Francesco Crasso, or Grasso, who was governor of Siena in 1542, raised to the purple in 1544, and died in 1550.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 15.

jewels; his family did not join him the first year, but he could not be happy long away from them. The tragical event at Pisa shews that the Rector of the university was liable to be wounded by the young nobles, who wore swords, and that such deeds of rashness committed in the heat of youthful blood were avenged by the loss of life. In order to strike terror into the population the culprit was put to death privately, but his dead body lay for hours exposed to the public gaze.

Things are now greatly changed; the railroad transports travellers from one city to another in about twenty minutes. The great national movement has given new vigour and life to the university of Pisa; and the wise regulations enacted by the moderate liberals promise to ensure to the rising youth an enlarged and solid education.

The university of Pisa¹ had been much injured by the civil wars of the sixteenth century. In 1509 Florence became master of Pisa, and one of its first cares was to remodel its university. In 1515 five Florentine nobles undertook its organization, and Leo X. allowed 3,000 ducats annually, for five years, out of church property, for the maintenance of learning; and for five years more tithes to the amount of 5,000 ducats were set apart for the same purpose. The university was fast acquiring its pristine splendour, when in 1515 the stoppage of the pontifical subsidy, the appearance of the plague, and the revival of warfare again closed this seat of learning. Cosimo I. reopened it in 1543, and it acquired new fame. The most celebrated professors were invited from all parts of Italy, and handsome salaries were assigned them. A college called *La Sapienza*² was founded, in which forty Tuscan youths were to be educated for six years free of expense. Filippo del Meglione, a learned man admirably suited for the office, was placed at the head of the university, and he drew thither all the most distinguished scholars of the age.

While Paleario was thus battling with envy and ill-nature, and suffering the penalty of those who venture to innovate or improve, he received a letter full of pleasantry from his old friend Francesco Corsini, who attacked him in a playful manner for not having sent him his last oration.

¹ Calogera, *Raccolta*, tom. ii. p. 12.

² Now the University.

“For a long time past you know I have taken great delight in reading your compositions, and this I imagine is the reason that in past years you have sent me more than once your orations, together with your letter to the Lucchese. I read them with eagerness, and showed them to many of your friends. Now you have deceived me with false hopes, tell me why this lack of courtesy? What we are accustomed to from habit becomes a right. I have waited longer for your oration of this year than I ought to have done, considering our friendship; so that I was first angry, and then becoming calm, I said to myself, why does he not send it as usual? At last I resolved to urge you in the name of friendship to send me the oration, which is my due, as soon as you possibly can; and you can whenever you choose. If you do not, beware of my machines. I shall continue to teaze you till you acknowledge our friendship by sending me your oration. Farewell. 25th December, 1550. Babuci.”

To this animated, friendly letter Paleario replied as follows :

AONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO COESINI.

“The lively strain of your letter greatly diverted me, and your being so disposed to joke gave me much pleasure, for I conclude you are all well and in good spirits. I should never have thought, at your advanced age, that you would begin to study military tactics if I did not know you well, and that the sword you talk of girding on is very like a scythe, and only an incumbrance, I should think you had become a great general. For you talk of fortresses, galleries, towers, battering-rams and legions, as if you had not only besieged but taken cities, overthrown castles, and commanded armies. But when in the same letter you summon me to court and threaten me with a law-suit, your warlike spirit seems laid aside, and your military ardour to grow pale when you show yourself more versed in law than in war. But you have no need to make use of either with one who not only does not deny, but acknowledges his attachment, and feels that he is bound to do everything in his power for you. I may in some degree imitate your benevolence, but can never equal your benefits. I have written to you less frequently because during the last few months nothing has occurred which interests either you or me. You are not quite guiltless of my silence, for you executed my commissions so promptly there was nothing more to do; you should have left something undone that I might have applied to you again. I heard also that you were in the province of the Hernici, from whence intelligence does not reach Tuscany above once a-year. In short, not to make too many excuses, (for to speak the truth) I am become very idle in writing, being much occupied with my public engagements, which have been confirmed to me at Lucca for three years more. What then, do you say, shall you remain all this time away from us? You see how it is. Nevertheless, it is just possible that in the summer holidays I may go to Rome and stay a few days with you all. The journey will take several days; my health is far from good, I must often rest by the way, and the period of the holidays will scarcely be sufficient to go and come back. But if it were not to see you, to whom I am so much attached, I have no desire to go to Rome. I cannot

express the disgust I feel at the pomp of the Roman court, and how extremely I dislike those who despise both God and man, and live such lawless lives. I could not see them with any patience, and there these frivolous men are continually in sight. We had hoped that the censures of the bishops would have restrained the passions of such men. If this ever takes place, religion, justice, and temperance will revive; if not, it will be a long time before you see me in Rome. You cannot bear these things; but, strange to say, others not only swallow but digest them. Live among the Hernici, and enjoy the society of the upright and holy Filonardi, with whom I would rather spend one day at his villa of Fibrene than the rest of my life in any other place. I would send you my oration which you ask for, if I had time to write it out, or had a copyist or an amanuensis: deprived of these means I cannot now send it. Do not however vex yourself about this, for it has neither beauty nor grace; whatever it be however, I will send it corrected in a short time with the rest from the printer. When I say short, I mean within the space of a year; for at present they remain in my hands. Many reasons, my dear Corsini, make me rather doubtful about this; if I change my mind and defer the publication, be assured I will copy out the oration for you with my own hand, and not fail, since they are so agreeable to you, to gratify your desire to see these trifles of mine. Farewell. 13th of February, (1550). Lucca.”¹

The letters of Paleario do not give us much account of his private life; but from the above account of his passing his wife's ornaments we are led to conclude that she had joined him at Lucca. Probably his finances did not admit of his keeping two houses, and his family while young could live at Ceciniano at a very moderate expence; though his villa, from which he expected so much pleasure, proved rather a burden.

Paleario was very ill at Lucca while his wife was in considerable peril at Colle during a dangerous confinement. His friends sympathised so warmly in his anxiety, and were themselves so uneasy about his state of health, that first Pterigi Gallo, and then Casale Guidotti, a family connection, set off for Lucca to comfort him. The next day Guidotti wrote the following account of Paleario's state of health and anguish of mind about his wife:

M. CASALE TO HIS FRIENDS THE GUIDOTTI.

“The sun was rising when I left the town of Colle; I reached Lucca before the evening. Pterigi had arrived before me, which increased Paleario's fear that his wife was dead. Having learned from Pterigi that she was seized with the pains of labour, when I arrived three hours after, my horse bathed in sweat and my boots covered with mud, he was so greatly terrified on seeing

¹ Palearii Opera, lib. iv. ep. 20.

me that he burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, 'Oh my life, my light, the desire of my eyes!' He was suffering from fever and a pain in his side, and tossed himself from one side of the bed to the other, clasping the pillow: he would not believe either Pterigi or me when we told him his wife was alive. Though I tried to look cheerfully and speak calmly, yet I own, when I saw him so affected with fever and pain, I could not quite succeed, but I endeavoured to comfort him in every possible way. By way of encouragement I entered into particulars, and vowed that I was speaking the truth. I told him that his wife's labour had begun and promised to be long, but that the midwives were hopeful of a happy issue. I said I had come at the request of his wife to take him to her as soon as his health allowed him to move. This seemed to soothe him a little, but he could not lay aside his alarm, and was always afraid we were deceiving him. I think, and am indeed sure, that our arrival increased his illness, for while we were at supper he seemed very low-spirited; he fixed his eyes on us, and frequently sighed heavily. We remained with him till night was far advanced without perceiving any diminution of the pain or the fever. Wearing out with our journey we went to bed. About the third watch the servant says he told her to bring him ink and paper, as he wanted to write something. Not having closed his eyes all night, a little before dawn he had his bed carried upstairs to the room in which his wife's picture hangs. As soon as he laid down he began to perspire, and then fell asleep. While we were looking for something else we found a sheet of paper, on which was written in a trembling hand the following verses. I send them to you that you may see the love and affection he bears his wife, and console her with them if she is alive; if however anything unfortunate has happened, you yourselves may take comfort from them.

*Ni mihi spem Christus faceret, quem vita secuta es
Non possem abrupto vivere conjugio:
Ille mihi te olim redituram in luminis oras
Pollicitus, dulci pascit amore animum:
Interea Aonium venientem cursibus ad te
Expecta campis uxor in Elysiis.¹*

"Please God that the one may recover and the other live. As soon as the child is born send tidings here immediately. We, for I promise also for Pterigi, will do all we can here, though perhaps our services will not be much needed; for such is the nature of the malady that as soon as it begins to diminish it vanishes entirely. We pray God to allow us soon to return to you, and be the bearers of joyful and much-desired tidings.²

¹ If Christ were not my hope and stay,
Whom thou in life hast followed close,
Disjoined from thee I ne'er could live.
He promised, and he'll faithful prove
To raise thee up to life and light:
This feeds my soul with sweetest love.
Meanwhile, dear wife, Aonio hastes
To meet thee in Elysian fields.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 25.

This letter has occasioned some persons to think that Paleario's wife died at this time,¹ but a letter he wrote to his sons on his arrival at Milan in 1555 proves that she was alive then, as he desires them to console "that excellent woman their mother for his absence."²

The following letter was written after his illness to his confidential man of business.

AONIO PALEARIO TO PTERIGI GALLO.

"I was much pleased with Marco Casale's letter; it is both kindly and elegantly written. But still there are some things I should wish changed, in order that with due regard to time and place it may be conveniently inserted in the fourth book. I will write to him to-day more fully; I send the letter open that you may know the contents. In the packet you will find the seal that you may seal it, and if he is at Colle put it yourself into his own hands. If he is at Gemigniano there are plenty of people to carry it to him. There is no need of your coming here, as I shall be there on the seventh. I approve of your advice about Aganippe (the fountain). I do not wish the water to be laid on to the villa, nor to be increased in volume by the confluence of the rivulets. Where it first breaks forth there I would have it drawn, because there it is fresher, and exposed to the eastern sun, which is the most healthy. It will be advisable to raise the western wall to the height of eight feet, and to make square stone seats where we can dine in summer. By laying on water from the brooks we can irrigate the garden. As for the inscription which you desire, I have willingly written it. Be it your care to find some one who can engrave well in the old character, such as your friend Priscian calls the Eolic digamma, and which the Swiss and Germans still distinctly pronounce. It is found at Rome on the most precious marbles, *ampliafiti terminafitque*. Let the inscription be engraved on an oblong stone.

*Quem pellucidula manantem cernitis unda,
Fons hic muscosis obsitus iret aquis,
Nè Thuscos propere colles fissura tulisset
Cecinnæ campis Hærnica Nais opem,
Deduxit riftos, ne quisquam diceret hortos
Hesperidum post hac esse, sed Aonidum.³*

¹ Both the Jena and Amsterdam editions of his works say she died before him.

² *Matrem tuam, lectissimam feminam, . . . si opus est, consolare.*—Palearii Opera, lib. iv. ep. 30.

³ This gentle stream's pellucid wave
From mossy fountains took its rise
In fissures of the Tuscan hills;
But when the fair Hærnician Naiad
Had turned it on Cecinia's fields,
The garden then in smiling bloom,
Aonian not Hesperian seemed.

"The contractors who have rebuilt the house shall be paid. I wish the court-yard to be laid with flint-stones and sand to walk on in the morning. You know the taste of studious men, particularly when they grow old. As to the verses for the front of the house which you ask for, I wish the building could be finished as quickly as they were made; the Muses were propitious. That you may not have to take too many journies to the villa, I send them to you.

*Quem Thuscus Cecinna olim possederat agrum
Insignem latè frugibus et pecore,
Hernicus Aonius longo post tempore cultu
Longè auctum antiquo restituit genio.*¹

"What you write about the fish-pond does not please me. Is not the river Tusco enough? nor the Ripardo? I love frugality and dislike luxury. Aspasia needs a provision, and Sofonisba will soon require the same. What will Lampridio and Fedro do? I beseech you do not let us sacrifice these dear children. We must be prudent enough not to let the builders take our all. Lucca. 7th of May."²

These improvements were never entirely executed. The present inhabitant of the villa, justly proud of the fame of its former possessor, has affixed these inscription verses to the walls of the principal room.³

The period of Paleario's stay at Lucca was now drawing towards a close; his health had suffered severely from his incessant occupations, and he deeply felt the separation from his family; still necessity would perhaps have kept him at his post, but his well-known religious opinions, and the rivalry of various learned men who were eager to fill professional chairs, seem to have obliged him to comply with the custom of the times and move to another sphere.

In this depressed state of mind his thoughts reverted to his villa and his home. The following simple and natural letter enables us to sympathise with his feelings and share his anxieties. Besides being harassed by pecuniary cares, he was disappointed

¹ The fields which Tuscan Cecina once held,
Renowned for teeming corn and bleating sheep,
Have passed to one of ancient Latian race;
From Hernica long since Aonio came
To form and mould them to their ancient guise.

² Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 9.

³ The villa of Ceciniano was a few years ago offered to the author when seeking to hire a villa in the neighbourhood of Siena, but the distance from the town was an obstacle. It is half-a-mile from any road, and not approachable except on horseback. The present proprietor, Carlo Campini, is very proud of its former inhabitant, and shows the walk which is still called Aonio's walk. See Appendix D.

in his literary career and fearful of the dangers of persecution. The expence of two editions of his Orations had no doubt helped to exhaust his resources.¹

AONIO PALEARIO TO PTERIGI GALLO.

"If you and my wife and our children are in good health it is well. I can no longer bear the heavy air of this country; I feel, my dear Pterigi, that I have lost my health; I grow worse every day—neither diet nor medicine do me any good. My cough torments me day and night, and I have often a pain in my side, and besides these symptoms, which are very constant, I have also a great difficulty of breathing, which sadly depresses my spirits. This arises either from the disease itself, which has greatly diminished my strength, or from the loss of those excellent men who died a few years ago, Sadoleto and Bembo, Flaminio and Sfondrato,² true pillars of defence for me, and protectors of my writings. Or it may be because everywhere there is so much envy and malevolence, to which I shall certainly some day fall a prey. I have a great desire to fly to you, for it would be impossible to express how irksome study has become to me. We will pass whole days enjoying the sun at Ceciniano, either in the morning or after dinner, with Lampridio and Fedro my sweet children, and we will walk about with our wives and visit the neighbouring villas. I am suffering from illness owing to my not having taken exercise. Here I cannot go out of the house for the rain, which during several days has fallen incessantly; out yonder the sky is always more serene. I see, from the way you write, that my people affectionately expect my arrival. There are no men with whom I enjoy myself so much as with them; for though they also have unfulfilled wishes, yet compared to us they are happy. Let the garden be put in order that we may live on vegetables, for the expences of the town have exhausted my resources. The country will furnish us with herbs, snails, eggs, fish, chickens and thrushes: surely suppers are more healthy when composed of what the ground produces, and what is fed at home or procured by nets, than by that which is bought in the market. If we want to make a more sumptuous repast, your dish of cheese and salt fish will be royal food; if it is difficult of digestion, we will work in the garden to fatigue ourselves and assist our digestion. So get ready, and see that there be at the villa a hand-saw, an axe, a wedge, a pickaxe, a rake, a spade; and until we are quite well we will plant trees for the future generation. Farewell."³

This letter was probably written about the time he delivered his last oration, but as there are no dates to the letters this is entirely matter of conjecture.

The subject of the last oration which Paleario delivered was Felicity. It was spoken before the Senate and people of Lucca; at the close he takes leave of them as their orator.

¹ The second edition was printed by Sebast. Gryphius at Lyons in 1552. Besides the orations it contained four books of letters and twelve orations, and the poem *De animorum immortalitate*.

² Sadoleto and Bembo died in 1547, Flaminio and Sfondrato in 1550.

³ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 28.

The fifth year of his charge, he says, is that day completed, his employment is over and his repose begun. The religious and philosophical tone of this oration confirms the idea that his discourses were of too elevated a nature for his audience. He eloquently contrasts the happiness of a well-regulated life with the sorrows and miseries of cupidity and guilt;—reminds them that he had begun by asserting that philosophy is a gift from above which transforms the humblest and most unhappy lot into one of peace and joy;—beseeches them to elevate their minds to the most ancient and eternal model of true happiness, the great and omnipotent God;—and entreats them to lend him their patient attention while he discourses on so desirable a good. Then, following the Aristotelian manner, he points out that man is composed of two parts or substances; the one frail, perishable, and mortal like the beasts; the other stable, durable, and eternal. The one corporeal, subject to the senses; the other intellectual, superior to the senses, and dwelling in its own contemplations. Felicity consists in the union of the advantages both of body and mind; disjoined and apart they cannot confer true happiness. He alludes to the folly of some men, who in search of uninterrupted contemplation have foregone all the decencies and comforts of life, and taken up their abode with the beasts of the desert, and have tortured themselves with cruel torments under the mistaken idea of drawing nearer to God. Others have imagined, by sacrificing every social and domestic tie, and throwing away their money, that they were doing God service. Who that is wise does not know that the mind, like the Minerva of Phidias on the rock, is placed as a lord and master over the body, and ought to receive its counsels as oracles. Whoever disregards them despises both divine and human rights. Youthful students require to be reminded that they ought not to study philosophy for the purpose of arguing and disputing, but in order to progress in wisdom and virtue. He congratulates them on the tranquillity which they enjoy at the foot of the Apennines, while the rest of Italy is devastated with the miseries of war. This tranquillity is owing to their wise regulations and their industrious and commercial habits. True happiness consists in uniting useful action with divine contemplation: nothing is so delightful as the study of divine things. So ardently does he aspire to the joys of heavenly contemplations, that he can no

longer refrain from entreating the senators, in presence of the people of Lucca, to take into consideration the maturity of his years, relieve him of the charge of orator,¹ and bestow it on some younger and more gifted person. Then will he (Paleario) be at liberty to obey a higher call than that of the people of Lucca, even that of Him who is the author, ruler, and maker of all things, and who guides and directs our wills. Grateful for the benefits he has for five years experienced from the people of Lucca, he prays that God will continue to guard and preserve their republic from all danger or molestation, and that true learning may always flourish among them. At the close he beseeches the great Ruler of heaven and earth to bless his beloved Lucchese, and make them prosperous and happy.²

It is impossible not to perceive that a shade of disappointment pierces through these noble and religious sentiments, and that it was not altogether willingly that he gave up his task as orator. At the age of fifty he was still able to do good service, and his subsequent acceptance of a similar appointment at Milan shews that his mental faculties were still in their full vigour.

As Marc' Antonio Zondadari,³ of Siena, Paleario's successor as professor of the classics, was not chosen till the month of March in the year 1555, we are uncertain whether Paleario, in ceasing to be orator at Lucca, relinquished also his post of professor. They were evidently two distinct appointments, supported by separate funds; but from the note below it would seem that the orations were delivered at different times both in the College and in the Senate-house. Lazzeri does not think he gave up teaching till 1555, and we have full evidence that he remained there till the close of 1553.⁴

We have now arrived at the close of another phase of the life of Paleario; we have analysed and translated eighty of his

¹ In the first edition of these Orations, published at Lucca in 1551, there is a note by the printer Busdracus, signifying that the orations *De laudibus eloquentia in Gymnasio*, and that *De Republica in Curia*, were to be placed before *De Felicitate*. This edition is very rare; it is not to be found in any of the public libraries. Lazzeri, who is critically accurate, seems never to have seen it, for he speaks of the earliest edition as that of Lyons in 1552.

² Palearii *Opera*, Orat. XII. p. 167.

³ Zondadari staid only one year, and left in 1556; the reason is not known.—Luochesini, *Memorie del Ducato di Lucca*, p. 43.

⁴ Luochesini says, in the Archives *Libri delle Riformazioni*, it is recorded that the Senate in 1556 confirmed his appointment for the whole of that year.—*Idem*, note, p. 42.

letters and many of his orations. He has been placed before us as an eloquent advocate, a refined scholar, and an earnest and serious christian. We have beheld him struggling manfully against persecution and prejudice, suffering under disappointment, and exposed to a lot foreign to his inclination, yet necessary to his existence. The life of a scholar encumbered by the cares of a family is ever an anxious one. The departure of Paleario from Rome after the misfortunes of 1527 deprived him of the advantages of patronage. His marriage fixed him at Siena, and his family drained his resources. His wife, who was of a good family, was fond of expence; and notwithstanding his acknowledged talents, he does not seem to have been universally appreciated at Lucca. Probably his love of moral philosophy and his hatred of scholastic mysticism raised him up enemies among the priestly party. A small state, and particularly a republic, is ever exposed to conflicts between individuals. Paleario was unhappily endowed with a refined and sensitive mind, which made him too keenly alive to the pains and pleasures of humanity. His engagement with the republic of Lucca is now over, and he retires for a short repose to the bosom of his family. His separation from them, added to his broken health, had seriously depressed his spirits, and he turns for consolation to his home. There, in the society of his wife, surrounded by his children, he proposed to carry out his plans of improvement. But the want of funds no doubt prevented their execution. The water still trickles over broken and shapeless stones, and the walk, traditionally called Aonio's walk, offers no beauty to attract the lover of the picturesque. But the air is good, the retirement perfect, and we may picture to ourselves the family group assembled on a dewy morning or on a hot sultry evening, watching the glorious sunsets which are so frequently to be seen in Italy. We may imagine Paleario himself rising at early dawn, and see him, with flowing hair and head bent down, perambulating his domain. Filled with thoughts of immortality, indulging in philosophical reveries, he lifts both thoughts and eyes to heaven, and while gazing on the splendour of the firmament he tastes the luxury of divine contemplation.

Here we leave him for the present; his leisure will not be of long duration; there is much work still in store for him; and after a life of conflict he will be called to fight the great battle of faith, and to lay down his life for the truth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PETER PAUL VERGERIO.

1498—1563.

BIRTHPLACE—FAMILY—SECRETARY TO CLEMENT VII.—SENT NUNCIO TO FERDINAND—
TO THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY—HIS INTERVIEW WITH LUTHER—MADE BISHOP OF
CAPO D'ISTRIA—GOES TO FRANCE—LETTER TO THE MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA—
QUEEN OF NAVARRE—HER PIETY—LETTER TO ALEMANNI—TO BEMBO—TO CAMILLA
VALENTI—TO VIDA—VERGERIO AT WORMS—LETTER TO THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE
—VERGERIO GOES TO ROME—LETTERS—GOES TO HIS DIOCESE—COMBATS SUPER-
STITION—ACCUSED OF LUTHERANISM BY THE FRIARS—REMOVES A LARGE PASTE-
BOARD IMAGE OF ST. GEORGE ON HORSEBACK FROM THE CHURCH—SUMMONED
BEFORE THE NUNCIO—CARDINAL OF MANTUA HIS FRIEND—INQUISITORIAL PER-
QUISITION—FRANCESCO SPIRA—EMBRACES THE GOSPEL—RETRACTS PUBLICLY
THROUGH FEAR—DIES RAVING MAD—CONSTERNATION OF VERGERIO—LEAVES
ITALY FOR VICOSOPRANO—CONSECRATES THE CHURCH AT POSCHIAVO—CORRESPONDS
WITH THE ZURICH REFORMERS—MAINARDI—CAMILLO RENATO—CONFESSION OF
FAITH—ANABAPTISTS—VERGERIO VISITS SWITZERLAND, PRUSSIA, TUBINGEN—
HIS DEATH—WRITINGS—BERNI—HIS STANZA.

VERGERIO, to whom we owe the preservation and republication of the articles against cardinal Morone, was a bishop and papal Nuncio. At the period of the reformation in Germany he had been employed in various legations, and his official communications with the Protestants drew his attention to the abuses of the Church both in doctrine and discipline. Like Luther, he at first discerned only the grossest superstitions and the most striking evils, and imagined that the reforms which Paul III. had projected would do all that was required. But as his mind became more enlightened, especially during a visit to Paris, where he was in close communication with the queen of Navarre,¹

¹ Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis I., who married Henry, king of Navarre.

he began to understand something of the true nature of the Gospel, and to enjoy the promise of divine grace set forth in the Scriptures.¹ When however he honestly set about reforming his diocese, he found it impracticable. While discouraging superstition, and inculcating true religion and purity of life, he raised up a host of enemies who sounded the war-note of heresy and gathered round him the emissaries of the Inquisition. Their power was unquestionable, their victim under their command, and fear drove him out of Italy.

The flight of a bishop created even a greater sensation than the defection of the eloquent Ochino,² or of the learned Peter Martyr.³ The court of Rome discovered too late the error of pushing to extremities a man so conversant with its secrets, so versed in controversy, and possessed of such ready eloquence both in speaking and writing. The conclave lamented having shewn to the world that it was impossible for a man who acted conscientiously, and taught his flock according to Scripture, to remain in the Roman Catholic Church.

Pietro Paolo Vergerio was born at Capo d'Istria⁴ in the Venetian territory about the year 1498. An ancestor of the same name was one of the most gifted scholars of the Byzantine age,⁵ and the friend and favourite of Petrarch; but our Vergerio's parents were of so little note that no record remains even of their names.⁶ We only know that he had three brothers, Aurelio, Giacomo, and Giovan Battista, and that they all had their way to make in the world.

Vergerio, like his distinguished ancestor, studied law at Padua, and took his degree there. The reputation of the uni-

¹ See p.

² See CHAP. VIII.

³ See CHAP. IX.

⁴ It was formerly called Justinopolis, having been built by Justin, son of Justinian, to protect the Istrians from the incursions of the Sclavonians, and was destroyed in the early ages, but subsequently restored. After it came into the possession of the Venetians it was called Cavo or Capo d'Istria, from being placed at the entrance of that country. It stands on a narrow island, about a mile long, which is connected with the mainland by a moveable bridge, flanked by four towers.—Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia*, p. 500.

⁵ Among his works extant one is much admired, *De eruditione liberorum*. He lived chiefly at Padua with the lords of Carrara, whose sons he educated. He died about a hundred years before our bishop was born.

⁶ His family though noble had fallen into decay, which involves his early years in obscurity. It is only by a letter written 10th of February, 1562, in which he says he is 64 years of age, that we can conjecture the time of his birth.

versity was at that time so great that there were no less than eight hundred students of different nations; English, French, Germans, Poles and Greeks. As foreigners they had special privileges, and their eagerness to support the honour of their various nations stimulated them to distinguish themselves. After Vergerio had completed his first course of study he was very desirous of going to Wittemberg, where the fame of Luther's learning and boldness was attracting many spirited youths. An opportunity presented itself which very nearly led to the accomplishment of his wishes. Frederic, Elector of Saxony, a pious but unenlightened prince, had a choice collection of relics, which he was continually increasing. His chaplain, Spalatinus, corresponded with Burchard, baron von Schenk, and commissioned him to send some relics to the Elector. Burchard in his reply highly commended Luther's works, but said they were interdicted by the Pope, and that the Patriarch of Venice had ordered a perquisition to be made at all the booksellers with an intention of seizing them, but care had been taken that none should be found. He himself, he said, was very anxious to read them, but dare not for fear of their being seized. While Burchard was looking for some trusty messenger to carry the relics, Vergerio and his brother Giacomo offered their services to take them to Wittemberg. The baron furnished them with letters of recommendation to Spalatinus, and mentioned Vergerio's desire to study at Wittemberg, assuring his friend that his talents would do credit to the university. But providence had other ends in view for Vergerio, and the Wittemberg scheme fell to the ground. The two youths did indeed set out, but illness obliged them to return, and meanwhile the Gospel made such rapid progress at Wittemberg that the relics lost their value, and the messengers their office. On the 18th of July 1522 Spalatinus sent back the relics and the cross to his friend Schenk, telling him to dispose of them in any way he thought best; for in Saxony the people were now so well instructed in divine things that they no longer had any regard for superstition. Faith in God, he said, and love to mankind were now considered more essential than relics. This letter offered no prospect for the two young men, so they remained in Italy and applied themselves to different professions.

Pietro Paolo became notary and vicar of the Podestà at

Padua.¹ Bembo speaks of him in a letter to Angelo Gabriele, an advocate at Venice in 1526.²

“You will have among you in a few days a most amiable and excellent man, who besides being a good lawyer is well versed in literature. His courteous manners and virtuous disposition have gained my friendship, and I am very desirous of being useful to him. He is an orator, and fills the office of vicar till Maffei Michele comes to be Podestà; the person I speak of is M. Pietro Paolo Vergerio of Justinopolis (Capo d’Istria). I beg you for my sake to give him a gracious reception, and assist him as much as lies in your power.”

Vergerio remained at Venice and in its neighbourhood till the year 1530, when his brother Aurelio, having been appointed secretary to Clement VII., Vergerio determined to go to Rome to push his fortunes. His chief object being worldly advantage he resolved to enter the Church, convinced that in an ecclesiastical state this was the surest way to honour.³ He was not unknown to cardinal Contarini, at that time in high favour at Rome. This good cardinal, ever ready to forward the interests of his countrymen, presented him to the Pope with high eulogiums on his abilities.

It so happened that Clement was at that time looking out for a man of talent and agreeable manners, in whom he could thoroughly confide, to be sent as envoy to Germany. The young Vergerio made so agreeable an impression at first sight that he was immediately chosen secretary instead of his brother Aurelio. He was received into the palace, and admitted by the Pope to the closest personal intimacy.

In 1529 he was sent Nuncio to Ferdinand king of the Romans to dissuade him from holding a Council in Germany. He was desired to entice the king to comply with the Pope’s wishes by allowing him to draw contributions from the clergy, and even to melt down the silver plate and ornaments of the churches for the expences of the war against the Turks.

Clement was so satisfied with Vergerio’s talents for nego-

¹ Representative of the magistrate.

² Bembo, *Letters*, tom. ii. p. 22.

³ His enemy, La Casa, accused him of poisoning his wife that he might gratify his love of gain and enter the Church, and he even gives her name, Diana; but this improbable story is refuted by Vergerio’s own letters. In 1533 he wrote to Aretino expressing his satisfaction that he had not followed his advice and taken a wife: *Quanto vi faticaste, Aretino mio, per fmo al sudor, ma fmo alla colera d’us volte per vostra gratia di maritarmi.* 7 May, 1533.—*Lettere scritte al Sig. P. Aretino*, 1552.

tiation, that in 1533 he directed him to replace Hugo Rangoni, bishop of Reggio, at the court of John Frederic, Elector of Saxony.¹ Rangoni had been instructed to propose a free and general Council. The Elector required time to reply, but soon after expressed his satisfaction at the prospect of a free and unconstrained assembly, in which the word of God would decide all controversies. He could decide nothing however, he said, without the consent of those princes and towns who followed the Confession of Augsburg; he would lay the subject before the Assembly of Sinalcald, which was to meet on the 24th of June, and then reply to the Nuncio. We have already seen that the German Protestants resolutely refused to submit to any Council held under the authority of the Pope, and this was the substance of their answer to the Nuncio. Their reply, with the Pope's proposal, was printed and sent to the Emperor and to Rome. Clement, annoyed that his plans should be so openly disclosed, recalled Rangoni and sent Vergerio in his place. His orders were to follow his predecessor's instructions, but on no account to listen to any modified proposals, even from the king himself. All engagements about a Council were to be carefully avoided, as well as every arrangement which could in any way militate against the paramount authority of the Holy See.

On the accession of Paul III. in 1534 Vergerio was summoned to Rome to give an account of his mission, and then sent back to Germany with a more defined commission. He was directed to visit the Protestant princes and cities, and endeavour to persuade them to sanction the meeting of a Council in Italy. The Protestant divines were not to be overlooked,² and they were if possible to be won by promises and favours.³

¹ He succeeded his father, John the Constant, who died of apoplexy on the 16th of August, 1532.

² Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*.

³ He was desired *d'ovviare che in quell' anno non si facesse alcuna Dieta nella quale si stabilisce doverci far un Concilio nazionale come si minacciava, e di procurare che il Concilio universale si avesse di celebrare in effetto*. Pallavicini says Vergerio advised the Pope to conceal this from the Imperial Government: *ammonì il Papa perohè tal massima si classe anche dagli oratori Cesarei per essersi nel consiglio di Cesare vario Luterani*. Pallavicini adds that with these men, who were so jealous of their liberty, the Nuncio was obliged to abstain from all appearance of command, while at the same time he sustained the authority of the Pope, by expressing the esteem and paternal affection he entertained for their nation, and how much he desired their consent and good will.—Conte Carli, *Pietro Paolo Vergerio*, tom. xv. Milano, 1786.

In compliance with these instructions Vergerio went to Wittemberg to see Luther, and to put in practice those arts of flattery and delusion with which the court of Rome is wont to ensnare its victims. The Nuncio assured Luther that the Pope and the sacred College held him in the highest esteem, and felt much grieved to lose a man who might have been so eminently useful, had he been disposed to devote his talents to the service of God, a service inseparable from the Church of Rome. His Holiness and all the Cardinals highly blamed the harshness of Cajetan, and the step taken by Pope Leo¹ had been distasteful to the whole Roman court. If Luther would return to the obedience of the Papal See he would receive the highest honours and favours. Vergerio, with engaging modesty, declined entering into controversy with Luther, but was desirous of pointing out to him how advantageous his submission to the head of the Church would be. A man, said he, must have a great deal of self-love and immeasurably idolize his own ideas, to trouble the world with his individual opinions. If it were a matter of conscience with him to change the religion in which he was born, and which he had professed for thirty years, love to his neighbour would have led him to conceal his sentiments, instead of disturbing the world by denouncing the religion of his forefathers. The Pope was now resolved to apply a remedy and convoke a Council at Mantua, where all the learned men in Europe might assemble to declare the truth, and shame those unquiet spirits who disturb the public peace. "Though our chief confidence should be placed on the divine goodness, yet God makes use of second causes, and it depends on you, Luther, whether the remedy proposed be efficacious or not. If you come to the Council and comport yourself with gentleness and charity, there is little doubt of success." Vergerio then cited the example of Enea Silvio,² who with all his labour and industry could never obtain more than a canonry at Trent as long as he followed his own opinions; but as soon as he laid them aside he became bishop, cardinal, and finally Pope. He reminded Luther also of Bessarione³, who from being a monk at Trebizond was raised to the honour of the purple.⁴

¹ He excommunicated Luther. See Roscoe, *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, vol. ii. p. 217. Bohn, 1846.

² See Appendix A.

³ See Vol. II. CHAP. XII.

⁴ Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 77.

Those who know the character of Luther,¹ who was at this time "vigorous both in mind and body, fresh from the schools, and fervent in the Scriptures," will readily imagine that Vergerio's shallow reasoning and worldly promises would have no effect on the rough but spiritual mind of the reformer. What attraction could the most splendid earthly good have for the man who despised 'filthy lucre,' and who was accustomed to commune on divine subjects, and to breathe a holy atmosphere of thought unknown to the courtly Nuncio. He was a stranger to the ennobling nature of God's eternal truth, and plied Luther with such arguments as would have had weight with himself.

No wonder that Luther, while still in the body and subject to human infirmity, was filled with indignation at the idea of bartering his highest heavenly hopes for an idle name or a purple robe. Paolo Sarpi says his answer was like himself, harsh and vehement. He told Vergerio he was quite indifferent as to what the court of Rome thought of him; that though he was but an unprofitable servant, his great desire was to occupy himself in the service of God; he could see no connection between this service and the Church of Rome, unless indeed darkness could be joined to light. No circumstance of his life had been of such real advantage to him as the harshness of cardinal Cajetan, and the severity of Leo X., and he received it as the wholesome teaching of divine providence. At that time he was not thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of faith; he had only discovered the evil of Indulgences, and would willingly have been silent had his adversaries been so likewise. But the severity of the court of Rome had obliged him to study the Scriptures, and had led him to discover other errors and corruptions in the Roman Catholic religion, errors which he could not conscientiously dissimulate or conceal. The Nuncio had honestly confessed he did not understand theology, that great science in which all religious opinions were concentrated. If he had not himself admitted his ignorance the tenour of his arguments made it

¹ Melancthon, who knew him well, considered him superior to all his contemporaries. After speaking of Pomeranus and Justus Jonas, he says: "But Luther is *omnis in omnibus*, complete in everything; a very miracle among men; whatever he says, whatever he writes, penetrates their minds, and leaves the most astonishing stings in their hearts."—Milner, *Church History*, vol. iv. Appendix, p. 613.

evident. Luther denied that the doctrines which he preached could be called new, except by those who believed that Jesus Christ, the Apostles, and the Fathers had lived as the Popes do. As to disturbing the world, those who read the Scriptures know that it is an essential property of the Gospel to rouse people from their lethargy. It separates even the children from the fathers, it gives life to those who receive it, and brings condemnation when rejected. The great defect of the Church of Rome was its worldly policy, its desire for temporal power and earthly dominion. This is the wisdom which passes for folly¹ in the sight of God; while the court of Rome, on the other hand, despises all who trust to the promises of God and put the concerns of their Church into His hands. It was not, said Luther, in his power to make the Council minister to the advantage of the Church, for that would depend entirely on those who were masters of its liberty. If the assembly would sincerely ask the aid of the Holy Spirit, and bring the disputed points to the test of Scripture without mixing up worldly artifices or interests, he would attend and act in a christian and temperate manner: not with the idea of conciliating the Pope or any earthly power, but for the service of Jesus Christ, and the peace of the Church. He knew however that no dependence was to be placed on an assembly of men who were learned but not religious, for it was just those very men, the sages of the world, who readily embraced the most absurd errors. He would not receive anything from Rome which was unsuitable to a minister of the Gospel. As to the examples of advancement which Vergerio cited, they made no impression on him, for he despised vain imaginations and false grandeur. If he were really ambitious he could already boast, as Erasmus wittily observed, "that a poor man like Luther was capable of enriching others," for Fisher bishop of Rochester had been made cardinal, and Schomberg archbishop of Capua, solely on his account. In conclusion he told the Nuncio that he as fully believed in the truth of the doctrines he held as if he had seen what was declared in the Scriptures with his bodily eyes; and that he felt persuaded that the Pope, the Nuncio, and the whole Roman court would sooner embrace his opinions than he theirs.

This resolute speech quenched all hope which Vergerio

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 19.

might have entertained of shaking the firmness of the reformer; he tried other ministers of the Gospel at Wittemberg and elsewhere, but met with the same reply from all whose opinions were of any value. If some yielded to his persuasions, they were men of such inferior qualities that they carried no weight.¹

This is Sarpi's account of the interview between the Nuncio and Luther: but Pallavicini denies that the Pope commissioned Vergerio to see Luther; and states that the Nuncio, being obliged to pass through Wittemberg, was received with great honour by the governor, who waited on him at table during supper. Next morning at breakfast he went to offer him the same attention, accompanied by two divines, Martin Luther and John Bugenhagen.² The Nuncio was told that the court and the members of the university being absent on account of the plague, these were the only persons at Wittemberg fit to bear him company, and converse with him in Latin. The Nuncio could do no less than listen to their conversation. He found that Luther spoke very barbarous Latin, and set him down for a proud, malicious, rash kind of person, with very coarse manners. Among other things Luther said, "Have you heard a report in Italy that I have the character of being a great German drunkard?" This and other speeches the Nuncio reported in a letter to Cardinal Pole's secretary, and described Luther's manners and dress. This is Pallavicini's account.³ The truth probably lies between the two narratives; the meeting might have been contrived by others, and yet the substance of the conversation narrated by Sarpi be correct. Be this as it may, Vergerio returned to Rome and assured the Pope that the Protestants would never sanction any council that was not perfectly free, and held in some convenient place within the limits of the empire. Nothing was to be expected from Luther or his associates, and force of arms would alone reduce the strength of the Protestant party.

The Pope then sent Vergerio to Naples to see the Emperor, who had just returned from his successful expedition in Africa.⁴

¹ Sarpi, *Concilio Tridentino*, p. 79.

² See Appendix B.

³ Pallavicini, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, lib. iii. capo 18. If the letter be genuine, we must believe it rather than Sarpi; but there is no mention of this letter in the collection of letters written to Cardinal Pole, edited by Cardinal Quirini.

⁴ See *CHAP. VI.* p. 199.

After hearing Vergerio's report, the Emperor signified that on his progress to Germany he should pass through Rome, and would confer with the Pope. They had long secret consultations together on the affairs of Germany and Italy. The Roman Pontiff's counsels were all in favour of war; but the Emperor was already engaged in a war with France about Milan, and thought an attack upon the Protestants unseasonable. Paul III. suggested a league with the Venetians to keep the French in check. Charles, who knew that the Pope secretly coveted the duchy of Milan for his grandson, professed himself not indisposed to a war in Germany, but before he resorted to violence he wished to see what could be done by a council. The Pope acquiesced, indulging the hope of being able to overawe the council by the presence of troops.

In the year 1536 Vergerio was rewarded for his services by the gift of the bishopric of his native place, Capo d'Istria. There was some difficulty in his collation to the benefice, as Ferdinand, king of the Romans, claimed the right of patronage. On the 24th of June Vergerio wrote to Aretino¹:

“The Pope has made me bishop of a church which king Ferdinand claims to be his, and which he wished himself to give me. I shall enjoy it as long as God pleases; by and bye perhaps something else may offer. It is at least a spouse which we can change and repudiate at pleasure.”

This light manner of expressing himself was not, as Tiraboschi says, very suitable to the sacred character of a bishop. But we must recollect that he was writing to the most satirical and facetious genius of the age, and at a time when ecclesiastical benefices were looked on merely as a means of subsistence or of gratifying ambition; no religious duties being necessarily attached to them. In this letter he adds that he was going shortly to Germany. How long he staid there is uncertain, but it appears that his long absence occasioned some rumours that his opinions had undergone a change.² By his letters to Aretino we find that in 1539 he was at Padua and at the baths of Abano, and that in

¹ On the 24th of July, 1536, Vergerio wrote to Aretino about the difficulties of presentation, “Io m'ho faticato tanto, e fermato di modo che non può essere altrimenti che non si faccia. Questo era tutto il desiderio mio per zelo dell'honor, e dell'estaurazione della fede di Gesù Cristo che ne ha bisogno, e poi io era rovinato se questa indizione non si faceva.”—Carli *Opere*.

² See letter of Alexander, Appendix C.

1540 he was at Ferrara, just about to set out with Cardinal Ippolito d'Este for France. In one of these letters he speaks out, and expresses his dissatisfaction with the Pope :

“ I know what Rome is, and what you are, and that there is no similarity between you. I took my three books in Italian to Rome ; and though the subject seemed more particularly to belong to the Church, I would not dedicate them to the Pope, but to the king of France, who is most christian, and who seems disposed to recompense the poor author. I shall soon know whether he really intends to do so. I have finished another treatise on episcopacy, also in Italian, and this too I shall dedicate to his majesty.”

While on his journey with the Cardinal they passed near the monastery of S. Benedetto of Mantua, where Gregorio Cortese resided. Vergerio took this opportunity of trying to get his bishopric relieved of an annual pension which weighed heavily on his small revenues. Cortese wrote to Cardinal Contarini on his behalf in the following terms :

“ Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, seems to be filled with an ardent desire for the glory of God, and I think he will prove this by his actions. Monsignore d'Istria has earnestly entreated me to speak in his favour to you about a certain pension with which his bishopric is charged, and from which he desires to be freed. As this seems to be a just request, I heartily commend it to the attention of your reverence. He says some hopes have been given him that the person to whom he pays it will receive something in exchange.”

We have an interesting account of his first impressions on arriving in France, in a letter he wrote to Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara. He speaks of the queen of Navarre as a model of piety, and extols her fervour in the cause of Christ. Her conversation seems to have fanned to flame the little spark of divine grace which had been kindled when in communication with some religious persons in Italy and Germany, and more particularly by his conversation with Vittoria Colonna and some of the well disposed cardinals. This 'school,' as Vergerio calls it, all held the doctrine of justification by faith ; but when the Church declared itself opposed to this doctrine the voice of joyful gratitude to God for this unspeakable gift died away, and their love to Christ grew faint under the burthens imposed by the hierarchy. In the absence of more minute details, the tenor of the following letter informs us that before Vergerio left Italy he had wavered in his allegiance to the Holy See.

TO THE LADY MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA.

“MOST EXCELLENT LADY,

“I have written twice to your Excellency about my journey from Rome to this place, and have given you an account of the most remarkable things which I have seen, as well as of my thoughts and studies. I will now continue my recital; but first, may the peace of God, sweeter far than anything in this world, be with you, keep, and fill your heart and mind. We arrived at Fontainebleau, where the court now is, on the 11th of this month, safe and well, the cardinal and all of us. The most christian king¹ received him (the cardinal) with great affection, and shews him most surprising favour. When I first arrived the court appeared to me very grand; but I think in a few days it will appear even more attractive, as I shall gradually become acquainted with the princes and great persons,—and I hope to be intimate with some of them, especially with those who have some light and knowledge of the ways of God. I earnestly desire that the Divine Majesty may grant me grace both to enter on, and follow the path in which your Excellency has been so long walking that you have already advanced a good way. I have not yet paid my respects to the most serene queen of Navarre, nor delivered to her the message of your Excellency, because, knowing her to be a person of very solid judgment, and conscious of my own incapacity and ignorance, I would not rush hastily into her presence. I saw and observed her attentively for more than an hour, while her majesty was speaking to my cardinal, and I beheld in the expression of her countenance, and in all her movements, an harmonious union of majesty, modesty, and benevolence. Besides this, as your Excellency has already heard, I discerned that fervour of spirit and that clear light which God has imparted to her. Thus she can walk in the blessed foretaste of eternal life, without stumbling at those impediments which offer themselves to us in this mortal state. I shall endeavour to be admitted soon to kiss her hand, and to be edified by approaching nearer to contemplate her most excellent virtues. If she deigns to allow me sometimes to listen to her, I shall the less regret having left the school of your Excellency, and that of the most reverend cardinals, Contarini, Pole, Bembo, and Fregoso,² who were all so united together. My studies are those of a traveller, that is without order; and the little I do read is in those authors who speak of our Master Christ, whose holy words and actions best nourish our souls. I have composed four discourses upon German affairs, but I do not send them at present to your Excellency for want of a safe opportunity. I am afraid to send them by uncertain channels; having expressed myself as a true christian, that is, I have spoken freely to the honour of God. This does not please the world, which differs so widely and acts so contrary to his ways. I earnestly beseech your Excellency to pray to God for me, who am cold and well-nigh frozen, but sincerely desirous of being some day warm in his service. Christ sees the heart and its desires: may he inflame me with a spark of his love. This do I entreat of him by all that he has done for our souls; but not having as yet received grace, I entreat your Excellency to pray that I may be heard.³

“The Bishop VERGERIO.”

¹ Francis I. ² See Appendix D. ³ *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 67, edit. 1646,

A second letter, written from France to the Marchioness of Pescara, is even more interesting than the first, as it gives a detailed account of his conversations with the queen of Navarre. It makes us deeply regret that we have not access to the written minutes of these conversations on the state of the Church, which lasted four hours. A recital of the manner in which this pious and accomplished queen treated spiritual doctrines would be inestimably precious. Vergerio's letter confirms the account given by various historians of the piety and religious zeal of this distinguished princess. The most convincing proof of her having cordially embraced the glad tidings of the Gospel in all their fulness and freeness, is her poem, *Miroir de l'Ame pecheresse*, headed by a verse of the 51st Psalm, *Seigneur Dieu, crée en moy cœur net*.¹ This poem was condemned by the Sorbonne because it set forth Christ as the only means of salvation and justification, and made no mention of saints and monks. The king however, at the entreaty of his sister, obliged the divines to revoke their censure.

Amid the ignorance and intolerance of priests and monks, it is refreshing to meet with a noble and virtuous princess coming forward to advocate the spiritual truths of the Gospel in such humble and devotional strains.

TO THE LADY MARCHIONESS OF PESCARA.

" MOST EXCELLENT LADY,

" May the grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father and Jesus Christ, Son of the Father, in truth and love be with you.

" Your Excellency knows this was the way St. John saluted that lady whom he called elect. Not without mystery, with great fervour did she come to the knowledge of the Gospel. In this same way do I salute you, who are one of those bright elect lights who set forth these same truths, which are almost hidden in the darkness of this our age. As my chief object in conferring with you by letter is to be stimulated in the service of our Lord God, I see no reason to avoid beginning with so long a salutation. I have taken it from a source where nothing is to be found which is not good, and suitable for every place and season. God does not observe whether we attend to worldly customs or to the rules and ornaments of earthly knowledge, but whether we nourish ourselves with his word, and say and do all to the glory of his Divine Majesty.

" I am now to give you an account of the great joy and consolation I have received these few days past from the most serene queen of Navarre. I have passed four long hours at two different times con-

¹ See Appendix E.

versing with her about the present state of the Church of God, about the study of divine things, and on some of the most delightful points of spiritual doctrine, the same subjects which your Excellency desires we should be always thinking of and conversing about. These conversations are like rich treasures, worthy of being preserved and communicated. They are also of such a nature, that imparting them to others enhances their value. As soon as I had left her majesty I made notes of our subjects of conversation, and if I have time to-day to revise and transcribe them I will send them with this despatch, to shew your Excellency how high the intellect of this queen soars, and how rightly she speaks and feels of the grace of God and of the power of his word. Having noted the sum and substance of her opinions, I ought also to describe the fervour, eloquence, and marvellous grace with which her majesty expressed herself. I do not think, my Lady Marchioness, it would have been possible to speak better. Here you will say, how could you understand her, as she generally speaks French, which I know you do not comprehend? Her majesty spoke in French: I do not understand others who speak in that language, nevertheless I think I understood her, and lost very few words. I will tell you why; she knows our Italian tongue though she does not speak it; she also knows Latin very tolerably, and pronounces it extremely well. Her majesty, compassionating my slight knowledge of the language, and wishing to be understood, when she made use of a French word which she thought I should find difficult, immediately explained it by an Italian or Latin word. She pronounces also so distinctly and clearly that she soon made me comprehend the sense of her words; and besides this she was speaking on subjects which I have frequently heard discussed. I think I comprehended and have rightly noted these conversations, and your Excellency will see and read them with astonishment, pleasure, and edification. Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, who in these our turbulent times has raised up in various cities and provinces spirits of this kind. I daily meditate on this with wonder and consolation. In this kingdom there is the most serene queen of whom I am speaking; in Ferrara the lady Renée of France;¹ in Urbino the lady Leonora Gonzaga; and many others who are filled with the love of Christ. In Rome there is the lady Vittoria Colonna. This is speaking of your sex only. For my own part I feel convinced that this is the manner in which the holy vineyard, the Church of the Lord, in which there are so many thorns and obscurities, will be purified and enlightened. If God in his goodness goes on raising up such fervent spirits in both sexes, in various cities and provinces, we may awake from the long sleep which has closed our eyes and weighed down our faculties, and be enlightened with a true knowledge of the way to serve God much more than by all the ink in the world, (even though we wrote new reformations every day,²) more than by all the Diets which ever assembled. *Emitte Verbum suum*, He will send forth his word, to speak of God, and to soften that which was hardened, namely our hearts and minds, which were shut up in the solid ice of error and worldly thoughts. When the Spirit of God breathes on us the ice will

¹ See CHAP. XIII.

² An allusion to the reforms drawn up by the command of Paul III.

thaw, and carried by the vessels of his grace we shall pass over the waves of error to eternal truth! Who can restrain or retard our course, and the impetus of the Spirit of God? I commend myself to your Excellency.¹

"VERGERIO."

About the same time Vergerio wrote the following letter to Luigi Alemanni.² He was the Florentine poet who had been engaged in the conspiracy against cardinal Giulio de' Medici in 1522. His life being consequently in danger he fled from his country, and took refuge at Urbino, Venice, and Genoa. But at the election of cardinal Giulio as Pope under the name of Clement VII. he was again a wanderer till 1527: during the brief period in which Florence maintained her independence he took an active part in the affairs of his country,³ but when in 1530 Florence was subdued Alemanni again fled, and was declared a rebel. Catherine de' Medici took compassion on him and made him master of her household; and he was for some time in the service of cardinal Ippolito d' Este the younger. In 1540 he was sent as ambassador by Francis I. to Charles V. An amusing anecdote is told of the Emperor's ready memory at the public reception of Alemanni. The poet was according to custom making a laudatory speech, in which he frequently introduced the word *Aquila*. Charles smiled and interrupted him, saying, *L'Aquila grifagna, che per piu devorar due becchi porta*—The griffin eagle which to devour the more has two beaks. This allusion to some verses which the poet had written for Francis I. for a moment disconcerted him, but he contrived so ingeniously to excuse himself that he gained the Emperor's favour. He was an elegant poet, and the first who wrote elegies in Italian. His *Coltivazione* in blank verse, printed at Paris in 1546, is considered one of the best poems in the Italian language.⁴ Alemanni had often spoken to Vergerio about the queen of Navarre, but the reality of her talents and religion seems to have far exceeded the most flattering description.

¹ *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 99.

² Born at Florence 1495, died at Amboise in 1556. His master in Greek was Eufrosino Bonino, under whom he made such surprising progress that Bonino dedicated to him, when he was only 21 years of age, his Greek grammar, *Enchiridion Grammatices*, published in 1516. All his poems are in Italian; they were first published in 1632 at Lyons. His satires are very severe on the Popes. See Appendix E.

³ Segni, *Storia Fiorentina*, tom. i. p. 118.

⁴ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 76.

TO M. LUIGI ALEMANNI.

“MOST MAGNIFICENT BROTHER,

Neither my lady Marchioness of Pescara, nor your lordship, who both know so well how to express and to write what you choose to say, nor our most illustrious cardinal, nor all Rome, if they had spoken of the lofty genius and talent, the fervour of spirit, and the ardent charity of the most serene queen of Navarre, would have been able to say in her praise half of what I found yesterday to be true. Her majesty condescended to admit me to hear her rare talent of conversation. That was a day of inexpressible joy, certainly the greatest I have experienced for a long time past. Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his mercy has raised up in this our age, so full of errors and darkness, just as we most wanted it, a spirit, a light and truth so clear, to shew us how to avoid the many thorns and hindrances of this age, and teach us to find the sure and certain way of attaining that immortal blessedness which God has prepared for those who love him. From the confines of Italy, where I was born, he has led me here; and has brought me, who am but of a weak judgment, to the centre of France, that I might see and feel this fire and be warmed in his service; this light that I may keep in the right path, and this energy of mind and spirit of charity that my understanding may be drawn to the knowledge of that inheritance of glory incorruptible, undefiled, and unchangeable.¹

“I returned this evening to Melun so full of this spiritual joy and consolation, that not being able to keep it all within my own breast, I feel myself obliged to pour a share of it into yours, one whom I so much love, and who truly respects and venerates her majesty. May God long preserve you in health.”²

It is evident from these letters that a very deep religious impression was made at the court of France on Vergerio. His mind had been prepared from his earliest years to look with favour on the German Reformers; he had been enlightened by his discussions with Luther and other Protestants, and was disgusted with the Roman court, but like many others he had not courage to leave it and break with all his friends. He had recommended his books to the patronage of cardinal Bembo;³ and while he was in France he received two letters from this cardinal, to which Vergerio replies that he is at liberty to do as he pleases with his books, that he has carefully revised and improved them, and thus continues—

“I lead here such a kind of life that I am in some danger of becoming a tolerable theologian. When I am so disposed I can be alone, read and compose, and to this I am often inclined. I converse frequently

¹ See 1 Pet. i. 4.

² *Lettere Volgari*, tom. i. p. 99.

³ As in other cases, letters to heretics are expunged from various collections; thus we do not find Bembo's letter to Vergerio in all the editions of Bembo's *Lettere*.

with the learned men of the court, and much with the queen of Navarre, whose ardour for the glory of Christ and for sacred studies would warm an icicle.

“ I am going in about eight days to see the king of the Romans; leave the rest to me. I have not hitherto been able to go though I wished it. I have been thinking that it will be in the power of the marchioness of Pescara to free me from the pension, for the queen of Navarre and my cardinal (d' Este) have written to monsignor of Rhodes, all owing to the marchioness; if she is in earnest about it all will be well. Your friend M. Carlo¹ of Fano has taken the trouble to collect the poems of the marchioness; I saw in the hands of the queen here what he wrote about them. He will have me, such as I am, for his advocate. I salute you and all your house.

“ P. PAOLO VERGERIO.”

From the correspondence already given we perceive that Vergerio was progressing in divine knowledge, and becoming increasingly desirous of serving God in spirit and in truth. In proportion as he advanced himself he became more desirous to encourage others to walk in the right way. He wrote a letter of advice to a young lady at Mantua, called Camilla di Valenti.

In her reply she addresses him with much respect as a father, thanks him for his advice, and expresses a great wish to follow it, and to be led by his example to walk in the paths of virtue. His advice seems to have been that she should learn Latin in order to be able to read the scriptures. Translations in Italian were rare and difficult to be had. Camilla had so far complied with Vergerio's counsel as to be able to write a Latin letter, which she sends him, and says she had written it with the view of studying the Holy Scriptures. As she mentions her mother and brothers she was probably unmarried.

Vergerio replied as follows :

TO THE LADY CAMILLA VALENTI.

“ The peace and grace of God be with you.

“ I have received two most beautiful letters from you, one in Latin, the other in Italian; which, to say the truth, I have been shewing about at the French court for several days past, greatly to your credit, and to the admiration of your fine understanding. The most serene queen of Navarre, a queen full of spirit, charity, and eloquence, and my great hope and consolation, praised you much; she is a person well able to value your erudition. Continue, my daughter, in this delightful path, and let your mind be excited to exertion by these beginnings of celebrity and glory which already gild your name. I must tell you that in our age there is no woman more learned than you are in classical literature, or more eloquent in writing Latin. I entreat you

¹ Probably Carlo Gualteruzzi.

² *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 102.

earnestly to devote your attention to it, and make it your study to understand the Holy Scriptures, in which you will find true and sweet nourishment for your soul, and a more perfect and solid glory. Having written to you formerly on this subject, you tell me in these two last letters that you intend to do so, but that the greatness and importance of these studies alarm you. My daughter, I commend your modesty, and agree that it becomes us to enter with much humility and purity of mind into this venerated sanctuary. And now I beg you to listen to what I have to say. I intend soon to return to Italy, where those souls are which God has committed to my care. I am sated to the full with peregrinations and courts. From thence I can go every year for a month or two to stay with our most illustrious cardinal of Mantua, my esteemed lord; and thus I can by word of mouth incite you to this most excellent undertaking, point out to you an expeditious and compendious method, and shew you the light which leads us out of the darkness which first presents itself to our eyes; but soon we come to the hills, and then by degrees to the high places of these holy studies. In short, I shall come and talk to you. Meanwhile I should like to have two more of your precious letters. Send them to Ferrara, addressed S. Jacomo Alvarato, the counsellor of his Excellency the duke, who will convey them to me. I have not written sooner because I have been, and still am, much occupied in journies and with affairs. Excuse me. I commend myself to you with as much love as I bear you, which is indeed great.

“The Bishop VERGERIO.”

The next letter which we shall give was written to an intimate friend; it makes us further acquainted with the uncertain state of Vergerio's mind and his Protestant tendencies. Though he had in a great measure adopted the opinions of the reformers, he had a horror of the name of Protestant, and of dissent from the dominant church. But he was a conscientious man, and our Saviour's words to his disciples made a great impression, “What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?”¹ They urged him to the fulfilment of his religious and episcopal duties and bade him abandon all other occupations for this one object. This was the great principle which actuated the reformers of the sixteenth century; they protested against the whole world in defence of the doctrines contained in the scriptures; they thought nothing of the authority of Popes, Councils, or Bishops, if it was in opposition to Divine Inspiration. What profit, said they, can we find in neglecting Christ the author of our salvation? let us draw forth this holy name from the obscurity in which it is hidden by the superstition and darkness of ages, and let us exalt it and shed its splendour abroad.

¹ Matt. xvi. 26; Mark viii. 36.

Vergerio, without knowing it, was a Protestant at heart, since he protested against the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, and sought a remedy in the scriptures. But he dreamed, as many short-sighted men have done, that the Church would reform itself, and when purified draw all men under its influence. Three hundred years have passed away and no nearer approach has been made to reform. Instead of progressing it has degenerated. In the sixteenth century the world was nearer to a right judgment of the papacy than it is now. Reforms in discipline and doctrine were then thought essential; now its grossest errors are spoken of with conventional respect. The temporal throne of the Pope is indeed shaken, but it is proposed to strengthen and enlarge his spiritual dominion.

TO M. OTTONELLA VIDA.

“Vida my brother! In my last letter to Monsignor di Pola, our brother, I promised to send you a special answer to yours of the 7th instant; I now fulfil my promise. Intelligence from you is especially acceptable to me, and you will do well to continue to make me acquainted with everything that you are all doing; being a great lover of my country I rejoice to hear news of you. I was particularly pleased with what you wrote to me of that preacher of Lubiano, who is not now in Saxony, and yet he publicly preaches Lutheranism, and you do well to be against him. On this head I must tell you, to my great grief, that wherever I go there is a great deal of this Saxon merchandise, although in many places much severity has been used in trying to consume it, even by fire. In short, things seem getting worse every day and in all places. But I return to your letter. You write that you hope some day to make a run and join me in France; perhaps you said this in jest: I answer that if I continue in my French occupation this may very well happen; but, as I have written before, and now write decidedly, I do not intend to stay in this or in any other court. I have reasoned with myself about it more than ten times. In one scale I put my age, which will yet serve me a good while, to use that portion of light and judgment which God has given me. Great, I hear, is the scarcity of men who are even moderately enlightened in this busy age, or who have the protection and principles which I possess. In the same scale I throw another consideration, which is, if I do not persevere in the beginning I have made, and reflect honour upon and do good to my family and to you all whom I love so dearly, I shall have thrown away all my past exertions, for I do not see how any one else can do this in my stead. Not that I think myself a man of importance, for I know well I am a very ordinary person; but because it requires a thousand fortuitous circumstances and great good fortune to take the very first steps for rising, even a little, in the management of this world's affairs, and it is very certain that exertion in study is not sufficient. But when I put in the opposite scale twelve little words which I find written in a certain book, not much sought for now-

a-days, I immediately perceive that the scale which contains these few words is much heavier than the other which holds reasons which appear at first so weighty, together with flesh and blood, which also weigh something; but these words out-balance all. And what, you will say, can these words be? They are these which you read below. *Quid prodest homini, si universum mundum lucratur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patitur?* What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Well, Vida, do you not think they are of great weight? Are they the words of Tullius, or Cato, or Aristotle? Reflect, what can we balance against the soul? Then you will say, you do not think it possible to do good to your soul in serving popes and kings, who can enlighten the Church of God, free it from the darkness which overwhelms it and the dangers which surround it; and you will perhaps add that I ought not to think of benefiting my own diocese, or some few vines, but the whole vineyard of the Lord, insomuch as my strength will permit. This is all that can be said against my being free, and some good cardinals in Rome reasoned thus with me before you did. But the answer by which to convince your great men and these cardinals is this. In our days the purification and cultivation of this poor universal vineyard is thought but little of. I affirm it a thousand times over, O Vida; few think about it. On this account I say that it would be better for me to go and cultivate the few vines which I have on the confines of Germany, surround them with a good hedge, and guard them, so that I may be able to gather some fruit to offer to God, rather than stay away idle, expecting others to determine whether they will be willing to cultivate unitedly the whole vineyard. At least if I do that which my good inclinations prompt me to perform, I can then say to our last judge and chief, the Lord God, I for my part have wished to defend and cultivate these few vines; and if I have not made them produce all the fruit which they ought to have done, I have not at least put obstacles in the way of the grace with which thou hast enlightened me. On the contrary, I have left the seeming splendours of worldly courts to run where I discerned, or was attracted by, some rays of thy true light. Now see, Vida, how, without thinking, and almost without intending, I have entered with you upon a subject which is to me of more importance than all the kingdoms and empires of the world.¹

“The Bishop VERGERIO.”

Otonella Vida² was a lawyer, and seems to have been a man of ability as well as of piety and integrity. He handled the subject of residence and non-residence of bishops in a masterly manner. After congratulating Vergerio on his having resolved to devote himself to his flock, he says—

“ I will not cease to admonish and beseech you for the love of Christ to put this determination speedily into execution; it has been

¹ *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 105. Ed. 1543.

² He must not be confounded with Girolamo Vida the celebrated poet, author of the *Cristiade*, who was also a native of Capo d'Istria.—See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 248.

dictated to you by God's divine inspiration. You have been chosen bishop of Capo d' Istria by God before it was given you by any Pope. The office of a bishop is to watch over the souls of his diocese, to keep and guard them from the dangers of the world and the snares of the evil one; he ought besides first to watch over his own spirit, as we all ought for this; they are called bishops of the Saviour our Shepherd. The good shepherd never leaves his sheep unguarded, and without a guide, to visit foreign countries and keep the sheep of others. He remains with them day and night, always anxious and vigilant, and in danger risks his life for them; he takes care that they are not exposed to contagious diseases, set upon by robbers, or devoured by wolves; and sees that they are defended from heat and from frosts, and that they always enjoy good pasture, plenty of fresh grass and clear water, and all that they need. But how can a shepherd do all this who does not love them, never sees them morning or evening, and has not even any acquaintance with them? How is it possible for him to perform the office to which God has appointed him?"

Each person, he says, ought to fulfil their own vocation, and not intrude into that of another. Bishops should never leave their flocks unless summoned by the Pope to give their advice on the affairs of the Church, and the cardinals ought not to have any benefices or cure of souls. His people, he tells him, expect much from him because he is a native of the country, and greatly beloved, and they hope he will resume his preaching and the good advice "which in former years filled every heart with hope and consolation." This christian letter shews that Vida was a well-disposed man, and had a just idea of the duties of a Christian bishop.¹

At the close of the year 1540 we find Vergerio at the Diet of Worms, not in any professional capacity from the Pope, but rather as the envoy of France, though he was in fact employed by Paul III. to report the state of parties.

About this time Vergerio wrote an address² on the peace and unity of the Church, in which he argued that a national Council was not the best means of attaining the desired end.³ Copies of this address were circulated with the view of disturbing the Diet because it bore some resemblance to a national synod. Cam-

¹ At a later period he was called before the Inquisition.—See *Caracciolo MS.*

² *Ad Oratores et Theologos Principum et Statuum Germanie qui Wormatiæ concounerunt.* A. 1541. *De unitate et pace Ecclesie.*

³ We shall not greatly err if we surmise that this treatise or address on the unity of the Church was written with a view to preferment, but the scent of the sacerdotal guardians was at this time very keen; it was rightly conjectured that Vergerio was not heart-whole in the cause, and he missed his expected reward.

peggio in public, and Vergerio¹ in private, contrived to lengthen out the debate and to delay the conference. We have already seen² the lamentable issue of this Diet, and how unavailing were the efforts and good intentions of eminent men on both sides in presence of the repressive authority of the Pope.

While at Worms he wrote the following letter to the queen of Navarre.

TO THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

“ MOST SERENE QUEEN,

“ Your Majesty may have heard from my lord the Chancellor some few things which I now write to you about this colloquy, that is, that they have not yet decided on the form in which it is to be held, though they have been considering about it these three months past. Madam, I am quite vexed when I see that the cause of Jesus Christ is treated with so much indignity, for it appears to me that this is not the chief thing on account of which so many people are met together, and so much trouble taken, but only a pretence. The chief objects thought of, under the name of Christ, are the private interests of some particular persons; and so great is the goodness and patience of our Lord God that he bears with us, but it is to be feared that at last he will arise in his wrath and chastise us. I have also another subject of sorrow in my heart, which is, that conversing with many of these theologians I find very few who are spiritual and put their trust in Christ. They reason about these things, and on those points which relate to our justification, to the grace of God, and to the sacraments, as if they were profane matters, or a litigious lawsuit. Your Majesty knows well that the doctrines and mysteries of God cannot be learned or taught, nor ought they to be treated of with rancour or the spirit of contention, nor with learned words of man’s wisdom, but very differently. In short, Madam, on this very account I fear that nothing good will be done, because they try to measure divine things by a human standard. I devote myself partly to understand thoroughly the progress of affairs, and partly to my studies. I pray earnestly every day for your Majesty, were I but worthy to be heard. I humbly recommend myself to you and to that worthy man, full of sincerity and charity, the cardinal de Tournon.³

“ The Bishop VERGERIO.”

With the intention of retiring from public life Vergerio continued his efforts to free the revenues of his bishopric from the

¹ Cardinal Cortese wrote on the 24th of April, 1541, “ Al presente si ritrova con S. Signore il Card. d’ Este il Vergerio Episcopo di Capo d’ Istria qual mostra un ardentissimo desiderio dell’ onore del Signore Dio, e penso che pur debba fare qualche frutto.”—*Carli*, tom. xv. Milano, 1786.

² Vol. I. p. 264.

³ This commendation of Cardinal Tournon is a proof that Vergerio at that time was steadfastly attached to the Church, for the cardinal was one of its warmest partisans.

pension with which it was charged. From a letter written by Tommaso Badia¹ to Cardinal Contarini, on the 28th of December, 1540, from the Diet of Worms. It appears that Tommaso Badia had strong suspicions of his fidelity to the Roman See.

“The bishop of Capo d’ Istria has written to the most reverend the Cardinal of England, and to the most reverend S^{ta} Croce, begging them to get the pension taken off the bishopric, and Vergerio has also begged me to write to your reverence about it; so to satisfy him I write, entreating you for the love of God to prevail on the Pope to gratify him. He has sworn to me on his *petto* (honour) that if this pension is taken off he will go to his bishopric to govern his flock of 20,000 souls. When I come to speak with your lordship I will explain to you what matters of importance pass through his hands: in my opinion it would be desirable to remove him from this office.”

About this time Vergerio wrote also himself to Contarini. His letter reveals a great knowledge of scripture. These letters are illustrations of individual character, which present us with a faithful transcript of the thoughts and feelings of the principal actors in these moving scenes. If this text on which Vergerio so beautifully enlarges were more closely observed, “When one suffers all the other members suffer,” persecution and intolerance would be impossible, and the law of love would more closely unite the Christian world.

PETER PAUL VERGERIO TO CARDINAL CONTARINI.

“MOST REVEREND MONSIGNOR,

“The infinite wisdom of God created man in his own image and likeness, with so much wisdom and system that some sages, at a loss for a better or more praiseworthy name, have called man a little world. Certainly, whoever considers well the order of the earth, and of this machine which is called world, and how one element waits upon another, and things are adapted to each other, and then reflects upon the composition of man, he beholds before him the form and image of the whole world gathered together in the human frame. Not touching for the present on the divine nature of our souls, or the greatness of our intelligence and its intellectual capacities, it is wonderful to consider how every part of our body is duly organized, and that every member has its proper office. Each member and every part serves the head; they all need each other; one arm needs the other arm, the hand also the hand. The arms and the legs need the feet, and so on with all the members of the body, both exterior and interior, they are all necessary to each other. St. Paul says, “The eye cannot say unto the

¹ Master of the Sacred Palace; he was sent by Paul III. to Worms, and gave an account of what passed in a letter to Cardinal Pole, published by Cardinal Quirini. See *Epist. Poli*, Diatrib. ad vol. iii. p. 260. On his return to Rome he was rewarded with a cardinal’s hat. See Vol. I. p. 286.

hand I have no need of thee, nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you;” that there be no schism between the united members of the body, when one member suffers all the other members suffer, and life itself is attacked. This is why the divine Paul, wishing to liken the Church of Christ to the most worthy and noble thing on earth, often uses this similitude thus: ‘As in one body we have many members, and all the members have not the same office, we being many, form the body of the Church, of which Christ is the head, and we are all members of Christ, and also members one of another; and each member of this body is under the government of his head, and has his different office, more or less honourable according to the grace given us by the proportion of faith.’ Thus we see that some in the Church are to teach the word of God, some to live in simplicity and fervour of spirit, others full of benevolence to assist their neighbours in distress. Some have one gift, some another. All these are distinct members of the great body of the Church, and, as before said, one arm helps the other and one hand assists the other to sustain the head; thus ought the mystical members to help one another if they truly desire to love and honour our Head Christ, and preserve the Church. As one hand, when it finds the other weak and infirm, if it does not assist it, injures the head, and puts the whole body in danger of pain and inconvenience, so it is with the Church; if one sees another in difficulty and does not assist, but rather injures him, he offends all other christians and our Head, which is Christ. ‘Know you not,’ says St. Paul in another place, ‘that we are the members of Christ, and you are the body of Christ?’ and again, ‘We are the members of his body and of his flesh.’ If we love Christ why do we not love and help his members and his body? St. John, who as well as St. Paul understood the deep things of God, tells us if we love God we shall love our neighbour also; for if we do not love our brother and our neighbour whom we see, much less can we love God whom we cannot see.²

“In short, my lord, there is but small charity in some men of this world, but there is a vast deal of hypocrisy, which I pray God he may discover and confound, as he manifestly has this vice in abomination. I think your reverence, who is my greatest friend and knows all my thoughts, will understand of whom I speak, although I speak as in a riddle or parable. May God give me so much patience that I may be silent, and that my grief may not lead me to use stronger and plainer words than I have done.³

“P. PAOLO VERGERIO.”

The dissatisfaction with Vergerio at the Roman court was at first from political causes. In the secret archives of the Vatican there is a letter, without date or signature, addressed to Cardinal S^{ta} Croce (Cervini) which runs thus:

“Monsignor Vergerio has been here to the great discontent of the Imperial party.⁴ I have a sort of doubt about him, and fear lest some-

¹ 1 Cor. v. 21.

² 1 John iv. 20.

³ *Lettere Volgari*, vol. i. p. 126. This letter was probably written from Worms in 1540.

⁴ Probably on account of his having been employed by France.

thing sinister should happen, for I have heard some dreadful words. I have respectfully warned him and advised that he should leave this place. But as he has no confidence in me I did not see much of him; besides I do not like the nature of the man, for he appears to be rather a dangerous person. I have no reason for trusting him, except the letter of recommendation he brought me from you on a particular affair."

At this time Vergerio had no idea of leaving the Roman Catholic Church; whatever light and internal conviction he might have received from the Protestants, who directed him to the Scriptures, he was sincerely desirous of doing his duty as a bishop within the pale of the Church, and for this purpose wished to have a revenue which would enable him to assist the poor and maintain the dignity of his position. Had his diplomatic services been rewarded as he expected, and as was usual, perhaps his awakening religious feelings on the value of souls might have slumbered. But for some cause not fully explained he was under suspicion at court. Paul III., who had made so many cardinals, was not disposed to confer this dignity on Vergerio. The champions of the Roman Catholic faith, Aleander, Muzio, La Casa,¹ looked with distrust on a man who professed his desire to perform his episcopal duties, as if it were an affront to the authority of the Pope when a bishop sought to reform his flock.

Vergerio arrived at Rome from Worms on the 25th of January 1541, and a few weeks after he wrote the following letter to Galeazzo Florimonte, bishop of Sessa.

"MOST REVEREND BROTHER,

"Did I not promise you by letter to go in Lent, which is very near, to my diocese, to preach and do the little I can for the benefit of the flock which God has given me to feed? Behold I hasten to do it, and expect you there; when the pilgrims my children go to Loreto² you will hear from them, and thus you will be, as it were, my visitor, and see what I have done. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that having been for a whole year in an atmosphere so chilling that it would almost have extinguished a great fire,³ nevertheless it has not smothered the sparks which are still bright within. My dear M. Galeazzo, my trust is in Him, who will I hope grant me to fan into a flame not only my own soul, but some of those who are

¹ See Appendix F.

² Spelt l' Oresto.

³ *Haecndo io per spatio d' un anno continuo versato sempre tra molte humidita, che harebbono qualche volta potuto estinguere ogni gran fuoco.—Lettere Volgari, tom. i. p. 220.*

under my care. Priuli,¹ a minister of God, is persevering in that fervour of spirit which you formerly wrote to me about. He is now hunting me afresh, and I am about to run.² May God reward you both for so much love. Keep well, and pray to God for me."³

Soon after Vergerio's arrival at Capo d' Istria he fell dangerously ill. Disappointment at being slighted by the court of Rome, and the burdens of his diocese, oppressed his spirits and produced an agitation of mind which affected his health. Bembo, with his usual kindness, wrote to his son Gio. Matteo Bembo, a magistrate, to console him.⁴ He had great difficulties before him. The office of pastor had from neglect long since passed from the hands of the bishops to the religious orders, and established a duplicate ecclesiastical authority. As long as the bishop remained at a distance and contented himself with receiving the revenues of his see, there was no room for opposition; but when, as in Vergerio's case, the bishop wished to do his duty as a pastor, and lead his flock to the pure streams of revelation, then the conflict began. The friars had usurped the office of preaching and of administering the sacraments, and had full possession of that engine of corruption and influence, the confessional chair. They were sworn enemies to every kind of reform, for they fattened on the spoils of ignorance and superstition.

Vergerio, however, was resolved to attempt removing some of the superstitious images from his church, and began by exposing the folly of worshipping St. Christopher and St. George on horseback; the latter was the patron and protector of Pirano, a place within his diocese. The friars took the alarm, and two strong parties formed themselves; the one against all change of these time-honoured follies; the other, supporters of the bishop. Bembo's son, the podestà, rather leaned to established usages. His father, the cardinal, wrote to him that if the bishop was partial in his dealings and favoured one party more than another, Matteo was not to regard his affection for the

¹ Luigi Priuli, a Venetian, the friend of Card. Pole.—See Vol. II. *CHAP. XV.* p. 203.

² The point of the original is not translatable, *hora di nuovo mi caccia, et corre.*

³ This letter is dated from Rome, 3rd Nov. 1541.—*Lettere Volgari*, tom. i. p. 220.

⁴ La infermità de Monsig. Vescovo di Capo d' Istria me dispiace assai, harò caro lo facciate visitare da parte mia, e gli facciate buon animo, e essortiate a star' allegramente, che così piu facilmente guarirà.—*Lettere di XIII Huomini*, p. 349. Ed. 1560.

man, but decide the causes brought before him with justice and impartiality. This was the first stone thrown against the bishop; the authorities being against him, complaints were made to the papal Nuncio, La Casa, at Venice; he was accused of heresy, and a censure was passed upon him. His friend Aretino wrote that in the end this would turn to good, as he was known to be a good christian and a faithful bishop, and entreated him to believe that these evil reports would finally bring him as much lustre, as the renewal of the swan's feathers increases her beauty.¹

After the expressed disapprobation of the Nuncio, Vergerio found his position as a bishop untenable, and went to take counsel with his friend cardinal Hercules Gonzaga² at Mantua. Annibale Grisone, a canon, preached openly against the bishop, and knew so well how to work on the passions of the ignorant populace that he attributed the long drought and failure of crops to Vergerio's impiety in not respecting the ancient traditions. On the 13th of January 1546 he wrote from Mantua to Muzio his fellow-townsmen, complaining of this persecution, but at the same time he received it as a mark of the divine favour, and said that he was proud to suffer for the name of Christ.³

But Muzio's tendencies unfortunately lay in another direction; he was a friend of Grisone, and already much prejudiced against Vergerio, whose letter contained some unguarded⁴ expressions upon divine influence; this alarmed the stickler for free-will, and he returned for answer that he thought his opinions unsound and tinged with Lutheranism. Finding he could not count on Muzio as a friend, and fearing to write his own condemnation, Vergerio left his letter unanswered, and

¹ Pietro Aretino, *Letters*.

² Cardinal of Mantua; he was the son of Francesco Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, and of Isabella d' Este. As President of the Council of Trent he was much esteemed for his probity and for his defence of episcopal authority.

³ Per grazia di Dio son de' perseguitati, non erubesco, anzi me ne glorio non in me, ma in Christo che mi fa degno di patir per lui, questo è dono com' è dono la fede.

⁴ "Muzio mio dolce, si scrive quando Dio vuole, non quando vogliamo noi e così è di tutte le altre cose che fanno gli uomini christiani, guidati dallo spirito di Dio." This letter was written from Mantua in January 1546, and he tells Muzio that he had been there for nine months. It was subsequently printed by Muzio at the beginning of a book entitled *Le Vergoriane del Muzio*, which also contained *Discorso se si convegna ragunar concilio. Trattato della Communioni dei Laici, e delle mogli di Cherici*. In Venezia. Giolito, 1551.

retired to the town of Riva, on the borders of the lake of Garda,¹ belonging to his friend cardinal Madrucci, bishop of Trent.

Vergerio was very desirous of taking his place as bishop at the Council of Trent. Uncertain how he would be received he wished to have permission to appear before the Council and justify himself. He had been at Riva only a month when he wrote to Madrucci as follows :

“ Pray write just once to Rome *con quella santa mano*, thus : ‘ Vergerio will go where you choose to be judged ; but, your reverence, believe me, it is not for the honour of the Council that such a trial should take place just now ; it would be better to allow him to come to Trent. Do me this favour, and you will see how much better it will succeed than sending him to be judged at Venice, which in the eyes of the world is a convent of Theatines.’ Please to write in this manner, most Reverend Sir of Trent, and see what comes of it. There are loud murmurs of dissatisfaction because I am not with the others ; as I am well thought of in Venice these are continually increasing. It grieves me to the heart not to be at your side to serve God in this Council. Let Him do as seemeth to Him good ; into His hands I remit my cause. I wish greatly to converse with you, and if I am to go to Venice I request your reverence to allow me to pass by Trent. Your podestà of Riva has loaded me with kindnesses without number, and has even received me into his house as a brother ; but notwithstanding his agreeable society I wish to leave this place, and I entreat your illustrious lordship by some means or other to effect this. I kiss your hands and commend myself to your good graces. Christ be with you. From Riva, 25th February 1546.

“ Your servant, the Bishop VERGERIO.”

Through the kind offices of his friend the Cardinal of Trent he at length obtained permission to present himself before the Council, but the legates would not allow him to speak till he had justified himself against the charge of heresy before the Pope. If they had not been afraid of infringing the liberty of the Council, or rather of its being said that the Council was not free, he would have been arrested and sent bound to Rome ; but the eyes of the Protestants were upon them. The influence of Vergerio’s friends relieved him from the danger of appearing before the Inquisition at Rome, and his cause was referred to the Patriarch and Nuncio of Venice.

During his absence his enemies had not been idle. To the

¹ Opposite Peschiera, anciently called *Lacus Banaci*. It is celebrated by Faccio in his *Dittamondo* for its beauty and fine fish : *Vedi Peschiera e il suo bel lago*. It belonged at that time to the bishopric of Trent.

² *Carli Opere*, vol. xv. Milano. 1786.

bishop's great indignation the Nuncio sent the police (*sbirri*) to search his palace at Capo d' Istria for heretical books,¹ and the number of them found there formed one of the principal articles of accusation against him. Three were most especially obnoxious. One, called a diabolical book, *Pasquino in Estasi*,² a satire on the Pope and the Roman Catholic religion; *Il Beneficio di Christo*, and *Il Summario della sacra scrittura*. In vain he defended himself by quoting the canon which enjoins bishops to read heretical books in order to detect their errors, and that they may be confuted at Rome. The friars were the prime movers of this persecution against Vergerio; his reforms touched their gains as well as their manner of life. If neither St. George nor St. Christopher were to be worshipped, what would become of the profit derived from their images. The bishop had stripped them of their false glory, and dared to declare that these holy images were idols.³ What need of farther proof of his heresy? In explanation he observed that the word εἰδωλον in Greek meant image, from εἶδω to see, and quoted Cicero, who says, *imagines quæ idola sunt*.

A friar named Bonaventura Gurone, guardian of the *zoccolante* (wooden shoes), was enraged against the bishop because he reproved him for having prepared some rails for an altar on which to hang votive offerings. They were to be offered in gratitude for the miraculous cures which the anticipated Virgin, not yet painted, was to perform. Gurone consulted with another priest, whom the bishop had admonished for leading an immoral life. "Come," said he, "let us accuse the bishop and get him sent away, and then you can do as you please." Another of his accusers, a friar of the third order of St. Francis, had promised five ducats to a woman if she would say that a female had appeared and

¹ Vergerio speaks of this insulting aggression in *Difesa IV.*: "Pare a me che grande injuria mi sià stata fatta quando il Legato della Casa mandò in Capo d' Istria con molto scandalo di tutte quel popolo i pubblici sbirri cercando per tutta la casa mia. Io aveva di que' libri (eretici) et mandò a far questo romore appunto in tempo ch' io era nel Concilio di Trento." Of this circumstance Carli says no writer had hitherto made mention, but a letter in the secret archives of the Vatican from Vergerio to Madrucci attests its accuracy.—See *Le otto difese del Verg. ovvero trattato delle superstitione d' Italia e della ignoranza de' Sacerdoti etc. pubblicato da Celio Secundo Curione*. Basil. 1550.

² By Celio Secundo Curione.

³ *Dixit quod imagines sanctorum sunt idola*.—See Carli.

ordered her to tell the people to visit her image five times in the church of Santa Maria de' Campi. This absurd story was believed by the credulous multitude, till Vergerio sifted the matter and proved the imposture. He brought the woman before the podestà, Alvino Dora; she was convicted of falsehood and she and her two accomplices were sentenced to a short imprisonment.

This and other judicial acts, tending to unveil the hypocrisy of the friars, were made articles of accusation against him. It was said he had spoken of the monkish orders with contempt, and sneered at the practice of dressing the dead in the habit of St. Francis, and had declared that the soul could reap no benefit from the body wearing this monkish dress, and that it was only an expedient to get money, which would be better spent in feeding and clothing the poor. Another friar came forward to complain that the bishop had reproved him for having announced from the pulpit that he had in his possession a tooth of St. Apollonia, which was a sovereign remedy for toothache. So ignorant and malicious were these priests of Baal, that they averred the bishop had said that the books of St. Augustine and the writings of St. Paul ought to be thrown into the fire. This he positively denied, but owned that such were the corrupt lives of the friars that he had said it were better for a church to be burned down than for it to be made a place for unholy communications. One witness, Alvini Calino, was thought to bring a very serious accusation, when he stated that he had heard the bishop say the miracles painted on the walls of the temple at Loreto were not really performed there.

On the 15th of August, 1546, Vergerio published a full defence of himself against all the above accusations, together with a pastoral letter addressed to his diocese. To prove the folly of the legends so credulously swallowed by the multitude, he recited the ridiculous story of St. George, which was in itself a vindication. He shewed that Giacomo de Voragine classes this story among *Apocryphas Scripturas*, and that it was acknowledged as such by Paul III., and taken out of the breviary in consequence. As to having made free remarks to his friends on the evil of old abuses, he justified himself by referring to the canons, where it is commanded to sustain the truth even against the most ancient customs, and quotes St. Cyprian, who says, "*consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est*, ancient practices not founded on truth

are errors." The worship of St. Christopher had been left out of the breviary, and for the honour of the church they ought to discard such old wives' fables.¹ He answered the accusation of disrespect to images by explaining that there was in a church an ill-shapen figure of St. George on horseback of pasteboard, as large as life. Near to this gigantic figure a representation of the king's daughter was suspended, and by her side an enormous beast. All these pasteboard gods hung down so low as to occupy a great portion of the church. He was accused of saying, "Throw down that great horse;" but it was not this figure which he had ordered to be removed, but the image of St. Anne, put up by some women in the church of Pirano, before which lamps were kept burning. It was an indecorous exhibition of a figure of wood lying on a bed, supposed to be giving birth to the Virgin Mary. All the women flocked to worship this figure,² and he was certainly very desirous of having it removed; but his wish had not been accomplished, for it was there still. He did not deny having said that it was better to give the oil to the poor than to burn it before the images of St. Anne and the Virgin; and he recollected having observed, when he saw the leaden seals³ stamped with the heads of Peter and Paul, "Who would ever have thought of your heads being used for this purpose!" In short the whole of the accusations put together only proved that he was a reformer of crying abuses and traditional follies. There was no appearance of his being tinged with a shade of heresy, properly so called. Whatever might have been his doctrinal opinions he had not manifested them. He wished to do what he conceived to be his duty in discouraging these superstitions, as they were for the majority the whole of their religion. The bishop's good intentions were evident, and all good men were shocked at this attack on him.

The evidence against him was not strong enough to condemn or even to cite him to Rome, and he was not declared a heretic. Muzio, his townsman, a ready polemical writer, complains that

¹ "Pare a me, che sia onore, e reputazione della Chiesa e della fede nostro santissima e pieno di grazia, e di maestà a repudiar queste baie et dire arditamente ch' elle non son veri."

² At Rome, in the church of St. Agoestino, there is at this very time an image of the Virgin with a child in her arms, to which females flock to pray and to load with jewels.

³ Attached to papal bulls, briefs, and law papers.

those persons who were sent to Capo d'Istria to take evidence against him were more Lutheran than the bishop. His enemies however were determined to ruin him, and combined their forces for this purpose. Annibale Grisone, Muzio, and Antonio Elio finally drove him from his untenable position of a reformer within the Roman Catholic Church. Antonio Elio owed his position to Vergerio's brother Aurelio, a knight of Rhodes; who while secretary to Clement VII. had taken this Elio, a man of ignoble birth, into his service and thus made his fortune. Vergerio reproaches him with ingratitude to his benefactor.

This Aurelio Vergerio was the elder brother, and seems to have had much influence at Rome, for Pietro Paolo said that he could have had the bishopric, but that they both agreed it was better to bestow it on their younger brother Giovan Battista. Our Vergerio gives an interesting account of a conversation which took place when Aurelio paid him a visit at Venice while he was in the Pope's service: "He opened his heart to me, God is my witness that this is true, and said he had discovered that the papacy was altogether a human policy, guided by worldly motives and not commanded by Christ." He died shortly after at Rome, and was supposed to have been poisoned by a salad. In the year 1548 our Vergerio had also to mourn the loss of his youngest brother Giovan Battista, bishop of Pola. Of him the survivor said, "He was a good man but of no great learning; God gives to each their several gifts. He lived for eighteen years at Pola, doing his duty as a resident bishop as far as he had light, as many can testify. Towards the end of his life it pleased God to enlighten him, and he began to understand that it was the papacy which had disturbed and disordered all Christendom. Once convinced of this, he laid aside his former views and adopted ours. Several of his canons and other priests followed his example, and some are now exiles for the truth, such as Rasoro¹ and Gernasio. As his death drew near he left his own bishopric and came to me; he died in my arms in a most christian manner, and was buried like a christian, not having time or opportunity to set any farther example or fulfil his desire to do something for the glory of God.

¹ He wrote, "Ludovico Rasoro alla Abbadessa dello Monastero de S. Giustina in Venezia, sopra un libro intitolato *Luce di Fede*, stampato nuovamente in Milano per Gio. Antonio da Borgo in laude della Messa. Nell' a. 53."

His relations did what they could; enough that there were no friars' superstitions or blasphemies, that is, auricular confession or unction with rancid oil. He wrote nothing but a paraphrase on the Psalm, 'Blessed are the undefiled, &c.,' which I afterwards printed. In short there can be no doubt that he was one of the elect of God, and one of those whom you call Lutheran; he is even noted in two or three of your Catalogues. This I say for the glory of God."

This was addressed to Fra Ippolito Chizzuola, who after Vergerio had left Italy published an invective against him.¹ Among other things the friar accuses him of forsaking the doctrines of his ancestors: to this futile argument he replied that if his ancestors had lived in this age of light² they would have embraced the same doctrines which he by the grace of God had been enabled to receive; and "I am sure," he added, "they would have been the last people in the world to reprove me, gifted as they were both with talent and influence, if I may be allowed thus to laud them."

While Vergerio was under the pressure of persecution, his friend the cardinal of Mantua wrote in his favour to the cardinal of Trent, saying, "he preached well and set a good example to his flock, but that his enemies had reported something he had said in the pulpit to the Nuncio La Casa at Venice, who cited him to appear." Gonzaga begs Madrucci to have this matter set at rest, that Vergerio may return to his bishopric. He adds:

"There is no doubt of his obedience to the Church, and that he will do all that is required of him. But if he is not restored to his episcopal authority it is to be feared that he may take some desperate course; if on the contrary you give him a hearing and allow him to justify himself, he will say what you please, and you will retain the services of a bishop of ability, who is greatly enlightened in the doctrines of Christ, besides possessing so rich a vein of eloquence that it is a pleasure to hear him."

In confirmation that there was no proof of his holding heretical opinions at this time, we have a letter from Fra Marino, one of the Inquisitors, to the cardinal of Mantua, in which he says:

¹ *Risposta ad una invettiva*, di fra Ipp. Chizzuola da Brescia. 4to. 1665.

² This though a natural and plausible argument loses much of its value from observation and experience. The capricious nature of some minds is so great that it makes them exchange truth for error, and light for darkness. If we see this more strongly exemplified in free countries like ours, it is not because we are of less steady and constant character, but because human nature is less under restraint.

“ I know it will give you pleasure to hear that at the inquisition made about my friend the bishop at Capo d’ Istria, by the auditors of the legate, the vicar of the Patriarch of Aquila, the Fiscal, and myself, no proofs of heresy were found; on the contrary, he appears to have governed his diocese with the greatest charity and kindness, and with all the assiduity of a faithful pastor. More than eighty witnesses have borne testimony to this effect. Even his enemies, who are few in number, confess that he leads a most blameless and irreproachable life; his accusers are envious persons, who by their wicked lives deny Christ; among them are some friars, who for their misdeeds had been turned out of their several orders: this trial has brought to light both their ignorance and malevolence. Among these persons there are some agents of a certain Antonio Elio who seeks to annoy the bishop in every possible way on account of a pension, which he holds on the revenues of the bishopric, not having been paid. I declare all this to your reverence as a person who has gone through the whole affair impartially, and moved only by zeal for the Gospel. I am quite a stranger to the bishop, but think great injustice has been done him. If I could have followed my own inclination I would have publicly absolved him from the pulpit, and declared him to be a most excellent pastor. I would have pointed out his enemies, and declared that *non omnis sermo facit hominem hereticum*—a man is not to be called a heretic for a word.”¹

This letter, dated 13th November 1546, proves that the monks said truly when they asserted that Lutheran principles had insinuated themselves even among the Inquisitors; and there can be little doubt that during the reign of Paul III. some moderate and religious men filled this office with the view of mitigating the rigour of persecution.

The cardinal of Mantua continued steadily to defend Vergerio, and wrote the following letter to cardinal Farnese, the Pope’s grandson, in his favour:

“ MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND REVEREND SIR,

“ Vergerio, the bishop of Capo d’ Istria, was examined on the charge of preaching false doctrine. This inquisition was directed by the Legate of Venice and the Patriarch of Aquila, who sent their auditors with the ordinary Inquisitors in order to examine a number of witnesses on the spot. Fra Marino has written to me that not only did they find him (the bishop) innocent, but by many concurrent witnesses he was proved to be highly praiseworthy. The bishop entreats me to speak in his behalf to your most illustrious reverence, and relieve him of the expense of having the cause referred to Rome; and begs it may be left in the hands of the authorities, the legate, the vicar of the

¹ Grand ingiustisia et torto è stato fatto al povero Vescovo; e ch’ egli Teologo e Inquisitore l’ avrebbe voluto in pulpito publicar assoluto e Pastor bonissimo.— See *Carli*, tom. xv.

Pope, and the auditor of the chamber; here there are many divines who can examine him anew on the articles of faith. I could not refuse to treat you to consent to this, and I do so most heartily. He has both talent, learning, and eloquence; his innocence has been clearly proved, and it is not unreasonable to grant him this favour. He appears to have some disagreement with Antonio Elio, to whom I am well disposed, and whom I have no desire to injure by this letter."¹

This earnest appeal, though so favourable to Vergerio, produced no effect; his enemies had been too successful in exciting prejudice against him at Rome. Other letters equally satisfactory were written on this occasion; one in particular from Giovan Maria Bocella, the Fiscal attorney of the Inquisition.

After Vergerio had been obliged to leave Italy he published these recommendatory letters in his reply to a violent invective against him by Fra Ippolito Chizzuola before quoted.² In the second chapter he alludes to the friar's animadversions on his (Vergerio's) assertion that it was only within the last hundred years that the light of the Gospel had entered Bohemia; and goes on to say that "those to whom it strikes home may chew the bitter cud of this assertion. Is it not well known that within the last few years the style of preaching is entirely changed even in Italy? Is it not evident that eloquence both in Latin and Italian is more in request? That the knowledge of Greek is much more extended than it was a few years back; and that by the favour of God philosophy and all other sciences are studied with greater attention and care? The friar says I speak falsely when I say that the Pope forbids the bishops to read the books of the reformers, and he denies that there is any such prohibition. Let us prove the fact. Leo X. was the first to issue a censorial prohibition of these books,³ which was an act of tyrannical injustice. Julius III. followed in the same track; in his bull he said 'that many asked permission to read in order to confute these works, but the contrary effect generally followed.' Such is the force of truth that those who asked permission to inform themselves how they might best answer and confute others were taken in their own snare and could

¹ This letter was dated Trent, 18th December, 1546.

² *Ai Fratelli d' Italia. Di un libro di Fra Ippol. Chizzuola da Brescia, 1568, and Della declinatione che ha fatto il Papato solamente da XI anni in qua.*

³ In 1515, at the tenth session of the Lateran Council, which assembled in 1511, an ordinance of Leo X. was confirmed, forbidding any book to be printed without being examined by the Master of the Sacred Palace of the Inquisitor of the place. Ed. 1521. Rome, fol. cli.—See Mendham, *Indexes*, 1826.

not get out of the dilemma. This prohibition extended to all men of whatever rank, degree, or condition; to bishops, archbishops, and the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries. These are the words of the papal bull which I printed at Poschiavo."¹

We have already said that the friars were the prime movers of the persecution against Vergerio, and the Franciscans seem to have been most especially exasperated against him, because he had separated a convent of nuns from the Franciscan monastery, and made a public road between them.

Towards the close of the year 1548 Vergerio was dismissed from his bishopric by the legate. He obeyed, and retired to Padua: the legate enjoined him to go to Rome to justify himself, but the cardinal of Mantua dissuaded him from venturing on this step, as the Pope was prejudiced against him. The legate, desirous of getting him within his grasp, cited him to appear at his episcopal palace, from whence he had been banished by a *monitorio* a few weeks before. This was only a pretence to entrap him, for he knew he would not appear; the summons having been disregarded, emissaries were sent to take him; but Vergerio, having received timely warning, fearing his life was in danger, fled to the Grisons country. This was just what his enemies desired; if they could not get hold of him for the Inquisition to handle, the next best thing was to drive him to confess himself a heretic.

This decisive but unwilling step broke up all connection with the Church of Rome. In a consistory held at Rome by Paul III. he was declared contumacious, deprived of the episcopal dignity, and pronounced to be an apostate and heretic.² It is doubtful whether Vergerio would ever have brought his mind to separate himself from the Romish hierarchy but for a tragical scene which he witnessed at Padua in 1548.

Francesco Spira, a distinguished lawyer, had zealously embraced the reformed opinions, and lost no opportunity of communicating them to his friends and neighbours. This was reported to the legate at Venice, and Spira was cited to appear before him: though aware of his danger he obeyed the summons, and in presence of the legate was subjected to a most scrutinizing

¹ Agl' Inquisitori che sono per l' Italia. Del Catalogo di libri eretici stampato in Roma nell' anno presente 1659.—See Appendix G.

² See Raynaldi, *Annales Eccl.* No. xxiii. Rome, 1649.

examination. Under the influence of fear he confessed he had been in error, promised obedience to the Church, and craved pardon for having departed from the faith of his forefathers. The legate, pleased with his submission, accepted his excuses, but insisted as a condition of forgiveness that on his return home he should make reparation for his former errors by publicly disavowing them. He assented, but on his return home he bitterly repented having made this engagement. At length, overcome by the entreaties of his family and friends, who pointed out the certain destruction which hesitation would bring upon him, he consented to make the public recantation required by the legate. But the struggle between terror and conscience was too violent; the consciousness of having offended his heavenly Father to please the apostle of error preyed so deeply on his mind, that he fell into a pitiable state of mental and bodily disease. Such was his desperation that he believed he had committed the unpardonable sin of lying to the Holy Ghost, lost all hope of the mercy of God, and of eternal salvation. He was removed from Cittadella to Padua; every possible remedy was tried to recover the tone of his mind; his friends and physicians in vain endeavoured to console him by speaking of the sovereign mercy of God. He believed himself irremediably doomed to the punishment of hell, and declared that he already felt the torments of the damned. That he not only could not love God, but that his heart was filled with hatred towards Him: argument was useless, for reason was dethroned. He refused all nourishment, and expired in the most frightful state of mental alienation.¹

So melancholy an instance of human weakness and misfortune impressed the minds of men with universal terror. Vergerio, not naturally a very strong minded man, was so shocked at witnessing the miserable effects of inquisitorial power that he resolved to put himself beyond its reach, and immediately fled to the Grisons country. His flight however was more the consequence of fear than of any decided opposition to the religion of Rome, and at first he hesitated about entering into con-

¹ See a note by M'Crie, *Reform*. p. 138, which states that Vergerio wrote to Calvin in August, 1549, that he was obliged to leave Italy for having written the history of Francesco Spira. It was printed at Geneva in 1550, with a preface by Calvin.—*Miscell.* Groningen, tom. iii. p. 109. See Da Porta, *Historia Spieria*, tom. ii. p. 144.

troversy with the Church. In proof of this the following passage of a letter he wrote some time after shews he had by no means made up his mind to take up his lot with the reformers.

“ Besides this undertaking I might perhaps be useful in matters pertaining to religion, owing to the friendship existing between me and the learned men of Germany ; when either by means of a Council, or in the negotiation of some agreement or arrangement, your Excellency will see what I am able to do.”¹

When Vergerio arrived at the Grisons Vicosoprano was without a pastor, and the inhabitants gladly received him as their minister, and gave him the yearly stipend of one hundred and fifty crowns.² Crowds of refugees from Italy crossed the Alps to the beautiful vallies of the Grisons, where the Italian language was spoken, and where the freedom of speech and liberty of conscience denied by the Romish Church was freely enjoyed. In this country and the Val Settina Vergerio had many opportunities of preaching. Once he arrived at a small town called Pontesina, at the foot of Mount Bernino, immediately after the death of the parish priest. The whole population of the village was assembled, with the judge at their head. Vergerio offered to preach ; some objected, but the judge, more enlightened than the rest, expressed a desire to hear what the stranger would say, and he mounted the pulpit. His audience were so pleased with his sermon that they requested him to preach again the next day ; which he did, and seized the opportunity of setting forth with much eloquence and fervour the chief doctrines of the Gospel. Justification by faith and the benefits of Christ’s death were the subjects of his discourse, and he made such a happy impression on his hearers that with one voice they expressed a desire for a continuance of such preaching ; and one of the Reformed ministers Bartolommeo Silvio of Cremona, was unanimously entreated to settle among them as their pastor.³

He greatly contributed to the increasing spread of the Re-

¹ This letter is dated Vicosoprano, 21 April, 1550 ; the original is still preserved in the archives of Guastalla.

² Bartolommeo Maturo, a Dominican of Cremona, disgusted with the cowl and its pretensions, left Italy in 1528, and preached the Gospel at Vicosoprano till 1547 ; he died at Tomliasco.—See Da Porta, *Historia Spierie*, tom. i. p. 158 ; tom. ii. pp. 14, 27—50 ; and M’Crie, *Reform*.

³ Da Porta, *Historia Spierie*, tom. i. ; M’Crie, *Reform*. p. 201 ; and *Il Sacro Macello*, p. 23. 1853.

formed opinions, and had the pleasure of consecrating the church of Poschiavo in the Val Settina to the Protestant faith. The Diet had issued a declaration of religious liberty, and claimed their right to profess the Reformed religion. In the year 1550 Vergerio printed no less than twelve treatises, tending to rouse the lukewarm or to confirm the wavering; his chief forte was expatiating on the persecutions of the Church of Rome, and there can be no doubt that his frequent reproaches were sensibly felt as assaults against the despotism of the papacy. This kind of composition was more suited to the character of his mind than entering upon doctrine. The more serious and spiritual Reformers of Switzerland stood somewhat aloof till they clearly understood his opinions on important points. Some have one talent and some another; there can be no doubt that the better gift is that spiritual grace named charity; yet his controversial talents were eminently useful in sapping the foundations of priestly power. By holding up the abuses of superstition before the glass of the Gospel he destroyed their influence and exposed them to contempt and neglect. His voluminous correspondence with the Zurich Reformers proves his earnest desire to cooperate with them, and his diligence and activity among the Italian converts. From these letters we learn that he paid a visit to Zurich, and became personally acquainted with the zealous and able men who fought so valiantly for the maintenance of divine truth, and to whom the Christian world is so deeply indebted for their advocacy of sound scriptural doctrine. Vergerio, in one of his letters to Rodolph Gualter, alludes to some defamatory reports which had been circulated of his being too fond of eating and drinking; he appeals to those who knew his manner of life to defend him from such calumnies,¹ and begs them to write a letter in his favour to the ministers of the Grisons. With this request they cheerfully complied, and at the close of the same year he thanks them for the consolation afforded by their letter to the Synod.² Speaking of the reassembling of the Council, he says, "it will be free to the Pope's bishops, but to no one else. I am

¹ See *Lettere MS.*, Zurich library, dated 13th September, 1550.

² In a postscript to this letter he says: "E venuto fuori un nuovo libro in Italia et lo mando in dono a V. S. Lo stile è inepto, la dottrina in molti punti peggio che papistica. Vediamo che al questo autore non pare che la fede sia dono di Dio, et che non sia vero che siamo giustificati per la giustitia imputatici. *Tales scilicet defensores nunc sibi papæ associant.*"—*Lettere MS.*

preparing a treatise which will unfold the insidious arts of the Roman Catholic Church, which I will bring to you, as I think I have in my head some important ideas."¹ The following month he sent this new publication to Zurich, and wrote to Gualter that he had "circulated a great many copies in Italy to rouse those who are asleep, and who still put faith in the promises of antichrist." After spending ten days in visiting the churches in Val Settima he intends setting out for Zurich; meanwhile he begs Gualter, as he understands Italian so well, to translate his book into Latin.²

Already was there some confusion in the churches of the Val Settima; the ignorance and self-love of the converts made them unwilling to submit to any regulation or restraint; delighted with their freedom from the weight of the Roman yoke they were averse to every kind of organization. Vergerio discerned the danger, and his habits of business enabled him to counteract its ill effects. He wrote that "there were many antichrists, many wolves in sheep's clothing, and many false brethren." Agostino Mainardi,³ pastor of Chiavenna, and his zealous assistant Giulio of Milano,⁴ were very active in disseminating divine truth and in collecting the people into a regular congregation. All seemed to be going on well till the arrival of Camillo Renato,⁵ a native of Sicily. He belonged to that brilliant class of meteoric minds distinguished by the gifts of eloquence. Characters of this description are generally incapable of detecting the subtleties of error. They may be sincere christians, but unless their imaginations have been chastened by a lengthened acquaintance with divine truth they are unfit to be teachers. Untrained in arrangement of thought, unchecked by the fear

¹ *Lettere MS.* 22nd December, 1550.

² This appears to have been the title, *Bolla della Indizione a Convocazione del Concilio che si ha da incominciare in Trento al primo di Maggio nell' a. 1551.*—See Girt, *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, p. 596.

³ A Piedmontese and an Augustine monk. He was imprisoned at Asti for holding Reformed opinions, but afterwards liberated and fled to the Grisons, was appointed minister of Chiavenna, and died there in 1563, aged 81 years. See Zanchi *Opera*, tom. vii. p. 35. He wrote *Trattato dell' unica et perfetta sodisfattione di Christo. Uno pio et utile Sermone della Gratia de Dio contra li meriti humani an. 1551*; and *L' anatomia della Messa*; this last has been translated into Latin.—See Gerdes, *Ital. Reform.* p. 300.

⁴ A converted priest. See *CHAP. XIII.* p. 111, and M^cCrie, *Reform.*

⁵ See M^cCrie, *Reform.* p. 203.

of being wrong, the rushing stream overflows its banks, and they deem themselves inspired when they are only misled. In the words of the eloquent but misguided Irving, "one cannot but love their zeal, and admire the ringlets of their childish beauty, and the freshness of their downy cheeks; but ah! what shall these avail in the fierce and fiery controversy, when a man must brave the battle's edge and snatch the martyr's crown from the midst of the fire!" These are reflections which every nascent church should lay to heart; they are more peculiarly suitable to Italian converts; born in a land of beauty and of song, the steeds of their fiery imaginations need a wholesome curb. Sincerity is not all in religion; we must add to our faith virtue, to virtue knowledge, to knowledge temperance, to temperance patience, to patience godliness, to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity, and be perpetually growing in christian experience of our own hearts, and in what has been called the good sense of the Gospel, but it is more properly an advanced knowledge of divine truth which enables us to discern more clearly the wonderful combination of several links which form a perfect whole. It is an historical fact that the chief errors in religious belief have arisen from the separation of revealed truths from their chain of connection. Any one doctrine exclusively exaggerated loses its balanced position in the Divine Oracles and opens the way for error. To obviate these dangers, and to keep the congregations in the Grisons sound in their creed, Vergerio drew up a simple and scriptural confession of faith,¹ which he signed himself, and persuaded the other ministers to sign.²

Vergerio wrote to Rodolph Gualter at Zurich in 1551 that he had reconciled Camillo with the minister and church of Chiavenna, and obliged him to sign a confession of faith.³ This

¹ See Appendix H.

² We lament that want of space prevents our doing anything like justice to the spread of the reformed opinions in the Grisons. There is matter enough for a volume, and it would be well if some scholar would translate Da Porta, *Historia Reformationis Ecclesiarum Raticarum*.

³ Mi è bisognato andare in Val Settina e patire molti incomodi per alcuni anabattisti; in fine ne ho reconciliato alcuni, e alcuni ne ho fatto partire fuori del paese. Un'altra grave pugna ho avuto con papisti che ci facevano molte novità e molti insulti e anche questo ho vinto con l'aiuto del Signore. Ho reconciliato Camillo al ministro e alla chiesa di Chiavenna, et l'ho costretto ad accettare una confessione a mio modo: queste faccende adunque mi hanno qui rettenuto e insieme

confession, drawn up by Vergerio to stop the spread of the Anabaptist opinions and keep the converts close to the doctrines of the Gospel, proves the soundness of his faith. As a whole it must be generally approved; and when we recollect that it is the work of a man brought up for so many years under the Roman ritual, we cannot but commend the diligence with which he must have studied the Scriptures before he could have attained such clear views of divine truth. Some of his premises, especially on baptism, are not borne out by Scriptural authority, and seem to have been dictated by a spirit of conservatism when surrounded by innovators. His object was evidently not to destroy but to build up, and it was scarcely possible wholly to divest himself of the ecclesiastical idea which the Roman Catholic Church attached to baptism. While Vergerio was devoting all the energies of a very active mind to the spread of the Gospel, and like St. Paul continually employed in abundant labours, Pope Julius III., though a very lukewarm churchman, after his elevation to the papacy, sent Paolo Odescalchi as legate into the Grisons country with the title of Apostolic Nuncio and Inquisitor, to preach to the Italian refugees and exhort them to return to the obedience of the Church. Vergerio did not allow his bull of office to circulate unnoticed, but wrote some very pointed remarks on its contents.¹ But this Romish foray made Vergerio's position more dangerous, and he began to think of taking refuge in Switzerland. There was a continual interchange of letters between the Swiss and Italian reformers; they translated each other's works into their several languages, or into Latin, for more extensive circulation.

In March 1551 Vergerio wrote:

“ I send you with this the printed Indiction (of the Council) that you may correct some errors which are in the copy sent me by Bullinger. I wrote to him that I had translated his tract, and now I may tell you that I have enlarged it and sent it to the press, and you will soon

molti poveri fratelli che qui sono fuggiti; che se ciò non fosse già sarei in Zurico, e bisogna ch'io venghi per nunciarvi molte cose. . . . La persecutione in Italia per eresia s'accreosce, è vero che i Venetiani han fatto un decreto che solo i preti et i frati non possono inquirire ma che siano aggiunti alcuni Magistrati non solo in Venetia ma in tutte le terre loro. Vicosovrano 21 di Gen. 1551.—*De Rebus. Letter. MS. Bib. Zurich.*

¹ *Delle commissioni e facoltà che Papa Giulio III. ha dato a M. Paolo Odescalchi Comasco, suo Nunzio et Inquisitore, in tutto il paese de' Magn. Sig. Grisoni. 1554.*

receive it.¹ In Italy persecution is growing fiercer, and the mischief is that some retract and deny Christ; but still knowledge is greatly spread. I have an important communication to make to you, but will not commit it to paper; after Easter, please God, I will come to you and tell it by word of mouth."²

By a private hand he wrote—

"The Venetians³ have made a decree that no papal legate, bishop, or Inquisitor could proceed against any of their subjects without the presence and intervention of a lay magistrate: this has enraged the Pope, and he has fulminated a bull forbidding, under grievous penalties, any secular prince to interfere either little or much in the concerns of persons accused about religion; and now we shall see if the Venetians will obey."⁴

In the following month he gave an account of his labours and contests:

"I am in much trouble and danger, because during several nights of last week, like Gideon, they have destroyed some bones of S. Guadentio, or rather of Baal, and of some Italian saints, and because all at once the Samaritans in Agnelina have entirely discarded the mass. Thus the Pharisees are upon me, and say that I shall not be suffered to remain in the country, for that it is owing to my preaching. I have been called to account, and like Paul I defended myself before the judgment-seat, but I am cheerful and courageous, thank God. I do not cease to preach boldly, and am always sending fresh printed matter to Italy, to the praise and glory of my heavenly Father who has called me to this work."⁵

In May that same year he proposed to attend the synod at Coire, and in July we find him at Bâle asking for a letter of recommendation from the ministers of Zurich for Berne, as he wished to establish himself in Switzerland. From Berne he writes to the brethren:

"I send you three copies of a work I have just printed, one for yourselves, the other two send where you please; you do not want friends. The bearer, my man, is going to Italy, and as he is going to carry there two packets of books which I had already sent by another of my agents, I should like him, with the same trouble and expence,

¹ *Demonstrations del Bullingero, che il Concilio di Trento non sia ordinato per haver a cercare et illustrare la verità con la S. Scrittura, ma per sovvertirla e per instabilire gl' errori della sedia Rom. tradutta dal Verg. 1551.*

² *MS. Lettere.*

³ The Venetians enjoyed more liberty than the rest of Italy, and on that very account were crushed by successive Popes. Not being themselves enlightened by the Gospel, they did not know how to oppose the authority of the Pope. There is no temporising with what is called *epiritual power*, it must either be rejected or obeyed.

⁴ *MS. Lettere, 24 d' Aprile, 1551.*

⁵ *Idem, 15 di Maggio, 1551.*

to carry some more books; so I have written to Bullinger, and now write to you to see Froeschover and give him three copies of each of Bullinger's works, both of the Decads and all the others, and three of the commentaries of M. P. Martyr, all which I will courteously pay."¹

Among these MS. letters in the library of Zurich there is a long and interesting one from the father of a family, Alphonso Ronchadello, to the Zurich ministers, thanking them for two spiritual letters full of advice and consolation under the persecutions to which they are exposed.²

Vergerio in his first publications only attacked the despotism of the Pope over the bishops and over the Council, and manifested his displeasure against La Casa and Muzio,³ who had prevented his carrying out the reforms in his diocese which he had so much at heart; but when they in turn attacked him in writing, then he let loose his indignation against the Church of Rome and its partisans, and made use of strong and bitter but not untrue language against its corruptions. His pen was ever in motion till the latest hour of his life. A list of his books, eighty-nine in number, has been compiled, but it does not include all.⁴

It does not come within our plan to follow him out of Italy. His talents for negotiation were so highly appreciated that he was employed by D. Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan, to arrange some affairs at Wilna. From thence Vergerio wrote on the 6th of November 1556, after he had openly declared himself a Protestant, to Ferrante Gonzaga:

"I must tell you why I came here. I have been sent by some princes of the empire in the duchy of Prussia to conciliate certain differences. The illustrious Palatine (of Wilna) having heard I was here sent for me, and was so good as to heap on me various honours.

¹ *MS. Lettere*, 6th Aug. 1551.

² This letter does not appear to be written by an educated person, but by a warm christian heart: "p. tanto questi poveri membri christiani afflitti et aggravati da q. sta intolerabile tirannide di antichristo vi p. gano caldamente che insieme con tutta la santa giesa p. gate il Sig^r. p. noi. ne dia tanta fede che ne liberar ci da q. sta captività acio potiamo offerire i corpi et anime nostre osti bene piaccute a Iddio." — *Lettere, MS.*

³ In a pamphlet addressed to Donato, the Doge of Venice, he defends himself and says that Muzio, a writer of cartels and challenges, had become in three days a popish theologian and gaoler. He held the ex-bishop up to reprobation in a work called *Le Vergeriano*.

⁴ See *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, by Christian Heinrich Sixt. Braunschweig. 1855, p. 595. Appendix I.

He is altogether one of us, and has printed his confession of faith. I return to-morrow to Prussia, and then proceed to Poland; on my way I shall go and see the duke of Wittemberg. Thus your Excellency sees I am at work, and willingly, for so it pleases God. It would be very pleasing to me if this was made known to the illustrious cardinal (Hercules Gonzaga), whom I never cease to venerate and revere, although I fear he is set against me because I left the bishopric that his Excellency got for me. "Your servant VERGERIO."

In this letter he drops the title of bishop.¹

He was invited to Tübingen by the duke of Wittemberg, and there in the year 1561 he had a discussion with the Nuncio, Delfino, who made an unavailing effort to persuade him to return to the Roman Catholic Church.² Vergerio died at Tübingen on the 4th of October 1565, and was buried on the 7th in the church of St. George. A sermon was preached at his funeral by Jacobo Andrea, from 1 Tim. i. 12, 13. The preacher drew a parallel between the life of Paul and that of Vergerio, both having been adverse to the truth, and both having "obtained mercy because they did it ignorantly and in unbelief." An epitaph was written on Vergerio, comparing him with St. Paul.³ He was not popular with any party; accustomed to associate with a higher class of persons, after he left the Church of Rome he was thought to assume too much authority over the simple converts. One reason of his unpopularity was that he declared he was "neither Lutheran, Zuinglian, nor a Calvinist, but a Christian," and thus lost the support of all parties.⁴ We must not lose sight of the fact that he was rather driven out of the Church by persecution than from strong convictions of its unscriptural doctrines. His great forte was exposing the abuses and corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church, and this he did so well that posterity is under great obligations to him for the information contained in some of his works. We shall briefly note one or two.

The Catalogue of prohibited books⁵ issued by Dalla Casa

¹ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 303.

² Pallavicini, lib. xv. c. 10.

³ See Appendix J; and for a further account of Vergerio see Conte Carli, *Opere*; Gerdes, *Italor. Reform.* p. 349; Melchior Adam, p. 120; M'Crie, *Reform.*; Sleidan, *Comment.*, and Sixt, *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*.

⁴ M'Crie, *Reform. in Italy*, p. 220; and Da Porta, p. 410.

⁵ The *Catalogue* is prefixed by the following lines—

"It is to be understood that all works of the herein-mentioned heretics and here-
"Intendonsi Dannate e Prohibite tutte le opere degli infrascritti heretici

the papal Nuncio in the month of May 1549,¹ called forth Vergerio's utmost indignation. He republished it in Italian² with notes and remarks, and the following preface :

VERGERIO TO HIS CHRISTIAN BRETHREN.

"If a peasant who is working in a field or vineyard sees some wretches appear who are consulting how to attack people, to rob and kill them, he is under the necessity of stopping his work, and leaves everything to run where there are passengers, and to call out and warn them of the snares set for them and tell them how to manage to get safely out of the danger. Thus I, who am a poor minister and a servant of the Lord God, snatched by his powerful hand from the thorns and the marshes, and from the stink (*pusso*) of the superstitions and abominations which in the time of my blindness I used to practise. Having been by the living strength of his Spirit brought to work in the beautiful and odoriferous vineyard of his Holy Gospel, I was entirely occupied with this divine study. I neither wrote nor preached anything else to the few brethren I found among these Alps : I thought within myself that I should never have to write or to preach on any other subject, for this is the true study and exercise of a christian. This is his proper food, his support, his life. Christ said, 'the words which I speak unto you they are spirit and they are life.' But behold, while I was devoting my whole heart to the Gospel there appears in print a kind of monster, an enraged (*rabbioso*) catalogue of many books, both of ancient and modern authors, all in confusion, (as are in general the actions of the Pharisees). Behold the Spirit reveals to me and clearly points out the deceit in it [the Catalogue], and a conspiracy and mental intention to despoil the true children of God, as far as they can, of all spiritual as well as corporal life. To warn the brethren therefore, and to expose these cruel snares and admonish them, in as far as the Spirit teaches me, of what they should do to avoid them, I have laid aside my other studies, and have set about declaiming with the pen and discussing this *Catalogo* in the way which you will see. It is a very necessary work, and I could not fail to do it having the honour of my Lord and your safety much at heart. My dear brethren in Jesus Christ, read willingly that which our universal heavenly Father discovers to me for your benefit. Do not mind the

siarchs are condemned and prohibited e heresiarchi, che si trovano composte which treat of sacred Theology, or of any in sacra Theologia, e in ogni altra materia Ecclesiastica either in Latin or materia Ecclesiastica si latine come vol- follows the list. gari, cioè."

¹ Mr. Gibbings, in his very able work on the Roman *Index Expurgatorius*, states in his preface, p. 17, that Vergerio made a mistake, and that 1549 should be 1548; but he seems to have overlooked the fact that 'four' in the sixteenth century was generally written IIII., consequently MDXLVIII. would be 1549. Examples abound to shew that this was the custom; a few will suffice. See *Lettere Volgari*, vol. ii. Ed. 1667, p. 162, M.D.XLIII.; p. 267, XLIII.; p. 259, M.DXLIII.; and Halbauer's edition of Paleario's works, p. 235, where IX. is printed VIII.

² See CHAP. VIII. p. 329.

trouble, for I promise you that you will receive both consolation and service from it. For you will perceive the boldness, the rage, the ignorance, and the snares which the Pharisees, your enemies, are preparing for you more than ever. They are trying to conceal and bury Christ and his doctrine, and to destroy and kill, if possible, all his members. But you will learn from these few pages what has taken place in the Christian Church not only for thirty but for two hundred years. Pray for me, a poor persecuted creature, banished with so much fury to these wild Alps, deprived of my dignity, of my property, of Italy, my country, friends, and relations for the sake of the Gospel and for Jesus Christ. The ij of July in xlviij."

Vergerio complains that while the censors of the press allowed the utmost licence of expression to pass unnoticed, a slight allusion to the reformed opinions was mercilessly cut out. In the year 1554 he pointed out to the world a very remarkable instance of this by publishing eighteen stanzas of the twentieth canto of the *Orlando Innamorato rifatto*¹ by Berni,² a poet who flourished at the court of Clement VII. twenty-five years before. Vergerio says the poet till quite his latter days was devoted to the world, but that God in his infinite goodness enlightened him in his old age, and he was made a new creature, left the vanities of the court, devoted himself to the glory of God, and was filled with an ardent desire that all the world should know the truth of the Gospel of Christ. Aware that the great tyrant (the Pope) would not allow any books to circulate which would give the knowledge of the truth, and perceiving that a profane book called the *Orlando Innamorato* was in every body's hands, Berni determined to add some stanzas of his own to set forth Gospel truth and the deceptions of the papacy. But the evil spirit seeing the attack preparing so managed matters that the book was suppressed before it was finished printing. Such being the case Vergerio now offers to his readers some of the stanzas added by Berni, in which he freely professes the pure doctrine of Jesus Christ, and boldly asserts that the religion which the Pope persecutes is the true religion, and that one of the legitimate

¹ A poem originally written by Conte Matteo Maria Bojardo of Ferrara in the fifteenth century. See Mazzuchelli, *Scrittor. Ital.* tom. ii. p. iii. p. 1436. He only got as far as the ix. Canto of the 3rd book, and Francesco Berni rewrote it. It was printed at Venice in 1641, at Milan in 1642, and again at Venice in 1645.

² The title of this little book is *Stanze del Berna con tre scritti del Petrarca dove si parla dell' Evangelio e della Corte Romana nell' anno, 1555, with this motto: "Io vi dico, che se costor taceranno i sassi grideranno. Luc. xix."* See Appendix K.

fruits of the Gospel is repentance and amendment of our past lives. That we ought to put ourselves into the hands of God and Christ, acknowledging the truth of the heavenly doctrines without fear of man. He then goes on to observe that Berni was allowed to print as much licentious poetry as he pleased and never interfered with till his heart was enlightened and his muse enlarged to sing of pure and heavenly themes. These suppressed stanzas and the whole of Vergerio's tract have been reprinted by Mr. Panizzi,¹ librarian to the British Museum. We give a few lines, and recommend the whole to the reader's perusal.

La carità incomincia da le mani
 Non da la bocca, dal viso e da' panni
 Siate discreti, mansueti, umani,
 Pietosi a le altrui colpe, agl' altrui danni;
 Non hanno a far maschere i Cristiani,
 E, chi altrimenti fa, va con inganni
 E non entra per l' uscio ne l' ovile
 Anzi è ladron e traditor sottile.

La parola di Dio s' è risentita
 E va con destro piè per l' Alemagna,
 E tesse tuttavia la tela ordita,
 Scovrendo quell' occulta empia magagna
 Che ha tenuto gran tempo sbigottita
 E fuor di se la Francia, Italia e Spagna:
 Già per grazia di Dio fa intendere bene
 Che cosa è Chiesa, Caritate e spene.²

In the Literature of Europe³ Mr. Hallam, alluding to these lines having been brought to light by Mr. Panizzi, seems to doubt whether this learned Italian has not expressed himself too strongly, when he says, "the more we reflect on the state of Italy at that time the more have we reason to suspect that the reformed tenets were as popular among the higher classes in Italy in those days as liberal notions in ours." But if the reader has followed the history thus far, he must be convinced that the above assertion rather falls short of, than goes beyond the actual truth. The reformed opinions were not only 'popular,' but were

¹ *Orlando Innamorato de Bojardo*, with an essay on the Romantic and Narrative Poetry of the Italians. Pickering. London, 1830.

² Notes to Canto xx. vol. iii. p. 863, *Orlando Innamorato*, Panizzi.

³ Vol. I. pp. 363, 364.

received with strong convictions of their truth, to an extent of which, from the merciless destruction of documents and proofs of heresy, we can form no adequate idea.

Berni died at Florence in 1536. Vergerio added to the stanza of Berni the three famous sonnets of Francesco Petrarca, beginning—

Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova, &c.

L' avara Babilonia ha colmo 'l sacco, &c.

The third is the strongest: nothing more true or more severe has ever been written against Rome.

Fontana di dolore, albergo d' ira,
 Scuola d' errori, e tempio d' eresia
 Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria,
 Per cui tanto si piagne, e si sospira
 O fucina d' inganni, o prigion d' ira
 Ove 'l ben muore, e 'l male si nutre, e cria;
 De' vivi Inferno un gran miracol fia,
 Se Cristo teco al fine non s' adira,
 Fondata in casta ed umil povertate
 Contra tuoi fondatori alzi leorna,
 Putta sfacciata, e dov' hai posto spene?
 Negli adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
 Ricchezze tante? Or Constantin non torna
 Ma tolga il mondo tristo, che 'l sostiene.

A modern Italian¹ has admirably pourtrayed the antipathy of Rome to every species of reform. Speaking of the famous three days at Paris, he says, "A Catholic nation must perforce relinquish all hope of liberal government whatever; and the despotic power of the Pope cannot exist where liberal institutions prevail. When freedom reigns the Pope weeps, as Pasquin and Marforio say:

Marf. Sai la gran nuova? Francia il giogo infranse,
 E il papa che farà sentendo questo.

Pasq. Che fara? Tel dirò col sagro testo,
 Quando il gallo cantò Pietro ne pianse."²

¹ Rossetti, *Sullo spirito antipapista che produsse la Riforma*, cap. i. p. 1. Lond. 1532.

² *Marf.* Say, has the wondrous news yet reached your ear?
 That France rejects at length the papal yoke.
 What will Rome do with this rebellious son?
Pasq. What do? I'll tell you in a Scripture text,
 When the cock crowed, the wretched Peter wept.

CHAPTER XIX.

CELIO SECUNDO CURIONI.

1503—1569.

A PIEDMONTESE OF NOBLE FAMILY—EDUCATED AT TURIN—READS THE WORKS OF THE REFORMERS—SETS OUT FOR GERMANY—IMPRISONED FOR TALKING ABOUT RELIGION—RELEASED—PLACED IN A CONVENT—DISGUST AT SUPERSTITION—IMPARTS HIS OPINIONS—A DRAGON VOMITS FIRE—CELIO THINKS IT A VISION OF SATANIC POWER—THROWS AWAY THE RELICS OF DEAD BONES—SUBSTITUTES A BIBLE—GOES TO MILAN—FAMINE THERE—PLAGUE—CURIONI DEVOTES HIMSELF TO THE CARE OF THE SICK—MARRIAGE—GOES TO MONTFERRAT—ENDRAVOURS TO RECOVER HIS INHERITANCE—HIS SISTER SUES HIM AS A HERETIC THAT SHE MAY KEEP THE PROPERTY—CURIONI ATTACKS A MONK FOR SLANDERING LUTHER—IMPRISONED IN A TOWER—CHAINED—MAKES A FALSE LEG—ESCAPES—GOES TO PAVIA—PROFESSOR THERE—PROTECTED BY THE STUDENTS—TURNED OUT BY AN ORDER FROM THE POPE—GOES TO FERRARA—TO LUCCA—ROME ORDERS HIS ARREST—WARNED—ESCAPES—GOES TO SWITZERLAND—APPOINTED TEACHER AT LAUSANNE—RETURNS TO ITALY FOR HIS FAMILY—ATTACKED BY THE SOLDIERS OF THE INQUISITION—ESCAPES OUT OF THEIR HANDS—SETTLES AT BALE—PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MELANCTHON—MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO GIROLAMO ZANCHI—HER HAPPY DEATH—THREE DAUGHTERS CARRIED OFF BY THE PLAGUE—DEATH OF TWO SONS—PREPARATIONS FOR DEATH—HIS WILL—CHARACTER—WORKS.

AMONG the many Italian refugees who fled from the persecution of the Roman priesthood, few are entitled to more respect than the distinguished Celio Secundo Curioni. His adventures and hair-breadth escapes are of the most romantic character, and his upright conduct and steady consistency in the profession of the Gospel united him in friendship with the Swiss reformers, while his learning and erudition were a great accession to the university of Bâle. A close correspondence was kept up by the exiles with the friends they had left behind in Italy and with the German reformers. Personal acquaintance was not always necessary for the maintenance of these friendly com-

munications which mutual sympathy had awakened, and of which opposition to the tyranny of the papacy was the great moving spring. Many of these exiles were men of no ordinary talent, and the universities of Switzerland, especially that of Bâle, gladly availed themselves of their talents, and employed them in the instruction of youth. They filled with éclat the chairs of philology, literature, and eloquence, branches of study in which the refined genius of the Italian mind particularly excelled.

Celio Secundo Curioni, the youngest of twenty-three children, was a native of Piedmont. His father, Jaconimo Roterio Curioni, was of noble descent; his mother, Carlotta de Montrolrier, was sister of the French master of the horse. The greater part of their property lay chiefly at Moncarlier, but the family was called Curioni or Curione from an old castle called Cuori which belonged to their ancestors. Carlotta was maid of honour to Bianca duchess of Savoy,¹ and accustomed to the ease and luxury of a court.

Celio was a child of great promise and engaging manners, and his parents having lost the greater number of their children were much attached to this their last and youngest child; but unfortunately they both died when he was only nine years old. Besides his portion of the family property which he shared with his two brothers and two sisters, his father left him the paternal residence and some neighbouring farms belonging to it. But the best gift of all, and the only one which he really enjoyed, was an old family bible written on fine parchment, illuminated with gold and coloured in a beautiful miniature style. His first teacher was a servant, but afterwards he was sent to a public grammar school, where he made most astonishing progress. He then removed to Turin² where he studied under superior masters, and lived in the house of his aunt Maddelina. Here he attended

¹ She was the daughter of Guglielmo Marchese di Monferrato. Her husband Carlo Duke of Savoy died on the 13th March, 1489, when he was only twenty-one years of age, leaving a son Carlo a few months old. The Duchess Bianca was so wise and virtuous a princess that she was made regent of the kingdom.—Muratori, *Annali*, tom. ix. p. 230.

² See *Taschenbuch*. Baaler. 1853. Erasmus took his degree in this University, says Beato Renaro, in his dedication of the works of Erasmus to Charles v. in 1540. Pingone asserts the same, and even fixes the day, 4th Sept. 1506, which he found in the public archives.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii.

the lectures of Georgio Carrara, Dominico Macaro, and Giovanni Brema, who were the orators, poets, and historians of their day ; and applied himself to the study of civil law, of which Sfondrato¹ of Milan was professor. The reformed opinions were just beginning to be universally spoken of when Curioni was at the university. Hearing them condemned as false and heretical he felt a great curiosity to read and judge for himself. This was by no means difficult, as Girolamo Negri² and others in the Augustine convent were eagerly perusing the works of the reformers. The first book of this kind which Curioni read was Luther's book on Indulgences,³ the Babylonish captivity of the Church⁴ by the same author ; Zuingle's work *De vera et falsa religione* ;⁵ several works of Melancthon, and especially his *Loci communes*.⁶ These writings made such an impression on our young scholar, who was only twenty years of age, that he determined to go to Germany, not so much to learn theology as to acquire a deeper knowledge of literature, which he understood the example of Erasmus and Melancthon had greatly encouraged there. He consulted with his friends Giacomo Camillo and Francesco Guarini,⁷ and they agreed to set out by way of Salasso. These eager youths were not very prudent, and spoke so unguardedly about religion as they travelled along, that Boniface, cardinal bishop of Ivrea, had them arrested and imprisoned in different towers. Curioni was confined for two

¹ Francesco Sfondrato, afterwards Cardinal. See Vol. I. CHAP. VIII. p. 307.

² An Augustine monk, born at Fossano in Piedmonte in 1496. He was a staunch but moderate champion of the Church of Rome, and preached for many years in the vallies of Lucerna and Angrogna, and is said to have converted one of the ministers, but his moderation and condemnation of abuses drew on him the suspicion of heresy : in 1557 he was formally declared innocent of heterodoxy, and was rewarded for his zeal by Duke Carlo Emanuele I. He must not be confounded with Girolamo Negro or Negri, a Venetian and distinguished orator. See his correspondence in *Lettere di Principi*. He was a canon, and died in 1557.—See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii.

³ *Propositiones de indulgentiis*, 95 in number, published in 1517.

⁴ Published in 1520.

⁵ "This performance of Zuingle, including an appendix on the Eucharist, consists of nearly two hundred folio pages, and is a noble monument of the author's piety, learning, and intellectual powers."—Milner, *Church of Christ*, vol. v. p. 400.

⁶ Published in 1521, when its author was only twenty-four years of age. "Luther pronounced it far superior to any writings of his own." "The best book in the world next to the Bible."—See Scott, *Church of Christ*, vol. ii. p. 183.

⁷ They both became, subsequently, ministers of the word of God.

months in the castle of Capranio, and it was only through the good offices of some noble friends that he was released with no further punishment than a severe reprimand and a prohibition from conversing on such subjects.

The cardinal, discerning the talents of his young captive, sent him to the convent of S. Benigno, to prosecute his studies and to confirm his faith. As to this latter object it was a place above all others calculated to have the contrary effect. The convent boasted the possession of some rare relics and bones of saints and martyrs which attracted great crowds of persons to their shrines. Curioni, disgusted at this abject superstition, could not contain his indignation, but privately communicated his sentiments to his companions. Among others he spoke openly to a pious well-disposed youth named Martino Salerio, and persuaded him to read Melancthon's Commonplaces. In pursuance of this advice the young man went out to walk one day near the river with the book in his bosom; he had not got far from the gate of the town when he met a beast like a dragon vomiting flames.¹ The timid youth, feeling that he was doing what was forbidden in reading the book, was so terribly frightened that he took refuge in the adjacent convent of the Franciscans, and related what he had seen and what he had read. The friars, who most likely had with the aid of phosphorus contrived the whole thing, imputed the appearance of the monster to the book and its religion, and induced the credulous boy to give it up to be burned and to retract his opinions. Celio, equally credulous but less confident in the friars, thought the miraculous apparition a Satanic vision, to counterbalance which he determined to take away the relics. He watched where the keys were kept, secretly opened the box above the altar which contained the relics, took them out, and threw them away. In their place he put into the box a bible from the library of the monastery with this inscription: *This is the ark of the covenant where the true oracles of God are to be found and consulted; these are the veritable relics.*

He managed all this with so much secrecy and caution that the substitution was not discovered. The keys were replaced, and the box continued to be adored as before; till on a certain

¹ Niccolò Stupano, *Oratio de Celii Secundi Curionis vita atque obitu*, in Schelhornii *Amicitia. Liter.* xiv. pp. 328—336.

saint's day, when the relics were to be carried about in solemn procession, the box was opened, and lo! they were gone. But before this discovery took place Curioni had escaped secretly to Milan; from thence he visited Rome and other cities in Italy, and then returned to Milan, where, being much beloved and sought after by some of the principal families, he spent several years in teaching. Milan was at this period suffering so severely from the rapine and exactions of the Spanish army¹ that a famine ensued, which produced its frightful concomitant the plague; and the disease raged with such virulence that the city was decimated of its population. In this terrible conjuncture the kindness and benevolence of Curioni's character shone out conspicuously; instead of imitating the example of his friends, who forsook the town, he remained and devoted himself wholly to the offices of humanity, and distributed all he had to spare among the poor. A noble family of the name of Isacchi, who had retired to their villa in the neighbourhood, received Curione into their family, and he occupied himself unceasingly in going from house to house consoling the mourners, and in some cases with the assistance of a friend he even buried the dead. The city was a desert; such was the terror of the pestilence that many of the inhabitants left their dearest relatives unattended.

His noble and disinterested conduct was not without reward; filled with admiration of his character, the distinguished family who had sheltered him gave him their daughter Margarita in marriage, and the sorrows of the plague were forgotten in the happiness of this well-assorted union. After his marriage he looked about for some quiet spot in Italy to which he might retire unmolested for his religion, and undisturbed by the military. An invitation which he received from prince Giovan Georgio, sovereign of Montferrat, to his capital Casale, seemed to meet his wishes; he repaired thither, and remained for some years in the quiet enjoyment of domestic happiness.

Having heard that his brothers were all dead, and that they had left considerable property, he was advised by his friends to return to his country to obtain his share of this inheritance,

¹ It was at this period that a decree was issued by the Governor of Milan forbidding any bread to be baked which was not stamped with the double-headed Austrian eagle.

which had been taken possession of by his sister Maria and her husband. On his arrival he was kindly welcomed by his relations, who imagined he only came to visit his old friends. But as soon as they found he came as the heir of his brothers, they contrived to have a suit instituted against him as a heretic, and thus drove him out of the country. This obliged him to withdraw to Moncalieri, where he had been brought up, and where his father had left him a house and some land; he hoped to be able to stay there till circumstances permitted his return to his native place. He did not remain idle, but employed himself in giving lessons to the sons of the surrounding families. His admirable method of teaching, his learning and amiable manners won the affection of his pupils and neighbours; but his zeal for truth was not extinguished, nor his indignation at the ignorance of the priests.

One day he went in company with several gentlemen to hear a harangue or sermon at Castiglione by a Dominican monk from Turin. The speaker inveighed strongly against the Lutherans, and asserted that Luther's doctrine found favour in Germany, because under colour of christian liberty he allowed every species of licentiousness, and taught that Christ was not God, nor born of a virgin. Such gross falsehood stirred the indignation of Celio; he asked and obtained permission to answer the friar, and thus addressed him: "You have advanced great things against the Lutherans; if Luther has indeed written what you assert, can you point to the book or the page of his writings where such doctrines are taught?" Without waiting for a reply, he opened a book he held in his hand, Luther's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, and read a considerable portion containing matter exactly opposite to that alleged by the friar. The audience with the nobles at their head, enraged at the daring falsehood of the monk, loudly expressed their displeasure. Some, more excited than the rest, had recourse to a too decisive kind of argument; they advanced towards the friar, and struck him with such violence that, but for the interference of the governor, he might have paid the penalty of his untruths with his life. As was to be expected, the subject of this unseemly outrage complained to the Inquisitor at Turin. The case was reported to the bishop,¹ and he immediately set off

¹ Aventino Cirica of Perugia, the colleague of David, brother of Cardinal Cibo;

for Moncalieri with an armed force, went straight to Celio's house, took him prisoner, allowed the soldiers to sack and spoil the house, and carried his captive to Turin.

The name of Curioni was not in good odour at Turin; the affair of the relics was remembered and brought up against him; his journey to Germany was a conclusive proof of heresy, menaces were not spared, and nothing less than being burned to death was proposed as the punishment for such atrocious guilt. But the bishop Aventino, knowing how much Celio was beloved and esteemed by the chief persons in the city, would not venture to take upon himself the responsibility of severe measures; committing his prisoner to the charge of his colleague David, he set out for Rome to take the Pope's commands. Curioni was removed by night to a fortress surrounded with walls; his feet were put in the stocks, and two sentinels posted as a guard. Nevertheless he was not cast down, and resolved not to deny his faith; but being fertile in expedients he thought only of escaping. Although chained and guarded, a gleam of hope arose when he found he knew the locality of his prison well, and he felt assured that if he could once get outside the walls, escape would be easy. In a few days his feet began to swell from the weight of the irons; he entreated his guards to relieve one foot at a time, and then ingeniously contrived to make a false leg with rags stuffed into his stocking; he then begged the other leg might be loosened, and by covering it partly with his long coat he contrived to get the chain and irons put on the false leg. Having now the use of both legs, when all were asleep that same night, he opened the door, got through a window on the landing-place and was soon out of the reach of danger. His escape was imputed to magic; but unwilling that the Christian name should lie under such an imputation, he published in the form of dialogue a full and true statement, entitled *Celio Secundo Curionis Pasquillum Ecstaticum*.¹ In this dialogue he gives the above account of his escape, and relates that before he left his prison he prayed that God might assist him, and made a vow, which his friend Lucio, in the dialogue, interprets after the Roman Catholic manner to be a vow of chastity, poverty,

he was of humble extraction, and very likely this was one of the many cases in which one took the revenues and the other the work.

¹ See Appendix A.

pilgrimage, or such like. 'No,' said Curioni, 'I vowed to devote myself and all I possess to the service of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and I prayed that I might not live according to my own desires, but be drawn by the Spirit towards Him, and be used in His service as a chosen vessel for his glory.'"¹

Curioni, finding himself obliged to give up all idea of recovering his property, retired with his wife and children to a village called Sale, in the Duchy of Milan. But his talents could not remain long concealed. Many of the inhabitants of Pavia had villas in which they passed the summer; they insisted on his accepting a professor's chair at Pavia. He filled this office, with the highest credit to himself and to the honour of the University, for three years. Students flocked to hear him lecture, and such was the esteem in which he was held that even the Inquisition did not dare to arrest him. His pupils accompanied him in great numbers to and from the University, but at length the Pope issued an order to the Senate of Venice to remove him from Pavia. This great republic called herself free; but she could not escape the oppression of the papacy, and was obliged to comply though sorely against her will. Curioni retired to Venice for a time, but doubtful of his security took refuge at Ferrara, and there, as we have seen,² he cultivated his friendship with Fulvio Peregrino Morato and his incomparable daughter Olympia.³ Though we have not any notices of the process, we see from the fruits that Curioni was by this time a confirmed Protestant and reformer.

The duchess of Ferrara gave him letters to Lucca, hoping he might live there unknown and unnoticed by the Inquisition. He was honourably received by the Senate, and appointed professor at the college; but before the year expired the Pope desired the republic to have him arrested and conveyed to Rome. Unwilling to comply with this mandate they had no alternative but to suggest his escape. Grateful for their consideration, and feeling that there was no rest for him in Italy, he set out for

¹ See Schelhorn, *Amenit. Hist. Eccl.* tom. i. p. 759; Niceron, *Hommes Célèbres*, tom. xxi. pp. 1, 29; Stupani, *Oratio in Curionis obitum*.

² See Vol. II. CHAP. XIII. p. 98.

³ To her husband he wrote after her death, "You weep over your dear Olympia as your wife, I as a daughter, not in the course of nature, but in a higher relation, that of piety and christian love."—*Epist. Olymp. Morata*. Basil. Ed. 1570. See Streuber, *Taschenbuch*. Baaler. 1853, p. 192.

Germany by way of Zurich. The city of Berne appointed him rector of the school of Lausanne, where he remained four years, fulfilling his duties in so satisfactory a manner that he obtained general applause.

Before settling at Lausanne he returned privately to the neighbourhood of Lucca to remove his wife and children. Having communicated with his friends, while waiting for an answer, he went into an inn at Pescia to get some refreshment. Just as he had seated himself the Inquisitor and his satellites appeared at the door, and said to him, "In the name of God and the chief Pontiff you are my prisoner:" he was astounded, and rose from the table with a knife in his hand. The officers of the Inquisition, fearing he was going to attack them, allowed him to pass, and he, observing their hesitation, with admirable celerity rushed to the stable, mounted a horse, and before they could reach him he was off like the wind. A violent storm favoured his escape, and behold him once more at liberty. This easy method of evading authorities would be scarcely credible, did we not remember the lawlessness of the times, and the disposition of prisoners to struggle for liberty even with the desperate alternative of assassinating their captors. In all his changes and peregrinations Curioni acknowledged the hand of God, and ascribed his wonderful escapes to His gracious protection.

In the year 1547 Curioni went from Lausanne to Bâle, and Sebastian Munster, the head of the academy, with other literary men and printers,¹ earnestly entreated him to remain there. In compliance with the custom of the place a degree was conferred on him by the learned Pantaleone,² Gryneo, and Frisio, and that same year he was made professor of eloquence.³ In this pleasant and hospitable city⁴ he spent the remaining twenty-three years of his life, universally respected and beloved. All who had sons to be educated were eager to put them under his direction. The distinguished Bonifacio Amberbachio, a

¹ Martin Borrhaus a divine, Girolamo Frobenio, Niccolò Episcopio, and Michele Isingrino.

² Author of *Rerum in Eccl'es. Gest.*

³ The professorships of eloquence and rhetoric were separated on purpose to give Curioni a chair. Pantaleone was made professor of rhetoric.—See *Taschenbuch*, 1851.

⁴ Bâle was at that time called the Swiss Athens.

magistrate and a learned jurisconsult of Bâle, committed his son Basil to his care, and foreigners flocked from distant countries to benefit by his instructions. The prince Palatine sent his son from Lithuania to hear him lecture. He refused many offers from kings and princes. Even the Pope, though he persecuted him as a heretic, tried to win him back to Rome by the most splendid offers, promising him impunity for the past, and munificent appointments and provision for his children; but though Curioni would have rejoiced to return to Italy, he knew too well that all the Pope's offers would be coupled with the condition of a return to the superstitions of the papacy. This his conscience would not permit, neither would he risk an entrance into the lion's den. Grateful for the protection and esteem he met with at Bâle, he refused the most tempting offers, and wisely resolved to live and die in this quiet haven, secure from the snares of persecution.

His studies were chiefly confined to theology, philology, and something of philosophy: he was not a deep theologian, neither was his mind of a cast to enable him to excel in the detection of error. His chief religious work was *De Amplitudine regni Dei*; it was much disapproved by Bullinger, Vergerio,¹ and other divines; and such was the jealousy with which the Swiss reformers guarded sound doctrine, that if he had not had very warm friends he might have lost his chair. He had been warned from Zurich of the danger of publishing this work, but persisted, and exposed himself to universal censure. His best theological work is *Dell' antica autorità della chiesa di Christo*; but his chief excellence lay in philology, and in the elegance and refinement of his compositions. He occupied himself in perfecting lexicons and grammars of the Greek and Roman languages, and his happiest efforts were in praise of eloquence, which he called the queen of science, possessing both the charm of attraction, and the power of convincing the understanding.

Parents were anxious to have their sons placed in his family, and he received several pupils under his roof who afterwards became distinguished scholars. Abraham Sbaski, a young

¹ Vergerio wrote from Tübingen to Bonifacio Amberbachio, entreating him not to sanction the publication of such works at Bâle, and denouncing the principles of the work as being on so large a scale, and admitting so many to the kingdom of heaven, that faith in Christ as the condition of entrance was wholly lost sight of.

Polish noble, spent a long time under Curioni's care; and after he left Bâle in the year 1552 his sister sent a beautifully chased gold chain to Angela, one of Curioni's daughters, who acknowledged the gift in a very elegant Latin letter. He had also some Italians, one from Lucca, Giovan Battista Bernardino, the son of one of the opulent Lucca merchants. Some councillors of Berne placed their sons with him, requesting him to watch them carefully and not allow them to drink too much wine; and besides the young Basil Amberbachio, whose distinguished character and great legal knowledge reflected so much credit on his tutor, Bullinger sent his two sons, Henry and John Rodolph, to be under Curioni's instructions.¹

The busy life of a studious man who is a tutor does not afford much incident, but his correspondence was very extensive, and its varied subjects of interest give us some idea of Curioni's mental activity, and offer us a lively picture of his character and occupations.

Besides his printed letters² there are a great number in manuscript carefully preserved in the library at Bâle.³ At one time he wrote to queen Elizabeth of England, on whom all hopes were fixed,⁴ and dedicated the works of Olympia Morata to her;⁵ and at another to Sigismund king of Poland. Sometimes we meet with friendly letters to his scholars about grammatical construction; at another expressions of friendship to nobles and merchants; but his most interesting correspondence is that with the reformers and learned men.⁶ In the printed collection we find a letter from Melancthon to Curioni in admiration of his works.

¹ From the correspondence between Curioni and the parents of his pupils it may be gathered that the sum paid for board was about thirty crowns.

² See Coelii S. C. *Selectæ Epistolæ*, bound up with *Olympia Morata Divina Opera*.

³ I am under the greatest obligations to Prof. Hagenbach for his great kindness and courtesy in allowing me to inspect this precious collection.

⁴ Cuius opera Deus non modo Angliæ tuæ, verum etiam vicinis ac finitimis cœlestem Evangelii lucem restituerit, pacem dederit, salutem attulerit.—See Preface *Basilæ*.

⁵ He sent two copies of his *Commentaries* to Sir John Cheke, begging him to present one to the king and keep the other for himself, and at the same time he sent a copy of his *De Amplitudine Misericordiæ Dei* quem etiam eadem opera Regi, nostro homine donari cupidimus.—Coelii S. C. *Epist.* p. 286.

⁶ Melancthon, Bullinger, Musculus, Erastus, Gesner, Cardano, Sturm, Brentius, Borrihaus, Vadian, Paleario, Gribaldi, Castello, and many others.

“Language is a picture of the mind; when I read your writings I found they were written in a noble style, and that to you might be justly applied the words of Homer: *Σοὶ δ' ἐνὶ μὲν μορφῇ ἐπέων, ἐνὶ δὲ φρένες ἴσθλα!*—‘Wise is thy voice, and noble is thy heart.’ Before I knew where you resided I loved you. But my regard was still more increased when I heard Lelio praise you for learning and eloquence, and also for the piety and constancy of mind with which you have borne vexations which your open confession of the truth has brought upon you. As I highly prize the esteem of persons like yourself, I write to express my great regard and my earnest desire for your friendship. Persecutions will distract the Church less when it contains a number of learned men united together in opinion and in good-will. I very often repeat to my friends here that verse of Plato: ‘Not glittering gold nor diamonds are so brilliant to the eye as good men’s thoughts expressed in harmony.’ Let us then cherish this good-will by all possible good services, and vigilantly maintain our union. As I now declare my regard for you so will I go on in sincerity and truth, that you may understand how greatly you are beloved by me. Be well and happy. 1st May.”¹

This amiable letter was the beginning of an acquaintance between the two reformers, who somewhat resembled each other in disposition. Curioni’s reply is found in his printed selection, and he says that this is the third time he has written since he received his letter last May. We give an extract.

“I was quite a young man when I first read your works, and such was my affection for you that I did not think it could be greater, and yet in the progress of years it has so increased that I have often longed to see and embrace you personally. But I was prevented by many and various struggles on account of religion, by my dear wife and numerous family, and still more by very indifferent health. But I hope that this long-cherished desire may now be gratified, if it is true, as rumour reports, that you are coming here on account of the agitated state of your own country.² This great misfortune will however bring me a consolation, and a benefit to the people here, and I rejoice to hear of your steadfastness in religion and your attainments in the best studies. Thus, my dear Philip, though I can neither acquiesce in what you have written, nor in what Lelio Sozzini has said in my favour, still I thankfully accept the kind feelings which you both express. Your letter has bound me to you by fresh ties of love, so that no time can diminish nor any event dissolve our friendship. I do not write you any news, for all things are in confusion, which produces continual misery. The young men who have recently left Rome and are proceeding to Germany will inform you how matters stand.”³

Curioni was blessed with a numerous family, but out of thirteen children five daughters and three sons only lived to

¹ *Cœlii S. C. Epist.* p. 329.

² The imposition of the Interim.

³ *Idem*, p. 333. Dated 1st Dec.

grow up, and he had the affliction to lose the greater number of these at the most engaging and hopeful period of their lives. His eldest daughter Violante was married to the eminent Girolamo Zanchi of Bergamo.¹ He was the son of Francesco Zanchi, and nephew of the learned Paolo Zanchi, whose sons Cristoforo and Basilio² so greatly distinguished themselves by their talents.

Girolamo was born at Alzano, and like his cousins entered the order of regular canons, and devoted himself to study. His intercourse with Peter Martyr at Lucca led him to search the Scriptures and finally to embrace the truths of the Gospel. When Martyr fled from Lucca he soon followed; he went first to the Grisons, then to Geneva, and was from thence, at the death of Gaspar Hedion, invited to be professor at Strasburg. There he taught theology and philosophy for many years, and had the happiness of renewing his acquaintance with Celio Secundo Curioni, and of forming an attachment to his eldest and most accomplished daughter Violante. Their union was sanctioned by her parents, and proved one of those happy marriages in which affection and sympathy were conjoined with suitability to bless the sacred tie; but alas! like all earthly felicity it was but of short duration, for she died three years after, to the great grief of her husband and father. Zanchi in a letter to Peter Martyr touchingly describes Violante's heavenly state of mind at the time of her death:

“She was full of joyful aspirations and anticipations of bliss. By faith she seemed to see her Saviour, into whose presence she was about to enter, and her young pure mind, full of love to Christ like her father's friend Olympia Morata, entered with joy into her eternal rest. While Violante was dying the historian John Sleidan was dangerously ill of the plague at Strasburg.³ ‘Tell Sleidan,’ said the young wife, ‘to take courage and die with joy; I shall soon follow him; if we should be joined by Peter Martyr what a joyous company to meet Christ!’ As her end drew near she suffered much exhaustion and prostration of strength, and often exclaimed, ‘Take pity on me, my Lord, my heavenly friend.’ Then, says her husband, while I was supporting

¹ Born 1516, died 1596. See Appendix B.

² Basilio was a poet, he belonged to the order of Canons regular of the Lateran, studied sacred literature and wrote upon the Scriptures. In the reign of Paul iv. he was thrown into prison and died there in 1559.—See Pogiani, *Epist.* tom. i. p. 26, for a notice of this in a letter of Latini Latinii, in which he says, *Zanchius noster, in apostatarum tempestate gravi carceris dolore confectus, jam pridem obiit.*

³ *MS. Bib.* at Bâle.

her in my arms, she embraced me and said, 'To heaven, to heaven!' and died with a smile on her countenance."¹

Olympia Morata, the daughter of her father's affections, had died at Heidelberg the year before, and the account of her strong faith and joyful departure was no doubt an example ever present to the young Violante.

The bereaved father wrote to Gilbert Cognati:—

"She was twenty-three years old when she was taken from us. Her mind was of a superior order, and her sweet modest manners made her a blossom among virgins and the best of wives. . . . Oh! the treacherousness of all mortal hopes, the vanity of all human efforts if our hopes are not placed upon Christ Jesus alone."²

Amid the keenness of Curioni's sorrow for the loss of his married daughter he turned for consolation to his three dear girls at home, but alas! a few years after, the plague entered his dwelling and carried them all off; not one of the three sweet sisters was left to comfort the declining years of the afflicted parents.

Of Angela we shall now give a short account, chiefly in Curioni's own words. Angela, the eldest, was born at Lausanne in 1546, and died in the bloom of youth: she was only eighteen years of age when she fell a victim to the great plague which devastated the city of Bâle in the year 1564.³ Nothing can be more affecting than the account of this great affliction which her father sent to his son Augustine.⁴ After describing the painful scenes previous to her death, he says: She was gifted with one of those fine contemplative minds which led her to take more delight in retirement and study than in the pleasures and amusements of youth. Though naturally cheerful she indulged in that meditative melancholy to which young and ardent minds of great refinement are sometimes prone. Although born at Lausanne⁵ her heart was Italian, and she grieved for the religious tyranny under which her country groaned. It

¹ See Appendix C.

² This letter was dated 18th Nov. 1556. See *De quatuor C. S. Curionis filiarum vita atque obitu*.

³ Four thousand persons are said to have died of the plague at Bâle, and as many in the country; the town was a desert; one street was so severely visited that it still bears the name of *Tödteggasse*, Death-street.

⁴ *C. S. C. Augustino filio, Taschenbuch. MS. Lett. Bâle, 1851; and Jules Bonnet, Revue Chrétienne, Juin 1856. See Appendix D.*

⁵ On the 15th Nov. 1546.

is not surprising that her sensitive nature should become more sad after the loss of her sister Violante, or that her imagination should anticipate misfortune. She took a melancholy pleasure in recalling to memory the scenes of sorrow which the ancient poets had so pathetically described, and she deepened the impression by the recital of the most affecting passages of a mother's grief for the loss of her children, foreseeing as it were the grief which would overtake her own parents.¹ So strong were her presentiments that she often spoke to her mother and sisters of her death, and expressed a wish to be buried in the temple where they had so often prayed together.²

A few weeks after she was seized during the night of the 30th July with alarming symptoms and a sudden prostration of strength, which convinced her that her presentiments of an early removal were about to be fulfilled. She asked for a piece of white linen, and having with her feeble hands cut it into three pieces of equal length she formed them into a rose and placed it on her breast.³ This was her last act; a few moments afterwards she said, "Lord Jesus, receive me!" Her mother with christian fortitude tenderly whispered, "My child, he will receive you; this day you will be with him for ever in heaven." Angela raised her eyes, and pointing above said, "Take me, Lord,"⁴ and instantly expired. For a moment the family were plunged in the stupor of sorrow, but soon the poor mother gave way to an agony of grief, threw herself on the body of her child, and kissing her dear inanimate face exclaimed, "Oh my sweet, my holy child, why have you so soon quitted your disconsolate mother!" Curioni, after giving this affecting account of his daughter's death to his son, seems to find a kind of consolation in dwelling on the beauty of her character and her talents.

"Her greatest delight was in acquiring knowledge, and she often repeated that line of the Tuscan poet, *Altro diletto che imparare non trovo*.

¹ She died on the 2nd of August.

² *Mea mater, queso te, cum moriar, ne me inter vulgares humari patiaris, sed in templum efferri et condi ubi conciones audire et preces cum reliquis fundere consuevimus.*

³ *Tria illarum capita ingeniosissimo nodo in rosæ modum copulavit, sicque supra pectus suum posuit, quæ res quid portendat. . . . non licet ominari.—MS. Lett.*

⁴ *Trahe me, dixit, et in cœlum per gratiam Domini nostri J. C. candidæ columbæ instar evolavit.—Ibid., and Bonnet, Revue Chrétienne.*

Her intelligent mind and ready memory made learning easy. She understood four languages, Italian, German, Latin, and French, and could speak and write them all equally well. She had read the New Testament seven times through; she also read various other books, but only those which were proper and likely to be useful to her in life. . . . She gave me great assistance in the collation of manuscripts for the elucidation of Latin writers, and frequently read aloud to me when I was fatigued. . . . She was naturally very lively, and remarkably gentle and pleasing in the company of friends, and charmed all by her wit and gaiety of mind and the ready talent she possessed of recounting anecdotes and tales. What was peculiarly deserving of praise in this young maiden was that she never said a word in disparagement of any one either present or absent, and always put a favourable interpretation on the words and actions of her parents and companions. She was remarkably open and candid both in word and deed, and disliked nothing so much as falsehood or slander. I often heard her say that those who tell lies or slander their neighbours are worse than thieves or robbers; because the thief only injures the person from whom he steals, but the slanderer injures himself by shewing that he has no confidence in any one, as well as the person whom he slanders, and all, to whom his false speeches are reported; thus he wounds three persons at once." . . .

Nor was this interesting young girl deficient in those feminine accomplishments which, whatever else a woman may know, are necessary in most cases for the fulfilment of the duties which God has allotted to her sex. Her father in his survey of her excellences says :

" She had learned housekeeping so well from her mother that she was quite a proficient in it, and able to guide a house as well as many experienced ladies of forty years old. No cook or confectioner could surpass her in the preparation of food or in preserving fruit with sugar or honey. . . . There was nothing she could not do with her needle; she was mistress of the finest and most difficult branches of the art of needlework, and finished many elegant pieces of embroidery without any pattern. She invented a very curious kind of knitting with different materials, which you will see when you come home. Many of these works of hers have been sent to different parts of Europe. . . . In short, to sum up the character of this young creature, I may say that Angela possessed a pious, elevated, and noble mind, and that she was of a lovely and gracious spirit. . . . She was of a moderate height, somewhat taller than her mother, slightly formed, well proportioned, and very graceful. She enjoyed very tolerable health; her complexion was something between dark and fair, rather inclining to the latter, with a shade of colour; her face was oval without any defect, the forehead broad and open, the eyes blueish inclining to black. . . . She was skilful and quick in every action, and her carriage energetic, but moderate in all things. . . . If it had been the will of God for her to live longer and to enter into the married state, which, as you know, was projected, her great talents and virtues would have appeared still more remarkable . . . but it has not pleased God to leave her longer here,

and however hidden and incomprehensible his decrees may be to us, we most willingly and entirely honour them."¹

Such, says Dr. Streuber, is the description which Curioni gives of his daughter Angela. We have no reason to suppose that it is an exaggerated sketch, therefore we must believe Angela Curioni to have been a superior creature, and the very model of what a young maiden ought to be. Learning was not uncommon among women at that time: some even held professorships in the universities of Italy. But what excites our admiration the most is the enlarged powers of her mind and her varied attainments, by which she not only excelled in piety and learning, but was skilful in all things needful for the comfort of everyday life. Dr. Streuber very justly remarks: "How superior is such a deeply religious mind to the worldliness and frivolity which prevails everywhere in the present age; and how greatly do the learning and serious occupations of those days surpass the modern fashion of writing romances, the field in which females chiefly gather their laurels."²

Severe as this stroke was to the broken-hearted parents there was more sorrow still in store for them. Nine days after the death of their beloved Angela, Celia, aged seventeen, shewed symptoms of the same disease. She was more beautiful than Angela, but less energetic, and probably of inferior capacity; but her faith was true and simple, and when the Rev. Simon Sulzer went to see her he was struck with the fervour of her prayers and the stedfastness of her faith. Her last thoughts were for her parents and family. Meanwhile the youngest sister, Felice, a simple modest girl of sixteen, had been seized with the same complaint in so severe a manner that in four days she expired. She saw in a dream her beloved sister Angela,³ who seemed to beckon her away; all fear of death was removed, and she longed to depart. What must have been the anguish of the parents while visiting at the same time the deathbeds of these two sweet blossoms. Felice died first on the 17th, and Celia on the 21st,⁴ after tenderly commending her parents and family to the protection of God.

¹ See *Epist. C. S. C. Augustino filio.*

² *Taschenbuch.*

³ Angelam sororem sibi apparuisse specie decoram atque hilarem, hortatamque esse ut libenter discederet.—*Idem.*

⁴ They all lie buried in the cloister near the Rhine, of the beautiful cathedral of Bâle. See Appendix E.

Curioni, fearing the effect of these heavy losses on his wife, took her to Zurich to change both the air and the scene. There were many Italian families in Zurich, and it was a relief to Margarita to speak in her mother-tongue, as she did not understand German, and now she had lost her daughters there was nobody but her husband with whom she could converse in Italian. After some months the plague disappeared, and they returned to their desolate habitation at Bâle.

They had yet another daughter, Dorothea,¹ four years older than Angela, who had been left behind with some kind friends when the family first quitted Italy. She had now become the adopted child of the friendly family who had first received her under their roof; but the paternal heart still yearned after his child, and in a letter to his friend Aonio Paleario, who was professor of eloquence at Lucca,² he expressed a wish to have her picture; this kind friend willingly executed the commission, and in the year 1552 sent Curioni his daughter's picture with the following letter:

AONIO PALEARIO TO C. S. CURIONI.

"With this letter you will receive the picture of your daughter³ Dorothea, but as I wrote to you in a previous letter, *ἔμψυχον ἄτεχνον*, a silent picture cannot pourtray a living soul. If I had been present when it was first begun I would have had it done in profile, as we see in the ancient coins. However all the painters of our own times contend that the whole face *κατ' ἐπιφάνειαν* with both eyes and mouth gives a better likeness. This picture is certainly not deficient in resemblance, but the expression is far inferior to the original. Physical philosophers declare the countenance to be an index of the mind; so here you see an admirable modesty and a matronly gravity in the expression of the eyes far beyond her age; this serious look is conjoined with singular gentleness and beauty. She has not quite so much colour as you see in the picture, but her skin is clear and fresh, and her complexion soft and transparent, and her whole frame fitly tempered. When you look at her the young maiden blushes rosy red, which Diogenes used to call the colour of virtue. Her figure is neither too tall nor too short, (being as you know only ten years old); she is neither too thin nor too stout, but slight and agile, and her limbs well proportioned, possessing what the Greeks call *συμμετρίαν*, symmetry. But I must not overlook the principal and most

¹ Born in 1542.

² See CHAP. XIV.

³ This picture now hangs in the museum of Bâle, it is small and possesses no beauty as a work of art; the little girl holds a letter in her hand on which by very close inspection may be discerned the word Dorothea. Dr. Streuber, in his *Taschenbuch* for 1551, has given a copy of this picture, as also of her sister Angela.

important thing on which so much depends, which is that she has two teachers and guides, Angela and Felice, most excellent women, to whom she is as the light of their eyes, and who educate the young girl in a noble and liberal manner. I never saw parents more indulgent and affectionate than they are to your child. It would pain them to hear her called yours, for they both look upon Dorothea as a daughter; not having any children of their own, they vie with each other in loving, educating, and adorning this young girl. May God the ruler and king of all ages protect and preserve them, for in these times there are not many who so abound in love, but it seems rather to languish and become extinguished among all people. May our Lord Jesus Christ, who only can, sustain us. I do not write anything about my own affairs, as I think you must have received two letters about them. Lucca, 10 Jan. 1552."¹

The same year that Curioni and his wife lost their three daughters they had also the misfortune to lose their eldest son Horace. He had been sent to Italy to study, and had taken his degree in philosophy and medicine in the university of Pisa at twenty years of age. He then went to Constantinople on a mission connected with religion, and died there in February 1564, at the age of thirty years. The sad intelligence of his death reached his parents during the first violence of their grief for the loss of his three sisters. The bereaved parents, deprived of all their children, recalled their son Augustine, who was pursuing his studies in Italy; he was then about twenty-six years of age, and had his father's abilities and refined taste as well as his love of learning, so that he soon obtained the chair of rhetoric in the university of Bâle. But alas! this child too was recalled by his heavenly Father, for he died at the close of 1566.² This accumulation of misfortunes weighed heavily on the afflicted father. While receiving the last breath of his son he distractedly exclaimed, "Oh my son! is it my task to close your eyes? had you been spared but a little while longer you would have been called to close mine."

This was a bitter stroke, and though he bore it as a christian he felt it acutely. From that hour he looked forward with eagerness to his own death, became daily more detached from earth, and occupied himself in arrangements for his departure. He revised his will, in which he thus expresses himself:

¹ *Palearii Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 29. The original is among the *MS. Epist. Italorum* in the library of Bâle, in Latin, with the date given above, and signed Aonius Palearius.

² See Appendix F.

“ I acknowledge and maintain that I am a Christian, and that I live in the faith of God the Father, of his only begotten Son, and of his Holy Spirit, and I believe that God will receive my soul. Upon his grace alone I rest all my hopes present and future; and in order that neither man nor devil may have anything to say against me, I declare that I entirely and completely believe in the Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament, and that I take Jesus Christ, the very Son of God and very man, for my only Lord and Saviour and mediator between God and man, and that I at the same time repudiate and reject, abhor and abjure all teaching and interpretation contrary to this most holy doctrine. And I pray God with my whole heart so to grant me His Holy Spirit that I may never be moved away from this divine faith.”

Such was the christian belief of this Italian exile which he had learned from a careful and diligent study of the Scriptures, and which he expressed thus strongly owing to Vergerio having rather wantonly attacked some unguarded expressions in Curioni's book¹ on the extent of the kingdom of heaven. His faith was fixed on the Rock of Ages, and as the close of his earthly career drew near he earnestly desired to lay down his mortal body and to be clothed with immortality. He had drunk deeply of the cup of affliction in various ways, and had suffered some of the severest pangs which parental affection can be called to endure in the loss of nearly all his children. His heart became detached from earth, and he occupied himself in preparation for his eternal home. Among other things he had a picture painted of himself and his wife as a remembrance for his friends and his only remaining child. This his youngest son Leo² had like the other two been sent to study in Italy, and subsequently accompanied the learned Kista to Poland in the year 1556, a few years after the Polish diet had abrogated all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and deprived the clergy of the power of punishing heresy.³ Through the influence of his friends Leo Curioni obtained an honourable appointment, and was sent on different embassies throughout Europe. When his father found himself declining and recalled him to Bâle he dutifully obeyed the summons, and gave up a splendid position to comfort his aged parents by his presence, and afford them the consolation of his filial attentions.

¹ *De Amplitudine Regni Dei.*

² See Appendix G.

³ The decree which sanctioned religious liberty in Poland was issued in 1562. See Krasinski, *Reformation in Poland*, vol. i. p. 188.

On the 18th November 1569, at the advanced age of sixty-six years, Curioni went to the college to deliver his last lecture, and on seeing his friend Stupano¹ he remarked, "What a wretched set of beings we are!" His friend, thinking he spoke of literary men, replied, "We are more favoured than others." "I do not mean that," said Curioni, "I allude to the infirmity of human nature in general, and the various miseries to which it is exposed; this makes me rejoice that in a short time I shall be free." He then alluded to Daniel Osiander,² and what had been said of him; he spoke in a mournful tone of voice and seemed much depressed in spirits. While he was thus conversing, Uldrich Ugobaldo, having finished his lecture, approached, and Celio Curioni went into the lecture-room. Next day a meeting was announced to confer on some improvements in discipline, and Curioni, being dean of the college, was requested to take home the statute books and make what alterations he thought proper; but oppressed with weakness he felt his work was over, and begged them not to throw this burden upon him, for he was soon to set out for another world, and wished to have time to arrange his papers, settle his affairs, and compose his mind.

The following day was Sunday: he seemed very languid and generally unwell as if he had taken cold, and continued in this state for two or three days, growing gradually weaker. He expressed a wish to take the Lord's Supper, and declared that he died in the faith of Christ and of the reformed churches. After this last solemn act he spoke little, and four days after, on the 25th of November 1569, he ceased to suffer, and without pain or struggle gently expired.

He was accompanied to the grave by a great number of students and learned men, and was buried in the cloisters of the cathedral³ by the side of his three young daughters and his son Augustine. The Rev. Simon Sulzer, the Antistes of the church at Bâle, preached a funeral sermon at his burial in presence of the weeping multitude, who heartily responded to the praises bestowed on his talents, piety, and erudition. His extensive

¹ Niccolo Stupano was a physician at Bâle.—See Ja. Tongolæ *Basilea Sepulta, Monumenta Sepulchralia Templorum*. 1661.

² This could not be Andrew Osiander of Bavaria, so famous for his theological disputations, as he died in 1552.

³ See Appendix G.

correspondence with the reformers both in print and MS. offers most valuable materials for forming a judgment of the spirit of his age. He was himself one amongst those Italians who were the great ornaments of the Reformation, from the steadiness of his faith in the presence of so many difficulties, the purity of his life, and the attractive benevolence of his character. His refined Italian taste was a happy counterpoise to the honest roughness of some of the German reformers; it helped to soften the bitterness of controversy, and by introducing other subjects of thought, he avoided the mistakes of the schoolmen who too often erred from contemplating every class of subjects from one point of view. Classical taste was in perfection in Italy during the sixteenth century; but there were few among the Italians suited for building up a church or even for laying its everlasting foundations. Their spirits were too subtle, too elastic to confine themselves to the simplicity of Scripture; their ardent imaginations sometimes strayed beyond the limits of divine revelation, and sought to penetrate above what is written; but we must recollect the great disadvantages they laboured under, how much they had to do in combating Rome, and how much they had to learn in coming out of such an antichristian church. Of the poor bereaved wife and heart-stricken mother Margarita we have no exact notice after the death of her faithful partner; they had lived together for forty years, and from what we know of the amiable disposition of her husband we may be sure the separation was a grievous one. She had the misfortune to survive him eighteen years, and died on the 12th of May 1587.

We have already said that Curioni's chief theological work was not approved by the reformers in general; he wrote also a paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, and several popular pamphlets on various religious subjects.¹ His work *Dell' antica autorità della chiesa di Cristo* was much applauded, and his *Pasquino Estatico* is a very happy satire on the corruptions of the Roman Catholic Church. But his chief literary excellence lay in philology; it extended to grammar, lexicography,² philosophy, and literature; and his illustrations of the rhetorical writings of the great Roman orator were very valuable to students. The pious and

¹ See Appendix H.

² He enlarged the Dictionary of Nizolius, and published a *Thesaurus lingue Latinae* for the study of Cicero.

christian training of young men was a subject which occupied much of his thoughts and attention. He published some commentaries on Aristotle, and against Peronius, a modern author of that time, and he wrote also on logic and dialectics. His capacious mind embraced a great number of subjects, and the education of youth being his chief occupation he had opportunities during his long life of extending his sphere of knowledge. He was a good Greek scholar, and besides the Greek Odes of the gifted Olympia Morata he edited the works of the eminent Hellenist William Budæus. His anxiety about the conduct of the Italian converts was great, and as the reader may like to see his manner of treating the subject of conformity to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, we subjoin an extract from a letter to his brethren.

C. S. C. TO THE BRETHREN SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE KINGDOM OF
BABYLON.

“ You ask me, my brethren, if according to the precepts of God you can with a good conscience join in the ceremonies and superstitions of Babylon, being present only in body while your minds are averse to all superstition and false religion. First I reply, that to me it appears both difficult and arduous to counsel persons oppressed as you are by such great tyranny. Because, if on the one hand your cruel misery moves me to compassion, on the other there arises an opposition and doubtful contrast, so that I scarcely know how to decide. When I remember that I was once in the same state of bondage and anguish, I feel so much for those who are still in this condition, and find no means of escape, that life itself seems a burthen. But though this is the sad state of things, we must nevertheless follow such a method and act in such a way that this our counsel be not moved either by hatred or friendship, by anger or mercy, or by any other passions, the which are so apt to overshadow and separate us from the truth. Thus, my very dear brethren, if in giving you counsel I seem to say anything which sounds harsh and not agreeable to your weakness, I beseech you to be convinced how willingly we would help you if it were possible. Now I will say something suitable to your need. All our actions and reasonings have two ends, to which we ought to direct them. The one is the glory of Christ and his righteousness, the other is the salvation of our brethren, that is the building up the Church of Christ: and here I will just say that if we have truly learned Christ and firmly believe that he is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption (1 Cor. i. 30); if we have laid up all our riches, treasure, and hopes in heaven, where he reigns at the right hand of God, we shall think but little of aught else. For we know that we ought to forsake everything in this world, father, mother, relations, friends, substance, country, and risk even our own lives to maintain the honour of Christ and the holy majesty of his religion; and in all things ought we carefully to watch against offending our brethren, for

whom Christ died, either in word or thought or by bad example or dissimulation. But rather following the footsteps of our Heavenly Master, we should be ready to shed for them our own blood. The first thing then is to learn Christ well, and to be enriched by his most excellent knowledge, for from thence comes firmness and constancy of mind. If some persecute Christ in his members, others when dragged before magistrates deny him, others dissimulate and conceal the knowledge they have of Christ: from whence does all this arise but because they have not yet learned Christ? Those who do not know Christ war against him, as St. Paul says, (1 Cor. ii. 8) 'if they had known the Lord of glory they would not have crucified him.' Nor do they know him who either deny him, or pretend not to know him, this being a kind of denial. Wherefore, my brethren, if you have learned Christ as you ought, if you are clothed in heavenly strength, it is impossible that you can do such things. (Acts iv. 19, 20.) But, as we read of the Apostles, you will with great faith and boldness defend His honour above all other things. I wish those who think it lawful to simulate and dissimulate in religion would here tell me, in what manner do they consider the salvation of their brethren, and the example by which they ought to draw and lead them to Christ. Do you not perceive that by their silence and dissimulation they obscure and, as far as they can, bury Christ. In what manner can they promote the salvation of their brethren who offend their consciences by bad example, and confirm them in superstition and idolatry? And yet they know that Christ said, 'Whosoever confesses me before men I will confess him in the presence of my Father and the angels of God, and whosoever does not confess but deny me, I also will not confess but deny him in the presence of my heavenly Father.' Now the brethren know that the Lord menaces with his displeasure all who scandalize the least of those who believe in him; they know also that the Apostle Paul has said, that those who sin against their brethren in this manner sin against Christ himself. Tell me, I pray you, in what part of the Scriptures do you find any approval of such dissimulation; on the contrary they wholly disapprove and blame it. But, some may here observe, God requires the heart and if it does not approve of impiety, though the body may conform from necessity to superstition, God will excuse it. But tell me, I beseech you, has not God made both body and soul? Has he not redeemed both the one and the other with his precious blood? Have you not read, 'with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth (by which we understand the whole exterior, such as bowing, kneeling, offering, and such like) we confess God unto salvation.' Of what use is it to preach contempt of the world and of death, and laud those who despise them, if we allow ourselves to be conquered by fear, or if from any other cause we depart from piety and faith in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ? What has made so many martyrs for Christ, who might by a slight dissimulation have saved their lives but because they would not shew the slightest approval of the impiety of the world? Some have been roasted like lambs on a spit, others sawn asunder, stoned, drowned, flayed alive, cut in pieces, beaten, imprisoned, chained, scooped at, banished, forsaken, tormented, afflicted. Many, as in our own day, go wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens and caves

of the earth, all of whom would have been spared these sufferings if with the heart only they could have obeyed God; but they preferred suffering to conforming to the will of tyrants."

This letter to believers written by Curioni was very needful, for during the fierce persecutions under the reign of Paul IV., which began in the year 1555, many fell away, but some nobly maintained their constancy unto death. Pomponio Algieri, of Nola, who was arrested at Padua, made a luminous defence, and proved from Scripture and the decretals, the errors of the Roman Church. The Venetians wished to save him on account of his talents, but the favour of the new Pope was thought to be more important, so he was sent to Rome. The Pope sentenced him to be burnt alive. He met his death with heroic magnanimity, though only twenty-four years of age. While in prison at Venice he wrote a beautiful letter¹ describing the spiritual consolations vouchsafed to him. Curioni probably knew him personally, for he communicated the autograph of this letter to Pantaleone.² The year before Francesco Gamba of Como had suffered martyrdom with the same unflinching constancy: he was arrested for having gone to Geneva and partaken of the Lord's Supper with the reformers there. His tongue was perforated to prevent his speaking, but he waved his right hand and gave himself up to the executioner, who strangled him and threw his body into the fire, in the presence of some thousand persons.³

Godfredo Varaglia, a Capuchin, was employed to convert the Waldenses, but like Paul became a convert to the doctrines he persecuted, and after being attached to the suite of a papal legate he left him at Lyons and made his way to Geneva, from whence he went to preach the Gospel in the valley of Angrogna. But he was soon apprehended, taken to Turin, condemned to death, and executed on the 29th of March 1558. On his trial he declared that the number of persons ready to follow him was so great that the Inquisitors would not find wood enough to burn them.⁴

We must say a few words on the conversion of Francesco

¹ See the letter in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, p. 475. Ed. 1838.

² See M'Crie, *Reform.* p. 170, and Pantaleone, *Rerum in Eccles. Geot.* part ii. pp. 329—332.

³ *Idem.*

⁴ Leger, *Hist. des Eglises Vaudoises*, p. 29, and M'Crie, *Reform.* p. 171.

Betti, a Roman in the service of the marquis of Pescara. He wrote a full account to his former patron of the motives which induced him to leave the Roman Catholic Church, and the sacrifices it cost him to do so. This narrative was printed in 1557 at Zurich.¹ The author must have been known to Curioni. Betti was a kind of steward or administrator of the marquis of Pescara's property, was high in his favour, and had prospects of advancement, but his love of divine truth made him forsake all. He describes his long hesitation, his delicate health, his love for his employer, as causes which had hitherto prevented him from taking this decisive step which cut him off from the inheritance of an uncle to whom he was much attached. The murder of a brother to which he alludes and the fierce persecutions which raged after the election of Paul IV. in 1555, also stimulated him to fly. He recounts in his letter to his former master the various reasons for leaving Italy, and doubts not that, knowing he was no theologian, he will wonder how he could ever make up his mind in a matter of so much importance. He knows that Lutherans are looked upon in Italy as worse than Turks, but he assures him that though they may be called Lutherans by their enemies they aspire after nothing but to be Christians, and then goes on to state the principal articles of their belief. They believe that Christ was crucified for sinners, and that on Him was laid the iniquities of all who believe and trust in Him. They have no hope of being able to do anything by which they can merit or obtain pardon for their sins, but believe that remission of sins is only to be obtained by a humble confession of sin, and reliance on the atonement of our Redeemer, as we are incapable of ourselves to satisfy, by penance or anything else, for the smallest sin. They teach that faith is the gift of God, which when received into the heart overcomes the world and the flesh, and regenerates the whole man. That from this living faith springs charity and a desire to benefit our fellow-creatures. They believe only in two sacraments, and they partake of the Lord's Supper as a solemn commemoration of the passion and death of their Saviour, which He himself has instituted. They deny matrimony

¹ Lettera di Francesco Betti Romano All' Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo S. Marchese di Pescara suo padrone, ne la quale da conto a sua Eccellenza de la cagione perche licentiatto si sia dal suo servizio Zorico l' anno MDLVII.

to be a sacrament, but hold that magistrates are appointed by God, and are to be revered and obeyed by men. And they affirm that having no righteousness of our own, we are bound to serve God in the manner and according to the directions which He has laid down in His word, and to reject all the inventions of man. He explains to the marquis that though he had held these opinions for several years he had never ventured to speak on the subject, although he felt so great a regard for him; but if this surprises him he must recollect that in the Roman Catholic religion it is not allowable to speak on points of faith; and however sincerely convinced himself, he was not equal to dispute, especially knowing that some friar or priest would be called in, when he would have been in danger of being burnt for differing in the smallest point from the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. He concludes by saying he entertains the same respect and regard he ever did for the marquis; if he could have continued in his service, and at the same time been able to do his duty to God his Lord and Master, most gladly would he have done so; and beseeches him with the utmost respect not to devote himself so much to this world, but to turn his thoughts and talents to the consideration of another.¹

In proof that many of the Italian converts were willing to risk their lives for the spread of the Gospel we may cite also Lodovico Pascali, a native of Cuni in Piedmont: he had studied at Lausanne, and was not so fortunate as Curioni in escaping from the hands of his persecutors. Having heard that the Waldenses in Calabria² wanted a preacher he gave up a matrimonial engagement, and obtained the consent of his betrothed to go into the kingdom of Naples to preach the Gospel; but he had not been long there when he and his friend Stefano Negrino were arrested and conducted to Naples. On their journey they were treated much in the same way that prisoners still are in that unhappy country. They were thrown into noisome prisons, and worse used than the beasts of the field,

¹ This little book is very rare; a copy is in the library of Geneva, from which this incomplete summary is taken.

² For the early settlement of the Waldenses in Calabria, see Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*, vol. i. p. 240—242; Leger, part ii. 336; and *Hist. des Martyrs*, pp. 506—516. Not having the books at hand we have made use of M'Crie's translation verbatim, *Reform. in Italy*, p. 173.

for they have litter given them; but during the nine days of their journey they had to lie every night on the bare ground. From Naples Pascali was sent to Rome to appear before the Inquisition. But notwithstanding all his sufferings he never wavered in the faith, and seemed even to rejoice in suffering for Christ's sake. He wrote to his former hearers:

"I feel my joy increase every day as I approach nearer to the hour in which I shall be offered as a sweet-smelling sacrifice to the Lord Jesus Christ, my faithful Saviour; yea, so inexpressible is my joy that I seem to myself to be free from captivity, and am prepared to die for Christ, not only once but ten thousand times, if it were possible; nevertheless I persevere in imploring the divine assistance by prayer, for I am convinced that man is a miserable creature when left to himself and not upheld and directed by God."

A short time before his death he said to his brother Bartolomeo:

"I give thanks to my God that in the midst of my long-continued and severe affliction I have found some kind friends; and I thank you, my dearest brother, for the tender interest you have taken in my welfare. But as for me, God has bestowed on me that knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ which assures me that I am not in error, and I know that I must go by the narrow way of the cross and seal my testimony with my blood. I do not dread death, and still less the loss of my earthly goods, for I am certain of eternal life and a celestial inheritance, and my heart is united to my Lord and Saviour."

When his brother urged him to yield a little to save his life he replied:

"Oh, my brother, the danger in which you are involved gives me more distress than all that I suffer, or have the prospect of suffering, for I perceive that your mind is so addicted to earthly things as to be indifferent to heaven."

On the 8th of September 1560 he was brought from prison to hear his sentence, and next day he was strangled and burnt in presence of the Pope and the cardinals. Pascali was a man of learning: he published the New Testament in Italian¹ in

¹ *Jo. Lud. Paschalem quandam Novi Testamenti Editionem Italicam procurasse, A. 1555. 8. sine mentione loci, unâ cum adjecta versione Gallica, quam se possidere affirmat, testatur Cl. Schelhorn. in Recreat. Ecclesiast. tom. i. p. 419. Gerdes, Syllabus Ital. Reform. p. 321; Hist. des Martyrs, f. 4186; M'Crée, Reform. p. 171. The edition of 1576 is in the British Museum, *Il Nuovo Testamento di Gesù Christo Nostro Signore*. The printer's sign is a scorpion, and the motto, *Mors et Vita*. Della stampa di Gio. Battista Peniroli, 1576; also the Geneva edition of 1596, with the same version newly revised and corrected from the Greek text and*

1555. Some of his letters are still extant,¹ and more have probably been lost.

illustrated with annotations and an index. Copies of both are in the Brit. Museum, and in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. H. Cowper for this last information, and for a sight of the edition of 1576 in his possession.

¹ Extant ejus Epistolæ melle ac dulcedine Evangelico refertissimæ ac unctionem spirantes, quas ex idiomate Italico in Gallicum transtulit Auctor *Martyrologii, Magni Gallici* à fol. 506 usque ad 515. b.

CHAPTER XX.

GALEAZZO CARACCILO.

1517—1585.

A NEAPOLITAN OF NOBLE BIRTH—FLAMINIO—VALDÉS—SERMON BY PETER MARTYR—GALEAZZO BECOMES A CHANGED MAN—DIFFICULTIES—OPPOSITION OF HIS FAMILY—FIRMNESS—DISTRESS OF MIND—PRAYER—ABANDONS HIS COUNTRY—GOES TO GENEVA—WELCOMED AS A BROTHER—CALVIN—HIS FATHER SENDS TO ENTREAT HIS RETURN—DISTRESS OF HIS WIFE—REASONS FOR LEAVING THE CHURCH OF ROME—UNSUCCESSFUL MISSION—MEETS HIS FATHER AT VERONA—VAIN PERSUASIONS—FRACASTORO—GALEAZZO ORGANIZES AN ITALIAN CHURCH—CELSO MARTINENGO APPOINTED MINISTER—MARRIES AN ENGLISH WIFE—GALEAZZO MEETS HIS FATHER AT MANTUA, WHO WISHES HIM TO LIVE IN ITALY—UNSUCCESSFUL—HIS WIFE VITTORIA PROPOSES AN INTERVIEW—FAILS IN HER ENGAGEMENT—A SECOND INVITATION—HE GOES TO VICO—JOYFUL MEETING—DISAPPOINTMENT—VITTORIA GOVERNED BY HER CONFESSOR—REFUSES TO FOLLOW HER HUSBAND—GALEAZZO LEAVES FOR GENEVA—AGONIZING PARTING—LETTER FROM CALVIN—RETURN TO GENEVA—CONTEMPLATES A DIVORCE—OPINIONS OF THE CHURCHES—DIVORCE PRONOUNCED—HE MARRIES A WIDOW—RESPECT SHOWN HIM—DEATH OF CALVIN—MYSTERIOUS MISUNDERSTANDING—GALEAZZO TAKES LEAVE ON QUITTING GENEVA—IS PERSUADED TO REMAIN—ILLNESS—A FRESH ASSAULT FROM HIS FAMILY—THROWS THE LETTERS IN THE FIRE—DEATH.

THE history of Galeazzo, son of Colantonio Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico, affords one of the noblest examples of sincere conviction and christian abnegation which has ever been recorded. His father was a Neapolitan noble, in high favour with Charles V. He had distinguished himself in the Imperial cause during the disastrous French occupation of Naples in the year 1528, was employed by the prince of Orange at the siege of Florence in the following year, and sent as a confidential agent to Charles on the affairs of Tuscany. The Emperor conferred on this devoted servant the title of Marquis, and made him one

of the six councillors of the Viceroy of Naples.¹ He married a noble lady of the Caraffa family, but had the misfortune to lose her at the birth of his son. From that moment his affections were centered in this his only child, his son and heir; he gave him a finished education according to the ideas of the time, and married him at twenty years of age to Vittoria, the heiress of the duke de Nocera, a young lady of great beauty and accomplishments, who brought him a dower of 20,000 ducats. The father's joy was completed by the birth of a grandson; and the domestic felicity of the young couple was increased, in process of time, by the addition of four sons and two daughters. Galeazzo was appointed chamberlain, or Gentleman of the Golden Key, to the Emperor Charles V., an office which obliged him at stated periods to present himself at court. Thus did this young nobleman attain the summit of worldly advantages at a very early age. His polished manners and courtly bearing, and his excellence in all the accomplishments of a true knight, made him so universal a favourite that he bore away the palm from his compeers. But a pure and upright mind cannot rest satisfied with material enjoyments; there is a craving of the spirit, even when the heart's affections are satisfied, for something above this world. A man has not fulfilled the instincts of an intellectual being, who is happy without the knowledge of his Creator. He who leads His children by a way they know not, was pleased in the midst of earthly prosperity to call him to higher and more ennobling honour, and to bestow on him the peculiar favour of becoming one of the few nobles who were raised to the incomparable dignity of becoming children of God.² We have already seen that the zealous and enlightened Spaniard Juan Valdés³ held private meetings at Naples for reading and expounding the Scriptures; and we have had occasion to remark that his great object was to bring his hearers under the influence of the Spirit of God. By a simple explanation of the Scriptures he strove to undermine the merit of outward observances, and to bring his hearers to "the righteousness of God by the faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe."⁴

¹ He was ranked among the first at the five Colleges of Nobility, called *Saggio di Capua*.

² See Vol. II. CHAP. XV. p. 233, and *Lettere Volgari*, tom. i. p. 108.

³ See Vol. I. CHAP. VI. p. 227.

⁴ Rom. iii. 22.

Among the select group of persons who assembled to hear these scriptural expositions, one gentleman, Francesco Caserta, a relation of the Caracciolo family, was particularly earnest. He frequently spoke with his friends on the new light he had acquired about the corruptions of the church, justification by faith in Christ, and other important subjects. Galeazzo listened with great interest to Caserta's remarks on the duty of bringing the belief inculcated by the hierarchy of Rome to the bar of the Gospel, and above all to its solemn appeals to the conscience. But perhaps he might have been content with wondering at his friend's enthusiasm, had he not himself heard the celebrated Peter Martyr¹ lecture on the Epistle to the Corinthians. Conviction seemed to flash on his mind while the eloquent monk dwelt on the weakness and incapability of the human mind to understand spiritual things without the aid and influence of the Spirit of God. The popular illustration of his argument, though not such perhaps as would please modern hearers, appears to have made a great impression on Caracciolo :

“If any one sees at a distance a number of persons moving and jumping in different directions, and is not near enough to hear the music which guides their movements in dancing, these persons appear like a company of madmen; but on approaching within sound of the melody which inspires their activity, the spectator not only begins to understand their action, but feels such a sympathy in the scene that he himself is disposed to join the dancers. So is it when we behold a person change the whole tenor of his life, and become in all things different from the rest of the world. We are at first disposed to tax him with folly and eccentricity; but a closer examination of his conduct and principles convinces us that he is in harmony with the word of God and with the dictates of the Holy Spirit. The spring of his actions is revealed, and the spectators become themselves so impressed, that they also are led to renounce the delusive pleasures of the world; become filled with a sincere desire for sanctification and holiness, and join themselves to those very persons whom at first they so much blamed.”

We must not forget that it was in the Apostolic sense of salvation by works and by the law, in contradistinction to the Gospel of grace, that Valdés and the early reformers, who read in the Scriptures “not by works lest any man should boast,” gladly accepted the law of righteousness by which there was “no condemnation to those who were in Christ Jesus,” while at the same time they knew that righteousness could only

¹ See Vol. I. CHAP. x. p. 406.

be fulfilled in those who "walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit."

Galeazzo listened with the deepest attention to this discourse, and found it exactly suited to his state of mind; he often afterwards related to his friends how this similitude and its explanation had enlightened his mind and touched his heart, and made him resolve to devote himself to the study of divine truth. By the diligent reading and hearing of the word of God, and frequent intercourse with those whose lives and conversation were under the influence of the Gospel, he sought a fuller knowledge of pure religion.

This commendable resolution was not, however, very easy of execution. His rank, his office at the Imperial court, the publicity of his life, made any change a subject of universal observation. That so brilliant and accomplished a young man should take up such fancies was a theme of general surprise; they imagined that his eccentricity proceeded from fits of melancholy. Unacquainted with the powerful influence of the Word of God, people in society were unable to understand his motives of action. But if he was condemned or misjudged by the giddy world, there were others to whom this blessed change imparted the purest joy. The real disciples of Christ, who were cautiously feeling their way, took courage when they saw a young noble, the favourite of fortune, withdrawing himself from the corruptions of the age and devoting his whole heart to God. The devout and heavenly-minded Flaminio watched his course with great rejoicing of heart, and when he left Naples he wrote to him that beautiful letter¹ already alluded to. Galeazzo, however, in his first self-dedication to God was not exempt from the trials which await those who desire to live a godly life in a corrupt age. Besides the raillery of his gay and fashionable friends, he was soon attacked by more formidable temptation. His father Colantonio had high ambitious views for his son, and counted on him as the means of exalting the splendour and rank of the family. Himself a bigot in religion, he looked on it only as a series of ceremonies, but could not tolerate anything bordering on heresy. He held long and angry conversations with his son, and threatened him with his severest displeasure if he continued in this fanciful state of mind. The young

¹ See CHAP. XV. p. 233, and *Lettere Volgari*, tom. i. p. 108.

convert, accustomed to implicit filial obedience, keenly felt the difficulty of reconciling his duty to God with that which he owed to his earthly parent.

To this disquietude, one if possible more painful was added. His wife Vittoria, with whom he had hitherto lived on the most affectionate terms, no longer recognized her husband in the serious reflective Galeazzo. She attacked him with gentle but continual reproaches, and being totally unable to understand his reserve of manner she accused him of diminished affection. These fond complainings, so natural to a wife who did not share the religious opinions of her husband and felt his confidence withheld, were a perpetual torment. Besides these domestic embarrassments, his rank and position exposed him to many worldly annoyances. Naples was then, as now, a city of pleasure; nothing was known but balls, plays, and musical entertainments; and Galeazzo's extensive circle of friends made it difficult for him to absent himself on gala days; these things no longer gave him pleasure, but he sought in vain to avoid them.

He was even in a worse position when officiating as chamberlain at the court of the Emperor, where there was such a desire to suppress the reformed opinions. Thus was Galeazzo surrounded on all sides with difficulties, for within and without were fears. He manfully shook off another species of attack of a still more insidious and pernicious nature. In every revival of religion there are tares among the wheat; and among the numbers in Italy who rejected the legends and false miracles of the Roman Catholic Church, there were a number of Arians and Anabaptists who at this time infected Naples. They eagerly seized on the new converts who were just emerging from darkness, and insinuated a disbelief of the whole of the miracles and mysteries of the New Testament. Galeazzo saw and avoided the snare; though young and unversed in theology, or perhaps just because he was not conversant with the subtleties of scholastic theology, but enlightened by the simple teaching of the Word of God, he discerned their sophistry and rejected everything not conformable 'to the law and to the testimony.' There was yet another danger which sprung from the very bosom of the little flock itself. Numbers who had heard Peter Martyr preach and Valdés expound, believed the doctrine of justification by faith, condemned the superstitions of the Roman Catholic

Church, but at the same time heard mass, frequented the churches, and were present at the idolatrous worship paid to the Virgin Mary and other saints. When persecution came they were offended and fell away; they were willing to be christians, but shrank from the cross. Had they acted more by faith and less from expediency, their very numbers might have awed the government into some degree of toleration, and they might have acquired that prime right of humanity—religious liberty. The moment indeed was not auspicious; the Inquisition had been established at Rome, and the zealots were at work at Naples. Although the city, as we have seen,¹ subsequently rose in rebellion against this dread tribunal, yet the government was despotic and had means at command for crushing all dissent from Rome. Many were imprisoned who abjured from fear, and were afterwards put to death as relapsed heretics. Among these we find the noble Caserta, the first instrument in the conversion of Galeazzo.

The office which Galeazzo held as chamberlain took him frequently to Germany, where he had an opportunity, beyond the precincts of the Imperial court, of hearing the reformed opinions freely advocated. This was more particularly the case after the Diet of Ratisbon in 1542, which gave rise to much doctrinal discussion on the concessions demanded by the Protestants. Some even who upheld the primacy of St. Peter's see were favourable to the marriage of the priests, and the communion in both kinds, and other articles of faith conformable to scripture. Besides these modified opinions Galeazzo enjoyed the great advantage of conversing with men of decided piety, men who no longer vacillated between the service of God and the service of the Church, but were prepared to make every sacrifice to worship God 'in spirit and in truth.' He began gradually to understand that to hold the doctrine of justification by faith, though it stood on the threshold of divine truth, was but a step, unless he came out altogether from the contaminating influence of a corrupt church, and laid aside those practices which were characterised in scripture as spiritual idolatry. These impressions were greatly confirmed by a visit Galeazzo paid to Peter Martyr at Strasburg² while on his journey to Italy. He opened

¹ See Vol. I. CHAP. IX. pp. 358—365.

² He was Professor of Theology at the College of St. Thomas at Strasburg.

his heart to this master in Israel who had first seriously awakened his attention to the importance of coming out from the world, and of seeking the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Though we have no details of this private conversation, we can imagine the frankness with which Galeazzo unbosomed his griefs, and his earnestness in seeking counsel for his future guidance. No one was more suited than Peter Martyr to enter into his feelings, for he had been placed in the same position, had undergone the same conflicts, and had finally fled rather than deny his Lord. After hearing the recital of his difficulties he frankly told him that if he would remain in the faith of the Gospel he must leave country, wife, family, friends, and property, for a land where he would not indeed, as in Italy, worship under his own vine or fig-tree, but where 'none would make him afraid.' He returned to Naples, anxiously desirous to come to a decided resolution, and pressed upon his friends the duty of leaving the Church of Rome; but his proposals were coldly received. His own mind meanwhile was exposed to a most severe struggle between natural affection and a spiritual desire to serve God. The idea of disappointing his father's hopes filled him with anguish; and his wife, whom he tenderly loved, how could he, and above all how would she, bear the separation? He pictured to himself her agony on being abandoned by the father of her children, and left exposed to the remarks of a censorious world. These were reflections perfectly overwhelming, and the less endurable as they were confined to his own breast, lest he should be constrained by force to abandon his purpose. When he looked at his six children, the eldest of whom was fifteen years of age, and the youngest scarcely four years old, his paternal heart was wrung with sorrow. When they clustered round him he could scarcely conceal his feelings at the thought that he was soon to leave them, that he must devolve on others the charge of their education, and worst of all that they would be brought up in the religion which he himself abhorred. The domestic sacrifices he was about to make so completely occupied his thoughts that he felt no concern for the powerful connections, the delightful gardens, and magnificent palaces he was about to leave for a life of exile, poverty, and obloquy. But strong in faith, he had set the prize of his high calling before him, despising the cross. In these severe combats with natural affection he lifted up his heart to God and cried to

him for strength to be enabled to crucify the world and all its affections for the service of God. A prayer uttered in one of those terrible moments of conflict has been preserved:—

“O Lord, thou who hast drawn me from the depths of ignorance and enlightened my understanding by thy Holy Spirit, teach me to follow my heavenly calling, and to devote myself wholly to thy service. Neither father, wife nor children, neither country, pleasures, nor honours can detain me, if thou commandest me to depart. Thou, O Lord, seest my readiness to obey the dictates of thy Holy Spirit; but thou seest also, O Lord, the difficulties and the trials which beset my path. Alas! I am in the depths of affliction, as David thy prophet was when he cried unto thee for aid. A ray of light from thy throne will transport me into thy presence. Satan and the flesh beset me with terrible images of crosses, dishonour, poverty, and misery. But thy good Spirit teaches me to pierce through all these horrors, and enables me to exclaim, O glorious Cross! by which I am joined in conformable union with Jesus Christ, my Head and my Divine Master. Welcome then even infamy, if it leads me to glory! Hail much-desired poverty, which in depriving me of this world's goods places me in possession of that incorruptible inheritance which thou hast been pleased to give me through thy Son Jesus Christ, that I may be united to Thee for ever. O! blessed be those sorrows which separate me from the corruptions of the world, and introduce me to the enjoyment of heaven.”

These and such like earnest supplications and exercises of faith tranquillised his mind and prepared him for the great sacrifices he was about to make. Some of his friends had agreed to accompany him into voluntary exile, but when the time of departure drew near, even the most zealous demurred and changed their minds. A few accompanied him as far as the frontiers of Italy, but here their courage failed, and they returned to Naples. Some of these were afterwards arrested and accused of heresy, and they finally abjured those truths in words, which in their hearts they believed.

Painful as it was to Galeazzo to be thus deserted, it did not shake his resolution, and, relying on divine assistance, on the 21st of March, 1551, he set out on his pilgrimage. He carried with him only a small sum of money, about 2000 ducats; the fear of being discovered prevented him from raising more on his maternal property. He was just thirty-five years of age when he took leave of his family at Naples. They thought he was going on duty to the Imperial court; he did in fact proceed to Augsburg, where the Emperor then was, and remained there till May; but when Charles set out for the Low Countries, Galeazzo turned his steps towards Geneva, and arrived there on the 8th of

June. He had not a single acquaintance in this republican city, and he felt the solitariness of an exile's life already begun; but two days after, Lactanzio Ragnoni,¹ whom Galeazzo had seen at Naples, arrived. He also had fled from Italy to follow out the commands of Christ in a free country, since persecution prevented him from serving God according to his conscience in his own.

Galeazzo was not long at Geneva without making acquaintance with Calvin, and other eminent christians. They welcomed him as a brother, and he made up his mind to cast in his lot with them, and to take up his abode in this city of refuge. The clear-sighted Calvin soon discovered the solid worth of this Neapolitan gentleman; he observed with holy joy the devotedness of his character, and admired the self-sacrifice which had laid all his worldly advantages and possessions at the foot of the cross. He rightly judged that God would make use of his polished and courteous manners to influence many of his countrymen to embrace the truth in sincerity. A close and intimate friendship was soon formed between these two exiles for the Gospel's sake; a friendship which was never ruffled by any word of discord, and was only dissolved by death. Besides the daily proofs of regard which Calvin lavished on this distinguished convert, he gave him a public testimony of his esteem by dedicating to him the second edition of his Commentary on the Corinthians.²

When the report that Galeazzo had arrived at Geneva reached Naples, it was like a thunderbolt for his family. His father, the marquis, was in despair. The Inquisition at that time was so severe against heretics, that had it been established at Naples the whole property of the family would have been confiscated, Galeazzo's name blotted out, and his children disinherited. But though from the successful resistance of the town in 1546 it had escaped the rigours of this dread tribunal, yet the Roman Inquisition was in full vigour, and by no means sparing of its censures. The easy temper of the reigning Pope,

¹ A native of Siena, fosterbrother to Bernardino Ochino.

² The first edition of 1545 was dedicated to M. de Falais, a Burgundian nobleman, who though brought up at the court of Charles v. early embraced the Reformed opinions. By the advice of Calvin he abandoned his country to profess the truth, and his estates were confiscated. During his residence at Geneva a close friendship subsisted between him and Calvin, till it was broken in 1552 in consequence of De Falais having defended Jerome Bolsec, his physician, who held unsound opinions on the Trinity.—See Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, and Appendix A.

Julius III., would have been some safeguard had he not left the execution of the Inquisitorial decrees to the unbending Caraffa. But even here fortune favoured the unhappy Caracciolo family; a family connection between them and cardinal Caraffa in all probability saved them from the prompt censures of the Inquisition.

After the first burst of sorrowful indignation the marquis determined to use every possible means to recall the wanderer to the fold of the Church. He despatched his nephew, the cousin and intimate friend of Galeazzo, with letters full of affectionate remonstrances, and pathetic descriptions of the grief and despair of his father, wife, children, and friends, as well as of all Naples. They besought him in the most earnest manner not to ruin his family and destroy all their fair expectations by persisting in his heretical opinions. On the young man's arrival at Geneva he immediately sought out his cousin's abode. Having always seen him surrounded with luxury and splendour, he could not conceal his astonishment at finding him lodged in a small house and living in a most simple and even humble manner. His establishment was that of a poor gentleman, and consisted only of two men-servants. When these old friends and relations met they were both unable to speak for tears. The utterance of the messenger was impeded by the painful contrast between his cousin's present condition and his former splendour at Naples. Galeazzo was deeply moved by the touching descriptions which the letters gave of the sorrow and suffering his departure had inflicted on his family. The cousin first found words to deliver his commission, and described with as much eloquence as he could command, the death-blow which had fallen on his family, the desolation of his wife, and the consternation of his father and of the whole city of Naples. In the midst of this affecting appeal to his feelings, Galeazzo, with the firmness of a christian who had counted the cost and made up his mind, interrupted him by saying that he had not been actuated by any passing fancy or caprice; nor had he made such great sacrifices without long and serious deliberation. God had been pleased to enlighten him with the knowledge of divine truth, and had enabled him to renounce the dreadful corruptions of popery. He was by no means blind to the consequences of an open profession of the reformed opinions; it was unnecessary

to enlarge on them, for he knew better than any one the results which might ensue. But it was impossible for him to remain in the practice of a religion which contained so many things contrary to the Word of God. All the pleasures and luxuries of this world, and even the affection of his wife and family, though so inexpressibly precious to him, were as nothing compared to the privilege of worshipping God according to his conscience. He had obeyed the precepts of Jesus Christ who commands us to take up our cross and follow Him, and he much preferred his humble roof and scanty household to being master of the world where he could not hear the pure word of God, or join in the participation of the true sacraments, those great channels through which spiritual blessings flowed to the soul. Here he continued separated from the world; he had leisure to devote his heart to God, to meditate on His bounteous grace, and to refresh his spirit by the conversation of devout persons, and thus enjoy a foretaste of heaven in the blessed assurance of faith and peace in the Lord Jesus Christ. So decided and pious an answer silenced his young relative, for he saw there was no hope of influencing a man who in leaving his country and friends was guided by divine command; he felt it was needless to argue further, and rose to take leave. This reopened the floodgates of natural feeling, and their parting was the more affecting because they never expected to meet again on earth.

The return of this young gentleman to Naples after so unsuccessful a mission plunged the Caracciolo family into the deepest distress. Hitherto they had indulged a slight glimmering of hope, but now they began to fear their misfortune was irreparable, and it was soon generally reported that Galeazzo was a confirmed heretic. The Inquisition threatened a suit, when he would have been condemned as contumacious, all his maternal estates confiscated, himself and his children declared incapable of inheriting any property whatever, and their names branded with infamy and blotted out from the cognizance of humanity. The marquis, superstitiously attached to the Roman Catholic Church, was by the flight of his son wounded where he felt it most keenly. The only remedy for this great calamity was to go and throw himself at the feet of the Emperor, and pleading his faithful services, entreat that the error of his son might

not fall on his innocent children or attain the nobility and property of the family. While occupied in preparations for his journey a thought suddenly struck him. What if he were to try the effect of a personal interview with his son; perhaps as a father he would have more influence than any one else! He immediately despatched a messenger to Geneva with a safe-conduct from the republic of Venice, and enjoined his son by the authority of a parent to meet him in some town in the Venetian dominions. Galeazzo, though fearing that this interview might end in mutual irritation, did not think it right to disobey his father's injunctions. After earnest prayer to God that he might under all circumstances remain steadfast to the truth, and with a firm resolution to resist the strongest entreaties, he set out on the 29th of April, 1553, to meet his father at Verona.

A few days of anxious expectation intervened before the marquis arrived. Resolved to win over his son, he met him with the utmost affection, and endeavoured to conceal the grief he felt at the step he had taken. As soon as he thought this kind reception had produced the desired effect he began to reason with him, and used every persuasion to induce Galeazzo to return to his old creed and manner of life. His most effective arguments were the danger to which he exposed his children, the risk of their being totally impoverished, and the slur cast on the honour of the family. This forcible appeal to the strongest and tenderest feelings of a parent Galeazzo answered in the most respectful and submissive manner, but explained to his father that it was impossible for him to yield; his conscience would not permit him to retract. Had it been possible, he said, for him to serve God without this enormous sacrifice, he would have been too happy to embrace any other means than those to which he had been compelled to resort. The marquis, judging from the earnest solemnity of Galeazzo's manner that he should not succeed in overcoming what he termed his obstinacy, contented himself for the present with entreating him to remain in Italy while he was treating with the Emperor to avoid the confiscation of the family estates. In short he laid his parental commands upon him to remain where he was till his return from the Imperial court. Galeazzo promised to comply with his father's wishes and remain at Verona till he heard that his Imperial majesty had granted the request of the marquis.

This period of sojourn in Italy was not neglected by the friends of Galeazzo; every method was used to shake his opinions. The persuasive eloquence of the learned physician Girolamo Fracostoro¹ was tried in vain. This worthy man, ignorant of the power of divine truth, and unacquainted with the motives which had led Galeazzo to quit his country, began to rally him on his new religion, called it a monkish invention, and wondered that it should find any followers. These were not the kind of arguments likely to make impression on a mind enlightened by the dictates of divine inspiration and filled with higher aims than the applause of men. He replied in the words of Scripture, and fully succeeded in convincing this intelligent scholar, that the authority of the divine writings was superior to all human ordinances. This wise man of the world, being of a candid, upright nature, yielded at once to the voice of truth, and not only discontinued his arguments, but, ashamed of opposing so righteous a cause, entreated the forgiveness of Galeazzo for having troubled him, and regretted that he had yielded to the persuasions of others and annoyed him by useless discussion.

Thus did Galeazzo, by a steady obedience to the dictates of his conscience, come triumphantly out of this severe trial. As soon as he heard that the Emperor had granted his father's request he returned to Geneva, both comforted and strengthened by the victory which God had been pleased to grant him. He was in no small degree consoled also to think that his father was now relieved from one cause of grief, and that his children would not be exposed to disgrace nor their property confiscated on his account.

He had now leisure to turn his whole attention to a scheme which had occupied much of his thoughts ever since his arrival in Geneva. This was the formation and organization of an Italian Church for the benefit of the numerous Italian refugees who had fled from persecution to Geneva. He wisely considered that persons coming out of a church overburdened with rites and ceremonies would be too much opposed to forms and systems,² and thus disorder and false doctrine might prevail.

¹ See Appendix B.

² The present state and disposition of some of the converts in Italy is a confirmation of the wise foresight of Galeazzo Caracciolo.

The converts, as yet but imperfectly acquainted with the requirements of God's law or with the delusive evil of their own hearts, were exposed to the temptation of rejecting all discipline, and of imagining they could remain steadfast in the faith unshackled by any form of worship.

His friend Calvin readily assisted him with his experience and knowledge of human nature in this laudable undertaking. To the unbending and straightforward character of this great man during long years of struggle, Switzerland, under the guidance of Providence, owes her free institutions and her religious privileges. When first freed from the Roman yoke these sturdy republicans opposed all religious discipline.¹ None but a master-mind like that of the intrepid and consistent Calvin could have maintained his ground. The refined subtlety of the Italian mind required even clearer definitions of doctrine and discipline; of an opposite tendency from the Swiss, they were more disposed to accept propositions of doctrine at first, and to reason on them afterwards, and thus unconsciously open the way for error. To avoid so serious an evil the best remedy was an appointed minister well instructed in the Scriptures. Peter Martyr, who was at Strasburg, was invited, but he declined, and recommended Celso Martinengo,² who had been professor of Greek with him at Lucca. Vergerio declares that Muzio sent "a troop of officials armed with staves and swords to arrest that excellent servant of God, M. Celso Martinengo, and to deliver him into the hands of the scribes and Pharisees."³ It must have been about this time that he escaped to Bâle. He was there when Calvin and Galeazzo went together for the purpose of choosing a minister for Geneva, and they found him on the point of setting out for England.⁴ Galeazzo was most earnest in his entreaties that he would consecrate his talents to preaching⁵ to his country-

¹ See Vol. I. CHAP. IX. pp. 383—389.

² See Vol. I. CHAP. X. p. 453.

³ Al Sermo Duce Donato, et alla Eccels^{ma} Rep. di Venesia, *Oratione e Difensione del Vergerio*, di Vicosoprano a. x. Apr. 1551.

⁴ In the archives of Geneva we find the following entry, "Il conte Celso Maximiliano Martinengo di Brescia arrivò in questa città nel mese di Marzo 1552, et poco dopa fu stabilito ministro nella chiesa."—*Archives MS.*

⁵ Antonio Caracciolo, in his *MS. Life of Paul IV.*, says D. Celso was at the head, a thorough heretic, a canon, and a good preacher: so great was the number of heretics at Milan that the *poor* Inquisitor dared not pursue them. Celso fled to Geneva.—*Caracciolo MS.* Brit. Mus.

men at Geneva, who had wandered like sheep without a shepherd. He enlarged on the great spiritual advantages he would enjoy in the daily society of so many sincere and devoted christians. Martinengo, who desired nothing so much as to be able freely to proclaim the truth, readily yielded to the wishes of Galeazzo, and returned with him to Geneva.

Their first object was to draw up certain rules for the regulation of public worship under the protection of the magistrate.¹ These rules were twenty-five in number: the first was to begin worship by asking God's blessing, and to close by rendering thanks. The second, all things to be done in order, with modesty, simplicity, and charity, without discord or contention. The Italians first assembled for public worship in the hall of the old college. When the exiles increased in number they assumed the more defined form of a Church. They had, we see, a stated pastor in 1552, and in 1556 they formed a consistory or presbytery, composed of the pastor, Celso Martinengo, four elders, and four deacons. Galeazzo Caracciolo was placed at the head of the elders. He had already been made citizen of Geneva with the consent of two hundred members of the municipal council and of the French consistory.²

In the year 1555 the magistracy of Geneva, perceiving that the Italian Church was so well ordered and attended by such numbers walking in the precepts of the Gospel, and that the good seed was watered by the blessing of God, issued a decree which allowed them the use of the temple of La Madeleine for the administration of the Lord's Supper, at eight o'clock in the morning on Sunday, after the French Church had used it for the same purpose. For daily ordinary service they were allowed the *Auditoire*, a hall where lectures on divinity were given. Here they preached, catechised, held their consistories or presbyteries, and distributed alms to the poor, and the magistrates gave them a house in the cloisters of St. Pierre for the residence of their pastor.

All the members of the Italian church met once a year in a general assembly. The consistory met every week, to confer on matters of discipline relating to the regulation of families and

¹ They are still in existence at Geneva. See Appendix C.

² The Registers of the French Consistory began on 16th of February, 1542.— See *Bulletin Français*.

the examination of exiles who wished to join the church. They vigilantly watched over the morals of the congregation, and were very strict in preventing any one from participating in the Lord's Supper who did not fully understand the nature of this holy ordinance. The whole flock was visited from time to time by the elders, and the children were carefully instructed at school. As early as 1551, before the arrival of Galeazzo, two Italians¹ had been chosen to minister to the necessities of the poor, and a sum of money allotted to them by the town for that purpose.²

All this may be said to have been the work of Galeazzo Caracciolo, for he was the moving spring; blessed with the true spirit of a reformer, he was as anxious to build up the church of God as to throw down the corruptions of Rome. His zeal for the spiritual welfare of his countrymen was so great that he was unceasing in his efforts to establish the church on a true christian foundation. He filled the office of elder during the whole period of his residence at Geneva, thirty-one years, and continued to be the pillar and support of the church till his death.

While thus diligently and usefully occupied his mind was somewhat disturbed by an unexpected communication from his family. The death of Julius III. and the short reign of Marcellus II. had prepared the way for the election of Gio. Pietro Caraffa under the title of Paul IV. He was the brother of Galeazzo's maternal grandmother, the uncle of his mother, and consequently the grand uncle of Galeazzo himself. The marquis, his father, who could not give up the hope of winning his son back to the Church of Rome, procured a permission from the Pope for Galeazzo to reside in the Venetian territory, and to enjoy the free exercise of his religion. Then, under pretence of having business in Lombardy, he wrote to his son to meet him at Mantua, and enclosed him a passport to secure his safety.

Galeazzo, whose affection for his family was by no means extinguished, set out on the 15th of June 1555 to meet his father. Their interview on this occasion was, if possible, more affectionate than that at Verona two years before. The marquis

¹ Their names were Niccolò Fogliato of Cremona, and Amedée Varro, a Piedmontese.

² See Appendix D.

was sanguine of success, and communicated to his son with a joyful air that the Pope, their kind relative, in compassion to his grey hairs, had granted him permission to reside in the Venetian dominions without being molested on account of his religious opinions. Full of the agreeable project of drawing his son from that den of heresy, Geneva, the fond old man tried every means to persuade Galeazzo to yield to this his darling wish. He pointed out to him that while it would not involve him in any risk, it would afford the greatest relief to his father, now in the decline of life, alleviate the desolate condition of his wife, and wipe off the disgrace which rested on his children of having a heretic for their father. It would spare him, he said, the future remorse which he could not but feel if he disobeyed the injunctions of a parent in so unimportant a point.

These were appeals which went home to the heart of Galeazzo; he acknowledged the duty of obedience to parents, and nothing was required of him contrary to his religion. As a stronger attraction he was promised the society of his wife and children, that they should come and reside with him, and an income and establishment be allotted to him suitable to his rank. These tempting offers, especially a reunion with his beloved wife and children, threw him into the greatest perplexity. He desired nothing better than to be able to profess the true christian religion in the bosom of his family. While hesitating what he ought to do, he betook himself to his usual resource, prayer. He laid the matter before God, and earnestly besought Him to enlighten his judgment and guide his decision. He then calmly considered the subject in all its bearings, and on reflecting that he was to live under the Pope, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, who was the great opposer of christian worship according to the Gospel, he felt that it would be an act of inconsistency on his part to receive any favour from him. He knew also how little a promise of this kind was to be depended upon from a Pope who was the founder of the Inquisition and the declared persecutor of heretics. Thus reasoning with himself, he began to see that it would be something like apostacy to forsake the assemblies where the pure Word of God was preached, and return to live among superstitious and idolatrous worshippers. He had put his hand to the plough, ought he to

turn back for any worldly advantage? should he prefer the good things of Egypt to the manna of the desert? These and such like reflections led him to suspect, what probably was very near the truth, that his father hoped by a return to his former style of living to lull him into forgetfulness, and by separating him from his christian friends to take him at a disadvantage and win him to his purpose. After due consideration he represented to his father that even if he were disposed to follow his advice he could not be blind to the danger he would incur. It was a well-known maxim of the court of Rome, not to keep faith with heretics. What if when he was in their power, the Inquisitors should lay hold of him, and by declaring him a heretic, brand the name of the family with perpetual infamy! This view of the subject was so true that the old marquis, unwilling to lend himself to his son's destruction, had nothing to say in reply. He no longer pressed the point, but took a sorrowful leave, and returned to Naples by way of Rome, where he paid homage to the new Pope, and gratefully thanked him for his indulgent concession, although useless from the pertinacity of his son.

Galeazzo accompanied his father as far as his safe-conduct made it prudent for him to do so; they parted at the confines of the Venetian dominions. It was on this occasion that he paid a visit to the duchess of Ferrara, as before recorded.¹ He returned to Geneva by the Val Settina, and visited Chiavenna and several newly-planted churches, with whom he enjoyed much christian communion. His friends at Geneva joyfully welcomed him back,² and praised God for his safe return. This, the third appeal of his family, stirred the inmost recesses of his heart and awakened his slumbering affections. His father's visit had rekindled his desire for family ties, and he was torn by contending emotions; his faith indeed was stedfast, the victory was won, and the combat he thought was over. This however was far from being the case, and we shall soon see him exposed to stronger assaults and temptations.

His wife Vittoria, tenderly attached to him, could not reconcile her mind to his absence, and was continually writing and sending him messenger upon messenger entreating him to

¹ See Vol. II. CHAP. XIII. p. 123.

² He returned on the 24th of October, 1555.

return. At length, finding this of no avail, she besought him in the most endearing terms, by the remembrance of their former affection and happiness, to pay her a visit. She offered to meet him at any place on the Venetian coast not too distant from the kingdom of Naples, expressed an earnest desire to converse with him, and entreated that he would not fail her. On reading this urgent letter he felt that this was an opportunity not to be neglected of openly declaring his religious opinions, and of endeavouring to persuade his wife to embrace the truth. In reply he fixed a time for arriving at Lesina on the Dalmatian coast, about a hundred miles across the Adriatic from Vico his paternal estate.

Galeazzo was punctual to his appointment, and expected his wife's arrival with impatience, but day after day passed and she did not appear. Her movements were probably regulated by some priestly counsellor, who knew well how to touch the deepest springs of the heart, and by keeping up this suspense thought to lay the victim prostrate. Be this as it may, she did not keep her promise, but at last sent her two eldest sons, Colantonio and Carlo, to meet their father. Though delighted to see his children he was disappointed at his wife's absence, for he had hoped to use such arguments as would have induced her to follow his example. Aware of her affection for her husband, it is not impossible that her friends and her confessor would not allow her to risk a meeting with him at a distance from home. After some conversation with his young sons he sent them back to their mother, and, deeply mortified and dispirited, set out on his return to Geneva. No sooner had he arrived there than he received fresh letters from his wife, apologising for having failed in keeping her engagement, but promising him that if he would but return once more to the same place she would faithfully meet him. Galeazzo was weary of these continual journeys which produced no result; he felt that her conduct had been rather unlike a wife, and was averse to making a second attempt. Nevertheless he had so often reproached himself for not instructing her in the doctrines of the Gospel, that he determined to make one more effort to gain a meeting that he might faithfully exhort her to read the Scriptures.

For security he had got himself made citizen of Coire, at that time the capital of the Grison country, and under the dominion

of Venice; and on the 7th of March, 1558, he again set out for Lesina. On the way he heard that his father, his wife and children, and the cousin who visited him at Geneva were all at Vico. This encouraged him to hope that his wife would come over to meet him. As soon as the vessel entered the port of Lesina he eagerly enquired for the lady Vittoria, but he was doomed to another disappointment, for she had not arrived. She sent an excuse saying that a Venetian noble who had promised her a vessel to cross had failed her. Galeazzo was in despair; rather than fail a second time in the object of his visit he determined to run all risks and cross over himself to Vico. There can be little doubt that all this was done by a concerted plan, with the view of making him come under the influence of early associations. On landing at Vico he sent word of his arrival to the castle. His father was transported with joy; his long-lost son was found. All his grandchildren and servants were sent off to meet him, and accompany him home in triumph. Vittoria was almost beside herself at having, as she thought, regained her husband, and the whole castle was a scene of rejoicing. Galeazzo alone was sad; his utmost efforts could scarcely conceal his alarm and agitation; for while they thought he was gained, never was he less disposed to yield. What if, now he was in their power, they were to shut him up in some strong tower, and by depriving him of books and all society from without, strive to make him recant. These were the apprehensions, as he afterwards told his friends, which filled his mind in the midst of every demonstration of joy and gladness. At first there was nothing but presents, rejoicing, and affection. But when the real business of the meeting was spoken of, the whole face of affairs changed. The marquis grew stiff and cold in his manner, and Galeazzo more and more depressed, when he found that all his persuasions had no influence over his wife. He even went so far as to promise her the free exercise of her own religion if she would but accompany him; at the same time he declared that nothing would induce him to give up what he considered divine truth. To his entreaties she answered only by sobs and tears; if she spoke, it was to declare that she would never inhabit any place where there was a religion differing from the Roman Catholic faith. Devotedly as she was attached to him, if he persisted in his heretical opinions, it would be her

duty to separate entirely from him ; for her confessor had told her that to live with a husband who was a heretic was exposing herself to perpetual excommunication. Galeazzo, justly indignant that a priest should presume to interfere between the intimate affections of man and wife, told her that if she refused to acknowledge him as her husband and to follow him, as was her duty, she virtually annulled the marriage compact and left him at liberty to form another tie. The misguided wife, who from ignorance of God's law had suffered another man, under the garb of religion, to usurp over her the authority which belonged only to her husband, was overwhelmed with distress at the threat of divorce. She forgot that she had herself taken the initiative by refusing to accompany him ; her conscience had been gained by her confessor, who like the spirit of destruction hurled the thunders of the Church between her and the object of her dearest affection. Galeazzo was now placed in a most painful position, for he found himself a stranger to the wife of his bosom, and an alien in his father's house. Religion, the great bond of family union, was become from ecclesiastical intolerance a bitter source of contention. The terrors of the Inquisitorial court in the distance, and the dread of present coercion, made him anxious to depart, and he fixed the day for setting out. When the time came he went to his father's private room to take leave. The marquis made a last effort to move him ; he had never abandoned hope, and still expected his son to yield ; but when he found that he was actually going back to Geneva, he could no longer restrain himself, and gave way to a storm of passion, in which he loaded Galeazzo with the bitterest reproaches, and drove him from his presence with loud expressions of anger. Hard as this was to bear, it in some degree nerved him to endure the scene which awaited him in the antechamber. There he found the lady Vittoria, his children, his cousin, and all the servants in tears. His wife threw her arms round his neck and entreated him to take pity on her, while torrents of tears spoke more than words, the agony she endured. His children knelt around him, and his youngest daughter, a girl about twelve years old, threw herself on the ground, kissed her father's feet, and embraced him so closely that when he moved she still clung to him uttering piteous cries. But he had counted the cost, and by God's grace he

was enabled to crucify all his earthly affections for the sake of the Gospel. He rushed away from this affecting scene scarcely knowing what he did, and on looking back on that dreadful day he often said that such was the terrible anguish of his mind that he wondered it did not utterly destroy him. Nothing, he said, but an extraordinary measure of strength vouchsafed to him from above, could have enabled him to triumph over such overwhelming temptation. He was followed to the shore by his children and a great part of the household; when he embarked they stood lamenting his absence, and beckoning him to return. It would be difficult to describe the state of his feelings during his short voyage to Lesina. His heart was torn with anguish; the sobs of his wife and the tears of his children were ever present with him; their lamentations still sounded in his ears, and he seemed unable to shake off the close embrace of his young daughter. As he stood on deck he could see the country which might justly be considered a terrestrial paradise, and the baronial castle to which he had for ever bid adieu. He had voluntarily quitted all these things for the service of God. He had plucked out his right eye and cut off his right hand, to follow the Gospel in simplicity and purity. His father's displeasure lay heavy at his heart; but he remembered that God his Heavenly father must be obeyed even to the sacrifice of all earthly good. From Lesina he made a rapid journey to Venice, where his presence reassured his friends who had become alarmed for his safety. At Venice he found a letter from Calvin, in answer to a letter Caracciolo had written, announcing his intended return. It was addressed

To my Lord the Marquis of Vico.

"I hope this letter will reach you at Venice, for I calculate that before the end of June, my lady your wife will have arrived at Lesina, and that she will not keep you so long waiting as she did the first time. . . . I feel the most anxious desire to know which way her inclination tends, and I hope even if she does not at once submit, that the voyage will at least be a beginning. May God in his infinite wisdom so overrule all, that we may have reason to bless his name. I feel persuaded that you will receive with a tranquil mind whatever He is pleased to send you, knowing that there is no consolation greater than putting our trust in Him; you have long preferred his will to earthly affections however legitimate. Your last letters have relieved me from great anxiety, as you wrote that your voyage to Vico is over. Before we received them, we were all in great trouble and anxiety. And indeed, if I had been near you, I should not have hesitated to

hold you fast, if possible, even to the rending of your dress.¹ But God has evidently been with you in assisting you to resist the counsel given. . . . Your absence has been very hurtful to your countrymen, for if you had been here you might have prevented the disturbances which have occurred one after another, and still continue. We were obliged some time ago to summon before the Consistory M. Georgio,² M. Silvestre, and M. Giovan Paolo.³ Although they had grievously sinned they escaped with a gentle exhortation. A short time after, that poor whimsical physician⁴ (Georgio Blandrata), stung by his guilty conscience, seeing an officer come into the lecture-room, thought he was going to arrest him, and ran away quickly. After this several things were discovered which called for a remedy. In order to cure and cast out the hidden evil, it was best to bring it to the light; for this purpose I thought that a pure and simple confession of faith would be a good and useful test to make every person declare what he believed. I think your friends must have sent you a copy, as I requested them to do. One day, after the lecture, under the authority of *Messieurs* the council, the church was assembled without any noise or scandal. The confession was read and briefly sanctioned, with many declarations that it was only under an imperious necessity that this step had been taken. Each person was allowed to object to any point, or to express his scruples. This was done with such excessive freedom, that if you had been here you would have been quite horrified at hearing what we had to bear from Giovan Paolo. At last all agreed to subscribe, even a certain Valentino Gentili,⁵ who was not present, alleging illness as an excuse. As for M. Giovan Paolo, as soon as he had disgorge his poison he made his escape. We now thought that all was in good order, as each person had declared and protested, under pain of being considered perjured and infamous, that they would adhere to the confession. But this state of things did not last, for Valentino, now imprisoned as false and unfaithful, has held a kind of school in secret to disseminate his errors, which are quite as detestable as those of Servet, for indeed they are identical. Since he has been in the hands of justice, he has said enough to shew that if there are such things as pride, malice, hypocrisy, and obstinate impudence, he has a larger portion of them than his fellow-men. He has not at least spared me, but has blurted out like a desperate man all sorts of insults against me, even in writing. The young Sardinian⁶ is

¹ *Je n'eusse pas espargné de rompre votre robe.*

² Georgio Blandrata of Saluzzo, a physician, who held antitrinitarian opinions. See a letter to him on baptism from Calvin, dated October, 1554.—Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, tom. i. p. 444.

³ Mentioned in a letter from Peter Martyr, see Vol. I. CHAP. X. p. 471.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 470.

⁵ Valentino Gentili was a native of Cosenza in the kingdom of Naples; he was condemned to death as a blasphemer 15th of August, 1588, but his punishment was commuted to imprisonment; when released, he fled from Geneva and travelled throughout Europe. After the death of Calvin he returned to Switzerland, and was condemned to death by the magistrates of Berne in 1586.—See *MS. Bib. de Berne*.

⁶ Nicolò Gallo di Sardegna, *Memorie della chiesa Italiana MS. Genève*.

also here, he is so bad as to disavow the fancies of which he has been accused. But as he persists in denying the faults which have been brought against him, I do not know how it will end. If he could have been persuaded to speak out plainly I might have obtained his pardon. . . . Thus I earnestly desire, on account of other secret evils in the Church, that you may return soon, for I daily see that they are irritating each other. But I hope, with your help, God will bring things about. If you delay, I will do all in my power to tranquillise matters. . . . [He then relates the arrest of M. Andelot, brother of Admiral Coligny, and the wonderful constancy with which he resisted the menaces of the king of France and the entreaties of his wife and family, though they talked of immuring him for life; and thus concludes:] Now, my lord, after having humbly commended myself to your good favour and prayers, I beseech our good God to keep you under His holy protection, be with you everywhere, and in all things strengthen you with such a degree of steadfastness as He sees you have need of, so that His name may be more and more glorified in you.

“19th July, 1558. Your servant and brother,

“CHARLES D'ESPEVILLE.”¹

On receiving this letter Caracciolo hastened to Geneva, where his appearance imparted the liveliest joy. They received him as one saved from imminent peril, and glorified God who had sustained him in the hour of danger, exclaiming in the words of the Psalmist, “He that dwelleth in the secret places of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.”

Hitherto it has been our pleasing task to exhibit Caracciolo as a miracle of constancy and steady christian principle, we now relate with regret a circumstance which, if not absolutely wrong, detracts in some degree from the high estimation in which we have hitherto held him. A short time after his return to Geneva he consulted Calvin about procuring a divorce from his wife, as she obeyed the priests in preference to the lawful authority of her husband. This was a most embarrassing question for the austere Calvin; he saw at once the difficulties attendant on the decision, and could scarcely conceal his dislike to the idea. At the same time he did not deny that in Scripture directions were given about differences between man and wife on account of religion: “If any brother hath a wife that believeth, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.”² Here the wife was not only unwilling to dwell with him, but actually refused to do so unless he abandoned his religion. The case being without precedent, Calvin hesitated to give an individual opinion, and advised Caracciolo to consult the ministers through-

¹ Jules Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, tom. ii. p. 206.

² 1 Cor. vii. 12.

out Switzerland, and especially Peter Martyr at Zurich. Galeazzo acted on this hint and wrote a circular to the churches, asking an opinion as to the legality of the tie which bound him to his wife now that she refused to acknowledge him as her husband. The answers were unanimously in his favour; all declared that the matrimonial bond between him and the lady Vittoria was broken, since she refused to dwell with him,¹ on the receipt of these letters he wrote to the lady Vittoria both publicly and privately, enjoining her by her duty as a wife to join him within a given period, and warning her, if she did not obey, that he should consider their marriage dissolved, and feel himself at liberty to contract another. This was a mere form to give a legal formality to their separation, for he knew perfectly well that she would not join him. As she took no notice of these letters, he applied to the magistrates and to the church for a sentence of divorce and a permission to marry again. This was a very nice and delicate point; for the authorities who dissolved the marriage were not guided by the same laws under which it was contracted. Many passages of Scripture inculcate the indissoluble nature of the marriage vow; the priest indeed had disobeyed God by "putting asunder what God had joined;" but we find also that "every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life."² This was clearly the case with Caracciolo; he had made all the sacrifices here recounted, and had he lived single to the close of his life his character would have been almost perfect; but this is not to be expected from frail humanity.

After nine years of exile, at the age of forty-three, on the 10th of January, 1560, he married a French lady named Anne Fremery; she was forty years of age, a widow, and an exile from Rouen on account of religion. Her zeal for the gospel made her a suitable consort for a man who desired a companion with whom he could converse on spiritual subjects; but she possessed neither rank, beauty, nor riches. It was not an union of love, but an affectionate friendship between persons of different sexes who desired to help each other in their way to heaven. He now

¹ See the full reasons for this divorce, with the signatures of their authors, in Zanchi, *Opera*, tom. viii.

² Matt. xix. 29.

regulated his household on a strictly economical plan, parted with his two men-servants and took women instead, and accommodated himself in an admirable manner to the *bourgeois* life of Geneva. He was always dressed with the utmost simplicity, went to market, and carried home his purchases himself. He refused the title of marquis, and preferred being called simply Galeazzo; but on all festive occasions the place of honour was yielded to him, and he was as much respected as if he were to inherit his father's title and fortune. No persons of distinction passed through Geneva without paying him a visit or inviting him to see them. In this way he saw and conversed with many distinguished persons of the age. Francesco and Alfonso, princes of the house of Este, the prince of Salerno, Ottavio, duke of Parma, were all solicitous to see a man whose history was current throughout Europe. They paid him the same attention they would have done in his father's house at Naples, and overlooked the simplicity of his dwelling in their admiration of the greatness of his character. He was remarkably kind to his countrymen, and associated with them on the most affable and sociable terms. His conversation shewed his good sense and solid judgment, and his mind was refined by experience, knowledge of the world, and of the characters of men. He took pleasure in recounting his travels to Germany, and related anecdotes of his intercourse with many distinguished persons at the court of Charles V.

But his greatest delight was in hearing and reading the Word of God; he listened to a sermon like a man whose happiness was involved in the truths it contained. Religious truth he considered as the nourishment of the soul, and as a means of drawing the heart to God, and assisting in the path of sanctification. As elder of the Italian church he was both vigilant and conscientious, carefully watching lest any kind of scandal, either in doctrine or practice, should creep into the flock. His penetration into character and conciliating manners furnished him with the happy talent of composing differences. The poor and the sick were his peculiar care, "when the eye saw him it blessed him," for he spoke kindly and encouragingly, and awakened their affections. He never forgot while bestowing temporal relief to press on their attention those everlasting truths which "were able to make them wise unto salvation."

A few years after the marriage of Galeazzo he lost the friend

who had been his chief stay and support during the thirteen years of his residence at Geneva.¹ It appears that many years after Calvin's death some dissatisfaction or misunderstanding arose between Galeazzo and the town council, so that in consequence he had formed the project of quitting Geneva. The departure of so eminent an exile and a naturalised citizen would have cast too great a stigma on the town; efforts were therefore made to remove all cause of displeasure, and he remained to close his days in this hospitable refuge, as the following minutes of the company of pastors prove.

"1572. On Monday the 5th May my lord marquis Galeazzo de Caracciolo presented himself before the company of pastors who were assembled in the church at the lecture of M. Ch. Perrot; where, having declared that he had for a long time past thought of withdrawing from this town, and that his affairs obliged him now to take this step, he requested permission from these gentlemen to leave, explaining to them the causes of his departure. They acknowledged them to be reasonable, and he replied in the following manner. That besides the great obligations he was under to them before, they had now given him occasion to honour them still more, which he would not fail to do during his whole life. That he had wished to take leave of the company of pastors, to thank them, and to declare that he should always consider himself a part of this church, *brebis de cette Eglise*; and wherever he went he would shew both by words and actions how much he honoured and revered it. That he wished he had profited more by the good example he had seen, and had better acquitted himself of the charges, or honours rather, which had been conferred upon him, but he hoped in this to be borne with. The brethren answered him briefly. This being occasioned by circumstances which had occurred in this church, and which some might say were the cause of his departure, they asked him if the company (of pastors) had given him any offence; to which he replied that the circumstances which had lately taken place in the church were not the cause of his departure, though M. Jean Trembley had been very rough in making certain communications to him from the company which he would have been glad if he could have avoided, and also that M. Perrot had appeared to allude to him very distinctly in a sermon; yet nevertheless he did not leave on these accounts, nor did he carry away with him any dissatisfaction. The marquis Galeazzo de Caracciolo deliberated about retiring immediately from this town; but finding some difficulties, the whole matter was so fully discussed before some of the gentlemen of our company that he remained

¹ Calvin died on the 27th of May, 1564. His death was marked by a cross in the books of the Consistory with the following entry, *Allé a Dieu samedi 27 May, entre 7 et 8 heures du soir*. A few weeks before, he assembled the ministers and took leave of them, retraced his career, confessed his deficiencies, and reminded them that as he had chosen Beza for his successor, so they must support him in discharging the weighty duties of his office. He then took leave of each separately, shaking hands with them; all were in tears.—Jules Bonnet, *Lettres*, tom. ii. p. 379.

quietly, convinced of the true affection which they bare him, and peace was restored."¹

We seek in vain for an explanation of the causes of this misunderstanding, but it must have been some very powerful motive which could lead him to think of leaving Geneva after having been there twenty-one years.

As years drew on his health began to fail; he suffered much from asthma, which prevented his lying down, and obliged him frequently to walk his chamber the whole night, and to shift his position from chair to chair.

In this state of suffering, when unable to bear the slightest agitation, a visit from a nephew, the son of a natural sister, threw him into great distress of mind. He had considered all communication with his family at an end, and though not free from anxiety about his children, he never expected to hear of them again. His surprise therefore was great when this young priest, a Theatine, arrived with letters from the lady Vittoria and from one of his sons, once again entreating him to recall the past and return to Naples. His abode at Geneva, they said, prevented his son Carlo, who had entered the Church, from obtaining those ecclesiastical dignities to which his rank entitled him. But for this he would have been made a bishop and a cardinal. Galeazzo, more fully confirmed than ever in his disapprobation of the Romish hierarchy, was inexpressibly shocked and distressed at this new assault. Distressed that his son should have entered on this career; shocked that they should imagine, after so many painful sacrifices and such a lapse of time, that he would now turn back to advance the worldly dignity of his son. To shew the messenger how little hope there was of a successful issue to his errand, he threw the letters into the fire, and then in an angry and raised tone of voice gravely told him it was needless to trouble him with such requests. His son's choice of life, if it met with approval from men, was displeasing to God, and diametrically opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. It was no matter of regret to him that he was an obstacle to his attaining ecclesiastical dignities; he prayed that God might enlighten the son as he had done the father, and lead him to renounce all artificial devotion and worldly ambition. Instead

¹ *Registre tenu par Mr. Jean Pinault, Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève.*
(Unedited MS.)

of being satisfied with this decided answer, the importunate Theatine returned again to the charge, and even insulted Galeazzo by offering him large sums of money, boasting that he had letters of credit on the chief bankers of Lyons, and could ensure his living securely in any part of Italy if he would only leave Geneva. At last, finding all his arguments disregarded, he had recourse to reproaches and even to insults; but the magistrates would not allow Galeazzo in his invalid state to be thus tormented, and sent word to this conceited priest to leave the town and return no more.

Thus ended the last conflict he had to endure from his family; his life was drawing to a close. Another messenger was indeed sent, a famous preacher, who felt convinced that his eloquence would act like magic on the illustrious convert and hurry him back to Naples. But when he arrived the spirit had fled and entered the abode of eternal rest.

As his illness progressed his patience increased, and he derived great consolation from meditating with lively gratitude on the divine grace which had withdrawn him from the corruptions of popery and fixed his faith on the promises of God in Jesus Christ. So earnestly was his heart raised to heavenly things, that he seemed almost to forget his sufferings in the joyful anticipation of eternal bliss. He was surrounded by every alleviation which human kindness could suggest. Physicians exercised their skill to mitigate his pains, kind friends were constantly near him, and his wife watched him continually. His strength gradually declined, and the hour of his departure approached. The ministers of the church offered up prayers around his bed, and encouraged him by the promises of the Gospel. Thus accompanied, his spirit entered into "the rest which remaineth for the people of God." He died on the 7th of May 1586, at the age of sixty-nine years. His wife survived him only eleven months. A Latin epitaph¹ was written to the memory of both him and his wife. Nearly the half of his life had been spent at Geneva. Prefixed to the French translation of his life is a letter addressed to the heads of the Lucca families established at Geneva, congratulating them on the decided and respectful manner in which they had rejected the

¹ They are supposed to have been written by Bar-le-Duc, one of the best Latin poets of his time. See Appendix D.

overtures of the cardinal Spinola, who invited them to return to Lucca and to the Church of Rome. This firmness on their part induced the translator "to set before them the example of a nobleman who had well merited the name which Beza gave him of a second Moses. He wished he could have given it them in the language of their fathers, written by Nicola Balbani¹ in the last century; but this being very scarce he hopes they will accept the translation which he now offers them, that they may not only understand how it came to pass that an Italian church² was established at Geneva, but also know something of the great piety and virtue of the early reformers, who from so many nations sought refuge at Geneva."

¹ Nicola Balbani, of Lucca, went to Geneva in July, 1557. He was elected minister of the Italian Church 25 May, 1561, and died 1587. He wrote in Italian, and received his information from the marquis himself. *Storia della vita de Galeazzo Caracciolo*, Genève, 1587. It was translated into French by Teissier de L'Estang, in 1681; into Latin in 1596, with the following title, *Galeacii Caraccioli, Vici Marchionis Vita: Quæ Constantia vera Christiana Exemplar rerum proponitur*, and reprinted in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. ii. 1717. There is a very old and bad translation in English; M'Crie gives one in his *Reform. in Spain*. The old French translation had become extremely rare, but it was reprinted at Geneva in 1854. It is to be found in Italian, in Giannone, *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli*.

² See Appendix F.

CHAPTER XXI.

PALEARIO PROFESSOR AT MILAN.

1555—1566.

INVITED TO MILAN AS PROFESSOR OF ELOQUENCE—ARRIVAL THERE—LETTER TO HIS SONS—OPENING LECTURE—LINE OF STUDY—THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY DISCOURAGED BY THE PRIESTS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LUISINO—DISSATISFIED WITH HIS SALARY—LETTER TO THE SENATE OF MILAN—HIS APPOINTMENT EXTENDED TO THREE YEARS—PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES—IMMUNITIES GRANTED BY THE SENATE—LETTER TO BRUTO—PEACE OF CATRAU CAMBRESIS—EXPECTED CONGRESS OF SOVEREIGNS—DEATH OF HENRY II.—ORATION ON PEACE—LETTER TO THE EMPEROR—TO FERDINAND—TO ORIGONIO—PETITION TO THE CITY OF MILAN ABOUT A HOUSE—TO KING PHILIP—SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES—CLAUDE BISHOP OF TURIN—MASSACRE OF CARRIERES AND MERINDOL—PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES—EPISODE OF THEIR HISTORY IN 1848—EMANCIPATED BY CARLO ALBERTO.

WE left Paleario in the enjoyment of domestic retirement at his villa, but his mind was too active to remain long unemployed; and even if his circumstances had not made public occupation necessary, it is probable that the desire for literary distinction would have brought him into the public stir. His great regard for the German reformers, and his Ghibeline attachment to the Imperial party in Italy, made him wish for some employment under the Emperor's government at Milan. He had probably expressed this desire to some of his friends, for at the death of Majoragio, professor of eloquence at Milan in 1555, Paleario was invited to supply his place. The distinguished talent of his predecessor made it an honour to be appointed his successor. Marcantonio Majoragio was born on a property of that name belonging to his family within the diocese of Milan. In the Lombard wars they lost all their possessions, his father was taken prisoner, and with difficulty

saved his life. His son had no resource but study, and to this he devoted himself so intensely as almost to put an end to his existence. The famous Cardano was at one time his master, and he made such rapid progress that at twenty-six years of age he was appointed professor of eloquence. Soon after war broke out afresh, and he was obliged to retire to Ferrara till peace was restored. He then returned to Milan, where his change of name¹ was imputed to him as a crime; but the eloquent professor defended himself in such a brilliant oration that he was excused and recommenced his lectures. He revived the mode of declamation in use among the ancients, and was one of the great supports of the distinguished Milanese Academy called *Trasformati*,² and made most earnest and unsuccessful efforts to establish a public library at Milan. His severe contest with Mario Nizzeli on the merits of Cicero was said to have been his only fault; he was too zealous a student to live long, and died at the age of forty-one, leaving behind him a most extraordinary number of works on various subjects.³

We have no exact date to fix the period of Paleario's appointment, but as he arrived at Milan on the 16th of November, and in his first oration speaks of Charles V. having resigned his kingdoms to his son Philip, which happened on the 25th of October 1555, it would seem that 1556 was the year of his arrival.⁴ An interesting letter to his sons is extant, which shews that his first thought after the warm and courteous reception he had received at Milan, was to write to his children, exhort them to study, commend their mother to their attention, and inculcate obedience to her wishes.

¹ His family name was Conti, and he was baptized Antonmaria, but he changed them both into Marcantonio Majoragio. The literary fashion of changing the name received at baptism was considered an offence against religion, notwithstanding the example set by the Popes. He was born 26th of October, 1514, died 4th of April, 1555.

² Begun in 1546. On the reception of some noble members Majoragio recited some orations in which he lauded the Academy as composed of the flower of talent, and reminds them of the object for which it was formed, *oidè, d'intendersi profondamente, di eloquentemente discorrere, e di operare prudentemente.*

³ Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 304.

⁴ This is the more probable, from a letter from Bart. Ricci, dated 1st January, 1557, in which while he regrets the death of Majoragio he at the same time congratulates Paleario on his appointment.—*Opere Bart. Ricci*, lib. iv. ep. 20.

**AONIO PALEARIO TO LAMPRIDIO, DOROTEO, AND FEDRO TROFILO PALEARIO,
HIS CHILDREN AND HEART'S DELIGHT.**

"I arrived at Milan on the 17th October. I am much pleased with the appearance of the city, so much so that if I had not such precious pledges as you to recall me, I might fall in love with this place and quite forget Tuscany. But there is no place, no assembly however celebrated, which, without you all, does not appear to me desert and solitary. Crasso¹ received me in the most courteous manner; I am now staying with him. Acting by his advice I went to visit all the senators at their own houses, one after the other, to pay my respects to them. These great men received me with the utmost politeness and attention. On the 29th I recited an oration in the temple of the Virgin at La Scala, in presence of a full assembly of the Senate, the governors, and the prætors, the treasurers, the lawyers of the college of jurisprudence, the philosophers, and people of all ranks. The concourse of people was so great, that not only was the temple overflowing, but all the avenues of the few streets which led to it were filled with crowds of people. The next day I was accompanied to the gymnasium, where, as I was told by one of the principal senators, Don Aurelio Agostino filled the same office before, which the Senate have now conferred on me, except that he only lectured on Latin authors, and I am to interpret also the Greek classics. I write you all this that you may inform any friends who take an interest in our concerns, and also that you may be incited to virtue and the love of study. Literature is the only patrimony I shall be able to give you. Our property is small, our fields are more for beauty than profit. Devastated by the late Sienese war, and without cattle, they scarcely maintain the family. The municipal taxes are doubled, and we are often required to pay tribute beyond our means. See to what a pass our affairs are arrived! What shall I say about your sisters? they are growing up, and in a little time will become members of other families. They will require a dowry, but we have not a penny laid by. If the harvest fails we shall have no other resource but great economy. I shall also restrict myself that I may save a part of my salary, though indeed this is not very easy. The long duration of the French war has made everything dearer. If we find such sons-in-law as we wish, some of the worthy Lucchese merchants will furnish us with money that we may not be altogether unprovided; they are more generous than mighty kings. If you perceive any diminution of friendship on account of my absence, it is your part, my dear Lampridio, as the eldest, to revive and confirm their good will by writing to them. As flowers are preserved fresh by the falling of the dew, so friendship is kept alive by communication and contact.

"Console, if necessary, your mother; she has great fortitude of mind and is a most excellent person, but still she is a woman. Take care of the girls, and watch over that dear boy Fedro, and do not let evil companions spoil him,

¹ The same who was governor of Siena in 1542, and whose son was put to death at Pisa. Having so long known Paleario, and being a distinguished Milanese senator, in all probability he procured him the appointment.

nor do you let their advice prevail with you, that I may not feel unhappy at being from home while you are so young. If you, as the eldest, govern the house well, I shall indeed esteem myself fortunate; for I shall see with my own eyes that which others desire should happen after their death. Take your mother's advice about the peasants; do nothing without her consent, respect her every wish, for your mother is dearer to me than life. Your progress in study gives me very great pleasure, for I wish you, my dear Lampridio, to devote yourself to philosophy, and particularly to Greek literature. Fedro, who I hope will study civil law, should rather take up Latin, so that every one may know that not only am I so happy as to have very good sons, but also that they are brought up in my own line of study."¹

Paleario opened his academical course at Milan with an oration on the plan of study² he intended to follow. After some complimentary expressions to the Milanese, whom he had often heard mentioned with praise in Tuscany, he tells them that the dignity of their Senate and the equity of their laws had often excited a desire to be among them; and now, without any merit on his part, he has been invited by official letters in the name of king Philip, and has himself experienced their munificence, for they have assigned him an ample stipend as professor of Greek and Latin literature, and in consideration of the journey and his peculiar circumstances, without any solicitation on his part, they have increased his salary; for this he offers them his thanks, not so much on account of the money, a thing lightly regarded by him except in as far as it is necessary for the education of his children and the support of his family. He hopes to make a return by his successful plan of study, about which they are assembled to hear him discourse.

He then goes on to remark that those two branches of study which were formerly so closely united, are now, by the inertness and idleness of the enemies of learning, totally disjoined. The knowledge of things and the graces of oratory were both diligently cultivated by the ancients. To neglect either, seems like turning study into a farce. For if you wish to develop ideas, how can this be done without lucid explanations and clear definitions, in order to convey just apprehensions to the mind in appropriate language? Before we can clearly express our ideas they must be accurately understood; these two things, though in themselves distinct, cannot be divided. As the soul

¹ Palearii *Opera*, lib. iv. ep. 30.

² ORATIO XIII. *De Ratione studiorum suorum habita Mediolani.*—Pal. *Op.* p. 176.

cannot be separated from the body, the graces of oratory should ever accompany the diffusion of knowledge. It is surprising how men, hoping to gain a reputation for wisdom, fill huge volumes with a farrago of words; forgetting that wisdom does not consist in being acquainted with some particles of knowledge, or in having studied a single branch of science, if they are unable to express their own thoughts and ideas in a proper manner. Many who have studied literature from childhood are satisfied with a knowledge of Greek and Latin, and as they advance in years think little of philosophy and the nobler branches of knowledge. Some indeed have minds of so dull a nature, and others will not take the trouble. How deplorable is this stolidity; to have in our hands day and night the works of the ancients, who have transmitted to us so much wisdom and knowledge, and not to be able to profit by them. . . . To those whose profession it is to teach, what can be more disgraceful than to be ignorant of the art of speaking and writing well? or what more unworthy of a liberal mind than to refuse to advance farther than the entrance of the temple of learning?

On this account, Senators, I have always admired the good judgment of your citizens, with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing, because they know how to unite eloquence with knowledge. Among the orators chosen by the Milanese to teach civil law, there are eloquent jurists and profound lawyers, who confer honour on the Italian gymnasium. To hear them, you might imagine they had just left the schools of Plato and Aristotle. To say nothing of the talents of the Milanese, and their devotion to study under eloquent and learned masters, how admirable is the Ticinese academy. It is not far from the city. You often communicate with these philosophers and they with you; according to the progress of the Ticino studies, so do the conversations and discussions of the Milanese prosper. Thus accustomed from childhood to purity of diction, and brought up in this school of philosophy, they cannot endure vain empty orations. If I had not been convinced, O Senators, that the most learned are always the most indulgent, I should not have ventured to come among you. As the Latin and Greek authors which a professor is called to interpret are very numerous, I am quite disposed to adapt my teaching to your ideas, and desirous of being guided by your wishes.

Your city, Senators, has been assigned by the most wise and prudent Emperor, Charles V., to his son Philip, a religious, powerful, and happy king, the ruler and governor of many kingdoms, conferred on him by his father, or to speak more properly by God. Milan is one of the finest cities of Cisalpine Gaul; it has great advantages both in peace and war; strong by nature and by art, it is so situated as to be able to repulse the incursions of its enemies either from the Alps or from any other quarter. Rich in its fertile fields and its ingenious artisans, it is esteemed by the Emperor worthy of being ruled by an honorable and respected Senate, who regulate the affairs of Italy.

He then explains the plan of study he proposes to follow. He intends interpreting the Politics of Aristotle, that prince of philosophers, from Greek into Latin, and he will read and explain the orations of Marcus Tullius, whose eloquent discourses even surpass those of the Greek orators in richness and harmony of expression. He launches out into an enthusiastic eulogium on the intellectual acquirements and reasoning faculties of the Roman orator, and then apostrophises the transcendent wisdom of Aristotle, admired by antiquity and venerated by posterity. Notwithstanding the innumerable books which are lost, so many remain that even the incursions of the barbarous Goths and Vandals, as well as the Saxons, have not been able either by fire or sword to destroy them all. He will take him for his guide who has opened an easy way to philosophy, the mother of all the liberal arts and sciences, and the teacher of that just method of reasoning by which we neither deceive, nor are deceived. Addressing himself to the youth who were to be the objects of his labours, he explains that by pursuing this method they will acquire a thorough acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, and at the same time a knowledge of things; this plan he is persuaded will meet with approval. If some striking thought of Demosthenes or Plato occurs when he is lecturing on Aristotle or Xenophon, he intends referring to their writings, citing the passage and descanting on its merits; but he will diverge only with moderation and in following the train of thought suggested by his author, in contrast to the arid mind which cannot get beyond the precise meaning of words.¹ Variety

¹ Contra infans interpres semper aridè ac jejunè agit, quasi religione astrictus, ne præter verborum interpretationem quicquam dicat. (p. 182.)

is not forbidden, though it is too often neglected by professors. What reason is there why a rich and flowery field should not be set forth by the splendour of rhetoric?

He then alludes to other subjects which will claim their attention. The science of numbers, which the Greeks called arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, are not to be neglected. The sciences, as has been said, are all so closely connected that they can scarcely be disjoined. If they resembled their ancestors more, they would understand things better, and he entreats the young men to vie with each other to improve in those studies that they may rival their fathers.

Thus while searching out the secrets of nature, they may elevate their thoughts to heaven, and contemplate the divine mind which presides over the stars and rules the world. Thus in this extensive sphere of knowledge imitating the Divinity that we may also live a heavenly life, not existing for ourselves alone but for our country, our relations and friends, and for the whole human race. This is the great aim of wise men, this is the scope, the object, I had almost said the life, of the blessed. Here, when wearied with study, we find a sweet repose. Such is the strength of this wisdom, that once acquired, the mind can never remain indolently passive, but is ever meditating some honorable undertaking. Such men, like public architects, fortify and sustain the state, and are considered as oracles by kings and rulers of the people. Then addressing himself to the young men who are to benefit by his labours and his vigils, he entreats them to rouse themselves to an emulation worthy of their aspiring minds, and exhorts them to prosecute those domestic studies transmitted to them by their fathers; for it will be pleasing to the Emperor, acceptable to Philip your duke and king, and approved by the Senate, who appear to me not so much an assembly of men as a council of immortals.¹

In reading this oration we must bear in mind that philosophy was in those days almost a forbidden subject. The priests, who dreaded free enquiry into the all-important subjects of morality and religion, were desirous of confining the mind within the circle of their own ignorance, and keeping it occupied with dry jejune puerilities, lest the full development of the in-

¹ Cordially agreeing with Paleario in the aridity, to say nothing of the inelegance, of a verbal translation, we have endeavoured to give a condensed summary of his ideas, rather than his words, in this classical oration.

tellectual faculties should undermine their authority. The study of the ancients, and the exercise of the reasoning powers with the aid of Aristotle's logic, helped to free the intellect from its shackles. To a reflecting mind the transition was easy from human authority to Divine. An examination of the Scriptures proved that there was nothing in the Divine word to debase the intellect, and that on the contrary the purest moral philosophy was to be found there. Both at Siena and Lucca Paleario had been obliged to struggle with prejudice, and to lead the way in endeavouring to form a taste for the higher branches of knowledge, besides being exposed to the wayward caprices of uneducated men.

The first letter in the supplement of Paleario's epistles is one from him to Andrea Marino, a young man who had been his pupil. From the tenor of the letter he seems to have been a man of some importance, to whom Paleario had recommended a person of the name of Rosario, who also had given Marino some instruction, and in whose name as well as his own Paleario commended their pupil's excellence. Marino answers in the same courteous style. Rosario had just left him, and Paleario's letter had revived his sorrow for his departure. He speaks of Grimaldo, who appears to have been Rosario's brother, setting out for Spain to king Philip; his return will depend on the king of Spain's marriage,¹ which perhaps on account of the court mourning may be delayed till next year; and hopes Paleario whenever he has leisure will come and spend as much time as possible with him.²

The next letter in the series is one to Aonio Paleario from Francesco Luisino, who writes from Spain through a mutual friend called Michele Bruto, who is returning to Italy. After affectionately expressing his regard, he tells Paleario that in his travels in Germany and Belgium and during his stay in England he had never forgotten his delightful conversation at the entertainment of Ottaviano Pepoli, when the two Milanese dined with him, "though before this I had read your books in which you have shewn such great erudition and eloquence." They are indeed fortunate who have an opportunity of enjoying his society

¹ To Elizabeth of France.

² This letter is dated Milan, 22nd November, 1559.

and the great variety of his instructions. Andrea Marino is on this account to be congratulated. Bruto gives a high character of the virtues and talents of this young man. "Oh, were I but at liberty," he says, "weary as I am of so much discomfort and so many journies, to return to you, my dear Paleario;" but of this he did not see at present much prospect, and can only wish that he may live till that happy moment arrives. "Bruto has his boots and spurs on; he means to travel very fast, changing horses often, first in France and then in Italy."¹

To this letter Paleario made the following reply:—

AONIO PALEARIO TO FRANCESCO LUISINO.

"Andrea Marino delivered me your letter, which I read with as much pleasure as if I had heard you speaking; for it is written with attic wit and that peculiar kindness for which you are so remarkably distinguished. If your and my Bruto had appeared personally before me it would in some degree have mitigated my great desire to see you. For he being so attached to you, and also so much beloved on account of his similarity of life and talent, I should almost have fancied I saw yourself. He would have added many other things, recounting, like the Menelaus of Homer, your journey from Belgium to England and from thence to Spain. About our dear Gregorio. Good heavens! with what pleasure I should have heard what is reported by others, that he is now quite well, for when he went away he suffered from weakness of stomach. Surely that air favours the digestion, for Spain is warmer than our Italy, because it is seated on the ocean and has a western aspect. This is why the Spaniards are more resolute in government, and are less enervated though they live in so refined a country. It is scarcely credible how much they possess of that heroic virtue which is the essence of command. Thus have they been able to extend their dominion to other kingdoms. I envy you for being near those by whose favour your virtue will become more illustrious through increase of fortune and dignity. I am tied here with a very moderate stipend, occupied in public lectures on Latin and Greek. I do not say how much I dislike this work. But I have noble and distinguished scholars, and my labour is not thrown away. The young men write in Latin and Greek. To please you I send you some of their *προγυμνασια* (exercises), in order that you may at the same time pity my lot that the reward of such daily labour is so trifling an annual salary, and I have to work so hard to gain it that my life seems a burthen. Ask Rosario what indignities we have to suffer when we go to the treasurer, and how we have to stand daily waiting at the door of the treasury. This is a very hard thing for studious men, and in my mind indecorous. I willingly write you this to console you and make you suffer with patience; in thinking of your own troubles you may also remember ours. For though you are not free from

¹ Dated Toledo, 13th January, 1560. Palearii Opera, acc. nov. ep. 4.

disagreeables, you are happy in comparison with us. I would rather have spoken of your affairs with Bruto. When he comes to me, after having embraced him in the way you know, I shall anxiously ask all about your sentiments."¹

A letter addressed by Paleario to the Senate of Milan shows that his appointment, which was at first fixed for one year, was afterwards extended to a period of three years.

AONIO PALEARIO TO THE SENATE OF MILAN.

"Although when I set out last year for the metropolis of all Cisalpine Gaul (Milan) everything appeared promising and agreeable, and the accounts I had received by letter of the hospitality of your country and the kindness of its inhabitants were very encouraging, yet your noble liberality, which I may call almost regal, has surpassed my utmost expectations. I was loaded, O Senators, with your benefits; you anticipated my thanks with new gifts before I had fulfilled the smallest part of my duty. Therefore, whatever study and diligence I may devote to the instruction of youth, nothing that I can do can ever be upon a par with your kindness and liberality. And as you are in all things superior both in virtue and dignity, it necessarily follows that all my acquirements are inferior. Thus in my littleness I despair of being able to make a return either for the number or the frequency of your benefits, and there is no room left me to return sufficient thanks. Attribute this then, O Senators, to your position, by which, while you so greatly excel in prudence, justice, and magnanimity, you are also superior in courtesy, which properly belongs to me, to whom is entrusted the task of interpreting Greek and Latin. You have extended my appointment to three years, a favour which I not only willingly but gratefully receive, and the duties of which I shall endeavour to discharge in a manner which, if not corresponding to the munificence of your liberality, will be in some degree conformable to the hopes of the rising youth."²

Paleario seems never to have been quite free from pecuniary difficulties, and there exists a letter which he wrote from Milan without date, probably to Pietro Vettori, in which he says, "May all the love you have shewn to me turn to your good, my dear Pietro. I entreat you to attend to the commission I gave you. If God had not helped me to get this money I should have been lost. How I regret not having listened at first to the advice of my Tuscan friends who counselled me in so friendly a manner. But it is not easy, nay it is impossible, to recall the past. As you have had something to do with this affair, allow me to love you in return, and may all men know how much you have shewn that you wish to be beloved and esteemed by me."

The letter written by Paleario to Luisino would appear both

¹ Palearii Opera, acc. nov. ep. 4.

² Lesseri Miscell.

unintelligible and inconsistent with his expressed satisfaction to the Senate of Milan, were it not explained by the following epistle to Bruto after his salary was increased and various privileges and advantages granted him by the Senate. He was joined by his family, and provisions were allowed him after the year 1559 by order of the Senate.¹

AONIO PALEARIO TO GIOVANNI MICHELE BRUTO.

“Though I know you have acted from the kindest motives in publishing my productions among the letters of eminent men, yet I could have wished that you had first let me know that I might have perfectly understood your idea. I would then have anticipated your desire to have a few examples of letters elucidating some passages of ancient authors. But coming from Spain and passing through France, you did not wish in publishing these little books to lose the opportunity of doing me honour. I entreat you by our friendship and by my regard for you, that if you publish a new edition you will let me know, because I wish that one of my letters, of which I will send you a copy, should be inserted with the others in your books. See how much I give you to do. . . . A certain ape published one of my letters as his own, altered it slightly, and obliterated my name and that of Vincenzio Portico, a noble citizen of Lucca and an eloquent and witty lawyer, to whom I had written this same epistle a few years ago. I fear, when he sees that it is claimed by another, lest he should suspect either that it had been written by this man, or that I had unhandsomely given it to him. I wish also to add something to the letter written to Luisino. It was written while war was raging, the taxes greatly increased, and the public treasury exhausted. I do not know what at that time I should have done, had I not been assisted by the generosity of the president Origionio and the liberality of the Senate. If the munificence of the treasurer and the favourable disposition to literature among the Ediles of the Decurione had not come to my aid, I should certainly have had to learn what it was to maintain a family in time of war. . . . Here everything is magnificent and costly; men live splendidly and delicately; and during the greatest scarcity we wanted nothing. In the most calamitous times of the state my salary was paid, privileges were granted me, satisfaction was expressed with my labours, and I received proofs of good will from the whole city. Then followed the much-desired and most precious peace, and the affinity contracted between the great kings, and my position was greatly improved. Something perhaps would have been added if my oration on the peace, which was full of delight and public rejoicing, had reached the great king Philip before the unhappy death of his father-in-law, Henry king of France. On account of this misfortune it now loses its effect. But that my labour may not be entirely lost, and to avoid its being intercepted by any one, I have arranged with the printer who will send you some letters printed with

¹ See Appendix A.

the types of our country; so that if the second edition of your book¹ should be delayed, the ape will not meanwhile be allowed to exult. By publishing the letter with my own name he will, like the prating Orazio, receive the punishment due to his rashness and impudence. Adieu. Milan."²

The peace of Cateau Cambresis, which was signed the 3rd of April 1559, was based on the conditions agreed on at Cambray thirty years before. The same articles which had been so often broken by the restless ambition of the Pope and other princes were now brought forward afresh.³

The mighty mind which for more than thirty years had ruled the destinies of Europe was no more. His rival, Francis, had also disappeared, and by this peace the Spanish dominion in Italy was established and confirmed, and for one hundred and forty years after, the French abstained from invasion of the Peninsula. Meanwhile Italy tasted "the sweets of an inglorious peace," says a modern writer. During this long period the Italians bowed their heads to foreign dominion without a struggle. The number of rulers was diminished, and peace at any price was hailed as a long desired and much coveted blessing.

Milan and its dependencies now became the undisturbed possession of Philip II. It extended from the Adda to the Sesia, comprehending Alexandria and the adjacent provinces, and joined the Imperial fiefs in Lombardy.⁴ To the Spanish crown also belonged Naples, Sicily, and the island of Sardinia.

The kingdom of Savoy lay to the west, and its sovereign Emmanuel Filiberto, so long deprived of his states, now regained possession of all his dominions except some of the towns held temporarily by the French.⁵ The active part taken by the duke of Savoy, and his near relationship to Charles V., had made him more Spanish than Italian. His warlike character was favourable to the growth of independence in his states, and the

¹ For an account of Giovan. Michele Bruto, see Mazzuchelli, *Scritt. Ital.* tom. ii. pt. iv. p. 2248; and Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 264. The volume of Latin letters here alluded to was published at Lyons.

² *Miscell. Coll. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 169.

³ See Du-Mont, *Corps Diplomatique.*

⁴ Balbo, *Sommario d' Italia.*

⁵ Torino, Chieri, Pinerolo, Chivasso, and Villanova d' Asti; Vercelli and Asti were garrisoned by the Spaniards till the French evacuated the country. The duke did not recover the whole of the towns till 1574.—*Idem.* See Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 273.

resolute determination of the people seconded the firmness of their prince.

To confirm the stability of the peace the sovereigns contracted matrimonial alliances with each other. Henry gave his eldest daughter Elizabeth to Philip II., the widower of Mary of England. Maude, his second daughter, married the duke of Lorraine, and Marguerite de Valois, daughter of Francis I., was given to the duke of Savoy, for whom it was said she had long indulged a preference. In order to unite religious concord with the blessings of a general peace, a congress of sovereigns proposed to meet the Pope at Bologna and persuade him to reassemble the Council of Trent. Measures were also to be taken for crushing the Ottoman power and shutting it out of the Mediterranean. But these projects were all overturned by a disastrous and fatal accident, which, in the midst of the court festivities, befel Henry of France and caused his death.

Great entertainments and public rejoicings followed upon the arrangement of these royal marriages. Tournaments and joustings, the pastimes of the day, were Henry's great delight: an accomplished knight, agile and adroit, he excelled in every feat of arms. For two days he conquered every one who entered the lists with him; but on the third day, the 28th of June, as he was leaving the field, where he had already broken two or three lances, he met Montgomery, captain of the Scottish guard, holding his lance at rest. The king, excited by his previous success, determined to vanquish him also, and hastily closing his visor without fastening it, rushed on Montgomery; but he, equally dexterous, broke his lance against the king's helmet. The shock made his visor fly open, and in a moment the broken lance was thrust into the king's eye with such violence that a splinter went through the head. The blow was mortal; the steel had entered the brain: he lost all consciousness, and after lingering in stupor for fifteen days, expired in the prime of life and in the very height of enjoyment, aged forty-four years. He was a weak and libertine prince, and was only regretted because his successor Francis II. was but sixteen years of age, and not more fit than his father to hold the reins of power.

The reformers had acquired both strength and numbers during Henry's reign, notwithstanding the severity with which he had persecuted them. Having been told that even his parliament

was infected with heretical opinions, the king presented himself one day at a meeting called *Mercuriales*,¹ because they met on a Wednesday. It was a kind of committee of the chief members of the parliament. They were speaking when Henry entered, and were desired to go on with their discussions as if the king were not present. Louis Dufour and Anne Dubourg boldly adverted to the corrupt state of morals, and complained of the penalties inflicted on men who were guilty of no other crime than that of reading the Scriptures, and desiring to conform their faith and conduct to the divine word. They proposed the calling of a general Council, and that persons should not be prosecuted for their religious opinions. Several other members spoke on the same side, though less openly; among these the eminent historian De Thou gave a modified opinion. The president, Minart, rose in his turn and advocated the extirpation of heresy by fire and sword. The king at the close of the session ordered Montgomery, the captain of the guard, to arrest Dufour and Dubourg, who had spoken the most boldly. In reply to all entreaties in their favour he pressed on judicial proceedings against them, and swore that they should be burnt under his own eyes.

This happened only two days before Henry received his mortal wound. The people, ever prone to mark coincidences, saw in this visitation the superintending will of Providence. The hand, they said, which had arrested the councillors had extinguished the eye which was to see them burnt. It was even observed that the king breathed his last at the very hour of the day on which he committed the members of parliament to prison. De Beze² says that the chamber in which the king lay in state was hung with tapestry, on which was represented the conversion of St. Paul, with the words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" and that the constable Montgomery, fearing the application, had it changed for other draperies.

Looking forward to the meeting of a congress of sovereigns at Milan, Paleario, in his joy at the establishment of concord, wrote an oration on peace, addressed to the Emperor Ferdinand, Philip king of Spain, and Henry of France. He hoped to have

¹ Charles VIII. convened them every week, Louis XII. every fortnight, and Francis I. every three weeks.—Anquetil, *Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 622.

² *Hist. des Eglises Reformées*.

recited it in their presence, but as the congress never met it was printed among his works. In this oration he dwells in the most feeling manner on the miseries of war and the cruelty of the Turks, and with facile eloquence describes them as the terror of the christian name throughout the world. He praises the peace as good, useful, and necessary, and enlarges at pleasure on these three points, and on the happy auspices under which the royal marriages were contracted.

He addresses those who, compassionating the misfortunes of the country, are mindful of the public weal. Wearied with perpetual warfare, deprived of the necessaries of life, torn by civil dissensions, exposed to the devastations of the military, their towns were destroyed, their villas abandoned. Agriculture was at an end, the cattle neglected, and commerce impossible. No merchandise was brought into the cities, corsairs infected the coasts, and merchants no longer ventured to trade. Hence there was no money to pay taxes, nor funds to fortify the gates, and the inhabitants were a prey to the rapacity of the soldiers. Imposts of so grievous a nature were laid on houses and food that life became intolerable.

Who can recount the horrid licence of the soldiers? "Wives and children torn from their husbands and fathers and carried off. Fain would they have died but could not. A child of four years old had his throat cut before the eyes of his parents, and, horrid to relate, was put on a spit, roasted before the fire, and eaten by the soldiers. Is not this fact enough to break one's heart? Who is there so bold or so inflamed with hatred to his species, as to dare after this to speak of war?"

He then alludes to the religious differences, and points to the remedy which is in the power of the princes. With many others he still retained the hope that a general Council would reform abuses and unite opinions. The delusive idea of a general outward unity was deeply engraved on the Italian mind, even when it was proved that the purity of the christian religion had been departed from; "every one felt an earnest desire to hear and to understand these things. Theologians were sought far and near; the variety of their expositions and their popular eloquence in public preachings gave rise to so many sects that in the towns and villages and in the country there was scarcely a house or assembly where there was not

a difference of opinion about religion." How can we be sufficiently thankful, he concludes, for a peace which puts an end to so many of these evils? The very same day it was signed, the markets were filled with abundance. Corn was sold at Milan at half its former price, and all kinds of provisions were to be had at a very moderate rate. Wheat poured in from Sicily and Sardinia, and wine from Corsica was sent to Tuscany and the neighbouring countries. Venice again loaded her ships with precious cargoes.

"Oh blessed peace! whose very name has inspired the barbarians with terror, put the pirates to flight, and brought security and abundance both by sea and land."

Paleario closes this eloquent oration by expressing his ardent hope that the sovereigns will unite with the Roman pontiff, who is expecting them at Bologna, to arrange the meeting securely in a given place, of ambassadors and representatives to decide controversies and establish peace, and so conciliate matters that they may act in concert with the princes on the general affairs of all states. Then will he see the accomplishment of both human and heavenly hopes. This will be the fruit of peace, and then will the peoples and nations who are willing to die for Christ be called to arms, and once again will be carried before kings the golden standard of the cross, which ever has been and ever will be injurious and fatal to the enemies of the christian name.¹

Among the series of letters published by Lazzeri we find several to persons residing in Germany and at the court of the Emperor Ferdinand. We have already remarked how important the patronage of the great was to scholars, and seen that Paleario was by no means free from this prevailing ambition. He earnestly entreats Rapiccio to have his poem placed before the monarch, and to inform him of the long-continued devotion of the author. To Antonio Verrante, a bishop and councillor of the Emperor, he writes in the same strain, and alludes to what we already know, that the books had been sent through Vergerio in the year 1536. A person named Salando, coming from Hungary, having saluted him in the bishop's name, he

¹ He means to say that by enjoying peace among themselves they will be better able to unite against the common enemy.—*Palearii Opera*, Oratio xrv. p. 198.

entreats him to draw the Emperor's attention to his poem. "This will gratify the ambition he has entertained from his youth, that so great a prince and so true a lover of the muses may deign to approve his poetical talent. Age has not changed his opinions; he is the same now that he was in youth." In this letter there was one enclosed addressed to the Emperor himself. It represents in a lively manner Paleario's admiration for this amiable prince, and the attachment and hopes he had so long nourished.

AONIO PALEARIO TO THE RESPECTED AND VENERATED EMPEROR FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA.

"The day is at length arrived which I have so ardently desired to see even from my youth. Once a great king, now the most mighty Emperor Ferdinand, now that we are grown old together, as well as your most august brother, I can address you by this name and rejoice that you are arrived at so high a dignity. This, most august Emperor, is the thirtieth year since I dedicated to you my books on the Immortality of the Soul. In them I desired for you many things which I thought might about this time come to pass. Great has been my desire, and is now my rejoicing, that those regions which in mind I had allotted to you from east to west, from north to south, are under your dominion. There is now no people or nation under your rule where the laws of Austria do not prevail, as well as those of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.¹

"These things from a child I had figured to my mind when I wrote those verses, seeing as clearly as those who see with their natural eyes that Hungary would be separated² and united to Germany. I then explained under what auspices you would be looked up to as the ancient seat and domicile of empire. These things I set forth in verse, which I think you will never read if you do not feel a desire to see our city, and Italy, where we have received the most joyful news of your brother's piety and the cession of the empire through the election and judgment of the German princes, who have declared you ruler of the world. It is scarcely credible how much joy, hope, and encouragement good men now entertain. Of myself what shall I say? I who have always nourished the hope of hearing you proclaimed Emperor before my death? . . . This one thing I desire, O Caesar, to complete my happiness. To see your face once, to throw myself at your feet, and behold that venerated countenance whose majestic expression I have so often imagined in dreams. My mind is

¹ Alluding to Hungary having been in possession of the Turks.

² Ferdinande invictæ, tuis Germania seu te
Detinet imperiis læta, et tibi maxima regna
Annuit, Oceanus quantum pater alluit undis:
Seu te Pannoniæ Regem admirantur utraq;
Magnanimum, ingentem: nostram ne despice Musam.

Palearii Opera, *De Anim. Immort.* p. 582.

still impressed with the ideas of my youth, and the expectation of great things from you, in whose hand God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has placed so many kingdoms and people. to whom God has finally given and assigned the care of the empire by which you rule the world, so that it is not I but Christ who speaks. Endeavour, O Ferdinand, pious Emperor of the Romans, to meditate on these things, and prepare so to act that the heavenly kingdom of Christ, disturbed by hatreds, divided by parties of evil men and the licentiousness of those from whom it was least to be expected, may be restored to peace.

“ [Then alluding to the Turks he says :] they are all put to flight, the eternal enemies of the christian name are defeated, and it is restored to its primitive state and dignity.”¹

We have already said that Paleario belonged to the Ghibelines, the party which was opposed to the encroachments of the Popes. Austria is no longer opposed to the power of the Pope, but has for a series of years united with him to strangle the liberties of Italy. The Italians have now emerged from this tyranny, and will doubtless shew the world how wisely they can use their freedom, and how high they deserve to rank in the scale of nations.

Both Italy and Spain had at this period much to fear from the incursions of the Turks, to which the following letter alludes :

“ Your father, Marco, arrived from Spain on the 26th of January ; he brought the agreeable news that all was going on well with the king (Philip) ; that he was equipping a great fleet,² that the Spanish troops were to join the French cavalry, and in a few months a great army will be on foot. This makes us hope that if the Turks come they will be well received. Every one desires that this warlike movement may turn out well and happily to the king’s advantage. There is not a foot of ground either in Greece or in Asia which is not in the power of the Turks. I can say no more for grief. I vex and torment myself to no purpose that all may be well done. For to speak frankly between ourselves, when we have fought we have had the worst of it both by sea and land, and we cannot deny that they have conquered. But if our princes will unite together, the victory cannot be distant. Why so ? Because their power is cruel and barbarous. None are willing to submit to them ; even when they can do it securely they are not sure of doing so with honour. The news of their arrival agitated all good men ; they became so depressed and alarmed that many fled from Italy, and even some princes took to flight. O foolish madness ! But what, you will say, would you have done if you were not prepared either with soldiers or with money ? I would have done anything but this ; and as good always follows exertion

¹ Lazzari, *Miscell. Epist.* xv.

² Afterwards used against England.

I would have followed the example of those who know how to die in a holy manner for Christ. Adieu."¹

The gloomy tone of this letter, written under fear of the barbarous invaders, will make the following congratulatory epistle the more acceptable :

"Scarcely had I arrived from Lombardy when a boy gave me a letter which announced the joyful birth of your son. Imagine yourself in my place; would you not have rejoiced on such an occasion? Your joys are mine. . . . As there are generally great meetings of matrons on the first birth in a family, I mean to send you some pictures to ornament your house. I take pleasure in the muses as connected with my studies. If you like pictures you shall have those you wish to be placed in your saloon. Tell me what you like best, for in these things I am a true Damasippus. If you give a dinner, I will send you oysters and delicious fish from our villas, which are near the sea, if the sumptuary law is not passed. If so, it must be obeyed; but I will at least send you what is not forbidden by law; apples, mushrooms, grapes, sweet herbs, pinks, roses, and other flowers, of which our gardens are as full as yours in spring, though now a rose is as rare with you as a white bird. Everything I have is yours as well as mine. Adieu."²

We do not know to whom this letter is addressed, but it was probably written from some cool retreat on the shores of the Adriatic in the Venetian territory.

The following letter, written to Origionio, president of the Senate at Milan, alludes to a treatise on criminal law which Paleario had written. This is very scarce, and like many other of his works may be said to be lost. The law was his favourite profession, and he educated one of his sons in this branch of knowledge. Another treatise on Agrarian law, proposed as an exercise for his pupils, was published at Milan in 1557.³ We have seen in his defence of Bellanti how thoroughly he was acquainted with the Roman Agrarian laws. It was the custom in those days to advance opinions by way of themes or declamations either printed or recited. The capacious mind of Paleario readily adopted the new and enlarged method of studying law and connected it with superior knowledge. The novelty of the

¹ *Miscell. Coll. Rom.* This letter must have been written towards the close of the year 1561, when Dragut, the Turkish corsair, sailed from Tripoli and took seven galleys belonging to Naples laden with merchandise, and sailing past the coast of the Mediterranean, carried off an immense number of christian captives.

² *Laszeri, Miscell. Epist. xi.*

³ *Tesis et Antitesis de Lege Agraria propositæ adolescentibus ad exercitationem. Declamationes duæ scriptæ a Ludov. Raudensi et a Carolo Saulio Mediolani. 1557, qto.*

system roused many opponents, and he sheltered himself under the protection of the president of the state.

AONIO PALEARIO TO PIETRO PAOLO ORIGONIO, JURISCONSULT, THE MOST WORTHY PRESIDENT, AND A LEARNED MAN.

"If our profession, that of law, be well administered, nothing is more advantageous. If on the contrary it is made the vehicle of injustice, nothing can be worse. When last year I wrote the treatise on criminal law, I often thought to whom should I dedicate it, and found no one to whom I could with so much propriety address it as to you, O great President of the Senate; not only on account of your probity, which makes you worthy of all possible honour, but also because of your excellence in jurisprudence. . . . To these reasons, which are the strongest and the most decisive, I may add this also. When we make use of new words in treating of crimes, it is desirable to choose a man who understands well the things themselves, and the sense of the laws, rather than the eloquence of language. Jurisconsults have their own manner of speaking, of a double nature, one new and unpolished, but used for some time as being plain and clear and assimilating to common discourse; the other ancient, graceful, elegant, and terse, in use during the better ages, but in these latter days unknown, obscure, and ambiguous, which if made use of without explanations, obscures the sense and rather produces litigation than avoids it. Let us praise the ancient method but use the new.¹ So I think, considering the state of things. But I see there will be many opposers; to repel their boldness and restrain their loquacity nothing will be so useful to me as your influence. Your name will disarm envy and conciliate the multitude. If you do not despise my book, no one will be so devoid of shame as to dare to speak in disapprobation of it or to open his mouth against me. Receive then, O most upright President of the Senate and the champion of civil law, both myself and my book, and do not condemn this slight offering presented by a man who esteems and respects you, and who dedicates and devotes it to your much honoured name. Adieu."²

The talents of Paleario seem to have been thoroughly appreciated at Milan, and his wants well supplied, so that he had leisure and freedom of mind sufficient to diverge from his official line of study. His family had joined him, he had taken a house for several years, and was surrounded with many comforts. The following letter and petition to the Senate of Milan gives us some insight into his domestic arrangements. Many years had now passed since his arrival at Milan; he himself, in the letter we are about to present to our readers, says ten years; thus it must have been written in 1566. He begins by lauding the liberality of king Philip and the generosity of the Senate, ever ready to succour the needy and to encourage learning.

¹ For the new method of studying law, see Vol. II. pp. 177, &c.

² Lazzeri, *Miscell.* ep. xix.

“Nothing is wanting to our city; placed as the light of Italy it shines with brilliance, and is distinguished above all others for its courtesy and magnificence. It is now ten years, Senators, that I have lived among you. Not a year has passed without my being laden with your benefits. First I was invited by royal letters to come from Tuscany, and an ample stipend assigned me. Then I was honoured with privileges, and immunities were granted me; afterwards my salary was increased. Finally you have taken into consideration my old age and failing health, and by a *Senatus Consultus* you have arranged for me to live here comfortably with my family. I render you everlasting thanks, Senators, and will render them as long as I live; never will your favours be forgotten; and meanwhile neither fatigue nor idleness shall ever prevent me from fulfilling the public duties appointed me, and I shall continue to instruct the rising youth in the purest literature, &c.”

He next addresses a petition to the city of Milan, entreating the magistrates to permit the guardian of some minors whose house he occupied to lay out a sum in improving the premises. The house originally let for six crowns a-year, but had been taken by Spinola for thirty-six crowns, on condition of certain improvements being made. Spinola had made over the lease and its covenants to Paleario, and he had laid out more money than had been calculated, on condition of his lease being extended to nine years. This petition was granted; but the mother of the minors having married again, and seeing the house so much improved, tried to take it from Paleario without allowing him any compensation. He then addressed a petition to king Philip, the head of the state, as follows:

AONIO PALEARIO TO KING PHILIP.

“Aonio Paleario, chosen by the Senate to instruct their youth in Greek and Latin literature, being obliged to go every day to the public school in the square at Broleto, took a lease for nine years of the heirs of Adamo Tomazio of a house near the college, from Ottavio Carpano their guardian. The house not being sufficiently convenient, on the petition of Aonio, the Senate gave the guardian letters patent to permit him to add to the comforts of the house, and to spend twenty crowns a-year in making a sink in the kitchen and other conveniences, and a window in a room on the ground-floor opening into the garden towards the south. The expense was, in the first place, to be paid by Aonio, but in reality by the heirs, as a part of the rent was to be retained every year to pay the debt in proportion to the length of the lease. After Aonio had been four years in the house, finding the money allowed to be expended too small a sum, and other improvements being needed, he offered to take the whole expense upon himself if the lease were extended to nine years more; with the proviso, however, that if meanwhile anything should happen to Aonio, or he were obliged to leave Milan on account of his health, the house should immediately revert to the heirs without his being chargeable for

any further expense. The guardian, seeing the advantage of such an agreement, extended the lease to another nine years, which was made out by G. D. Scargiano, a notary. In the fulfilment of his agreement Paleario, finding the room in which a window had been made still dark, opened another, and protected it by iron bars. In the room which looks to the street two other windows with iron bars were made and a copper grating put up. As both these rooms had been used as workshops for blacksmiths, and were almost falling to pieces, he rebuilt the wall in the form of a rustic room, renewed the pavement with bricks in small squares, and covered the court-yard with earth where the rubbish had been thrown. To prevent the rain falling into the cellar he made a cistern in the garden. In the saloon above he opened an entrance into the next room, as also to the kitchen, and put up door-posts; and in order that water might be drawn from the well in the upper rooms he built a partition-wall and covered the roof of the kitchen with boards, the others being so decayed that it was open to the wind and almost without shelter. The rubbish of stones and pieces of wood which had been left ever since the house was built he had cleared away, and made a garden of this rough piece of ground by cultivating and ornamenting it, making beds and paths, planting at the sides large trees, also vines in rows, building an arbour, and new fronting the wall near the road where it was almost falling down. All this expense and trouble Aonio incurred in the hope of making the house useful in his profession of teaching to which he had been appointed by the Senate, and that he might be able to use the garden for instructing the youth who came to him.¹ Now that the house is so much more convenient and in every respect improved, many court it, and instigate the heirs of Tomazio to take it from him by offering a higher rent. Vetrico and G. B. Castalione, who has married the mother, fixed on the house as her dower. Either because he has had a lawsuit with the guardian, or because he thinks he will get a higher rent, he disputes the lease. On these accounts Aonio implores your equity, most just king Philip, and throwing himself at your feet beseeches your majesty that his lease may stand, and that a man of sixty-four years of age may not be obliged, to his great inconvenience and to that of the youth who resort to his house, to seek another; and if he should unhappily be obliged to leave the house, he begs that all above the sum of twenty crowns granted by the Senate be every farthing repaid. Finally, since Vetrico acts under the pretence of the owners wishing to inhabit the house themselves, some deceit is to be feared, more particularly as the same Castalione, Vetrico and his father are expert and experienced attorneys. The same Aonio petitions and entreats that his case may be taken into consideration, and that by an edict of the Senate a heavy fine may be levied on the heirs or on their attorney, Vetrico, if during the nine years of Aonio's lease it be let to any other person. Let this fine be immediately paid, so that though they may wish to overreach Aonio, they may not dare to deceive the royal majesty, which has been always sacred among all people.²

¹ His great admiration for Aristotle made him aspire to imitate the peripatetic philosopher who taught whilst walking about in the ancient groves.

² Lazzari, *Miscell.* ep. xxiv.

THE WALDENSES. 822—1849.

We have not space to give a full account of the meritorious Waldenses, but a history of the age would be very imperfect without a glance at their principles, and their perseverance in a righteous cause. There are various accounts of the derivation and origin of their name,¹ but most probably it was a corruption of the word *Valle*, *Vallenses*, easily changed into Waldenses. They were not known as a distinct people till the ninth century, when Claude, bishop of Turin, steadily opposed the introduction of images and crosses into the churches, resisted prayers to saints and to the Virgin Mary, and appealed to the Gospel as the only regulator of faith and practice.

Claude was made bishop of Turin by Louis the Meek, in the year 822.² He began his pastoral office by ordering all the images and even the cross to be cast out of the church, and committed to the flames. The year following he composed a treatise, in which he not only defended his proceedings, but proved from the Old Testament that to introduce any image into a house of prayer was contrary to the commands of God. He declared that paying to these images any species of worship, such as bowing the knee before them, was nothing less than idolatry, and expressly forbidden by the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, thou shalt not bow down to it, nor worship it." He discouraged also the prevailing custom of visiting the tombs of saints and pilgrimages to the Holy Land, denying both the merit and usefulness of such pilgrimages. In vain did the fanatic multitude cry out in favour of these superstitions; he stood firm, and supported his cause with such sound and scriptural arguments that he gradually gained ground.³ During the nineteen years of his bishopric his scriptural opinions were not only spread throughout his diocese but in all the surrounding country. For a long time

¹ The curious reader may consult on this subject Leger, Perrin, and Arnaud, as the most ancient historians; and above all Gilly's volumes, which contain so much valuable information.—See Gilly, *Narrative of the Mountains of Piedmont*, 1827; and *Waldensian Researches*, 1831.

² Leo, surnamed the Isaurian, abolished the worship of images, which had been sanctioned by the second Council of Nicæa in an assembly held at Constantinople in 814.—Mosheim, *Ecol. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 353.

³ See Appendix A.

after his death those parts remained more free from superstition than any other part of Europe.

But the opinions of a few individuals without any remarkable leader seldom make much progress, unless accompanied by an extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit of God; and the followers of the bishop found themselves so continually pressed and persecuted, that they gradually retired within the narrow valleys of the Cottian Alps, where they still dwell. A simple people, poor in this world's goods but firm in faith, they were content with their poverty, provided they were allowed to worship God according to their conscience, and made no open schism. The dioceses of bishops were independent of Rome till 1134; so that, without separating themselves ostensibly from the universal church, they declined receiving the various novelties which the Roman Catholic church was continually adding to her rites and ceremonies.

The princes of the house of Savoy, under whose dominion the Waldenses lived, found them obedient subjects, and did not interfere with their religion. There was therefore no appearance of their being decidedly opposed to the Church of Rome till the twelfth century, when the encroachments of the papacy obliged them to make known their opinions. In 1009 Nicolas II.¹ usurped authority over all Italy; the bishops and priests were obliged to be consecrated anew by delegates from the Pope, and ordinations were declared null and void which had not been sanctioned by his authority, and the pastors were called lay-teachers. The Waldenses would not submit to this new requirement, and were consequently refused ordination. In the year 1209 the intolerance of the papacy broke out afresh under Innocent III.,² who published a most barbarous bull inviting princes of all lands to undertake a crusade against heretics. Plenary indulgences and passports to heaven were promised to all who would enter on a crusade against the Albigenses.

Referring the reader to Dr. Gilly's interesting narrative for

¹ A native of Provence, and bishop of Florence. His predecessor *Benedetto X.* was deposed as not being legally elected; Nicolas was elected in his place in 1059, but reigned only four years.

² Elected 1198, he reigned 78 years. *Domenico*, who founded the order of Preachers, and *Francesco d' Assisi*, the head of the Minorites, lived in his reign.

the earlier history of the Waldenses, we pass on to the sixteenth century. When the reformation was seriously commenced in Germany it met with secret encouragement in Italy, and very generally prevailed in France. By the chances of war the Protestant valleys came into the power of Francis I. for a time. As he had persecuted and burned his own subjects for following the Gospel it was not surprising that he should be willing to comply with the Pope's injunctions to extirpate heresy on the other side of the Alps. He wrote to the parliament of Turin, commanding that all the inhabitants of the valleys who refused to conform to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church should be treated with the utmost rigour. The parliament, to its disgrace, obeyed these commands, and desired the Waldenses to send away all their *barbes*, or pastors, and receive instead Roman Catholic priests for their instructors. But the faith of this mountain tribe was founded on a rock, "and that rock was Christ;" they courageously replied that they must obey God rather than man; that the Scripture was their guide, and that only could they follow. In 1545 the horrible massacres of Cabrières and Merindol in Languedoc took place, when five hundred persons of all ages and both sexes were put to death in the most barbarous manner. Their houses were set on fire during the night, and the poor frightened inhabitants hunted from rock to rock, the flames of their dwellings lighting their persecutors in the work of destruction. Those who were taken alive, in number about seven hundred, were sent to the galleys.¹ Francis I. was urged to this act of violence by Count d'Oppede, president of the parliament of Aix, a violent and sanguinary man, who led him to believe that 16,000 of these Waldenses were rebels and about to seize Marseilles. On his deathbed the guilt of this massacre appeared to him in all its magnitude, and the blood of these poor innocent suffering people seemed to cry to him from the ground. One of his last injunctions to his son Henry was to enquire into the circumstances and execute retributive justice. The case was brought before parliament; but as too often happens, the most guilty person escaped. William Guerin, however, the attorney-general of Provence, was tried and condemned to death. This, though a poor atonement for the sacrifice of so many lives, was a punishment richly deserved by

¹ *Hist. de Languedoc; Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 459. De Thou, lib. c.

a man who every time the poor victims were brought before him called out, *Tolle, tolle, crucifige*, and ordered them to be led to slaughter without even a pretence of trial. D'Oppede would have shared the same fate but for the influence of the duke of Guise. At a later period four thousand Waldenses were obliged to fly with their wives and children to avoid the torments of the Inquisition. They hid themselves in woods and rocks, where many perished of hunger and cold; those who were caught were exposed to the fiercest tortures which vindictive human nature could invent. They were rubbed with pitch, and then set on fire to give light to travellers, squeezed to death till they fell to pieces, stripped to be beaten with rods, and then burnt to ashes. Man loses the characteristics of humanity when animated by religious intolerance.

While these horrors were passing in Provence, a great number of persons were put to death for the simple fact of their having visited Geneva. Pantaleone, lord of Rocca-piatta, in the year 1555, sent his soldiers to the valleys near Pinerolo with orders to destroy the inhabitants altogether. Their mountain fortresses however offered some protection to the fugitives, and the good countess Bianca, widow of a count of Lucerna, forbade her people to injure them, but could not prevent their being carried off to the prisons and convents of Pinerolo and Turin. The reigning duke, Carlo III., had been obliged to secure the safety of his family by removing them from Turin to Milan. After an unhappy reign of fifty years, during which he never had any rest from the incursions of the French, he died in 1553, and was succeeded by his son Emmanuel Filiberto, a brave and chivalrous prince, who as captain-general of the Imperial army won the battle of St. Quintin in 1558, which paved the way for a general peace in 1559, when he recovered the duchy of Savoy. His duchess, Marguerite, was known to have secretly imbibed the reformed opinions from her aunt, the queen of Navarre, and her marriage to their sovereign seemed to promise the Waldenses a relaxation from the rigours of persecution. Great indeed, therefore, was their disappointment when they found that one of the secret articles of the treaty of peace was the extirpation of heresy in the duke's dominions.

In fulfilment of this promise the severest edicts were issued. The mass or the gibbet was the summary sentence which put an

end to the existence of many a stedfast Protestant. For seventeen months they were exposed to the hottest persecutions¹ under the Comte de la Trinité; but no progress being made towards conversion, Emmanuel Filiberto, moved by the sufferings of his subjects, yielded to the entreaties of his dukes and of Philip of Savoy, and granted them the peaceable exercise of their religion in the year 1561: this tranquillity lasted during the life of the duke. But when Carlo Emmanuel succeeded his father in 1580, he listened to the pernicious councils of the Jesuits, who persuaded him that it was an act of rebellion for a subject to profess a religion different from that of his sovereign: the persecutions were again renewed, and these afflicted people were once more obliged to "eat the bread of tears and drink the water of affliction." In 1592 Clement VIII., under the sanction of the duke, sent Jesuit missionaries into the valleys to offer them every species of reward if they would but change their religion. Their offers had no effect, and the missionaries, exasperated at their non-success, persuaded the duke in 1602 to issue an edict forbidding them to meet together for public worship. A garrison was stationed at La Torre to enforce this decree, and an army sent with orders to thrust all the inhabitants into the narrow valleys of Lucerna and Angrogna. As they had churches at S. Giovanni and elsewhere, this gave rise to perpetual collisions with the military; which state of things continued till the year 1665. The blood which was shed, says Gilly, in the inhuman massacre of this year, cried aloud to heaven for vengeance, and created a great sensation in Europe. "The inhabitants of the Protestant Valleys do not occupy more than sixteen square miles of territory, yet such was the justice of their cause and the horror excited by their sufferings, that envoys were sent from nearly all the European states to represent to the Duke of Savoy the strong indignation felt at such iniquitous proceedings."² "Persecutions and butcheries," said the

¹ See Gilly, *Narrative*, Appendix vii. for a letter from Scipio Lentulo, a Neapolitan who was minister in the Valleys, giving an account of the persecutions. "The original is in vol. P. of the Cambridge University Library MSS." Compare Leger, *Hist. Gen. des Eglises Vaudoises*, tom. ii. pp. 34, 35, 36; and Gerdes, *Ital. Reform.* p. 282.

² See Gilly, *Narrative*, and Appendix iv.; also vol. O. for the original, Cambridge University Library MSS., presented by Sir Samuel Morland, Envoy at the court of Turin in 1658.

Landgrave of Hesse, "are not the means to suppress our religion, but rather tend to preserve and spread it abroad."

Oliver Cromwell, the champion of civil and religious liberty, specially exerted himself in their favour. He employed the poet Milton to write letters to the Duke of Savoy¹ and the king of France, in Latin, on their behalf.² He also sent Sir S. Morland to the court of Savoy with orders to demand an audience, and make a public declaration of England's displeasure at these ruthless proceedings. Morland was young, and ardent in the cause he had undertaken; he described in vivid and impassioned eloquence, such as only a stern republican would have sounded in royal ears, the unmerited cruelties inflicted on these Protestants. Men, he said, of a hundred years of age, decrepit and bed-ridden, had been burned in their beds. Infants had been dashed against the rocks, others had their throats cut, and their brains boiled and eaten by the murderers.³ Nor was Cromwell content with remonstrance only; he circulated an account of their sufferings, and headed a subscription for their benefit by offering a sum of £2000 from his privy purse.⁴

The result of these negotiations was a promise on the part of the Duke of Savoy to proclaim a general act of indemnity, to restore to the Waldenses their possessions, and to allow them the same privileges which his father had granted them. Cromwell died the same year, and the treaty of Pinerolo was hastily compiled, which left the poor Waldenses at the mercy of their oppressors, under pretence of providing for their security. It was during these persecutions that Milton wrote that beautiful sonnet—

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
E'en them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not; in thy book record their groans,

¹ The originals are still preserved in the State Paper Office in the handwriting of Mary Milton, as dictated by her father.

² See Gilly, *Narrative*, Appendix, No. viii., and Answer of Duke of Savoy.

³ *Idem*, p. 223.

⁴ £38,241 1s. 6d. was raised, and letters sent to Protestant sovereigns and states, urging them "to secure the safety and liberty of the unhappy sufferers." It would be well if an international law were universally promulgated in favour of religious liberty throughout Europe.—See Gilly's *Narrative*.

Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
 Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that rolled
 Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
 The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
 To Heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
 O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
 The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
 An hundred fold, who having learnt thy way,
 Early may fly the Babylonian woe!¹

Charles II. suspended the annual pension derived from the collection which had been put out to interest.

The individual and most indefatigable exertions of the late Dr. Gilly² induced the British government to restore the stipends allowed to the Waldenses by Cromwell. Charles II. withheld them, but they were restored by William III.,³ and continued for more than a hundred years. In addition to the restoration of this government grant, the excellent Dr. Gilly made large collections in England in 1827, by which the stipends of the ministers were increased and funds were furnished to build a college and an hospital.⁴ Dr. Gilly's earnestness in their cause raised up for the Waldenses another benefactor in General Beckwith,⁵ who has lived twenty years in the valleys; and in cooperation with Dr. Gilly has spent a handsome income in assisting to build school-houses, parsonages, and finally a church. In the exercise of their untiring energy and benevolence, these eminent men have given the world a noble example of true christian charity. Both attached members of the Church of England, they regarded not the difference of ritual, but seeing the impoverished state of this suffering branch of the Church of Christ, succoured and sustained it. The great Ruler of events, in thus inspiring his servants, had, may we presume to say, more extended objects in view, of which we now see the happy commencement. Raised from the depths of their poverty, and emancipated from political disabilities, the Waldenses are prepared, as Italians and conservators of the truth, to go forth as

¹ Milton, *Sonnet* 18. The very remarkable prophecy contained in the last three lines is in the nineteenth century being accomplished, as the Waldensian ministers now occupy themselves as missionaries in various parts of Italy.

² Prebendary of Durham.

³ See Appendix B.

⁴ Assisted by Holland.

⁵ One of the oldest surviving officers of the battle of Waterloo.

missionaries in Italy, and sound the trumpet of "glad tidings" throughout the length and breadth of the land.

In 1685 Louis XIV. of France promulgated the famous ordinance which revoked the Edict of Nantes, and exposed all the Protestants in his dominions to the severest penalties on account of their creed. Carlo Emmanuel resolved to follow his example, and the Waldenses were forbidden to exercise their religion under pain of death, their temples were ordered to be destroyed, their ministers exiled, and their children baptized by Roman Catholic priests. This decree being intended to extinguish completely their religion, troops were again sent into the valleys, and the Roman Catholic religion promulgated at the point of the sword. It has been said that no less than 12,000 or 13,000 persons were thrown into state prisons and exposed to every kind of misery. Negotiations were opened by the Swiss and other nations, and permission was entreated for them to emigrate. It was granted; and they set out, a mournful band of men, women, and children, for Geneva. Many perished by the way, but the remnant were received with hospitality and kindness. Their courage revived in a country where they enjoyed the free exercise of their worship, and were comforted by the sympathy of their co-religionists. The power of Louis XIV. began to decline; politics underwent a change, and the Waldenses longed to return to their native valleys. Led by the intrepid Henri Arnaud, on the 27th of August, 1689, they set out, and after eleven days' journey took possession of their beloved homes, and maintained themselves there for a year with arms in their hands.¹ In 1696 peace was made between them and their sovereign, Vittorio Amadeo II., but the French had still too much influence, and it was not long before a fresh edict renewed all their sorrows. In 1706 war broke out between France and Savoy, and the Duke took refuge in the valleys, and concealed himself in the secluded village of Roro, in the house of the family Durando Cantoni.² Their loyalty on this occasion, and the representations of England and Holland, induced the Duke to grant them toleration.

They distinguished themselves in 1744 by fighting for the glory and independence of their country; they were brigaded

¹ See *La joyeuse rentrée*, and Appendix C.

² This family still preserve the silver drinking-cup which Vittorio left them. The only favour granted them by the king was the privilege of having an enclosed burial-place.—Bert. *I Valdesi*, p. 706.

by themselves, commanded by their own officers, and in action invariably occupied the most prominent posts. Carlo Emmanuel called them his brave Vaudois. But the enmity of their adversaries did not slumber; and at a later period, while the natives of the valleys were defending the passes of the mountains, seven hundred fanatics agreed to meet at the convent of the Capuchins and in the church of La Torre, and issuing from thence put the whole population to the sword. The plot was fortunately revealed by a right-minded parish priest, Don Brianza, of Lucerna; an express was immediately sent to recall general Gaudin, who commanded the Waldensian troops on the heights, and seven other messengers followed one after the other, describing the terror of the women and children. The general pretended the French were advancing in overwhelming force, and sounded a retreat. Their march was precipitous, and they arrived just in time to prevent the execution of the horrible plot.¹ This breach of military discipline could not be overlooked; Gaudin was deprived of his command and summoned to answer for his conduct. He boldly declared in open court, that the Waldenses could not protect the frontier, if the government did not provide for the safety of their families at home. The truth having been ascertained, Gaudin was replaced in his command by the duke of Aosta, who addressed the soldiers as *Cari e fedeli sudditi di S. M.* This happened in 1794, after the French had entered Savoy. Vittorio Amedeo abdicated a few years after, and retired to the island of Sardinia. Piedmont was annexed to France, and religious liberty proclaimed under the revolutionary regime. But before they had time to enjoy the benefits of this political change, they were terrified by the approach of Suwarrow at the head of the Austro-Russian troops. The battle of Marengo allowed them to breathe in peace, and for fifteen years they enjoyed the blessing of religious liberty.

In 1815, when the Italian princes resumed possession of their dominions, Vittorio returned to Turin, and immediately issued a decree ordering all things to be replaced in the same condition as before his abdication. This was an unexpected blow to the Waldenses; but though they had still much to endure, their sufferings were not what they had been. The

¹ Monastier, *Hist. des Vaudois.*

ambassadors of England and Prussia¹ advocated their cause, and stemmed the torrent of persecution. Thus were these simple and devoted people gradually prepared for that full emancipation which they were in future to enjoy.

They had continued from time immemorial, surrounded by the strongholds of the papacy, to shine in the wilderness. Their light, though often nearly extinguished in blood, was never totally destroyed. "Miraculously preserved, unknown and uncared for by the world, they were the true representatives of the mother-church, and had nothing to learn from Luther or from Calvin, for they had been faithful from the beginning. Like Hagar in the wilderness, they had often been weary and ready to perish for lack of the water of life; and when the Angel of the Reformation pointed to the Living Fountain which had so long been neglected, and the cry was heard, 'Come ye to the waters, come buy wine and milk without money and without price,' they gladly responded to the call. Christ 'came unto his own, and his own received him not;' his footsteps fell unheeded in Jerusalem; while he stood within the gorgeous temple the priests and Levites were regardless of his presence. When the sun rose on his untenanted tomb, where was then his mystic spouse? Was she among the throng in the Lord's house assembled to watch the dawn of that Easter-day? No. She was with her who loved much for much forgiven; with the sorrowing disciples on their way to Emmaus; with the assembled believers in the upper chamber. She was on the Mount of Olives watching the last glimpse of her ascending God; there she received his parting blessing, and turned to tread her mysterious way in a world lying in darkness. No outward fane shielded her from the blast of persecution; but hers is the spotless robe of righteousness. She dwelleth not in temples made with hands, but in the heart of every humble believer. In the palace of the Cæsars, in the dungeons of Rome, in the schools of philosophers, in the sandy deserts of Africa, on the bosom of the ocean, wherever the Spirit of Christ is, there is his church. Vainly has human power striven to banish her

¹ Count Luigi di Walberg Truchsess, the Prussian ambassador, was their unwearied friend during the twenty-eight years of his embassy at Turin. When death closed his earthly mission in 1844, he was laid by his own desire in the churchyard of his beloved Waldenses. In token of their deep and imperishable gratitude between 4000 and 5000 persons accompanied his remains to the cemetery of La Torre.

from this redeemed earth, and as vainly has worldly policy sought to confine her within the narrow limits of human regulations, or to crush her beneath the cumbrous weight of worldly glory. When the idols of Greece and Rome fell prostrate before her, and the kings of the earth enriched her shrines with the magnificence of art: when as in the temple of old the precious things of heaven and earth were heaped upon her altar, and the dazzled multitude gazed on the pompous train of white-robed priests, listened to the rich strains of melody, and inhaled the costliest perfumes of the east; where then was the church of Christ? where she had ever been—in the heart of the spiritual worshipper alone. Whether that heart beat under a monastic garb, or a soldier's breastplate, in a lonely cavern, or in a hermit's cell; wherever a holy desire was breathed to heaven, or self sacrificed for the love of Christ and his people, there was the church. Little did the pilgrims, who trod their weary way to gaze on the glories of Christian Rome, think as they knelt in the noblest edifice that human genius had ever devised, that they were worshipping before an empty shrine; for they knew not that the spirit of the Lord had departed. It dwelt not in the blaze of the countless lights which streamed from the tabernacle, nor hovered in the clouds of incense which veiled from their view the Holy of Holies. The church which had been triumphant during her early persecutions, whose martyrs' hymns had risen above the shouts of her oppressors, had silently withdrawn from the trophies which marred her beauty; her noiseless footsteps but rarely trod those gorgeous fanes, for she found herself a stranger in the temples reared for her service. Under the wide canopy of heaven, on the mountain-top, in the secluded valleys, she kept her unstained garments. Her sons were few and despised of men, poor in this world's goods but rich in faith, and strong in the power of God's word, nourished with the bread of life, and bearing in their souls the only infallible mark of the spiritual church—the Saviour's image. Driven from their dwellings, and hurled from rock to glen, the pillar of witness went before them, "and they drank of the Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ." Who can count the grievous errors which have sprung from a false definition of the word church? It has led men to look on a form of ecclesiastical polity, its hierarchy, sacraments, and ordinances

as a visible body, and as the sole recipient of God's grace. It has infatuated them with the idea that salvation depends on belonging to one particular class of Christians, and brought them to substitute the means for the end, external penances for inward repentance, a form of religion for holiness of heart and purity of life. But the true Christian, who contemplates the vast variety in God's creation, both of climate and of thought, abstains from uncharitable distinctions, and is willing to embrace within the expansive arms of christian charity all true worshippers of God in Christ, looking forward to the time when they will all be admitted into that vast and blessed society which no man can number, of all countries, peoples, and tongues."¹

What a happy contrast does the present condition of the Waldenses present to their former misery and oppression. Under the constitutional government of their king Vittorio Emmanuel they enjoy, in common with the rest of his subjects, all the privileges of civil and religious liberty. At the promulgation of the constitution, granted by Carlo Alberto in 1848, they took the lead in the joyful procession at the special desire of their countrymen. Their emancipation is now matter of history, and its circumstances so highly interesting, that we give some details. In a social meeting at Pinerolo on the 12th of December, 1848, the advocate Audefredi proposed the following toast amid the loud applauses of the company :

“Twenty thousand of our brethren are shut up and isolated between two rivers in your enchanting valleys. They are as well educated and industrious, as strong in body and mind as other Italians; with the noblest views and at great expense and sacrifice they educate their own children, being debarred all public advantages. But though they pay the same taxes and bear the same charges of the state, they do not enjoy the rights common to other citizens. Be it our care, who are their near neighbours, to see that two rivers no longer separate them from a general community; let their country be indeed a mother to them; and since they are thought worthy to defend its territory, so let their minds be considered capable both of enlightening and governing it. *Evviva* the emancipation of the Waldenses!”

At a banquet of 620 persons given at Turin the same year the following toast was drunk with enthusiastic applause: “To liberty of worship, the emancipation of the Protestants and the Jews, and to all true Italian progress.”

Such proofs of public sympathy in their behalf encouraged

¹ These few remarks on the history of the Waldensian church were written in Italy under the joyful influence of their emancipation in 1848.

the Waldenses as a body to address themselves to the throne, entreating permission to join in the general jubilee of joy, and be admitted to share the civil and political rights of their fellow-citizens. They modestly pleaded their well-known attachment to the Savoy dynasty, and their stedfast submission under the most rigorous laws.¹ They were anxious to have these privileges secured by law to prevent the disappointments of former years. But of this there was now no danger. The king and his ministers were preparing to gratify their just and reasonable demands. On the 21st of February, 1849, it was announced in the Piedmontese Gazette that the king had signed the emancipation of the Waldenses from all civil and political disabilities, and that next day letters patent would be issued confirming these privileges by law. As soon as this became generally known, a numerous body of distinguished persons went with appropriate banners singing patriotic airs to the residence of the Waldensian pastor, to congratulate him fraternally on the freedom of his co-religionists, and to rejoice that at length the inhabitants of the Protestant valleys had received not favour but justice. The same evening the palaces of the ambassadors both of England and Prussia were brilliantly illuminated. All the Waldenses in Turin and the other Protestant families lighted up their houses in token of joy at this grateful boon; the letters patent appeared in the Gazette as follows:

CHARLES ALBERT,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, &c., &c.

“Taking into consideration the fidelity and loyalty of the Waldensian population, our royal predecessors have gradually by successive arrangements greatly abrogated and moderated the laws which formerly limited their civil capabilities. We, following their example, have conceded to these our subjects still more ample facilities by often granting dispensations from the laws. The reasons for which these limits were established have ceased, and the measures in their favour which have been progressively adopted may now be completed. We have therefore willingly resolved to make them partakers of all those advantages which are reconcilable with the general system of our legislature. On this account, by these presents, of our certain knowledge and royal authority, and in accordance with the opinion of our council, we have decreed and do order as follows:

“The Waldenses are admitted to enjoy all the civil and political rights of our subjects, to frequent the schools in and out of the university, and to take academic degrees.² No innovation in their worship

¹ Appendix D. ² They had never before been allowed to study at the university.

on this account is to take place, or in the schools thereto belonging. All laws contrary to this present decree which have been presented to the Senate, or to the chamber of finance to be registered, are repealed. We will that this be inserted among the acts of the government.

(Signed) CARLO ALBERTO,
F. AVET,
F. DI REVEL,
F. DI COLLEGNO,
BONELLI."

The excellent Robert d'Azeglio, who had always been the enlightened friend of the Waldenses, was president of a patriotic committee to regulate the celebration of a national rejoicing in commemoration of the constitutional liberty granted to Piedmont.

On the 27th of February, 1849, the bells of the old city of Turin rang out joyous peals, the streets were ornamented with garlands, brilliant draperies hung from the windows, and the balconies were thronged with spectators. The sound of martial music mingled with the measured tread of thousands whose hearts beat that day in unison. The post of honour in the procession on this national rejoicing was ceded to the Waldenses by their sympathising countrymen. "You have suffered long," said they, "it is now your turn to be honoured." As they advanced a crimson banner was seen to wave gaily at the head of seven hundred men of the Protestant valleys. Acclamations grew louder as the banner drew nearer and became more distinctly visible. It was of crimson velvet, on which the royal arms of Savoy were embroidered in silver, and in few words the gratitude of a long suffering and now liberated people was simply inscribed:

I RICONOSCENTI VALDESI A CARLO ALBERTO.

To confirm the durability of the royal boon, which was now to be extended to their offspring, a youthful band of children,¹ each with a tiny banner in its hand, took the lead in the procession. On all sides resounded the fraternal shout, *Viva i Valdesi Fratelli!* Long live our Waldensian brethren! Both tears and smiles were seen on the joyful countenances of the ladies at the open windows, as they looked on these innocent descendants of a people who had so often wept to see their little ones called to wear the martyr's crown, before they had learned to lip the creed of their forefathers. Nor were these emotions

¹ About twelve in number, the eldest being only ten years old.

of transient duration or dependent on the excitement of the moment. Their joy rested on a solid foundation, for it was based on the just and equal laws granted them by their sovereign, and sprang from a love to his family and dynasty, under whose rule they now enjoyed the christian blessing of full religious toleration. This was indeed a victory of the Prince of peace. Here a handful, as it were, of simple christians, who for more than three hundred years had been the object of the most incessant persecution and bigoted intolerance, were now preserved as the seed of the church, "that from these may grow an hundred fold,"¹ and received into the great family of the state, and mixed in public with their fellow-citizens.

This modern episode of the Waldensian church is full of encouragement and instruction. It is not a divergence from the leading idea which it is the object of these pages to illustrate. Liberty of conscience is not only the right and prerogative of every intelligent being, but united with its twin privilege, civil liberty, it is the only means of securing the genuine piety and rational happiness of a nation.

Twelve years have now elapsed since the dawn of constitutional liberty in Piedmont. The son has nobly maintained the father's promise, and loyally kept his coronation oath. His sagacious and upright ministers² have manfully striven to consolidate the constitutional principles of their country. It is not too much to say that the present hopeful state of Italy is owing, under Providence, to the broad principles of religious liberty which Piedmont has adopted. Had there been no Waldenses, the religion of the state only would have been recognised as in other Italian principalities; but here we see them reaping the reward of a thousand years of perseverance in a good cause.

The misfortunes of Italy may be traced in a great measure to the absence of religious liberty and the despotic rule of the priesthood, which has generated a servility of mind subversive of true greatness. A day of hope and rejoicing has now arisen, in which the noble character of the Italians shines out conspicuously: if they do not in future pay a closer attention to the religion inscribed in the Scriptures they will disappoint the hopes of their warmest admirers.

¹ See Milton's *Sonnet*, p. 481.

² First Massimo d' Azeglio, and then Count Cavour, who is unquestionably the first statesman in Europe.

CHAPTER XXII.

ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

1555—1558.

PROJECT OF ABDICATION—PREPARES HIS SON TO TAKE HIS PLACE—CHARACTER OF PHILIP—DEATH OF JUANA—PAUL IV. KINDLES WAR—TAKES POSSESSION OF THE COLONNA ESTATES—CHARLES ABDICATES—TRUCE WITH FRANCE—AMUSING TRICK OF A BUFFOON—CHARLES SAILS FOR SPAIN—HIS APARTMENTS AT YUETS—THEIR FURNITURE—HIS SUITE—HIS CONFESSOR—PAINTINGS—FAMOUS PICTURE BY TITIAN—RELICS—LIBRARY—HIS OWN COMPOSITIONS—LETTER OF LULIADA—VISIT OF TWO QUEENS—OF FRAY BORGIA—BATTLE OF ST. QUINTIN—DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH—CHARLES HAS A FIT OF THE GOUT—QUEEN MARY PAYS HIM A VISIT—CHARLES LAYS ASIDE THE TITLE OF EMPEROR—SPREAD OF REFORMED OPINIONS IN SPAIN—CHARLES IS CONSULTED—ORDERS SEVERE MEASURES—CONSTANTINO PONCE DE LA FUENTE—AUGUSTINO CAZALLA—UNIVERSAL TERROR—SHORTSIGHTEDNESS OF CHARLES—BIBLE DESTROYED—IMPEUDENCE OF CHARLES—INCREASED ILLNESS—A PUTRID FEVER—GROWS WORSE—PREPARES FOR DEATH—HIS DEVOTION—ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO—HIS CHRISTIAN EXHORTATION—SPEECH OF A MONK—DIFFERENCE—TRANQUIL DEATH OF CHARLES—STATE FUNERAL—DEATH OF QUEEN MARY OF HUNGARY.

THE year 1555 was marked by two extraordinary events of great European importance. Charles V., the most powerful sovereign who had been known since the days of Charlemagne, retired from public life to a monastery;¹ and Paul IV. began his career of ambition at the age of seventy-nine years. The one, disabled by disease and weary of the fatigues of power, retired from the world to devote himself to prayer and preparation for death; the other, member of a self-denying order, came forth from his seclusion on the verge of the tomb to wield the papal sceptre over the Catholic world.

The abdication of Charles V. was not a sudden thought

¹ See Appendix A.

or passing disgust; as far back as the year 1535, in the flush of his success at Tunis, he had conceived the project, and even talked it over with the Empress, and proposed to her that they should retire at the same time into different convents. The death of the Empress in 1539 confirmed the Emperor's desire for retirement, but he was obliged to wait the course of events. To withdraw before his son was able to take his place might have risked the fruit of a long and successful career, and overturned the schemes of a lifetime. He contented himself therefore with gradually preparing the way for his successor; at fifteen years of age he placed his son Philip nominally at the head of affairs, and a year after married him to his cousin the princess Mary of Portugal.¹ In the year 1548 Philip was summoned by his father to Flanders to swear to preserve the liberties of the Low Countries, which he afterwards so basely violated.² The appearance of Philip at this time was neither dignified nor attractive; he was short and slight in person as well as dwarfish in mind. In countenance he resembled his father, and had the same wide forehead, blue eyes, and fair complexion; but his character was repulsive; haughty, proud, slow, and suspicious, he inspired neither confidence nor affection. His father saw the moment was not yet arrived for retiring. On the death of Edward VI. in 1553 Charles eagerly embraced the opportunity of marrying Philip to his cousin Mary, queen of England. This matter arranged, he appointed his daughter Joanna³ regent of Spain, and began to think seriously of completing his abdication. The warlike aspect of the new Pope, Paul IV., gave him some uneasiness, as he wished to lay down his power in times of tranquillity. The death of his mother Juana increased his sadness and hurried his decision. She had been a widow for forty-nine years, and during the whole of that time had never been in possession of her reason. Notwithstanding this infirmity, Charles had always treated her with demonstrations of respect; he never left Spain without taking leave, or returned without paying her a visit of affection, at the castle of Tor-desilas.

At length, having well pondered the step he was about

¹ She died the following year in giving birth to Don Carlos.

² See Morley, *Dutch Republics*.

³ She had recently lost her husband the king of Portugal.

to take, and prepared all things for its completion, in the month of September, 1555, he summoned Philip from England to receive at Brussels the kingdoms he was about to renounce.¹ Paul IV. had been elected Pope in May of the same year: the energies of an active intelligence and a strong will were divided between two chief objects, the working of the Inquisition, and hatred of the Spaniards; the moment he thought was propitious for driving them out of Italy, since Charles was about to abdicate. Like other Popes he had relations to provide for; in advancing their fortunes the rights of property were little regarded. Giovanni, count of Montorio, the Pope's brother, had three sons, all of turbulent dispositions. Carlo, the eldest, was made a cardinal, the others were created barons; and the Pope, on some slight offence given by the Colonnas, faithful adherents to the Imperial party, cited them, deprived them of all their castles and dignities, which he divided among the Caraffa family, and made the count of Montorio duke of Paliano.

Thus did this devout and irate Pope, who claimed to be the vicegerent of heaven, shew to the world how little, during his long life of ceremonious observances, he had studied the precepts of his divine Master, or considered the duty of a bishop, who, as Muratori says, quoting St. Paul, "is to be *non superbum, non iracundum.*"² His violence threw Italy once again into the miseries of war, the object of which was not concealed; he openly declared that his great desire was to drive away the Spaniards and erect Naples into an independent and national kingdom. This plausible scheme, planned by revenge and ambition, brought him many partisans, some of whom were animated by the patriotic hope of freeing their country from the dominion of foreigners. This however was a delusion, for Paul called a French army into Italy to take Naples, and again was Italy doomed to be the battle-field for these two rival powers.

Admiral Coligny was sent by Henry II. to Brussels for the ratification of the truce by Philip II., and was admitted to an audience by Charles V., who lived in a small house near the park. The Emperor had also an interview with Brusquet, the king's buffoon, who had just played a trick which convulsed all

¹ See an account of this interesting ceremony in Morley, *Dutch Republics*, vol. i. p. 96; and Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 95.

² Muratori, *Annali*, tom. x. p. 143.

Brussels with laughter. Brusquet was present at the reception of Coligny¹ by Philip in the castle, and had observed that the saloon was hung with tapestry representing the battle of Pavia, the capture of Francis I., and his embarkation for Spain. He resolved upon turning the Spaniards into ridicule, and next day in the chapel after mass, just when Philip had sworn at the altar on the Gospels to maintain the truce of Vaucelles, Brusquet and his valet, each carrying a bag of crowns, traversed the chapel, crying, *Largesse ! largesse !* throwing the silver about in every direction. The archers of the guard thinking it was a liberality from their sovereign, rushed pêle-mêle to pick them up. The king haughtily enquired of Coligny why the French took the liberty of rewarding his soldiers. Coligny was as astonished as the rest, but Brusquet continued his amusement till the whole suite of two thousand persons were on the ground, falling over each other, picking up the crowns ; the guards were fighting for them, and the whole scene was so ridiculous that even Philip could not contain his laughter, and was obliged to hold by the altar to keep his equilibrium ; the merriment spread to the dowager-queens and the other ladies.²

This truce with France left the Emperor at liberty to put his design of retirement into execution ; and on the 28th of September, 1556, the crownless monarch, accompanied by his two sisters, Mary, queen-dowager of Hungary, and Eleanor, queen-dowager of France, set sail for Spain. A suite of apartments had been built for him at the south side of the monastery of S. Yuste, consisting of two floors, each containing four small rooms about 25 feet square. The passage of the upper floor communicated on both sides with open terraces roofed over ; the corridor of the lower apartments led into the garden of the monastery which the monks had given up to the Emperor. It was filled with vegetables, fruit, and orange-trees of so large a size, that in spring their blossoms perfumed the Emperor's apartment ; his retreat, so far from having anything of the character of an anchorite's cell, was arranged with the utmost care for comfort, and all the luxuries of life were provided within a very small space. The royal cenobite did not retire to practise austerities, but to rest from the fatigues of government and to attend to his health.

¹ Massacred in the slaughter of St. Bartholomew's-day, 24th of August, 1572.

² See Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 117 ; Ribier, tom. ii. p. 635.

The hair shirt, the knotted scourge, and rigid abstinence formed no part of his plan; on the contrary, everything was arranged so as to give pleasure to an infirm invalid. His sitting-room commanded a most delightful view of the mountains, and overlooked the garden, rich in every species of culture; a path which led to it had been made of so gradual a descent, that in the evening, when the sun was too hot above, he could enjoy a ramble through the smiling parterre, or pass through a gate into the magnificent forest of oaks and chesnut-trees which covered the adjacent hills. His apartments were by no means poorly furnished; he brought with him twenty-four pieces of the finest tapestry from Flanders, which were hung on the walls. There were some of silk and others of worsted, with designs representing animals and landscapes. As a mark of respect to the memory of his mother his own private room was hung with fine black cloth; on the floor there were seven Turkey carpets, and the dais and canopy were of black cloth, and a very handsome one of black velvet. His bedchamber was most luxuriously fitted up with a great variety of rich coverings, mattresses, and cushions; a covered way led from it to the church of the convent, which was so near, that by opening a window which looked to the high altar, he could hear mass from his bed when ill or unable to rise. The recluse was abundantly supplied with all kinds of vestments, for he had no less than sixteen long robes of different kinds in velvet, and silk, lined with Indian feathers, some trimmed with ermine, and some made of goat's hair of Arabian manufacture from Tunis. In this room there were two beds, one smaller than the other, twelve chairs of carved walnut-wood studded with gilt nails, six folding benches adapted for cloth coverings, six arm-chairs of black velvet, and two larger and more luxurious for the special use of the Emperor. No pains had been spared to make these chairs seats of ease and repose for the infirm monarch; one had six cushions of the softest down, which could be placed so as to ease the pains that racked the invalid, and it was furnished with a cushioned stool to rest his gouty limbs. The second chair, which was also stuffed with the finest wool, had two long jutting arms by which he could be carried, when unable to walk, into the garden or on the terrace, where he sometimes dined.¹

¹ See Mignet, *Charles Quint*. p. 210. Inventory, *Appendice*, No. 7, fol. 52.

Thus as to material comforts Charles was well provided, and he had the great happiness of not being separated from those of his attendants to whom he was most attached. Luis Lujada, his faithful major-domo, had served him thirty-two years; but notwithstanding his great attachment to his master, he was rather unwilling to be shut up in such utter seclusion. The establishment was composed of fifty persons, over whom he had the superintendence. Their various salaries amounted to 10,000 florins;¹ Juan Regla, a Jeronimite monk, was appointed confessor. He was an able theologian, and had been sent to the Council of Trent in 1551. On his return he was made Prior of the convent of S. Engracia, in which he had been brought up. Suspected of heresy he was cited by the Spanish Inquisition, and obliged to abjure eighteen propositions. When summoned to Jarandilla he felt terrified at the responsibility of being confessor to so great a man. But Charles encouraged him by saying, "Do not be alarmed; before I left Flanders I unburthened my conscience to five theologians and canonists; you will only have to do with the future." Regla was exactly the man suited for his imperial penitent; he was a sort of spiritual puppet in whose ear Charles vented his scruples of conscience and unburthened his anxieties. He was of a timid cringing character, and much distressed if any one came into the room where he was seated by order of the Emperor. "Why should you mind?" said Charles, "you are my father confessor, and I am well content that you should be seen seated by me, though not the less pleased to see you distressed at it." Thus curiously did the dethroned monarch endeavour to combine the humility of a penitent with the dominion of a master. It was complete servitude, for Regla was never allowed to be absent a moment from Charles's apartments without permission. He was one of the executors of his will, and became afterwards the confessor of Philip II.

¹ The florin of Flanders was then worth 6 frs. 97 cent. Lujada received the same salary that the Marquis de Denia had with Queen Juana; Gaztelù the secretary, and Mathys the physician, had each 750 florins a-year; Franc Comtois Guyon, master of the wardrobe, 400 florins. He was burned by the Inquisition in 1666. There were four *Ajudas de Camara*, who had each 300 florins; four barbers at 250 florins. G. Turriano and Jean Valin the watchmaker had 350 florins. There was an apothecary and a chemist, two bakers, two cooks and kitchen lads, a butler and an underling, a brewer, a cooper, two fruiterers, a saucemaker and his assistant, &c. &c.—See Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 227.

Nor was the care with which the apartments of Charles were fitted up confined to furniture; ample provision had also been made for intellectual enjoyment. Works of art, painting, music, scientific and mechanical inventions, books,—nothing was forgotten that could enliven the leisure of an invalid or occupy a cultivated mind. The paintings of Titian were special favourites with the Emperor, and he had given the artist munificent proofs of his approbation.¹ He had directed all the portraits which Titian had painted of him to be conveyed to S. Yuste, as well as those of the Empress and the rest of his family; they were all suspended in his sight, so that the Emperor was surrounded by those he loved. In accordance with the material ideas of the Roman Catholic religion, he had commanded Titian to paint him a picture of the Trinity, in which, by a desecration so painful to Protestants, a mortal hand presumed to depict, like the Joves and Apollos of old, the fancied semblance of Him whom no man hath seen nor can see.

Surrounded by Venus-like cherubs, seated on brilliant clouds in a sea of fire, was represented an appearance intended to designate the Triune God; the Virgin was placed almost on a level with her divine Son. At his feet knelt the Emperor Charles V. in an attitude of prayer, apparently contemplating the mystery of "God manifest in the flesh." An angel supported the monarch, and the crown was deposed at his side. The artist, in compliance with the wishes of his royal patron, had skilfully portrayed his features worn out with age and infirmity, yet animated by an eager gaze and a devotional expression of trust and confidence. A little above him the Empress, his late consort, was seated on a cloud, her hands crossed on her breast, and her eyes cast down as if wrapped in the mute ecstasy of a beatific vision. At a little distance stood the young king Philip; his countenance was harsh and austere.²

¹ Besides being knighted he received a pension of 200 crowns on the revenue of Naples, and 1000 golden crowns for each picture he painted. It is reported that such was the enthusiastic admiration of Charles for this great artist, that on going to his study to see him paint, he picked up his brush when it fell, saying, "Titian deserves to be waited upon by an emperor."—Mignet, *Charles Quint*.

² This picture, painted on purpose for the retreat at S. Yuste is 12 ft. 8 in. high, and 8 ft. 7 in. wide. It was removed in the year 1574 to the palace of the Escorial, where it remained till 1833. It is now in the Royal Museum at Madrid, and was engraved by Carl in 1566; a copy is to be seen in the collection of engravings at the Bibliothèque Imperiale at Paris.—*Idem*.

The walls of the Emperor's apartments were hung with other pictures on sacred subjects. These objects of veneration would not have been complete without some rare relics, such as a piece of the true cross, &c. One crucifix had a peculiar and touching value in the eyes of the invalid, it was the one which the Empress had held in her hand in her dying moments, and was destined to pass into his own and into that of his son at that final hour when the spirit is about to leave its mortal tenement. His library was small, but chosen to suit his tastes;¹ two of the works had peculiar claims on his attention; the one, commentaries on the war against the Protestants in 1546 and 1547, had been written almost under his dictation in Spanish by Luis de Avila y Zuniga, translated into Latin by Van Male, and largely circulated both in Italian and French. Charles had even a greater share in the poetical romance called *Le Chevalier delibéré*, for he had translated a great part of it into Castilian rhyme, and then gave it to Fernand de Acuna to finish.² The commentaries of Cæsar which the Emperor made use of were not in Latin, for Chievres would not allow Adrian, the Emperor's preceptor, to teach him that language thoroughly. According to the ideas of that age a prince ought to be an accomplished knight, not a learned scholar. The influence of intellect was not at that time appreciated, that of arms, another name for brute force, alone prevailed. The natural consequences followed; one learned individual, either priest or layman, often secretly ruled the monarchs of the earth; just about the period of the Emperor's abdication a different system was becoming general.³ The Reformation had greatly contributed to emancipate the minds of men; learning was no longer confined to a class, for printing had put it within everybody's reach. Charles studied Cæsar in Italian, a language admirably suited for detailing the expeditions of the conqueror.

In our description of the comforts and occupations of Charles at Yuste we must not omit his epicurean tastes. His love of

¹ See Appendix B.

² This poem, or romance, was originally written in French by Olivier de la Marche, to commemorate the adventurous life of Charles *Le Tomarsire*, the great-grandfather of Charles V. The copy at Yuste was printed in 1555, by Jean Sleitz at Antwerp, under the title of *Caballero determinado*; there was also a French edition full of illuminated paintings.

³ An immense number of books were printed about the year 1555.

delicacies has been supposed inconsistent with a monastic life; but it must be remembered that monasteries, with some exceptions, were at that time renowned for their good cheer. Charles had taken no vows; his health was delicate, and his appetite capricious; he took great pleasure in the presents which were sent him of game, fish, sausages, and fruit. Duchesses sent him perfumed gloves, and aromatic spices to burn; on one occasion, seeing these packets, he smiled and said, "they should have sent me hands to wear them."¹ Archbishops and priors sent him mules laden with the most tempting cates of their larder. Accustomed all his life to high-seasoned cookery, Charles was deaf to the admonitions of his faithful Luijada, who in vain entreated him to be careful, observing, *La gota se cura tapando la bocca*.

In the month of September 1557, Charles received a visit from the two queens, his sisters. Queen Mary was on her way to meet her daughter, the Infanta Maria of Lisbon.² It was on this occasion that Charles felt himself obliged to recall his favourite Luijada from Villagarcia to Estremadura; he unwillingly obeyed the summons, and wrote to Vasquez on the 30th of August—

"His majesty thinks it necessary for his service and comfort that I should reside here with Donna Magdalena. In vain have I begged him to consider that it is now twenty-five years that I have served him without ever being absent from court; that all my brothers have died in his service; that I am the only one remaining of my family; and that I feel it a great hardship to give up my estates, my leisure, and repose, to go to a place where neither lodging nor food is to be found, and from whence I must always go to the monastery, be it hot or cold, wind or rain. I have represented the hardship of bringing my wife and her attendants from their comfortable home to the inconveniences of this

¹ When the Emperor received Brusquet the king's buffoon at Brussels, he said to him, "Eh bien! ne te souvient-il plus de la journée des éperons? Il m'en souvient très bien, sire," repartit Brusquet; et faisant allusion aux nodosités laissées par la goutte sur les mains de l'Empereur, "ce fut," continua-t-il, "en même temps que vous achetâtes ces beaux rubis et ces escarboncles que vous portez à vos doigts." Tout le monde se mit à rire, et l'Empereur tout le premier.—Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 118.

² She was now thirty-five years of age; her mother had not seen her since she left her a child in Portugal, but her maternal heart still yearned towards her daughter, though no corresponding feeling was entertained by the young princess.—*Ibid.*

wild solitude; all my objections have been disregarded; his majesty wills it, and I must obey."¹

Luijada arrived at S. Yuste in time to prepare the castle of Jarandilla for the reception of the two queens, and furnished two rooms in the Emperor's apartments for them; they arrived on the 28th of September. These affectionately attached sisters and brother had not met for six months; they found the recluse anxiously expecting news from France, and busy in laying out a garden on the upper terrace, erecting a fountain, and planting flowers and orange-trees. The sisters remained for two months at Jarandilla, climbing up from time to time the hill of S. Yuste to see their brother. Queen Eleanor, the eldest, was fifty-eight years of age, of a gentle submissive character: she had allowed her brother to dispose of her hand in marriage according to his pleasure, and since she had been a widow she attached herself to her sister Mary. The queen of Hungary was a character of a very superior order, acute, penetrating, and of good judgment; she loved her brother with deep veneration, saying, that after God he was her all in this world. Like all great minds her powers rose in difficulties, and she never suffered herself to be discouraged by the perplexities of circumstances. The royal party were in hopes that the Infanta Maria would join them at Jarandilla, but she retained no affection for her mother, and refused to go farther than Badajos; the two queens, therefore, set out to meet her there.

Soon after their departure the Emperor had a visit from his old friend the marquis de Lombey duke of Gandia, now Fray Borgia. There was a considerable difference in the state of mind, and probably of temperament, between the two friends. Borgia, who was a jesuit, professed to be perfectly indifferent to all that was passing in the world, even to the welfare of his own children. Charles, on the contrary, did not pretend to have laid aside all human affections. Ambition, in the person of his son, was still busy at his heart. It would perhaps have been happier for him, if, on retiring from the business of government, he could also have laid aside its anxieties; but the rupture of the truce with France through the intrigues of the Pope kept him in continual excitement. When the accounts arrived of the suc-

¹ Lettre de Luijada a Vasquez du 30 Août 1557.—*Re traite et Mort de Charles Quint.*

cessful battle of St. Quintin¹ gained by Philibert Emmanuel, duke of Savoy, Charles had been suffering from a severe attack of gout for two months. "Has my son reached Paris?" was his first question. But though Philip was not enterprising enough to advance so far, this victory, in which the constable Montmorenci was taken prisoner, obliged the French to recall their troops from Italy, and the league against Spain which had been organized by the Pope was gradually dissolved. The duke of Alba made a show of advancing to the gates of Rome, but finally the Pope was induced to make terms with Philip on condition that the duke of Alba, the viceroy of Naples, should come to Rome to humble himself for past offences. Paul gave up his offensive alliance with France, and affairs were thus put in train for the general peace of 1559.²

While Charles was confined to his room, and suffering such severe pains in his limbs that he could not bear the slightest covering to touch them, a new and unexpected calamity befel him. The two queens had met the Princess Maria at Badajos, where they remained together a fortnight; her demeanour was cold and haughty, and she evinced no feelings of kindness towards her mother. After her departure they set out on a pilgrimage. On their arrival at Talavera, queen Eleanor, who had been deeply wounded by her daughter's behaviour, was seized with a sudden illness. Gaztelù, whom Charles had sent to meet them, found her gasping for breath, though perfectly sensible and her mind quite clear; a few hours terminated her existence. Her complaint was called asthma, but it was probably disease of the heart aggravated by painful emotions.³ Charles, on hearing of her danger, had a fresh attack of gout; his physician Mathys wrote to Valladolid, "the pain in his right arm is worse; he cannot use his hands, and the little he eats is put into his mouth." Queen Eleanor was only fifteen months older than Charles. When the poor afflicted invalid heard of her death, he wept abundantly; his own end he knew was near; "before fifteen months are expired," said he, "I shall follow her."

¹ The battle took place on the 3rd of August, 1557; the French lost 8000 or 10,000 men, all their tents, baggage, and artillery; the Spaniards only eighty men.—Anquetil, *Hist. de France*, tom. vi. p. 593.

² See p. 464.

³ She died on the 21st of February, 1558.

Mary queen of Hungary was even more to be pitied than her brother on this melancholy occasion; the two sisters were inseparable, and notwithstanding the queen's habitual self-command she could not restrain her sobs; she had lost her companion, friend, and sister at an age when she could not be replaced. Immediately after the funeral she set out for S. Yuste to weep with her brother over their mutual affliction: she arrived at the monastery on the night of the 3rd of March. Charles almost dreaded to see the surviving sister whose presence was to confirm the sense of his loss; the meeting was deeply affecting, for Mary's finer qualities were adorned by all the tenderness of a woman's heart. After remaining twelve days at Yuste she yielded to her brother's wish that she should assist the regent in the cares of government; but Juana, though willing to lay down her power, was not disposed to receive her aunt as coadjutor.

Charles V. at his abdication wished to lay aside all the insignia of royalty, but did not find it easy to get rid of the Imperial crown. The arrogant Paul IV. pretended that an Emperor could only depose his crown at the feet of the Pope; but at length an electoral diet was held at Frankfort, in which the abdication of Charles was received, and on the 12th March, 1558, Ferdinand king of the Romans was unanimously chosen Emperor. When this intelligence reached Yuste Charles immediately laid aside all titles, ordered new seals,¹ and refused to be addressed as Emperor, being now, what he had originally contemplated, a private individual. On this occasion, when Ferdinand's name was substituted for his in the public prayers for the Emperor, he said, "as for me the name of Charles is enough, for I am no longer anybody."² But new and unexpected events roused all the energies of the dethroned monarch, and he felt almost disposed again to appear among the abodes of men, to fight once more for the Roman Catholic religion. It was not here as in Germany, where independent electors chose to think for themselves, but submissive vassals in Catholic Spain, who presumed to exercise their private judgment and secretly

¹ He ordered seals without a crown or eagle, and without the order of the golden fleece, with only a simple shield on which the arms of Spain and Burgundy were quartered.—Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 355.

² Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 356.

read and profess the doctrines of the Scriptures. Spain had been long inured to religious persecution; first the Moors and then the Jews had been the victims of an intolerant priesthood. The power of repressing heresy once admitted, the Inquisition gradually extended its authority till it became a frightful desolating plague, tainting every family and loosening the ties which bind society together, paralyzing by fear the tenderest affections, and transforming the nearest relatives into spies and informers.

Men of able and conscientious minds, who accompanied the Emperor to Germany, could not hear unmoved the disputes on religion and the appeals to scriptural and divine authority, without examining for themselves how far the doctrines of the reformers were to be found in the Scriptures. In many cases the examination produced a silent conviction of the truth, and a secret desire for its propagation. Then followed, as in Italy, partial expositions of christian doctrine and veiled demonstrations of heresy; these revelations were gradual, both to the individual mind and to their select society, but by degrees they acquired strength and vigour. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, one of the most learned scholars in Spain, was, like Paleario, a man of good taste who could not tolerate the barbarous Latinity of the schools, and indulged his wit at the expense of the monks. He was so highly esteemed by Charles that after hearing him preach at Seville he appointed him his chaplain, and sent him to accompany Philip on his first appearance in Flanders. Ponce, during his stay in Germany, became thoroughly acquainted with the reformed doctrines. On his return to Seville in 1555 he was appointed professor of divinity in the new college there, and we may date the spread of the reformed opinions in that city from the period of his arrival. He preached every alternate day in Lent to large congregations.¹

When endeavouring to teach scriptural truth from the pulpit, he at the same time exerted himself to spread his opinions through the press. While Protestant doctrine was

¹ Though the public service did not begin till eight o'clock in the morning, yet when he preached, the cathedral was filled by four and even three o'clock.—M'Grie, *Reform. in Spain*, p. 210.

being divulged in Seville by Constantino,¹ Agustino Cazalla, who also had been a preacher of Charles V., was following the same path in Old Castille. He too had imbibed the doctrines of the reformers in Germany; and though he carefully concealed his opinions in public, he held private meetings in his mother's house at Valladolid, where expositions of Scripture and prayer were wont to be made.² The doctrines of the Gospel were beginning to spread extensively throughout the province and to penetrate into the monasteries. An Italian nobleman, Don Carlos de Seso or Sessa, from Verona, was very active in propagating the reformed opinions, both by circulating books and by personal teaching.³ M'Crie says that there was a much larger number of the higher class of persons remarkable for their talents and learning among the Spanish converts than in any other country, and people of all classes were disposed to embrace the principles of the Reformation. This state of things had been going on for ten years, and but for the terrors of the Inquisition all Spain would speedily have declared itself Protestant.⁴ The only wonder is how this general reforming tendency could have been so long concealed. This may be partly explained by the absence of the head of government, the prudence of the converts, and the protection which some had obtained as preachers of Charles V. But suspicions were aroused, and treachery—the base treachery of a wife under the influence of her confessor—

¹ See Appendix C. He was thrown into prison by the Inquisition, and died there from an illness brought on by ill-treatment. In the *auto-de-fé* celebrated by Philip II. in 1559 he was burned in effigy. A figure representing him in the act of preaching was exposed to the derision of the crowd, and then thrown into the flames.—M'Crie, *Reform. in Spain*.

² See Llorente, *Historia de la Inquisición*, and De Castro, *Spanish Protestants*. He also was imprisoned by the Inquisition, made a partial retraction from fear, but notwithstanding was put to death in March, 1559.

³ He was a good scholar, and married to a noble lady of royal blood, Donna Isabel Castilla. When thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition he wrote a noble confession of scriptural truth. Llorente says: "It is difficult to describe the vigour and energy with which these two sheets of paper were written by a man condemned to die within a few hours. He was burned in 1559. On passing king Philip, who was feasting his eyes with the spectacle, De Seso asked how he could allow a gentleman to be burned? To which Philip replied, and we believe him, *I myself would bring the wood to burn my own son if he were as bad as you.*"—See Cabrera and Baltasar Porreno, *Dichos y Hechos del Rey Don Felipe II. el Prudente*. Seville, 1639, quoted by De Castro.

⁴ Consult M'Crie, *Reform. in Spain*; and Paramo, *Hist. Inquisitionis*.

put the Inquisitor Valdés on the track which led to a complete discovery of the extended ramifications of heresy.

On the 27th April 1558 Vasquez de Molina and Juana the regent of Spain wrote to Charles for advice. He replied by ordering the converts to be treated with the utmost severity, for "there can be no peace or prosperity in a state where uniformity of religion does not prevail; this I know from my experience in Germany and Flanders."¹ The harsh and selfish Valdés, who had refused to advance money for the defence of the country, was now in his proper element. His alguazils were let loose, and soon all the best and most respected inhabitants were in the dungeons of the Inquisition. The land flowed with the blood of the saints; those who under torture avowed penitence were not burned alive, but had their heads cut off. In this conjuncture the tone of Charles's letters was that of a sovereign; he urged haste and decision in punishing, and commanded the spirit of Protestantism to be quenched in fire and flames; he even offered to leave his retreat to superintend himself the extirpation of heresy. More than eight hundred persons were arrested at Seville, of all ranks, ages, and sexes. Terror was in every house; none dare to speak even to their dearest friends; sleep was almost banished, for the inmates of each house sat listening with speechless anxiety to every distant noise, every moment expecting to be dragged to prison. Finding this suspense too intolerable to be endured, many fled to Protestant countries.² Charles was not naturally cruel; and perhaps if he had really left the monastery to check heresy, the sight of his people's sufferings and the sentiments of his well-known friends might have awakened feelings of natural compassion. This however is mere conjecture; absolute power knows no medium between submission and rebellion; it offers no legal outlet for remonstrance, and his creed taught him that the care of his soul required the extermination of heresy. He is said to have expressed regret to Fray Martin de Angulo, prior of Yuste, that he had not in 1521 extinguished heresy in Germany by putting Martin Luther to death when he presented himself

¹ Letter of Charles to Donna Juana the Regent, quoted by Mignet, *Charles Quint*.

² These exiles printed an affecting appeal to Charles against the cruelty and inhumanity of the Inquisition, entitled, *Dos informaciones muy utiles dirigido à la Magestad del Emperador Carlos V. 1559.*—De Castro, *Spanish Protestants*.

at Worms under the protection of a safe-conduct. Under these impressions he added a codicil to his will, adjuring his son by his filial love and obedience to use the utmost power of the Inquisition to punish every gradation of heresy.

Thus did this wise, astute, and penetrating monarch prepare the way for the dreadful executions and *autos-de-fé* which took place at Valladolid and Seville in 1559 and 1560, in presence of the court and royal family; executions more horrible than the feasts of cannibals, or the crunching human of bones in the lion's den; more akin to the sacrifices of Moloch, and a dreadful mockery and perversion of the principles of the christian religion, alike disgraceful to humanity and degrading to civilization. Little did Charles think that, by rooting out Protestantism from Spain, he was preparing for the gradual ruin and decay both of his house and country. Could he now rise from the grave, what a revulsion would take place in his opinions. A long course of the bitterest religious persecution and the most cruel warfare wrested the Low Countries from the crown of Spain.¹ He would see Belgium enjoying the blessings of a constitutional government, and be astonished to find all equal in the eye of the law, and no privileged class allowed to prevent any man from worshipping according to his conscience. He would see Milan, one of the brightest jewels of the Hapsburg crown, torn from its grasp in consequence of the bigotry of its rulers. And Spain, that most catholic country, what progress has she made during three hundred years? Her history records many political revolutions, but liberty of conscience, that great pillar of a sound state, is unknown; neither wisdom nor morality reign in high places, and the ambitious projects of successive demagogues have distracted the country and unsettled the government. National sins, as we have before had occasion to observe, are often punished by national calamities. Had the Protestants of Spain found in Charles a protector instead of a persecutor, how different would now be the condition of the Peninsula. Nothing is more true than that the religion of the Scriptures strengthens the faculties of man, and by

¹ See that most able work, Morley's *Dutch Republics*, written with the spirit and freedom which strong impressions produce. Our transatlantic authors are happy in the remembrance of their recent traditions, and are not yet exposed to the frigid effects of artificial civilisation.

inculcating high principles enables him to surmount difficulties which would appal ambition, and unnerve cupidity.

But to return to Charles. The Inquisition was now at the height of its power, and the princes of the blood-royal were at its feet. Charles himself gave an example of docility by requesting permission to read the Scriptures in French. This was granted as a single exception in his favour, but his bible was the only one allowed to remain at Yuste. A book so hostile to the Roman Catholic religion was wisely put out of sight, and the learned physician Mathys was obliged to destroy, in presence of the confessor Regla, a beautiful copy in French which the Inquisition would not allow him to keep.¹

About Easter in 1558 there was some improvement in the health of the royal recluse. The cherries were just ripening, and Mathys wrote "that he ate a great quantity, and was also very fond of strawberries, to which he added a rich bowl of cream, and finished his repast with a high-seasoned pie, boiled ham, and a salt fry." His physician complained of his refusing to submit to the regimen of an invalid: it does not seem however that this diet was injurious to him, for as the weather grew warmer he gradually recovered. But the heat of summer produced great irritation of the skin; for this, contrary to the advice of Mathys, he used repellent medicines. He was so imprudent as to expose himself to the air by sleeping with the doors and windows open; he took cold, and had a fresh attack of gout, but was able to see envoys on business. Among others he received Bartolomè Carança, archbishop of Toledo, who had just arrived from Brussels, and to whom Philip had confided his earnest desire that Mary queen of Hungary would resume the government of the Low Countries, that he might return to Spain. Charles read these despatches with eager interest, and on the 28th of August had a long conversation with Garcilasso de Vega, in which he commissioned him to express to the queen of Hungary his wish that she should return to Flanders.

The very day after his departure Charles became worse; some think that his illness was occasioned by his acting the scene of his own funeral; but Sandoval makes no mention of it, and Mignet thinks it was a fable invented by the anonymous monk who gives the account of these anterior obsequies.² A

¹ Mignet, *Charles Quint.*

² See Appendix D.

letter of Mathys to Vasquez, written the 1st of September, is also silent on the subject.

“Some days ago I informed you that his Majesty was tolerably well. . . . I have now to tell you that on Tuesday last, the 30th of August, his Majesty dined on the terrace, where the sun was very hot; he had scarcely any appetite, and ate but little. While he was eating a headache came on which lasted all day. He slept badly, was much heated, and drank a great deal. On Wednesday morning he felt better, but still oppressed and thirsty. He rose however, but felt more disposed to drink than to eat; towards two o'clock he felt chill and fell asleep for about an hour; on awaking he complained of a general sensation of cold in his shoulders, back, and head, which lasted till seven o'clock. The fever then set in with great violence, and severe pain in the head, which lasted till six o'clock this morning. The 1st of September he passed a very restless night, and was almost delirious. His Majesty is up, has eaten something, but the fever still continues, though a little abated. What alarms me is that the fever does not go off, and that his Majesty is much weakened by this first paroxysm. If during the morning he is not relieved I am resolved to bleed him.”

After begging Vasquez to communicate this distressing intelligence to the princess Donna Juana, Mathys adds in a post-script :

“I perceive that his Majesty is not without alarm, for he has never before been attacked by a fever of a putrid character. His first thought was about his will:¹ as yet there is no remission of the fever, though it has lasted more than twenty-four hours.”

He gradually grew worse: on the following day the cold fit came nine hours earlier than usual, accompanied by burning thirst. Such was the extreme severity of the paroxysm that he quite lost his senses, and did not remember anything that took place that day. He was bled, which relieved him greatly, and the fever diminished; he ate a little, drank some beer, and slept for two hours. The fever however returned next day with great violence, and he began to prepare for quitting this world, and gave directions where he was to be buried. “Let my body,” said he, “be laid by that of the Empress, my dear and much loved wife.” On the 8th of September he had another attack of fever accompanied by delirium; when it left him his complexion was quite livid. So fearful was he of being excited that he refused the visits of his sister and daughter who were anxious

¹ See his will in Sandoval, tom. ii. pp. 860—861.

² Letter of Mathys to Vasquez, in *Retraite et Mort de Charles Quint*, vol. i. pp. 322, 323.

to be near him. Paroxysm after paroxysm of hot and cold fits gradually reduced his strength, and on the 19th, to the great distress of the faithful Lujada, the last ceremonies of the church were administered to him. The next day he was so weak that his pulse could scarcely be felt, but he expressed a wish to receive the sacrament once again, and said, "O Lord, thou God of truth, who hath redeemed us, into thy hands I commit my spirit." When the priest, in repeating the Litany, said "Oh Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world!" the dying monarch feebly struck his breast with his crippled hand in token of humble joy at this comforting truth. Before this last scene he said to Luis Lujada, "I find myself growing weaker and gradually declining. I thank God for this, since it is his will. Tell the king my son to take charge of all those who have served me up to the time of my death."

During the whole of the 20th instant he was attended by Juan Regla and Francisco de Villalba, who never ceased reciting prayers and psalms to him; he chose those he wished read, and desired them to read the death of Christ in the Gospel of St. Luke, which he listened to with the deepest attention. He was very anxious for the arrival of the archbishop Carrança,¹ who had lately come from Brussels. The Inquisitor Valdés, jealous of his promotion to the dignity of primate, had infused some suspicion of his orthodoxy into the mind of the Emperor. It seemed extraordinary to suspect a man of heresy, who had been so active in the violent measures taken to restore the Roman Catholic religion in England when he accompanied Philip to that country on his marriage to the queen. Charles had long known him as a preacher, and had sent him, as being a good theologian, to the Council of Trent. The truth was, where he had learned it we cannot say, that since his appearance at Trent and his stay in England his views on some important points had been greatly modified; and especially on the fundamental doctrine of the reformers, justification by faith in Christ, and he had used their method of reasoning in his explanation of the christian Catechism, and upheld the authority of Scripture in matters of faith. This was ground enough for condemnation by the Inquisitors, for they traced Gospel doctrine with the instinct of blood-hounds, and hunted it down with equal ferocity.

¹ See CHAP. XVI. p. 303.

The archbishop arrived at Yuste about noon; he was introduced into the Emperor's chamber, where he fell upon his knees by the bedside and kissed the dying monarch's hand. Charles looked at him for some time without speaking, then asked about his son, but feeling himself unable to converse he desired him to take some rest. Towards night, when Charles grew worse, Lujada brought in the archbishop to minister to him in his last moments. Charles spoke tranquilly of his approaching end in the presence of his confessor and of several friars and attendants who were round his bed. Feeling himself sinking he desired the archbishop to read the *De Profundis*, which he did, accompanying each verse by appropriate observations. At the close he kneeled down, and pointing to the crucifix said, "Behold Him who answers for all; there is no more guilt, all is forgiven."¹ The monks opened their ears on hearing the whole work of salvation ascribed to Christ the Saviour; although He died for that end, they would have it that human merits had some share in procuring salvation. The grand commander Don Luis de Avila, who shared their sentiments, when the archbishop ceased speaking invited Francisco de Villalba to say something to the Emperor: his exhortation was in a different tone; and thus, by a singular consistency with the events of his life, the two shades of religious opinion which had divided the world were distinctly represented at the death-bed of Charles.²

"Make yourself easy, your Majesty, this is St. Matthew's day; you came into the world on St. Matthias's day, and you will go out on St. Matthew's."³ They were two Apostles, brothers of similar names, both disciples of Jesus Christ. With such intercessors you have nothing to fear. Put your trust in God; this day you will be with him in glory."⁴ If the dying Emperor's ideas of the value and merit of the expiatory sacrifice

¹ This christian and truly scriptural statement formed one of the principal accusations against Bartolomè Carrança when persecuted by the Inquisition. See Deposition du grand commandeur D. Luis de Avila y Zuniga devant l'Inquisition dans Llorente, c. xviii. art. 2.—Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 442.

² *Idem*, p. 444.

³ St. Matthias's day was on the 24th of February, St. Matthew's day on the 21st of September.

⁴ *MS. hiéronymite* c. 36; *Retraite et Mort de Charles Quint*, vol. ii. pp. 44, 45, cited by Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 443.

of Christ were not clear, this was not a moment for elucidation. He gave evidence of his christian faith by the humble and devout manner in which he responded to the prayer, "O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world;" we do not know whether he mixed up any trust or confidence in the saints with this supreme object of faith; if he did, it was not expressed. About two o'clock in the morning of the 21st of September he felt he was going, touched his pulse, shook his head, and said, "All is over." He then asked for the crucifix which the Empress had held at her death, kissed it, and pressed it to his breast twice over. According to the custom of the Roman Catholic Church he was assisted by Luijada to hold a candle blessed by the Pope in his right hand; then extending his left hand to take the crucifix, which the archbishop was holding, he said, "Now!" ejaculated the word 'Jesus,' gave two or three gentle sighs, and expired. "Thus ended," says Luijada, "the greatest man we have ever seen or shall see."¹ The archbishop wrote to the princess Juana that he died with great cheerfulness and trust in God. It is deeply to be deplored that a man who could meet death in so christian a manner, with so calm and sincere a faith, should have been so blinded as to the real character and office of the Saviour in whom he trusted, as to imagine it could be an acceptable sacrifice to put to death those who believed on him.

The body remained one day in sight, dressed only in a linen shirt; a piece of black silk was laid on the breast, on which was placed the crucifix he had held in his hand. The next day it was put into a leaden coffin, and that into one of chestnut-wood, and carried to the convent, where it lay some days in state. The archbishop directed the ceremonies, and Villalba preached the sermon: the funeral was conducted with some pomp, as Luijada insisted on the observance of the strictest etiquette. Before the coffin was finally closed, the corregidor of Placentia came officially, and ordered the cover to be lifted and the body formally attested by the executors, Luis Luijada and Juan Regla; it was then buried under the altar. The last rites performed, the sorrowful company soon dispersed, and Yuste was again a desert, inhabited only by the monks.

¹ "Acabó el mas principal hombre que ha havido ni abrá."—Mignet, *Charles Quint*, p. 445.

Charles, unlike most monarchs, had many attached friends, but none mourned his loss so much as his sister Mary, queen of Hungary. She had been suffering for some time from a complaint in the heart; the sad news of her brother's death brought on two such violent spasms of pain that her attendants thought her dead. To please Charles she had consented to go to the Low Countries and assist the government with her counsel; but now she was unable to make the exertion, and wrote to her nephew Philip that since the death of his Majesty she had been so ill that one or two more such attacks would carry her off. She judged truly of her state, for during the night of the 18th of October she was seized with a violent spasm which put an end to her existence, not quite a month after the death of the brother whom she so tenderly loved.

It is only within the last ten years that fresh and detailed accounts have been published of the death and retirement of Charles V. The chief of these recent authorities is a manuscript volume of five hundred and thirty-two pages, composed by Tomás Gonzalez from documents in the Spanish archives of Simancas.¹ This manuscript he left at his death to his brother Don Manuel Gonzalez, keeper of the archives from 1825 to 1836. It was offered for sale to several governments for 15,000 and 10,000 frs.; this price however could not be obtained, and finally in 1844 it was purchased by the French government, while Guizot was minister, for 4000 frs., and deposited in the archives of foreign affairs. Since then several works have been published from it.²

¹ The title is, *Retiro, Estancia y muerte del Emperador Carlos Quintos en el monasterio de Yuste. Relacion historica documentada.*

² Stirling, *The Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, 1855, first published in Fraser's Magazine.—Amadée Pichot, *Chronique de la vie intérieure et de la vie politique de Charles Quint.*—Gachard, *Retraite et Mort de Charles Quint au monastere de Yuste*, consisting of documents and despatches from the archives of Simancas.—Mignet, *Charles Quint*, 1855.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PIETRO CARNESECCHI.

1500—1568.

LAST INJUNCTIONS OF PAUL IV.—FURY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE—THEY SET FIRE TO THE INQUISITION—BURN THE TRIALS—SET THE PRISONERS FREE—DRAG THE MUTILATED STATUE OF PAUL IV. THROUGH THE STREETS—IT IS THROWN INTO THE TIBER—PIUS IV.—HIS MILD CHARACTER—PARDONS THE ROMAN PEOPLE—PUNISHES THE CARAFFA FAMILY—A FANATIC—PAOLO MANUZIO—PRINTING-PRESS AT ROME—MERIT OF PRINTERS IN THE XVITH CENTURY—THE ETIENNE FAMILY—THEIR LEARNING AND LABOURS—DEATH OF PIUS IV.—ELECTION OF PIUS V.—TERROR OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE—HORRORS OF THE INQUISITION—CARNESECCHI—HIS HISTORY—CONVERSION TO GOSPEL TRUTH—HIS TRAVELS—BENEVOLENCE—CITED TO ROME BY PAUL III.—ABSOLVED—LEAVES ITALY—RETURNS—CITATION BY PAUL IV.—DISREGARDED—CARNESECCHI DECLARED A HERETIC—TO BE ARRESTED WHEREVER FOUND—ABSOLVED BY PIUS V.—RETURNS TO FLORENCE—BURNING OF BOOKS THERE—CARNESECCHI SEIZED BY THE INQUISITION WHILE DINING WITH DUKE COSIMO—CONVEYED TO ROME—PUT IN THE PRISON OF THE INQUISITION—TUSCAN AMBASSADOR—HIS LETTERS—INTERCEDES FOR CARNESECCHI—OF NO AVAIL—CONSTANCY OF CARNESECCHI—REFUSES TO CRIMINATE OTHERS—SENTENCE PUBLICLY READ—CONDEMNED AS A HERETIC—DEGRADED—DELIVERED OVER TO THE SECULAR POWER—THE DUKE REQUESTS THAT CARNESECCHI'S LIFE MAY BE SPARED—A RESPITE OF TEN DAYS GRANTED BY THE POPE, HOPING HE WILL CRIMINATE OTHERS—CARNESECCHI'S FIRMNESS—PREFERS DEATH—PUBLICLY BEHEADED AND THEN BURNED—HIS PROPERTY GIVEN TO THE DUKE—ORIGINAL TRIAL RECENTLY PUBLISHED—ARTICLES OF ACCUSATION.

A SHORT time before the death of Charles V. the world was happily delivered from the cruel and turbulent Paul IV. His last injunctions to the College of Cardinals were to sustain the office of the Holy Inquisition as the only means of maintaining and supporting the authority of the Apostolic See. Scarcely had he drawn his last breath when the prisons, according to ancient custom, were opened, and all the prisoners liberated. The people, furious at the severity of the late Pope, set fire

to the prison of the Inquisition, burned all the trials, and set the captives free; and such was their hatred of the proceedings of the Dominicans, the friars of the Inquisition, that with great difficulty they were restrained from burning down the church of the Minerva; but, determined on some act of vengeance, they rushed furiously to the Capitol, and there having knocked off the head, and broken the right arm of the beautiful marble statue which had been erected to Paul IV., they dragged it through the streets of Rome for three days with every mark of insult and contempt. Their vengeance sated, some nobles seized the first opportunity to throw it into the Tiber.¹ A public decree was then issued, that under pain of rebellion all the arms of the Caraffa family were to be taken down. All this was done amid the cries of public execration against the late Pope.²

It was a happiness for Christendom that Paul IV. was succeeded by a Pope of milder character. Pius IV. was a Milanese³ of Florentine descent, who had worked his way up through various ecclesiastical grades. When his brother the general was made marquis of Marignano, and allied himself by marriage to the family of Paul III., Giovan Angelo was made bishop of Ragusa, and afterwards cardinal. He was of a mild and amiable disposition, and an enemy to contention and violence. At the election of Paul IV. he left Rome to avoid coming into collision with the Pope, and established himself at Milan in the house of his late brother, whose property he had inherited. Here he cultivated the society of literary men, patronised letters, and was liberal to the poor; his general demeanour and amiable disposition won golden opinions from all ranks. The public mind being thus favourably impressed in his favour, after some contestation in the conclave and a vacancy of three months, he was elected Pope in January 1560. His first act was one of clemency, for he issued a pardon to the Roman people for their excesses on the death of Paul IV., and released from prison those who had been incarcerated on suspicion of heresy. The

¹ Platina, *Vite de' Pontefici*, p. 564.

² He died on the 18th of August, 1552, aged eighty-three years, having worn the tiara only four years.

³ Born in 1499. His name was Giovanni Angelo de' Medici, and he belonged to a branch of the Medici family who took refuge at Milan when Piero de' Medici was driven from Florence. His father's name was Giovan Giacomo, and his brother, the Marchese di Marignano, was a valiant and ferocious *Condottiero*.

only severe act of his reign was the punishment of the Caraffa family. He imprisoned the two Cardinals Carlo and Alfonso, and the Count of Montorio; they were tried and convicted of felony, homicide, and other excesses. The Cardinal Carlo was strangled in prison, Alfonso was punished by a fine and the loss of his office as chamberlain. The Count of Montorio was beheaded for having murdered his innocent wife on an unfounded suspicion of guilt.¹

The great event of the reign of Pius IV. was the reopening of the long suspended Council of Trent. It was now fifteen years² since that famous Council first met, and during the greater part of that time it had a name rather than a reality. On the election of a new Pope the Emperor Ferdinand was anxious that the Council should meet and grant some concessions on religion, in unison with the general wishes of Europe. We have seen that notwithstanding the yielding disposition of Pius IV. this could not be obtained.³ The Spaniards were willing to curtail the power of the court of Rome, but for the Romans the *Curia* was the breath of their existence, their household god, and must be upheld at any price. The Council of Trent thus passed through its second crisis unharmed, and without making any real reforms. When it broke up the Pope felt himself relieved from great responsibilities, and lived in future quite undisturbed without troubling himself much about reforming abuses. He had not in him that living principle, a disinterested regard for the glory of God, which alone could make him work through "good report and through evil report" for this high and holy end.

While the Pope was thus resting on his oars, both he and the world in general were startled by one of those acts of fanaticism which from time to time are gendered in disordered brains. A certain Benedetto Accolti, natural son of a cardinal of that name, conspired with others to take the life of the Pope. He said he had received a revelation from heaven, that if Pius were removed he would be succeeded by a Pope who would attain universal monarchy, and reign during the millennium

¹ Platina, *Vite de' Pontefici*, p. 569.

² The first session was held under Paul III. in 1545. It again assembled under Paul IV. in 1562, and was finally closed in 1563.

³ See CHAP. XVI. Vol. II. p. 305.

on earth ; the Greek and Roman churches would be united, and Turks and heretics be for ever subdued. As we have seen, even in our own day, the wildest theories and the most extravagant imaginations¹ gain proselytes, we cannot be surprised that, under the idea of being inspired, this enthusiastic fanatic should have some followers as foolish as himself. They were men brought up in that immoral and dangerous maxim, that the end sanctifies the means ; and proved the sincerity of their belief in these hallucinations by rejoicing under the most acute torments.

Among other benefits which Paul IV. conferred on Rome was the establishment of a printing-press under Paolo Manuzio. The idea was first suggested by the Cardinals Marcello Cervini and Alessandro Farnese in 1539, and partly put in execution by Antonio Blado Asolano, a maternal relation of the Aldo family, who printed some beautiful editions of Homer with the comments of Eustazio in the year 1539. Paolo having lost his father, Aldo Manuzio, when he was only three years old, could not do much in his family profession till the year 1533. He went to Rome in 1535, hoping to be able to open a printing-press there ; but not meeting with the encouragement he expected returned to Venice, where he formed an academy of twelve noble youths whom he instructed in classical literature.

In the sixteenth century society was more indebted to printers than to any other class of persons. They were generally men of learning and enlarged minds, who led instead of following the spirit of the age. To the machinery of the wonderful invention of printing, which multiplied the channels of learning, they united the higher ambition of giving an impulse to thought. They were themselves capable of correcting editions of classic authors, and of reading the most ancient manuscripts. They were in fact the chief patrons of learning, as they were men of enterprise who regarded the diffusion of knowledge as more important than their own private advantage. The middle men, or brokers of literature, the booksellers and publishers, were not yet needed ; learning being confined to a comparative few. Printers generally sold their own books and transacted business directly with authors, their interest in the diffusion of knowledge being the same. This state of things was greatly favourable to the promulgation of the reformed opinions. Gadaldino,

¹ Joanna Southcote, and the Unknown Tongues.

Calvi, and other printers and booksellers circulated vast numbers of religious books, and braved the wrath of the Inquisition in their zeal for the Gospel.

The reputation of Paolo Manuzio stood so high, that in 1555 the city of Bologna offered him an ample stipend to go there and superintend the printing of such books as would add fame to the university.¹ At the election of Pius IV. in 1561 Manuzio was invited to Rome, and a salary of 500 crowns given him to work a printing-press in the Capitol. The municipality furnished him with apartments and a sum to provide materials for his work. But there was something in the air of Rome not favourable to the press. During the reign of Pius V. Manuzio returned to Venice: but he was again invited to Rome by Gregory XIII., and died there in 1574.

In speaking of printers we must not forget to name the great French family of the name of Etienne, whose printing-press was for a hundred and sixty years actively employed in the service of literature and religion.² The head of the family, Henri, was a gentleman of noble family in Provence. Disinherited by his father he opened a printing-press at Paris in 1502, where he printed works of scholastic theology. His son Robert printed a much greater variety of books, edited by Erasmus, Mathurin Cordier, and Melancthon. In 1532 he published his *Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ*, which had cost him two years' hard labour. Like many of his time the study of antiquity led him to that of christianity, and his desire for the dissemination of the Scriptures induced him to print several portable editions of the Vulgate, with marginal notes and annotations, in defiance of the clamours of the Sorbonne, who left him no peace, saying that the summary of the Scriptures which he printed on a large sheet to be hung up in schools contained

¹ On the 30th of September he wrote to Francesco Martelli: " Questa mattina di consentimento universale, nel Reggimento è passato il partito, che io sia condotto con provisione di 350 scudi l' anno, e altri commodi; tanto che la cosa ne va alli 400; l' utile è assai grande ma l' honore è maggiore non essendomi da questi signori verun' obbligo imposto salvo che di aver cura, che si stampino que' libri onde possa lo studio trarre profitto, e la città reputations, al che fare sono io spontaneamente disposto: e hollo fatto, dove fin hora sono vivuto, per ispatio di molti anni senza provisione."—*Lettere Volgari*, di Paolo Manutio, p. 76. 1556.

² See Renouard, *Annales de l' Imprimerie*. Paris, 1837.

a doctrine worse than that of Luther.¹ Tired of these persecutions, in 1551 he removed his printing-press to Geneva. Here he joined heart and hand with Calvin, became one of the most active promoters of the Reformation, and devoted his press wholly to printing theological books and the bible, particularly the French version of Olivetan, revised by Calvin. After a laborious life he died at Geneva in 1559, leaving eight children.²

Henri, the eldest, carried on his father's business with great energy and enterprise; his passion for Greek was so great that it was as familiar to him as his mother-tongue; but he would never learn Latin. Having been accustomed to speak it and hear it spoken by every individual of the family, even by the servants, ever since his childhood, he was quite indignant when desired to learn the declensions and conjugations. His house was the centre of the French *renaissance*, and he used often to mention having seen at his father's hospitable table more than ten learned men³ of every language and nation who worked for him and lived there; it was on their account that Latin was the common language of the house.

At nineteen years of age, during his father's lifetime, he set out on a literary journey of three years, during which time he visited all the chief towns of Italy, searching the libraries, collecting MSS., &c. Then he went to England and Flanders: he was everywhere well received for his father's sake, and returned laden with treasures. More ambitious than his father and less choice, he gave his attention more to literary than to religious works, and launched into great expenses, which produced some embarrassment in his affairs. His gigantic enterprise, the *Thesaurus linguæ Græcæ*, cost him ten years' labour, and almost ruined him, for another reaped the advantage. The faithless Scapula, who worked for him, published an abridg-

¹ *Ad censuras theologorum Parisiensium quibus Biblia ab ipso excusa calumniis notarunt Responsio.* Oliva R. Stephani. 1552. It was translated into French by Etienne himself in 1552.

² De Thou says that not only France but the whole christian world is more indebted to Robert Etienne than to the most valiant captains, for the talents of this one man had shed more real glory and advantage on France than it was possible to estimate.—*Thuanus*, lib. xxiii. an. 1559.

³ See preface to *Poeta Græci Principes*. Geneva, 1568; and letter of H. Etienne in the preface to his edition of *Aulus Gellius*. Paris, 1585.

ment, which sold better as being less expensive, and passed it under the name of Etienne. His domestic misfortunes made him lead an unsettled life. He lost his second wife, to whom he was devotedly attached.¹ Some difference with the consistory of Geneva, to whom every book was submitted for approval, made him restive and rebellious; not having paid attention to the censure he was sent to prison for eight days, but liberated on submission. These were arbitrary measures, considered necessary for the maintenance of sound doctrine during the conflict of religious opinion. Henri does not appear to have been a man actuated by the same religious feelings as his father. In 1587 the plague entered his dwelling and carried off the only child remaining at home; he buried her himself in his garden. The desolate old man then went to visit his daughter Florence at Montpellier, married to the celebrated Casaubon; on his return home illness detained him at Lyons, and he ended his laborious life in the hospital in 1598, aged 70 years.²

Pius IV. was at an advanced age, and no surprise was felt when he was taken ill; he died in the night of the 20th December 1565, having reigned nearly six years.

As the election of a Pope was generally the affair of a small number of the Cardinals, guided either by German or French influence, or by the activity of some energetic members of the College whom the others tamely followed, so was it at the election of Pius V. Many had a greater claim, but he was the oldest, and Cardinal Borromeo united with Cardinal Farnese to bring about the election of Fra Michele Ghislieri, a monk of great austerity of life, unimpeachable morals, and bigoted zeal. So secretly was this election managed, that the conclave were taken by surprise when the name of the new Pope was announced. The Roman people received the news with terror and dismay; they had seen his rigorous activity as chief Inquisitor in the reign of Paul IV., and dreaded the more extended operations of this inhuman tribunal. Fra Michele Ghislieri had passed his whole life in the suppression of feeling

¹ He speaks of his wife as "une femme noble de cœur et de naissance, son visage toujours aussi doux et serein que sa parole, avait quelques traits de cette éloquence que les Latins appellaient persuasion."

² He was the author of *Discours Merveilleux de la vie, actions, et deportement de Catherine de Medicis.*

and in the practice of those austerities which harden the heart and extinguish the sympathies of humanity.¹ In the dark dungeons of the Inquisition he had witnessed unmoved the application of torture, and studied as a science the art of entrapping his helpless victims into a confession of their faith and a betrayal of their friends. His heart had never throbbed with human affection, and that which was considered the virtue of a saint, was in fact the triumphal power of the evil one.

No language can describe the heart-sickening desolation of a prisoner torn from his family in the dead of night, and consigned to the hands of his tormentors. The deathlike silence, the heavy air, the unimpressionable countenances of his judges, the specious arguments, the seducing falsehoods whispered to the sufferer on the rack, were enough to appal the stoutest heart. What then must have been the faith and constancy of those who endured it all in the service of Him who is invisible! When a man who has been long nurtured in the infliction of suffering, and accustomed to the groans of his victims, is suddenly raised to irresponsible power, and finds his inquisitorial zeal rewarded with a crown which enables him to rid the earth of all who reject his paramount authority, then the havoc begins among the followers of Christ. And this devastation, it is grievous to say, was done in the name of Him who came to ransom the world from sin and from sorrow, and who said, "Let the tares grow up with the wheat until the harvest," which is the end of the world. The facts contained in this and the following chapter will bring a painful conviction that no language can be too strong to express the guilt of religious persecution, or to depict the evils of that system which lords it over the conscience, and interferes with the religious belief of a christian. These prefatory remarks are drawn forth by the history of a noble Florentine, whose faith and constancy in martyrdom are here recorded.

Pietro Carneseccchi or Carnesecca² was a native of Florence, descended from a noble family; he was a man of great talent and refined education. He pursued his studies at various Italian

¹ As Michele Ghialieri he was first taken notice of and brought forward by Paul iv. on account of his zeal for the Inquisition.

² From *carne* flesh, and *secco* dry, lean flesh; originally no doubt one of those sobriquets so much used in Italy to this day.

universities with great success. On his return to Florence he became known to Giuliano de' Medici, who, when he became Pope under the name of Clement VII., made him protonotary, and gave him two abbacies, one at Naples the other in France. This independent income afforded him leisure both for study and travel: he was at Naples, as we have already seen, about the year 1536, when Valdés expounded the Scriptures, and there contracted an enduring friendship with the devout Flaminio and other earnest seekers after truth. There is every reason to believe that he then first began to study the Scriptures and to discover therein the Gospel way of salvation. While listening to the loving exhortations of Valdés, he had also the opportunity of meeting with many other christian disciples at Naples, whose names we have already recorded.¹ After the death of Valdés, which took place in 1540, we find Carnesecchi at Viterbo enjoying the society of Cardinal Pole and Flaminio, both of whom were at that time in the first fervour of religious enquiry. It was shortly after this visit that the interesting correspondence took place between Carnesecchi and Flaminio on the subject of the Lord's Supper, to which we shall hereafter refer.² Carnesecchi's travels through different parts of Italy gave him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a variety of persons who were seeking scriptural light, so that he became a kind of centre and channel of communication between the Italians who had embraced the reformed opinions. He received with generous hospitality all who came to visit him, assisted with money those who were in need, and encouraged the education of youth in sound religious principles. In his correspondence with the lady Julia Gonzaga he recommended to her protection enlightened persons as teachers; and there can be no doubt that, had not his papers been destroyed, his communications with the reformers would have furnished us with much valuable and interesting information about the extensive diffusion of christian truth throughout Italy.

But however cautiously he acted, his opinions could not remain long concealed. In 1546 he was summoned to Rome by Paul III., and underwent an examination, but he cleared himself of the accusations brought against him, and was absolved. After this he prudently left Italy, and lived in France, where

¹ See CHAP. VI. Vol. I. p. 233.

² See Appendix A.

he was protected by Catherine de' Medici. He had more frequent opportunities there of reading the works of the German reformers; he became intimate with Melancthon,¹ and by the continual study of the Scriptures and converse with pious men was more and more confirmed in Gospel doctrine. In the year 1552 he ventured back into Italy, and lived alternately at Padua and Venice. During the reign of Julius III. he was not molested, and Venice, besides possessing a certain degree of liberty, was a very convenient place for receiving books from abroad. But when in 1555 the ferocious Paul IV. was elected Pope, the Inquisition gained the mastery, and in 1557 a monitory was issued against Carnesecchi, citing him to appear publicly before the Inquisition at Venice. But he had already had some experience of the Holy Office; he knew the violent character of the Pope, and wisely refrained from putting himself in his power. He was in consequence excommunicated, and a year after, on the 6th of April 1559, was declared a heretic, and orders were issued to arrest him wherever he appeared, and deliver him over to the secular power. This sentence had however no effect on Carnesecchi; he had counted the cost, and continued his course, consorting with wise and holy men, and walking in the fear, not of him who can only kill the body, but of that All-seeing power which had enlightened him for the salvation of his soul.

It is one of the few happy constitutions of the Papacy, that the College of Cardinals, composed of men who each looked forward to filling the supreme dignity, endeavoured to select the oldest of their number to be Pope. Four years was the short term of the pontificate of Paul IV.; he was succeeded by a Medici, a man of letters and of mild disposition, the personal friend of duke Cosimo, who had influence sufficient to get the sentence of absolution passed by Paul III. confirmed by the new Pope. As we have no account of Carnesecchi but from his enemies, we must read by contraries what Laderchi² relates of him, when he says that he was in no wise improved by the clemency of Pius IV. That he went on supplying the heretics with money, and assisted Pietro Gelido, a sacramentarian heretic, and Pietro Leoni Mariano, and others

¹ Andrew Melancthon, a relative of the reformer.

² Laderchi, *Ann. Ecol.* tom. xxii.

who had gone to Geneva. Laderchi complains that after he was absolved he still continued to read with pleasure heretical books, especially those of Martin Luther and of Peter Martyr; and then adds, shewing a most extraordinary ignorance of facts, "that he read Flaminio's apology for that pestilent book of Valdés entitled *Benefit of the death of Christ*, written against the archbishop Ambrogio Catarino."¹ He also tells us that Carnesecchi combated the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper, being more inclined to that of Luther.

Carnesecchi, relieved from the obloquy of heresy, returned to Florence, where his rare talents and amiable manners made him a great favourite with the duke, for like his ancestors he was a patron of learning, and took pleasure in the society of the attached friends of the house of Medici. Carnesecchi was one of the brightest ornaments of the Florentine academy, the best classical scholar, an eloquent orator, and a refined poet. He had been the intimate friend and companion of Cosimo ever since he held the reins of government, and willingly lent his aid in promoting literature and combating the influence of the monks. Notwithstanding the jealous vigilance of Cosimo, the inquisitorial power of Rome had been long advancing with slow but steady steps. It was perpetually encroaching on the liberties of the people, and threatening to extinguish not only the religious but the intellectual light which had begun to dawn on the Tuscan states. New victims were daily demanded by the Inquisitor; Cosimo, desirous of maintaining the character of a good Catholic, was compelled to abandon his subjects to the power of the Church, with this alleviation only, that those who submitted to be tried at Rome should have their sentence executed at Florence. By this means numbers were rescued from the fangs of the Inquisitors; but all could not escape, nor does it appear that Cosimo felt any compassion for heretics who had nothing to recommend them but their love of divine truth. The growing evil needed some remedy; and as heretical books were the silent but most powerful weapons used against the Roman Catholic Church, Cosimo, to keep these down, consented to the promulgation of an inquisitorial edict against Hebrew books, especially the Talmud, and the fury of persecution was let

¹ The *Beneficio* was printed in 1543. Catarino published his answer, *Compendio d' Errori*, in 1544.

loose among the unhappy Jews. This was a great step gained by the Inquisitors, for it gave them the power of prohibiting any work they chose in Tuscany. When Paul IV. published his catalogue of forbidden books at Rome in 1559, with the names of sixty printers, all of whose productions in any language were interdicted, the Pope empowered the Inquisitors to publish this catalogue and decree in Tuscany. But the duke refused to allow its promulgation until it had been examined, and placed it in the hands of his secretary Torello. He calculated that if this decree should be carried into effect, a loss of no less than 100,000 ducats would be incurred in Florence alone, by the destruction of books in the possession of private individuals. That printers and booksellers would be ruined, and that the execution of such a law would put a stop to learning, and bring back the days of ignorance throughout Europe. It would destroy all the books printed in Germany, Paris, and Lyons; not only close up the bible, but all the Greek and Latin classics, besides an infinite number of books beneficial to society. The College of Medicine at Florence made a formal remonstrance against this impediment to study, and even the agents of the Inquisition seemed ashamed of the task allotted them. They paused to see the effect of the edict in other states; Venice dissembled, and endeavoured to gain time, looking to the death of the Pope; and the viceroy of Naples and governor of Milan appealed to king Philip, then in Flanders.

Cardinal Alessandrino, chief Inquisitor,¹ impatient at the delay, insisted on the orders of the Pope being obeyed. Cosimo dared not irritate Rome by a direct refusal, and gave a partial consent by permitting the edict to be published, but restricting its execution to books against the Roman Catholic faith, and to those which treated of judicial astrology and magic. The monks of S. Marco² were fully prepared to obey the edict to its utmost extent, and were only prevented by receiving an express order from the duke, as patron of the convent and library, to restrict their zeal to the works specified. On the 8th of March 1559 immense bonfires of books³ were seen blazing in the

¹ Fra Michele Ghislieri.

² A Dominican convent of which Savonarola was prior.

³ This accounts for the extreme scarcity of works written by the Italian reformers.

squares of S. Giovanni and S^{ta} Croce; troops of monks surrounded the burning piles, triumphing in the destruction of heresy, and glorying in the idea that heretics would also be destroyed in like manner. But though a great step was gained, much was yet to be done in the way of extermination. During the peaceful reign of Pius IV. persecution sheathed its sword, but under Pius V. the whips of Paul IV. were changed into scorpions.¹ Determined to burn every heretic he could lay hold of, he began by making an example of Carnesecchi, hoping that such an instance of severity would intimidate others; for none could hope for mercy if the most powerful prince in Italy could not shield his own personal friend from the vengeance of Rome. Acting on these principles, a few months after his election Pius V. sent an autograph letter to Cosimo,² by Tommaso Manriquez his master of the palace, commanding the duke to give up Carnesecchi to his messenger. Cardinal Paceccho at the same time wrote in an insinuating manner to the duke, in which he mingled both praises and promises with a slight tone of menace. It so happened that when these letters arrived Carnesecchi was the guest of his sovereign, sitting at his table, partaking of his hospitality; yet Cosimo did not hesitate to desire him to rise and obey the Pope's summons. Perhaps to avoid public scandal his capture was thus purposely arranged; the Pope would not have sent an important officer of his household unless he were sure of his prey. The Inquisition, it is true, was in the habit of pouncing suddenly on its victims, taking them by surprise, and thus disarming resistance. The prisoner was soon secured, bound, and conveyed to Rome. Galluzzi says that it was owing to the protection of Cosimo that Carnesecchi was saved from the Inquisition during the reign of Paul IV., when he contrived by delays and excuses to protract his cause till the death of the old Pope. This being the case, we are at a loss to account for his committing so base an action as to give him up to certain destruction; but on looking closer into the history of the duke, we find a great prize was held out to him for crushing heresy. The reward was no less than the long-coveted title of Grand Duke, an honour which would set at rest for ever the harassing question of precedence

¹ 1 Kings xii. 11.

² Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato*, tom. iii. ; and Appendix B.

so long the subject of contention between the courts of Ferrara and Florence, and which had filled the Medici archives with reams of useless paper. For this empty bauble Cosimo gave up his friend. For this he sent troops to France to mow down the Huguenots, and advanced more than 100,000 crowns on the security of queen Catherine's jewels.¹ It is said that Pius V., on hearing the services which the Tuscan troops had rendered to France in putting down heresy, joined his hands in an attitude of prayer, and turning to the crucifix with tears in his eyes, entreated that he might not die till he had an opportunity of recompensing this most pious prince for his devotion to the church and to the Apostolic See.²

The correspondence of the Tuscan ambassador at the court of Rome during the reign of Pius V., which has been recently published, gives some interesting information about Carnesecchi, and unintentionally exhibits the steadfast constancy of this distinguished martyr in the brightest colours. We say unintentionally, for the writer evidently was unable to appreciate the lofty virtue of the illustrious victim. It is painful to see the craven spirit of the Florentine ambassador; his crouching submission to the Pope was a degenerate feature of those inquisitorial times. Whether we consider his language as a necessary consequence of papal assumption, or as a want of sympathy for a suffering fellow-creature, the tone of these letters is equally painful. His fear of the Pope's frown was so great that he scarcely dared to obey the instructions of his sovereign, who nine months after the arrest of Carnesecchi wrote to Serristori to plead in his favour. We now leave the reader to judge for himself, by giving all the passages in these letters which relate to Carnesecchi.³

"1566. 5th July. Carnesecchi arrived here last night: they have put him in the prison of the Inquisition."⁴

"1567. 2nd May. Yesterday a Calabrian, whose name I cannot recollect, came to me. . . . After speaking of several things he told me that Monsignor Carnesecchi recommended his cause to me, fearing they would inflict some severe chastisement on him, and perhaps take

¹ *Archivio Mediceo Lettere MSS. di Caterina de' Medici.*

² Gregorio Giglio, *Diario Sanese*, tom. i. p. 63.

³ *Legazioni di Averardo Serristori*, p. 426. Firenze, 1853.

⁴ For nine or ten months nothing was heard of the prisoner; confined in some dark dungeon, nobody mentioned his name or knew his fate.

his life; because he had confessed all that he could say against himself, having been twice tortured, but that he had not named or injured others. I answered that I begged he would not speak to me of those things, because I neither could nor would do anything in the matter. I asked him how he knew that which he had told me. He answered that some baron of the kingdom (of Naples), who had come out of the Inquisition and been put into a monastery, had told him.

“1567. 9th May. It is very difficult to hear any particulars about Monsignor Carneseccchi's affair, the gentlemen and ministers of the Inquisition being exposed to severe excommunications if they speak of the smallest thing relating to the Holy Office. By what I can understand, and what I have drawn from MM. Nossi Campajano and Cardinal Pacecho, there are no means at present of helping him; and whatever your Excellencies might do would be of no use to him, but would spoil the openness and goodwill which you have manifested by your actions against this pestilence of heretics. On this account you are considered by the Pope as the most Catholic prince in Christendom. Your religion, virtue, and justice are extolled to every man. Thus I think that to them, as servants of your Excellencies, not a word should be said.¹ Cardinal Pacecho has told me that since Carneseccchi has been here he has acted with great levity (*ha fatto molte leggeresse*²), and says that as soon as sentence is past, your Excellencies can intercede with his Holiness to mitigate his punishment, and that whatever is done before will be without fruit, and to your Excellencies' disadvantage.

“— 12th May. I will not conceal from you that when I was conversing with Camajano, I told him when he was with his Holiness to speak of your zeal and devotion towards him and the interests of religion; and that I thought, when it could be done conveniently, it would be well to remind his Holiness of the readiness with which, without a moment's hesitation, at his request you had given up Carneseccchi, an old servant and much regarded by you even from the time of Clement of happy memory. Urged by religion and the desire of satisfying and obeying his Holiness, severe as was the trial, you did not, as he knew, make the least difficulty. But now, seeing the long delay, you had latterly written to me your great desire that he should be relieved, for I had informed you that when his affair was near a close he might be spoken to and assisted. . . . And that I had said, according to what he had told me, that you had better not say anything till the sentence was past; and thus, notwithstanding your great anxiety, not so much from love to him as for the sake of his relations and noble family, that he should not be visited with any ignominious punishment, you were tranquillised. M. Nossi Camajano, by executing his commission in this manner, will shew his Holiness what your religion and devotion to him can do; and at the same time it will be a means of recommending Carneseccchi in a favourable manner, shewing your desire that he should be relieved, if it can be

¹ Onde a loro come Servitori di V. V. E. E. non pare che le ne devino far parola. It is difficult to translate it literally.

² *Leggeresse*, levity, a singular expression when used to describe the unshaken constancy of a prisoner, who, while his tormentors mangle his flesh, confesses his belief in the doctrines of revealed truth, and refuses to criminate his friends.

properly done. As I have nothing else to say, I humbly kiss your hands, and pray that God may give you a long and happy life.¹

"1567. 16th May. Antonio del Migliore and the nephew of Monsignor Carneseccchi came to me yesterday with letters from your Excellency for his Holiness and for me. When I had read the orders which you have sent me, I went immediately to Cardinal Pacecocho and told him the commission and the directions I had received from your Excellency. He answered that the affairs of Carneseccchi were in a very bad state, which would be seen by his confession and trial, as it was published and his defence completed. He repeated that he had no judgment (*corvello*), and had behaved very ill, and as he was not penitent his life was in great danger, and that the sentence now about to be issued would be the fifth against him. They have found a great number of letters from the lady Julia,² and have intercepted several letters which he wrote about the confidence he placed in the favour of your Excellencies, begging you to insinuate to the cardinal, the possession of I know not what abbey, and thus he had been seeking help on all sides. His having undertaken to defend himself has, I think, very much aggravated his case. It would perhaps have been better if he had humbled himself, confessed and acknowledged his error, and recommended himself to the mercy of his Holiness, as he did formerly, and the cardinal thinks that the hopes he nourished by means of your Excellencies have been injurious to him. Yesterday, as soon as I returned home, I sent to beg an audience of the Pope, which was fixed for to-day; so I went to the feet of his Holiness, and presented him the letter of your Excellency. After having read it he asked me if I knew what your Excellency had written to him. I replied yes, and that you had written also to me. He answered that if your Excellency knew the state of things about Carneseccchi you would not have written, and that not only he could not do what you desired, but he did not know whether (as he feared) matters would not go farther, alluding to his life. I replied that his Holiness knew better than anybody your sincere inclination towards religion, and the freedom and readiness which you had always shewn in obeying him; so that no one was more worthy than your Excellency to receive favours of this kind from his Holiness. Your request was not presented because your regard for religion and your respect for his Holiness were in the slightest degree diminished; but you did it from the great compassion you felt for Carneseccchi's noble family, who were beloved by you, and because there were a number of young ladies to be married; therefore I entreated his Holiness to be disposed to gratify you in this case, in which he knew your merits better than anyone else. He replied that he could not, it was such a remarkable case, this being the fourth time he had been examined and judged. That in the time of Pius, his predecessor, he had told a number of lies, by which he had been absolved. If your Excellency were here he would willingly remit the sentence to your judgment, which he knew to be excellent. . . . Finally, I asked him what he wished me to reply to you; he answered that if he had in his power a man who had killed ten others,³ he would not hesitate

¹ Serristori, *Legazione*, p. 435.

² Julia Gonzaga.

³ "Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber."—John xviii. 40.

to give him up to you; but that about Carnesecchi he could not say what would be the end, the sentence being in the hands of my lords Cardinals; and that if he were to consider relations and families, gentlemen would ever be excused, as many had been, and that your Excellency should consider how important this was. I replied that I did not know what more to say, but entreated him to consider if he could not gratify your Excellency, at least in part; for you asked nothing but mercy and compassion, and this was to be expected, not from Cardinals and Inquisitors, but from himself, he being an absolute prince. By the advice of Cardinal Pacecco, we decided that it was better not to introduce the relations of Carnesecchi to kiss the feet of his Holiness without permission; so I left them in the antechamber, and in speaking of them afterwards to the Pope, finding he was not disposed to receive them, they were not presented. This is all that has occurred about this affair up to this time.

AUTOGRAPH POSTSCRIPT.

"His Holiness said to me also, that it was entirely the fault of Carnesecchi that his case had been so long in hand.

"1567. 23 & 30 May. About Carnesecchi; I have not failed to recommend his case to M. Nossi and Cardinal Pacecco, but I entreat your Excellency to believe that little can be done for him. Cardinal Pacecco says that the only hesitation now is whether he is to be given up to the secular arm or not; and it seems his life is in considerable danger; because it is evident he has no judgment (*corvello*), and he thinks lightly of his errors. I have heard from good authority that he speaks of Donna Julia as if she were a saint. May God help and convince him!

— 30th May. Two days ago I was with Cardinal Pacecco entreating for Carnesecchi: he told me that Cardinal Correggio had spoken to him and Gambara about this affair with much interest and warmth, and shewed them a letter which my lord duke had written on the subject, expressed in the strongest manner; he had answered it as he now answered me, that he could not do otherwise than pronounce the punishment which his actions merited, according to the orders of the Holy Office. He thought more of the example than of anything else, and it belonged to the Pope and not to them to pardon; to whom however they could not speak of it, lest his Holiness should deprive them, to their disgrace and dishonour, of the office of Inquisitors. He had told them to send for Borghese and shew him (*Correggio*) the trial, that when he had seen it he might give an account of it to my lord duke, and convince him of the errors and guilt of Carnesecchi. The Cardinal Correggio would not be so presumptuous as to undertake this, notwithstanding Pacecco and Gambara told him to do it; for they would direct Borghese to shew it to him, and he told me to go to Correggio and remind him of it, and hear what he thought on the subject. I went to this most illustrious lord, and he said the same, and that he would send for Borghese, and would write about the picture to his Excellency. Afterwards your letters of the 26th arrived, in which you renew your recommendations for Carnesecchi to me; but I do not see what else I can do for him, as I said this morning to his nephew Paolo when I informed him of what Cardinal Correggio had done; and

I beg your Excellency to be assured, and to know and acknowledge that everything that is possible is done here in his favour, which indeed is the truth. He told me that his Holiness would not hear about it, so that he had great fears, and with reason, from what I can learn. God help him!

“— 21st June. Yesterday I wrote to your Excellency by Paolo Carnesecchi, who returns from hence, perceiving he can do no more good in the affair of Monsignor Carnesecchi.

“— 19th July. Having written yesterday to your Excellency what I had worth writing I will now add the little more I have to communicate, which is, that having heard that the affair of Carnesecchi was going badly, I went to-day to Cardinal Pacecho and told him what I had heard. He would not say anything, but that I should see in the trial, which would be public, very serious offences; and that on account of your Excellencies only, he regretted being in the office of the Inquisition, knowing how distressing this case was to you. This, added to what I have heard before, makes me fear greatly, seeing that the more the conclusion of this affair has been retarded the worse it has become. I think the hope of favour has done him much harm, and made him more obstinate, and seek to put off the sentence, hoping that time might improve his situation, and now it will prove quite the contrary. I have not failed to tell his attorney to undeceive him, and that it is thought that he himself makes matters worse. May God help him.

“— 4th August. I asked Piccolomini about Carnesecchi: he told me that the only question now is whether he is to live or die; if it turns out that his life is spared, he will be put in some place where he will never be seen again.

“— 12th September. Cardinal Pacecho has told me that by order of his Holiness more and more time has been given to Carnesecchi to induce him to repent, but that they have made no way, he having denied and still continuing to deny everything; and when I said he was mad,¹ he answered that his affair went on worse because he was mad and wicked. That it would turn out ill, and that when your Excellencies saw and understood the trial, you would not wonder at anything that was done.

“— 19th September. I have spoken to Cardinal Pacecho about the affair of Monsignor Carnesecchi, and it appears to me that things are in a desperate state, for his illustrious lordship found the Pope very hard the last time he spoke to him. And although Monsignor has had the benefit of great delay in order that he may freely confess and acknowledge his error, and the Cardinal has often spoken to him and told him he is deceiving himself and does not know the danger he is in, nothing has had any effect on him. It is said that on Monday the abjurations will be made and the sentences of many will be published. May God help Carnesecchi, for I think he has need of it.

“— 21st September. Having heard that the affair was coming to a bad end, and not being able to ascertain whether he was to be given up to the secular court or not, which I wished very much to know, that I might satisfy myself at the last by doing everything in my power to induce the Pope to spare him the ignominy of the extreme

¹ The madness of the Apostle Paul.

punishment, knowing how greatly this was desired by your Excellencies for the sake of his family, I sent my secretary to-day to the Minerva with orders to come and tell me the moment the sentence passed on Carnesecchi was published, which he did; and though he could not get near enough to hear distinctly everything, he told me that a summary of his trial was read, which lasted more than two hours, in which an infinite number of communications and practices were made known which had taken place as far back as the year 1540, as you will more fully understand by reading the sentence, which I hope to send you in my next. Enough that the Inquisition and every one say he is a very bad man, for which crimes he is clearly declared a heretic: and they degrade and deprive him of all his honours, dignities, property, and benefices, of which he is to be considered deprived from the day when he began his heresies; and they give him into the hands of the governor and secular court that he may receive the punishment which he deserves. The gaoler then took him by the arm, lifted him from his kneeling position,¹ and put on him an overcoat painted all over with flames of fire, and took him into a room, I believe to degrade him,² and then to Torre di Nona. When I heard this I went immediately to the palace and threw myself on my knees at the feet of his Holiness, and besought him for the love of God and of your Excellencies to be willing, if he could with a good conscience, to excuse him the ignominy of this fatal punishment for your Excellencies' sake. He answered that he had done all he could and used all possible delay to help him; all had been in vain; so that the judgment must be executed for an example to the world. I replied that I knew what he said was true, and that on this account I had delayed making this request till after the sentence was published, by which the Holy Office had fully done its duty and awarded him the punishment which he merited; nevertheless that he as a pontiff and supreme prince could, and ought thus reasonably to gratify your Excellencies, not for any benefit to Carnesecchi, who did not deserve it, but to relieve from ignominy a noble and numerous family, consisting of many excellent persons, and as an acknowledgment of the devoted obedience which your Excellencies have shewn to the Holy See, and as a reward for your readiness to extirpate this abominable pest of heresy, and to confirm the good-will which you have had and still have to give up all the delinquents to the Holy Office as you have done Carnesecchi. He replied that Carnesecchi was impenitent, but for your Excellencies' sake he would see what could be done; and if he found that he really became penitent he would for the sake of your Excellencies excuse him this ignominy. For which I humbly kissed his feet and warmly thanked him in your names. I then begged him to allow you the favour of at least a pension, for your Excellencies to distribute amongst his family, to those who were most in need, as there were some young girls likely to be married. He replied that he had but one abbey free, but gave me some hope that he would think what could be done. I entreated him to give me a copy of the

¹ *Inginocchiatolo*, literally kneeling-stool, on which he was obliged to kneel while listening to his sentence.

² The ceremony of degradation from ecclesiastical orders consists in scraping the fingers and brow, and wherever the oil of consecration has touched.

sentence and of the summary of the trial to send to your Excellencies, that his relations might fully acknowledge the clemency (*benignità*) of his Holiness. He told me that he would speak of it in the consistory, without which he could do nothing, therefore I had better mention it to Cardinal Pacecco and tell him to remind him of it in the consistory. I went immediately to him and told him all that had passed, and I sent Ceriguola to the confessor of Carnesecchi, telling him to dispose him to penitence, and to speak freely, and put it in writing, entreating mercy, and give him some hope of being saved. On returning home I met Ceriguola, who had spoken to the confessor, who was willing to do all he could, but said that he required a permission, for the gaoler had orders not to allow him (Carnesecchi) to speak to any one. I directed him to return to Pacecco and ask him to procure the permission, and I came in to write this that I might send it by express to-night. While I am writing, the Cardinal has sent to say that he has despatched a messenger to Cardinal Gambara about the permission for the confessor, and that his most illustrious lordship had replied that there was no hurry, because the Pope had intimated to him that he would delay the execution of the sentence for ten days, and that three or four days before the end of that time the confessor would have permission to speak to him. This I take as a good sign, knowing the clemency of his Holiness. I will not fail during this interval to do what I judge necessary with Pacecco or others. M. Nossi told me that two days ago he spoke to the Pope on the subject of Carnesecchi, and begged him to gratify your Excellencies; to which he replied that Cardinal Pacecco had requested the same thing, but that it was not possible and could not be done, assuring him, as he had done to the Cardinal, that if the Duke had asked him to save a man who had killed a hundred men he would have done it, but that here the example was of too great importance. I have thought it best to send this despatch by a courier express by post, there being no other means, that you may know all that has happened.

“— 24th September. I wrote on Sunday the 21st to your Excellencies, and sent by a courier express the abjuration made at the Minerva, and the sentence against Carnesecchi, and what had passed afterwards with our lord and Cardinal Pacecco, and the order which had been given for the confessor to be with him and encourage him to repent, and to state freely in writing to his Holiness all that he knew, and entreat for pardon. And the same orders were given to the ex-capuchin, Father Pistoia, desiring him to bring him to repentance, and this done his life would be safe. But up to last night he had not made any way with him. I heard from Lodovico Ceriguola, whom I had taken care should see these Fathers, that Pistoia, the ex-capuchin, had little hope of his affairs, Carnesecchi having said “that they were trying to save him, but God chose that he should die, and that he also was willing to die;” and yesterday this same Pistoia said he found Carnesecchi in the same way of thinking, and as willing to die as to live, and he says that nothing will be got out of him but what he has already said. From what I can understand, he has not named any one except those who are dead or gone over to the Lutherans, to Geneva and other places. I understand that after the sentence was passed, when he went to be degraded, he said, *un monte di vanità e leggeresse*—a heap

of vain and frivolous things;¹ so that I think there is little hope of him.

“ — 26th September. From my letter of yesterday you will have learned to what state the levity and madness of Monsignor Carnesecchi has brought his affair. This morning the Cardinal Gambaara told me that he would send me his sentence this evening, which he wishes your Excellency to shew to the Cardinal de' Medici;² and though it is the custom to send these sentences to be read publicly in the cathedral where the delinquent comes from, nevertheless they will leave it to your Excellency to have it read, or not, as you think proper.

“ — 3rd October. After my last letters to your Excellency of 26th and 29th of last month I received yours of the 28th and 29th, and in answer I have to say that you need not think any more about Carnesecchi, for on the morning of the 1st he was beheaded on the bridge and then burned. He went to execution nicely dressed with a white shirt, a pair of new gloves, and a white handkerchief in his hand. May it have pleased God to compassionate him in the moment of death; for before it, by what I can learn, he had not laid aside any of his perverse opinions. Our lord (the Pope), Gambaara and Pacecco tell me, has commanded a brief to be drawn up by which he gives to my lord Duke all the remainder of the pensions due or other revenue of the benefices which up to this time have been received, and those which are still running; and all the other property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to Carnesecchi, he is at liberty to do what he pleases with, as you will see more particularly by the brief.”³

It is seldom we have such authentic confirmation of historical details as these letters afford.⁴ Carnesecchi met death with joy, and like the ancient Romans he endured torture and the prolonged agony of fifteen months' suffering without betraying his friends. No threats or promises could shake his constancy or make him deny his Lord; for he saw Him who was invisible, and we cannot doubt that during the severest torments inflicted by his murderers, divine consolations were vouchsafed to

¹ Would that some of these “*vain frivolous things*” had been transmitted to us. We may imagine with what holy disdain he looked on the degradation from ecclesiastical honours, and we can understand how strongly he felt that all this could not separate him from Christ in whom he trusted. A few words in the above letter shew that the sole object of the delay and the offered clemency was to make him criminate others, and bring more victims to the stake, that the Inquisitors might fill up the measure of their iniquity by shedding the blood of the saints. But the noble steadfastness of the victim was not to be overcome. The life of the body was to him as nothing; he longed for that eternal home, “where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.”

² Ferdinando, afterwards Grand Duke.

³ Serristori, p. 445.

⁴ Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato*; he had no doubt access to these letters in the *Archivio Mediceo* at Florence, for they agree in every respect with his narrative.

strengthen him for the conflict. He dressed himself as if going to a feast, except the *sanbenito*, which he could not avoid; and well can we understand that he preferred death to life, and longed to be released from the body that he might "enter into the joy of his Lord."

In addition to the consecutive narrative presented by the letters of the Florentine ambassador, a recent publication enables us to compare the original trial with the account above given.¹ The accusations were all of the most trifling nature, and the trials at the Minerva having been burned by the populace after the death of Paul IV. it was very difficult to substantiate them.

"They were divided into thirty-four heads, all of which were considered proofs of heresy. 1. He believed in justification by faith alone. 2. Certainty of grace. 3. Works not necessary for salvation. 4. Nor could they merit eternal life. 5. Not a sin to neglect fasting. 6. By nature we are inclined to sin. 7. Impossible perfectly to observe the commandments. 8. We ought to trust nothing but the word of God in the Scriptures. 9. Councils have not always met under the influence of the Spirit of God. 10. Uncertain about the number of sacraments. 11. Doubted whether Confirmation was instituted by Christ. 12. Confession cannot be proved by Scripture. 13. The satisfaction for sin imposed by the priests not necessary. 14. Indulgences not founded on Scripture. 15. Purgatory uncertain. 16. The Book of Maccabees apocryphal. 17. The substance of the bread remains in the Eucharist, and also the presence of the body of Christ, without transubstantiation. 18. Approved of the communion in two kinds. 19. The sacrifice of the mass not propitiatory. 20. The Pope not chief bishop by any authority. 21. Only bishop of Rome. 22. The Roman pontiffs had assumed more power than had been given them by God. 23. The succession of the Popes not to be found in Peter's Apostleship. 24. Disapproved of monks and friars. 25. Monks have more zeal than knowledge. 26. Disapproved of the celibacy of the priests. 27. And of their vows to this effect. 28. Also of the nuns' vows of celibacy. 29. Doubted the usefulness of pilgrimages. 30. No crime to eat any kind of food. 31. No harm in not keeping particular days. 32. Not wrong to read prohibited books. 33. From 1543 to 1559 had believed that Christ being the only mediator it was useless to pray to saints. 34. And finally, had believed all the errors and heresies of the book called *Benefit of Christ's death*. The trial concludes with accusing him of not repenting since he has been in the prison of the Inquisition, of evasive answers, of writing secretly to his friends, and desiring his books and letters to be burned. Finally, that he had drawn up an unsatisfactory confession. Consequently declares him an impenitent heretic, deprived, condemned, all property confiscated, degraded, expelled, and surrendered to the governor of Rome. Then

¹ Gibbings, *Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carneseccchi*. Dublin, 1856. From MS. records in the Dublin University recently acquired. See Appendix C.

follows the mockery of an entreaty to the governor 'to mitigate the severity of the sentence with respect to his body, that there may be no danger either of death or of shedding of blood.'¹ This sentence was signed by four Cardinal Inquisitors, Bernardino of Trani, Scipione of Pisa, Francesco Paceocho, and Giovanni Francesco Gambarà."²

If Carnesecchi wrote any literary or religious work it has been destroyed by the Inquisition, for only one letter of his is preserved.³ About twelve letters written to Carnesecchi are to be found in different collections: one by Marc' Antonio Giusti⁴ congratulates him on being absolved by Paul III. We find also among the Latin poems of M. A. Flaminio some addressed to his friend Carnesecchi.⁵ Catena in his life of Pius V. incidentally mentions his martyrdom and heretical correspondence when recording the reward given to Cosimo for his great zeal against heretics.⁶

In 1569 Pius V. sent a paper to Florence in which he noted ten reasons why Cosimo deserved the title of Grand Duke. These reasons are chiefly commendations of his devotion to the Papal See in various ways.⁷ When Cosimo arrived in Rome to receive the title of Grand Duke he was received with the highest honours, presented to the Pope in the Sala Regia by two Cardinals, and after having kissed the holy feet he was crowned in the chapel in full consistory. The Pope had designed the form of the grand ducal crown with his own hands, and written the inscription for it.⁸ He himself placed it on his head and put the sceptre in his hand. Cosimo then swore fealty to the Pope and to the Church. All this was done privately without consulting the European powers; none of the ambassadors were present. But the Imperial ambassador just before the ceremony

¹ Gibbings, *Trial*, p. 53.

² We refer the reader to Mr. Gibbings' interesting book, which makes us the less regret not having room to do greater justice to the history of Carnesecchi.

³ Schelhorn, *Amoen.* tom. ii. p. 155.

⁴ *Lettere Volgari*, tom. iii. p. 130. Ed. 1567.

⁵ *M. Ant. Flaminii Carmina.* Ed. 1548 and 1727.

⁶ "Il Carnesecchi fu sentenziato da Pio, e dato al fuoco dalla Corte secolare: ventisette anni havea continuato nell' heresia, e furono ritrovate molte lettere sue à Calvino, e le risposte, mantenendo egli con l' entrate Ecclesiastiche gli heretici." —Catena, *Vita del Papa Pio V.*, p. 132. 1567.

⁷ See Gio. Gigli, *Diario Senese*, tom. i. p. 63; and Appendix D.

⁸ PIUS V. PONT. MAX. OB EXIMIAM DILECTIONEM AC CATHOLICAE RELIGIONIS REELVM PRÆCIPVVMQVE IVSTITIAR STVDIVM DONAVIT.

protested against Cosimo being crowned by the Pope, as he was a vassal of the Emperor. His protest was disregarded, and Pius haughtily replied "that the Emperors themselves only enjoyed their dignity by the authority of the Holy See."¹ Referring to the history of Florence it would be difficult to prove Tuscany to be at that time a fief of the empire. Charles V. conquered it and gave it up to the Medici family, and promised a free government to the Florentines. These circumstances have a special interest in the nineteenth century, in which the grand ducal power has been undermined and finally overthrown by the same Papal power which formerly aggrandised it. The understanding with Rome which urged the grand duke Leopold II. to persecute some of his best subjects for reading the bible, and his close adherence to Austrian domination, have caused the downfall of his dynasty in Tuscany.

It was a singular instance of inconsistency in Pius V. that though a rigid moralist at Rome, he conferred the distinction of a crown on a prince living in open sin of a peculiarly aggravated nature.² The contest which had been going on from the beginning of the century between truth and error was now at its fiercest point, and it was not difficult to predict the issue. On the one hand was the power of inflicting the bitterest woes on all who devoted their attention to that most important of all subjects—religious truth. The simple reading of a prohibited book brought a man to the stake. On the other, there was only faith in God's word and constancy to suffer; and though the Italians of that period "manifested a grand tendency to searching thought, to vigorous prosecution of truth and lofty forecasting speculation,"³ they could not withstand the murderous cruelty of the Pope and the tyranny of their princes, who were slaves to pontifical authority. From this period we must date the decline of christian truth in Italy. Catholicism raised its head and called in the fine arts to its assistance. The responsibilities of the soul were laid on the priest, and whoever wished to keep a head on his shoulders prudently submitted to the

¹ Catena, p. 133.

² "Nel 1579, sposò Bianca Capella, una Veneziana fuggita dalla casa paterna, e già stata amanza d' un Fiorentino, poi di esso granduca, finchè visse Giovanna d' Austria sua moglie."—Balbo, *Sommario d' Italia*, p. 318.

³ Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 125. 1843.

force of Rome. Carnesecchi¹ was one of the most distinguished victims, but others soon followed; and when the records of the Inquisition are unrolled, there numbers will be found whose names are written in the Book of Life.

¹ Those who desire to study more extensively the history of Carnesecchi may consult Laderchi, Continuator of Baronius, *Annales*; Schelhorn, *Amoen.* tom. ii. and x.; Gerdes, *Ital. Reform.*; M'Crle, *Reform. in Italy*; and Gibbins, *Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

MARTYRDOM OF PALMARIO.

1566—1570.

PIUS V.—HISTORY—CHIEF INQUISITOR—HIS MERCILESS CHARACTER—PERSECUTIONS—PALMARIO SECURES HIS WRITINGS—THEODORE EUINGER—LETTER TO HIM—WORK AGAINST PAPAL DOCTRINE BY PALMARIO—WISHES IT TO BE CONSIGNED TO THE MINISTERS OF RALE—LETTER TO GUARINI ABOUT AN INCORRECT EDITION OF HIS WORKS—GROWING POWER OF THE CHURCH—CARLO BARTOLOMEO, ARCHBISHOP OF MILAN—HIS ARMED FORCE—SUPPRESSES THE ORDER OF THE 'UMILIATI'—THE BULL 'OENA DOMINI' PUBLISHED AT NAPLES—DISPLEASURE OF PRINCES—TYRANNY OF CONFESSORS—FRANCESCO CELLARIO—KIDNAPPED BY THE INQUISITOR CASANOVA—TAKEN TO ROME AND BURNED—A REWARD OFFERED TO KILL OR CAPTURE CASANOVA—INHUMAN DECREE OF PIUS V.—PALMARIO ACCUSED OF HERESY—WRITES TO THE SENATE OF MILAN—ENTREATS THEM TO PAY UP HIS SALARY AND FURNISH HIM WITH MONEY FOR HIS JOURNEY—TAKEN TO ROME BY THE INQUISITION—ACCUSED OF WRITING AN HERETICAL BOOK TWENTY-FIVE YEARS BEFORE, AND OF HOLDING OTHER HERETICAL DOCTRINES—HIS CONSTANCY DURING TRIAL—HIS DIGNIFIED AND SCRIPTURAL ADDRESSES TO THE CARDINAL INQUISITORS—CONDEMNED TO DEATH—THE 'MISERICORDIA' FRATERNITY ARE WITH HIM IN HIS LAST MOMENTS—AUTOGRAPH LETTERS TO HIS WIFE AND SONS—HE IS FIRST HANGED, AND THEN BURNED AT THE BRIDGE OF S. ANGELO AT ROME.

AT the election of Pius V., in 1566, Palmario was quietly pursuing his literary occupations at Milan; but the name of the new Pope was no sooner known, than he felt the danger to which he and all persons not slavishly devoted to the Papal See were exposed. Pius V., surnamed *Alessandrino*, was born in the village of Bosco near Alexandria. His father, Paolo Ghislieri, was descended from a noble Bolognese family which had been dispersed¹ during the troubles of that city in 1445. But Muratori relates that Baldassare da Canedolo de' Ghislieri conspired with others against Annibale de' Bentivoglio, the

¹ *Catena, Vita di Pio V.*

liberator of his country. On the 24th of June 1445, St. John Baptist's day, Bentivoglio was treacherously invited by Francesco Ghislieri to be present at the baptism of his son. As soon as they left the church Baldassare and the other conspirators attacked Bentivoglio and stabbed him to death. The people, who were greatly attached to this distinguished citizen, rose in tumult against the murderers, and sacked and burned their houses. One member of the Ghislieri family, who had not been present at the murder, resisted the people, and was literally cut to pieces, and all his friends were put to death.¹ The few who escaped fled to Lombardy, and from them Pius V. was descended. His baptismal name was Michele; he became a monk at the early age of fourteen, and was sent to study at Bologna. He was a diligent and earnest student of the lives of S. Domenico and other saints of his order. He was ordained priest at Genoa in 1528, and on returning to Bosco, his native place, he found it had been sacked and burned by the French army under Lautrec. In 1543 his zeal for the authority of the Papacy was made manifest; for in a public lecture at Parma, containing thirty articles, his theology was confined to exalting papal power and censuring the rising heresies. As confessor to the Marchese del Vasto he shewed himself disinterested and willing to keep his vow of poverty, and so anxious to mortify his senses that he kept his eyes always fixed on the ground, and very rarely looked up. By thus depriving himself of the most simple and innocent enjoyments he grew continually more stern and hard. He declined the office of a bishop, saying, the responsibility of the care of souls was too heavy for him to bear, and that he preferred the office of Inquisitor. When the reformed opinions spread in the Grisons country, and it was determined to send an Inquisitor to Como to force the inhabitants to keep within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, no one was found more suitable than F. Michele Ghislieri, for he had educated himself for this office as other men do for a particular profession. He feared no danger, and was willing even to shed his blood to uphold the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. With the assistance of Bernardo Odescalchi, a gentleman of Como who had relations among the Grisons, he contrived by means of spies to get full information about

¹ Muratori, tom. x. p. 30.

the heretics in these valleys. In the year 1550 twelve packages of books, printed by the reformers at Poschiavo, were sent to an inhabitant of Como to distribute throughout Italy, especially in Cremona, Vicenza, Modena, Faenza, Calabria, and Cosenza. The spies had given private notice of this to Ghislieri, and the books were sequestered by the Inquisition while passing through the custom-house. The merchant appealed to the vicar and chapter of Como; the vicar, at his entreaty, reclaimed the books; Ghislieri demanded them; they were not restored, and the merchant being protected as a townsman, he was excommunicated, and Ghislieri wrote to Rome to the cardinal Inquisitors, who cited the vicar and the canons for having threatened the Inquisitor's life. This citation so enraged the people that they detested the very name of Ghislieri, and a number of the lower class, when he came from his monastery to the city, attacked him with stones and abusive cries with such violence that he had great difficulty in escaping to the house of Odescalchi. The vicar and canons complained to D. Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of the duchy of Milan, of the disturbance created by the Inquisitor, and he was desired not to proceed farther; but the friar had no idea of submitting to the civil power, and went to greater lengths. Gonzaga, a resolute warrior, was so displeased at his disobedience that he sent him a peremptory order under a grievous penalty to appear next morning at Milan. As the time was short the canons made an effort to detain him that he might incur the penalties; but the energetic friar was not so easily entrapped, and taking a faithful escort went a by-road, and by walking all night reached Milan next morning. The governor, when he heard of his arrival, refused him an audience. Ghislieri, by means of a friend, sent to ask what the governor wanted of him; who returned for answer that he was determined to make him a close prisoner for contempt of the civil authority. This threat however, through his friend's mediation, was not immediately put into execution; and the friar, fearing to be molested, set out for Rome, where, notwithstanding the report of the canons of Como, he was approved by the Inquisitors. So fierce was his zeal in favour of the Inquisition as the great support of the Catholic faith, that when it was suggested to act cautiously with people of importance he replied, "Whoever shews any con-

sideration for persons who violently oppose the ministers of the Holy Inquisition, has an ill-disposed mind." The Church of Rome was glad to have at command so fearless a persecutor, and sent him to Bergamo as Inquisitor. Here he proceeded against Georgio Medolaco, a worthy man, much beloved by his numerous relations and friends, who were the principal people of the place. In this undertaking he was zealously assisted by Count Girolamo Albano, a bigoted adherent of the Inquisition. Medolaco was his relation, and he made every effort to convert him from his heretical, or rather scriptural opinions; but finding this impossible, he desired Fra Michele to proceed in inflicting the merited chastisement, and he was thrown into prison. But his friends one night contrived to liberate him, and the friar, finding it difficult either to recover his prey or to punish the number of people who were concerned in the escape of Medolaco, made them all abjure, and through Albano's authority recovered the prisoner, who was sent to Venice, where he died in prison. Under Julius III. Ghislieri was sent again to Bergamo to collect secret information against the bishop Vittor Soranzo, a Venetian noble. This was a dangerous enterprise, and one that could only be done in secret, for Soranzo was a man of irreproachable character, and the whole city looked up to him with reverence. Fra Michele however was not to be deterred by difficulties, and courageously persevered in winding coils round his victim, till his machinations being discovered, the bishop and rulers of the city resolved to arrest him; but a timely warning enabled him to fly in time, leaving the suit against Soranzo in the hands of a Franciscan friar. Then proceeding to Rome he was received with the honours due to his merits. The bishop Soranzo was cited: confiding in the protection of powerful friends he appeared in person, and was imprisoned in Castel S. Angelo, where he nobly confessed so many heretical errors, that but for Fra Michele he would have infected the whole country. This excellent man was deprived of his bishopric; but the Pope was of an easy disposition, and Soranzo was allowed to return to Venice, where he died.¹

This excessive zeal for the Inquisition brought Ghislieri into notice; he was made commissary of the Holy Office, lodged

¹ See Catena, *Vita di Pio V.*, p. 10; and Appendix A.

in the house of Toledo, cardinal of Naples, and greatly favoured by Caraffa and Carpi, especially by the former, who when elected Pope made him Cardinal, but he still continued chief Inquisitor, and travelled about Italy to find out heretics. In 1561 he went to Genoa, and visited the duke of Savoy; but though he was received with respect, finding he could not command the secular arm to punish heretics, he returned to Rome, the only place where kindred spirits were to be found. Under the mild reign of Pius IV., however, he did not find things so smooth. Pius was opposed to the rigour of the Inquisition, and finding he could not manage Cardinal Ghislieri, sometimes thought of imprisoning him in the castle of S. Angelo. The rooms he occupied in the Vatican were taken from him, and his authority as Inquisitor greatly abridged. But the time was not far distant when the supreme authority of Pope enabled him to indulge himself in the utmost exercise of inquisitorial power. We have seen in the last chapter some of its first-fruits. After the martyrdom of Carnesecchi terror and alarm prevailed throughout Italy; none but bigots felt themselves safe. As there is nothing which the Church of Rome so much dislikes as intelligence of mind; so scholars and learned men, who were emancipated from the trammels of the schools and dared to think for themselves on religion, were the great objects of persecution under the reign of the Inquisition.

In the year 1566 Paleario kept up an active communication with the reformers at Bâle; a certain Bartolomeo Orello, a simple, honest man, went backwards and forwards, and through him Paleario conveyed his letters and received replies; he probably traded between Bâle and Milan. In the rich collection of manuscripts in the former city there are nine letters written by Paleario, but only one or two of them are of any importance. Some are letters of introduction to persons in Italy¹ in favour of Basil Amberbachio, the pupil of Curioni, and son of the distinguished jurisconsult Bonifacio Amberbachio,² rector of the university. One is to Basil himself, in which he tells him he had been informed by Curioni that Basil intended going

¹ To Mino Cirsa and Antonio Placido, gentlemen of Siena, to Francesco Michele of Lucca, and one to Basil Amberbachio himself.

² It was to him that the poem, *O Basili quid ego audio?* was addressed.—*Palearii Opera*, p. 648.

to Rome and wished for some letters for Tuscany, and therefore encloses him letters of introduction to Mino Cirsa and Antonio Placido of Siena, and Francesco Michele of Lucca. In the same packet there was a letter to Pietro Vittorio of Florence, who he is sure will have much pleasure in seeing him, and who is a man worthy of being known.¹ These letters do not properly belong to this period, as they were written in 1556, but as they are of no historical importance they are mentioned here. Mino Cirsa or Celso, to whom one of these letters was directed, was so decided a reformer that on the election of Pius V. he left Italy for the Rhetian Alps, and there wrote the celebrated book *De hæreticis capitali supplicio non afficiendis.*² In this book he upholds the chief articles received by the reformers: That the Pope of Rome is the true antichrist. That the mass is grosser idolatry than that of the pagans. That man is justified by faith in Christ, and not by his own works. That purgatory is a papal invention. That there are only two and not seven sacraments.³

When Paleario heard of the arrest of Carnesecchi, he determined to secure from the grasp of the Inquisitors his work against the Papacy, which had been written as far back as the year 1542. With this object he opened a correspondence with Theodore Zuinger, physician of Bâle, whom he knew to be a learned man, and through his faithful messenger Bartolomeo Orello he expressed his wish to Zuinger that he would take charge of this manuscript. This amiable physician courteously replied, "That the literary world was under great obligations to Paleario for the number of eminent scholars he had made; that the benefit he now desired to confer on the Church by his writings would be more fully known when they were brought to light. He would willingly do anything in his power for so distinguished a man as Paleario; and as far as taking charge of the writing which Orello had brought, and putting it into a chest with two locks, there would be no difficulty in doing this. But he did

¹ See *Epistolarum Italarum MS.* Bâle. In the Italian letters Paleario signs himself Aonio Paleari.

² Its first title was *Dissertatio in hæreticis coercendis quatenus progredi liceat.*—Gerdes, *Ital. Reform.* p. 224.

³ He afterwards went to Bâle, where he published, *Novum Testamentum Latino-Gallicum Petri Perna*, 1572. It was dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, English ambassador at Paris.—See Gerdes, *Ital. Reform.*, and Schelhorn, l. c. p. 59.

not feel himself equal to the task of bringing it before an Œcumenical and really Catholic Council. He advised Paleario to entrust this deposit to some divines, such as Sulcer and Cocceius, professors of divinity, and men of undoubted integrity and piety, in whose hands it would be perfectly secure from all danger of being used in any other manner than the way appointed. He suggests that they might have the power of appointing their successors in this trust. If Paleario objects to divines, other persons might be found to undertake the task."¹ To this letter Paleario returned the following answer :

AEONIO PALEARIO, OF VEROLI, TO THEODORE ZUINGEE, OF BALE, A DISTINGUISHED PHYSICIAN AND PHILOSOPHER.

"On opening the letters sent me by Bartolomeo Orello, and finding among them one bearing the name of a man whom I had known in the amphitheatre not only as a philosopher but also as an accomplished scholar, it excited within me various emotions. The letter which I gave to Orello being full of theology, in which I now take more delight than in oratory, I was afraid of being tedious to you. When however I saw the kindness and courtesy of your letter I was both consoled and comforted, for I perceived that this manner of writing with singleness and simplicity of mind could not fail to be acceptable to a learned and good man. I am growing old, my dear Theodore; I often think of my departure to Christ, and occupy myself in the preparation of what I think most agreeable to Him, to whose service I have dedicated myself from my youth up. For ever since the time that the Emperor Charles V. and the Princes of Germany had fixed to hold a General Council at Mantua, at the peril of my life I wrote a Testimony to be recited when the princes were assembled in the presence of the Roman pontiff. This assembly never having met, I wrote a courageous, spirited, and truthful Accusation (*Actio*).² I am anxious that this talent given me by God should not be utterly lost, but that in due time it may appear with advantage. I doubt not that if it is preserved and produced, at a proper season, before the princes in a full, holy, and truly free Council, it will rouse the minds of many persons. I wish you first to read my letter to the Depositors³ prefixed to the book, when I think all scruples will vanish; you will see that the responsibility cast on the Depositors is not great. What is it? I wish that a copy of my

¹ Unedited letters, *MS. Bib. Freyo Grynaana*. Bâle.

² *Aonii Palearii Verulani Actio in Pontifices Romanos et eorum assecclas, ad Imperatorem Romanum Reges et Principes Christianæ Reipublicæ, summos Œcumenici Concilii Præsides conscripta, cum de Concilio Tridentini habendo deliberaretur.*—Palearii *Opera*, p. 201. In this work the Testimony to the truth and the Accusation against the Pope and his followers are united. The first is in the Testimony itself, consisting of twenty articles; the second is the explanation of these articles.

³ Palearii *Opera*, p. 203; and Appendix B.

Testimony and accusation against the enemies of the Gospel should be preserved and taken care of at Bâle, in the hands of a christian man, while all things are quiet. So that if disturbances arise in consequence of the report that a Council is about to be held, I wish it to be taken to the chief minister of your church. This is all. You have not to take a long walk or a troublesome journey, or to enter on any difficult enterprise, or seek a conference with princes. I wish my book to be consigned to Sulcer,¹ for whom I have the highest respect and veneration, if he is alive when the Council assembles.

“This, I think, is a worthy office for the head of that church of Bâle, which he has so well trained and reared like a young virgin espoused to Christ, and on this account I wish that two persons of this town be chosen from all Switzerland, to whom I may commit this deposit of my faith. In this paper there is nothing monstrous, nothing impious, nothing contrary to religion. Every word is corroborated by the word of God, and illustrated by the light of the Gospel, and approved by your own theologians. In order not to give offence, I have cautiously avoided touching those points which have given rise to much controversy between the Swiss and German churches. Let each, till they all be united in one body, remain in his own opinion. Oh! may God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant that all may be of one mind; but this will not happen till all those points in dispute are well matured and considered. When, at the request of pious nations, the Emperor, the kings, and christian princes shall assemble together in one place with the pastors of the churches and the most distinguished theologians, to regulate all things according to the precepts of the Gospel, till that time I desire that my writings may be preserved as possessing the power of slaying the evil genius of the churches, *ὡς φάρμακον ἔχοντα τοῦ κτείνειν τὸν ἀλόστορα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*. On this account, even though the author's name be suppressed, it may not please the Senate to have them published before a fixed period. For when the Council meets they will be conquered, and they (the writings) in some degree lessened in value. Besides which, they will give too much room to cavillers and sophists, the enemies of the Gospel. For if we are to fight face to face, it is better for the enemy not to know what kind of arms we adopt. It would be an act of madness to communicate our arguments to those whom we are about to combat. Darts do most harm when thrown unawares. In short, all the heads of the accusations have their proemium, their peroration, and their application, by which they briefly call on the Emperor, kings, and princes and the president of the Council, not as absent but present, as if the matter were treated of in their presence.

“One thing more I had almost forgotten. While the minds of men are anxiously expecting the Council, and feeling rather doubtful about it, then is the time to give them a copy of my book, one to the head of the church at Bâle, another, as I have already said, to the head of the Church at Augsburg, to be deposited with the faithful of that city. I already foresee that the defence of the Gospel will inspire them with courage, and that all will be inflamed with a desire for the public good. The heads of different churches

¹ The chief minister of the church of Bâle.

will confer together, and will discuss with their divines my opinions and arguments. They will examine my proofs, and place them before the princes, accompanied by the approval of their churches. Then will the Holy Spirit, which witnesseth with my spirit, promise, guarantee, and ratify in the name of Christ that peace and tranquillity shall follow the observance of the Gospel in all the churches. For these reasons, my dear Theodore, do you, whose name is not only written among my friends, but in the book of living souls before God, undertake the charge of preserving this holy deposit, so that I may at the proper time present that which I have committed to you, to the head of your church. And be assured that whatever pains or trouble you take in this, it is not for a man's work you do it, nor for him whom by your kind and courteous letter you have closely bound to you as a friend, but for Christ himself, King of kings, Lord of all people and nations, the assured author of your eternal salvation and happiness. Adieu. Milan, 12th September, 1566.

"If, when the Council meets, several divines, heads of the church of Bâle, be deputed there, I beg my book may be carried by the Depositaries as from the Senate. We who are in Italy groan under a very hard yoke of aggravated slavery, the tyranny of the followers of the Roman pontiff being carried to such a height that we can scarcely open our mouths. I beseech you for Christ's sake do not communicate anything I have written, except to Bartolomeo Orello; and if you insert in the volume of your letters one of yours to me, or one of mine to you, I beg you either to suppress or change my name, and also the name of the place from whence it is dated. Meanwhile let us love one another, and rival each other in good offices, and converse together by letter on different things; but on this subject, except under particular circumstances, let us be silent."¹

Among the MS. letters at Bâle we find one from Paleario addressed to Thomas Guarini, a printer there, who had printed an edition of his works. The date is not given; but it must have been written long after his arrival at Milan. He is evidently much displeased with the printer for the inaccuracies which had crept into his books.²

AONIO PALEARIO TO THOMAS GUARINI.

"I have been much annoyed to find that my books have been so incorrectly printed. Nor is there any excuse for it, because the errors in your edition were not in that of Oporino. I had marked also the necessary alterations with my own hand, so that the manuscript was in a very correct state when given to you, and you undertook to print it without altering a single letter. I shall however take good care that you have the money for the three hundred copies which were to be sent to me. The whole amount was forty golden crowns; eighteen were paid to you three years ago when I sent this sum to Celio (Curioni) to settle with the printer. The balance, twenty-two

¹ MS. de Bâle, Orig. Autograph. *Bibliotheca Froyo Grynaana*, tom. xiv.

² See Appendix C.

crowns, which will now be paid, makes forty crowns, besides one thrown in to make my account tally with yours. But as I do not choose my book to circulate in Italy with so many mistakes and errors, I make you a present of the books and the money too. Take them, and make what profit you can of them. No doubt I shall bear the blame of the mistakes. A table of errata may diminish but does not remove my vexation; for few, when they light on an erroneous passage, will turn for assistance to the list of errata. The mistakes will be first met with in their several places, and I am unwilling to furnish food for carping critics, of whom there are so many in Italy. Beyond the Alps people are less severe, so it will be better to sell the books there. If some years hence, after these copies have been sold off, you reprint for your own profit, I trust to your probity to make the second edition perfectly correct. If after my death, so much the better, for then my life, which is already begun, may be written. If this come to pass in the lifetime of my son Lampridio, I shall be quite satisfied. In the meantime, if anything should occur in which you can make use of either my money or my services, consider me at your command. Milan, 5th April.

“ I send you two copies of this letter that one may be sure of reaching you, and to shew you how much annoyance I have experienced from the first page, in which it is stated that all has been authorised and revised by me. This gives occasion to the Inquisitor to read the book through and carp at it. I had foreseen that this would be the case, and had desired the first page to be reprinted without these words. All the copies sent to Italy, except one in my possession, have this page printed as at first. But it matters little now which page the copies have; the mischief is done. You are happy in your country, but we poor wretches get into such trouble for the most trifling thing, that we are quite weary of life. Adieu, my dear Thomas.”¹

The growing power of the church in Lombardy received great support from Cardinal Borromeo, archbishop of Milan. He was the nephew of Paul IV., and in some respects a well-intentioned man, but unfortunately he had fallen into the hands of the Jesuits, under whose unbounded influence he was so thoroughly indoctrinated in the duty of supporting the supreme power of the church, that he did not scruple to place his ecclesiastical authority above that of the civil power. Paul IV. disliked the Jesuits chiefly because they were Spaniards, and forbade them to appear at Rome in the court of his nephew Carlo Borromeo. They induced him to retire to his archbishopric of Milan, where he reigned like a sovereign, in open opposition to the government. This produced much discontent among the nobles of Milan, who were greatly averse to his severity. Borromeo had persecuted a rich order of friars called *Umiliati*; the priors of which were all noble; many had been bishops, and had been allowed by the

¹ Unedited MS. Letter, Bib. Bâle, *Epistolæ Variorum ad Varias*.

Pope to give a great part of their episcopal revenues to their relations, which maintained their families in great luxury. Borromeo, finding the members of this order too highly connected and independent to submit to his government, concerted with the Pope to put them down altogether. Pius V. sent a commission to deprive them of all their privileges and property, to suppress the order entirely, and distribute the revenue among the cardinals. Before however the archbishop could get full possession he was obliged to use violence, as the members of the order refused to submit to his commands, and descend suddenly from a state of ease and comfort to one of absolute poverty. In consequence of this irritation some followers of the order meditated an act of revenge, which might have proved fatal. While the cardinal archbishop was kneeling in prayer, some unknown miscreant fired at him, but the shot did not take effect. He had himself set them the example of a violence ill suited to a minister of the gospel, by retaining an armed band for the purpose of executing his decrees, not only against the clergy but also against the laity, when he did not conceive they lived as good christians. By this was meant those who did not frequent the churches, practise confession, and pay an abject submission to the priests. The Senate of Milan, an independent body, considered the armed force of the archbishop a contempt of public authority, and justly objected to two executive powers in one city. In vain they appealed to the Pope; he supported the archbishop, who continued to make use of his armed force, and the Senate at last determined to show their displeasure by an act of severity, and arrested one of the archbishop's serjeants who was armed contrary to law. When asked by the officers of justice who gave him permission to carry arms, he boldly replied, "The cardinal archbishop;" he was immediately seized by the throat in public and arrested.¹ When the archbishop heard of this indignity to his authority, he issued a monition citing the president and all the members of the Council before him; this summons being neglected, to the great astonishment of the Milanese, he publicly excommunicated the authorities in church, and the Pope cited them to Rome. The duke of Albuquerque, who had succeeded Gonzaga as governor of Milan, had a difficult part to play. As the servant of the most Catholic king, he was bound to uphold

¹ *Menato alla colla.*

the authority of the Pope; as governor of the city, he could not approve of clerical interference with the authorities of the place. The people lived in constant dread of seeing the hated officer of the Inquisition established at Milan. This would have been the crowning point of misery, and happily such representations were made to Philip II. that he refrained from insisting on this point.

While the archbishop was putting his foot on the necks of the laity at Milan, Pius V. had other emissaries at Naples,¹ where a struggle against papal power highly honorable to the Neapolitans was going on. The publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent was a subject of perpetual contention between the Pope and the princes of Europe; for no sooner were they printed than it was discovered that the decrees of this celebrated Council all tended to the extension of ecclesiastical, and the diminution of temporal authority. Philip II. of Spain in the year 1564 sent an order to the duke of Alcalà, his viceroy, to publish the decrees of the Council in the kingdom of Naples. But at the same time he gave private orders that nothing should be done derogatory to his prerogative or to the royal authority; these directions were however to be kept secret from Rome, and he was to pretend he had been commanded to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent. A secret antagonism was therefore continually maintained between the church and the state, till a more open opposition was called forth by Pius V. On Easter Sunday, 1567, he republished the famous bull *Cæna Domini*, which took its name from the day of its publication. The object of this extraordinary and extravagant decree was to make all civil authority subservient to his own, and to hold up the terrors of excommunication to those who were so weak as to believe in its efficacy. It virtually took away from princes all sovereignty over their dominions, and subjected them to the authority of the Pope.² All heretics were excommunicated, and all princes who made treaties with heretical states. Every university, college or chapter which hazarded the opinion that a General Council had more authority than the Pope, was put under the same ban. With the usual tact, or cunning shall we call it, by which the

¹ Adriani, *Suoi tempi*, p. 771.

² Toledo, *Summa de instruct. Sacerdotum*, lib. i., gives eighteen statutes on this point.—See Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, tom. xii. p. 96.

papacy appeals for support to the most interested motives which can influence the human heart, in this famous bull a clause was introduced forbidding all princes and kings to impose any tax, duty, or increase of payment upon their subjects without the permission of the Holy See, laying down the extraordinary axiom that a prince becomes a tyrant by laying burdens on his people. This was a sure way of attaching the people to papal interference, and often gave rise to disobedience and difficulties among the people. At the same time ecclesiastical property was declared free from every burden, and all authorities were excommunicated who presumed to interfere in any way with clerical jurisdiction, either civil or criminal. By these monstrous assumptions the whole substance of authority was virtually transferred to the episcopal court. The *exequatur regium* was no longer required, and the priests were masters of the kingdom. But it must not be imagined that this bull was either generally or willingly received. In France its publication was altogether forbidden; even Philip II., the great upholder of Catholicism, demurred, though preparing at that very time to put down the reformed opinions in Flanders by fire and sword. Venice stood aghast, and in Germany it was forbidden. The duke of Alcalà, the viceroy of Naples, represented to Philip the extreme danger which would attend the execution of such a decree. But the bishops and archbishops of the kingdom did not wait for the king's answer, but hastened to publish the bull *Cœna Domini* without the *exequatur regium*, and even gave orders to all confessors not to absolve a single penitent who made any objection to this bull. Alcalà wrote again and again to king Philip entreating him to avoid the serious evils arising from the conflict of authorities. The king in 1568 instructed the viceroy to be firm in opposing the bull, and to avoid everything contrary to his royal authority. He commanded him to inform the nuncio Odescalchi that he was bound by his duty to his sovereign to give up his charge in the same state that he had received it, and that he had orders to punish severely those who introduced any bull, brief, or apostolical decree without the permission of the king. The Pope, nothing daunted, was determined to gain by secret intrigue what he could not compass openly: after having threatened to issue an interdict against the city of Naples, he got hold of Alcalà's confessor, Fra Michele, a Franciscan, and

gave him express orders not to absolve the viceroy as long as he opposed the bull. A copy of this letter to the confessor was sent to king Philip. Villano and Revertera, both councillors, were refused absolution on account of the bull. The monastic orders were bound not to absolve any one who had disobeyed the Pope. Meanwhile Villano fell ill, no confessor was to be found who would listen to his confession or give him absolution till the last moment of his expiring breath, and then under the express condition that if he lived he was never to interfere again in legislative affairs.¹

Philip II. sent an envoy to the papal court expressly to complain of the publication of this bull and the infringement of his regal prerogative, for some cities in the kingdom of Naples had refused to pay taxes in consequence of this brief. The Pope cast all the blame on the king's ministers; the bull was of ancient authority, though it had not been generally published except at Rome. The *execratur regium* had nothing to do with ecclesiastical laws; the Pope was the sole judge of the privileges granted by his predecessors.² As to the archbishop of Milan keeping an armed band, that was an old custom of his archiepiscopal see. It was necessary for the reformation of the church and the cutting off its corrupt members. Finally he concluded by a false application of scripture, "Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and to God the things which are God's," leaving the great point unsettled as to what were the limits of temporal and ecclesiastical power.³ The question stood on very different and more debateable ground, for the difficulty consisted in deciding what were the things which belonged to Cæsar and what belonged to God. The Roman Catholic Church, under the holy name of the Most High, had long usurped all the good things of this world; and while pretending to follow Him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world," exalted its authority above that of all the kings and princes on earth, constituted itself the dispenser of life and death, kingdoms and principalities, and the fountain of earthly grandeur and ambition.

Truly indeed does Paleario describe the state of terror which prevailed throughout Italy as a yoke so grievous that people were weary of their lives. Reports came thickly from all

¹ Giannone, tom. xii. p. 120.

² Catena, *Vita di Pio V.*, p. 99.

³ *Idem*, p. 103.

quarters of arrests by the Inquisition ; the seizure of Carneseccchi and his papers had probably involved many, though he himself criminated no one. The arrival of Fra Pietro Angelo Cremona in the north of Italy, with full powers to imprison all under suspicion of heresy, but especially to lay hands on those who publicly or secretly preached the reformed doctrines, put every one on their guard ; but it was impossible to escape the snares laid by the Dominican friars, who knew every inch of the country. As confessors they were well acquainted with all the connections of families and the ramifications of opinion ; they had spies in all the corners of Europe, and in the bosom of every family.

It was not long before an act of violence was committed by the Inquisitors which roused the indignation of the whole country. Francesco Cellario, of Morbenio, was a Franciscan friar of that branch of the order called Minorites. He had long been a preacher of the gospel, and in 1557 was cited before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Pavia. He then abjured many of his alleged errors, submitted to certain penalties, and was allowed to go free ; but this was only an outward compliance to save his life ; his opinions remained the same, and he continued to read heretical books and to preach, till he was arrested a second time, thrown into prison, and examined afresh. Ashamed of his former weakness, he now openly confessed that he had often praised Ochino, Bucer, Corvino, and other heretics. But while his trial was proceeding he contrived to escape from prison, and was once again at liberty. He then retired to the Grisons country. Soon after he married and settled there, openly professed himself a Protestant, and became an energetic reformer. Sometimes he preached at Chiavenna, sometimes secretly at Mantua ; this laid him open to the machinations of his enemies. The Inquisitor Casanova laid a plot to get hold of him, more worthy of a bandit than of an ecclesiastical authority. Cellario was expected to pass the Adda on a certain day ; he was watched, and the moment he appeared Casanova laid hold of him and called his eight ruffians, who were lying hid, to assist in binding him. Thus overpowered he was thrown into a boat and conveyed to Piacenza, from whence he was sent to Rome,¹ tried, condemned, and on the 20th of May 1568 was delivered

¹ Catena, *Vita di Pio V.*, p. 158 ; Laderchi, *Annali*, tom. xxxiii.

over to the secular arm and burned.¹ The charges against him were, that he disbelieved in the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. That he denied that matrimony was a sacrament; thought it lawful for the clergy to marry; held that there were only two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and that confession ought to be made to God, and not to man. He disbelieved in purgatory, and refused to pray to saints or images; but believed Christ to be our only advocate. Did not consider Peter the head of the church; despised religious vows; and refused to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy in matters of faith. For these opinions, which are all in accordance with Scripture, he was put to death.

This outrage on the rights of man in kidnapping and carrying them off like slaves roused the Grisons to send ambassadors to the chief states of Italy complaining of the violation of their territory. They appealed to the duke of Albuquerque, governor of Milan, for protection; but he, a Spaniard and a bigot, knowing his sovereign's predilection for the Inquisition, replied that the Pope possessed a legal and absolute power over the whole world; that he had an undoubted right to arrest heretics and to condemn them to condign punishment.² Deprived of all redress the fierce mountaineers resolved to imitate the example of the Pope's emissaries, but with greater violence and less treachery. They publicly offered a large reward to any one who should kill Casanova or any of his companions, or consign them dead or alive to their keeping. The Inquisitors were acting like beasts of prey, going about "seeking whom they might devour," and deserved to be hunted down as such; but a fearful responsibility rests on those who in the name of christianity began this savage warfare.

It is recorded³ that the Pope had some difficulty in managing the duke of Mantua so as to make him useful in his design of extirpating heresy. The Gonzaga family had always been of the Emperor's party, and opposed to the Pope. They were also men of talent and education, and of known liberal principles. Ferrante Gonzaga was one of the generals who

¹ Catholic writers say he recanted in sight of the fire, but Da Porta relates that a native of the Grisons, who was present at his execution, declared that he refused to confess, and was thrown into the flames.—See M'Crrie, *Reform. in Italy*, p. 213.

² Gabutio, *Vita di Pio V.*, lib. iii.

³ Laderchi, *Annales*, tom. xxiii.

commanded the army which captured and sacked Rome. Julia Gonzaga was the disciple of Valdés: we cannot tell what was found against her in the letters written to Carnesecchi, but her death in 1566 happily delivered her from the Inquisition. Laderchi quotes Bzovius as authority for saying that William Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, positively refused to send to Rome some persons in his dominions cited for heresy. The Pope was so enraged at his disobedience that he threatened to attack him with an armed force, and would certainly have done so, had not the other Italian princes united to intercede for him and persuaded him to petition the Pope to forgive him. The duke of Mantua was attached to Cellario, and we cannot be surprised that a prince of any independence or nobleness of mind should feel indignant at seeing innocent men put to death at the command of a priestly bigot. The exasperation of the public mind was so great that Pius began to fear for the safety of the Inquisitors, and resolved to publish that dreadful decree which excited the terror of Europe. As the violence and cruelty of Rome has been in some quarters denied, we lay this fearful edict before the reader. Every word is in direct opposition to the commands of the Gospel, and we cannot but rejoice that the curse of pontifical power no longer exists.

“Pius, a bishop, servant of servants to God of eternal memory. If to us belongs the daily care of protecting all the ministers of the church whom we have received from God, under our safe and secure patronage, with how much more anxiety ought we to guard those who are employed in the Holy Office of the Inquisition, in searching out heretical depravity, and see that under the shield of the inviolable authority of this see, they are protected from all dangers in the execution of their ministry for the exaltation of the Catholic faith.

“I. Whereas that kind of impiety grows stronger every day, which conspires by every perverse means to subvert the above-mentioned Office and its ministers, and interrupt them in their sacred functions; necessity now obliges us to repress with more severe chastisement their wicked and scandalous boldness;

“II. We now, by this general decree, with the advice of our brethren, resolve that whoever he be, whether a private individual, a city or people, a gentleman, a count, a marquis, a duke, or any person of higher title, who shall have beaten, driven away, or frightened any inquisitor, advocate, attorney, notary, or other minister of the aforesaid Office, or any bishop exercising this ministry in his diocese or province; or if it be an accuser, a reporter or witness, called or in any way made use of in matters of faith;

“III. Or any who have assaulted, invaded, burned, or robbed the churches and sacred buildings, or any other thing either private or public of the Office or of its ministers; or who have burned, sacked,

ransacked the books, letters, authorities, copies, registers, protocols, writings, and other instruments either public or private wherever they are; and those who, though inert, have forbidden either persons or things to be saved or defended from fire and plunder, and have thus been the cause of their being taken and destroyed;

“IV. Whoever has broken from prison or from any other confinement, public or private, or has released a prisoner or sent him forth, prohibited his arrest, or being arrested has either freed, received or concealed him, or facilitated his escape, or commanded this to be done. Whoever has assembled a meeting, either to bring to pass any of the above-mentioned things or assisted either publicly or privately towards their promotion, even though no one should be killed, beaten, released, freed, or carried away; and though nothing should be attacked, broken into, burned or sacked, and in short no harm being done, he shall notwithstanding be included in the excommunication incurred under the present law, and be considered as guilty of high treason, and instantly deprived of his dominions, dignities and honours, of his fiefs and of all other temporal possessions, and shall be given up to the secular judge, who will inflict on him the punishments required by the laws. Those who are condemned in the first chapter of the said law are to have all their property confiscated as decreed by the canonical laws. All the children of condemned heretics are to suffer for the infamy of their father, and be deprived of every kind of heritage, succession, gift, or legacy, either from relations or otherwise, and never to be allowed to hold any kind of office or dignity.

“V. No one to be allowed to justify himself or defend his cause who has committed such great wickedness, in hatred and contempt of this Office; without having given very clear proofs of his innocence. That which we here decree as to the aforesaid persons and their children, we also decree with regard to all clergy, priests secular or regular, of whatever order or rank, or of episcopal dignity; and especially those of a privileged class. That they be deprived of all benefices and ecclesiastical offices, and be degraded, according to the decree against heretics, by the head of the ecclesiastical court, and finally consigned to the secular arm to be punished in the same manner as the laity.

“VI. With reservation however that all causes are to be referred to the Popes, to us and to our successors, in order that the thing may be searched into and referred to us, that we may proceed against them both in their degradation and in the award of the aforesaid punishments as the atrocities of their crimes require.

“VII. Whoever attempts to ask pardon for such things or intercede for others, shall be exposed to the same punishments which by these sacred decrees is inflicted on the favourers of heretics.

“VIII. But on the other hand, if any person cognisant of such crimes, moved by a love for religion, or by repentance, shall discover anything as yet unknown, he shall go free of punishment.

“IX. Besides all these things, absolution for the aforesaid crimes in all points whatsoever, as also the rehabilitation or restoration to honours and good name, are to be obtained in such a manner that our successors may not consent to their resuming their dignities till after six months' time, and that the petitions be verified at the chief office of

the Inquisition here established. And we decree that all and whatever absolutions, rehabilitations, and restorations made without this verification of the petitions shall be of no benefit. If the whole tenor of the petition is not verified word for word, and proved to be knowingly granted by the Roman Pontiff and subscribed by his own hand, it is not to be of any avail; and if from any cause it happens to be confirmed, such confirmation is not to be of any force or importance.

“X. We command all and every the patriarchs and primates, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church throughout the world, that they do either themselves or by their delegates formally publish these decrees or the copies thereof, each in his own province, city and diocese, and as much as in their power see that they be rigidly observed; and that to all contraveners ecclesiastical punishment be applied, and that for this purpose they resort to aggravated censures and redoubled punishments, calling to their aid when necessary the secular arm. . . .

“XIII. We beseech also all princes throughout the world, to whom is consigned the secular power, to punish the wicked, in virtue of that faith by which they have promised to defend us; and entreat each to do their part either in assisting the abovenamed ministers or against the delinquents after the sentence of the church has been pronounced: in order that by their support the ministers of this great Office may happily execute their charge to the glory of God and the increase of religion; hoping to receive from the Lord an ample recompense which He has prepared in eternal blessedness for His defenders.

“XIV. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the ring of the fisherman, the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1569, this first day of April, in the fourth year of our Pontificate.

“I Prus, Bishop of the Catholic Church, desire that my ways may be directed to keep thy statutes!”

This horrible decree—humanity shrinks from the avowal—was signed by twenty-four cardinals. Both time and space would fail were we to attempt to record even the names only of those who suffered under this vast machinery of terror. Bartolomeo Bartoccio¹ had retired to Geneva to profess the reformed faith in peace. Being a silk merchant he had occasion to go to Genoa, where he unfortunately gave his name; it was already in the books of the Inquisition; he was immediately arrested, sent to Rome, and burned. While surrounded with flames he shouted joyously, *Vittoria, Vittoria!*

There is nothing which the church of Rome so much dreads as the active intelligence of mind which forms its own opinions; hence scholars and learned men were the great objects of persecution, and were specially singled out as warning examples. We have seen one instance of this in the history of Carnesecchi; Giulio Zannetti,² a scholar, was another victim.

¹ *Histoire des Martyrs*, pp. 757, 758; M'Crie, *Reform. in Spain*, p. 133.

² De Thou, lib. xxxix. ad an. 1556; and Gardes, *Ital. Reform.* p. 354.

He was seized at Padua by the Inquisitors, and tamely given up by the senate of Venice, who but a short time before had declared their subjects should be judged only by the laws of the state. It was now the turn of another eminent scholar, our aged and heroic Paleario. He had been long prepared for a violent death, and had learned to look forward to it not only with calmness but even with joy. To his feeling and christian mind there was great consolation in leaving a world stained with so many crimes, for the pure and holy regions of eternal bliss. His hour was now come, and the struggle with the dark despotism of the Inquisition was something fearful. The letter he wrote to the Senate of Milan on his being accused of heresy and summoned to Rome, shews the perplexity of his circumstances, and his need of pecuniary aid to meet the expenses of his journey and to procure necessaries at Rome. The malice of the accusation was evident, for it was founded on a book he had written twenty-five years before. The Senate had no power to protect their learned professor, who had lived ten years at Milan universally honoured and respected. Very probably they assisted him in the way he required, but of this we have no certain knowledge.

TO THE SENATE OF MILAN.

“ A year has now passed, O Senators, since I was accused by the Reverend Father Inquisitor, a Milanese. Nothing more distressing than this accusation has ever happened to me during my whole life. A most extraordinary conspiracy has been formed against me, on account of a Latin oration which I wrote twenty-five years ago. By this accusation I am obliged to separate myself from your young men, to instruct whom I was invited from Tuscany by public letters from the king and in your own names. Now by letters from the most Reverend Cardinal of Pisa, the Inquisitor lays before me an edict, and orders me in the shortest possible time to remove to the city of Rome, and till he can name the day he retains me in the College of the Holy Roman Inquisition. To this order I answered first, that I was under the orders of the Senate, and could not dispose of myself without having obtained the permission of the Senate, to whom I thought some time ought to be allowed, in order that, if they were so disposed, they might at his command choose another as my substitute; and meanwhile I would go on for two or three months lecturing on Greek and Latin, so that my sudden departure might not be injurious to the rising youth, whom I have always endeavoured to benefit.

“ Though, Senators, I am advanced in age and my health very uncertain, I make no difficulty in undertaking so long a journey; but I wish to finish the last months of my annual occupation, and receive at the proper time my stipend. If the Inquisition will not allow me to do this, I must nevertheless

pay a debt I have contracted in your city, and have money for the journey and to maintain me when I am in Rome; and may it please God to grant my desire of being liberated from this unworthy accusation, and return to the office of lecturer assigned to me by you. I beg and entreat you, by the liberality and munificence of your king, to grant me one of the quarters of my pension as professor for this year, which, from no fault of mine, has been retained: and with the provision of the summer holidays I beg you to order by a decree of the Senate that it may be paid me before it is due, that I may obey the orders of the Father Inquisitor, in whose hands and power I now am. This beneficence will be a perpetual token from the most worthy Senate, and an eternal remembrance of your great duke and king, whom may God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ honourably and happily preserve.

“To the most excellent and upright Senate of Milan, from their most obedient AONIO PALEARIO.”¹

This is one of the last letters of our aged martyr we have to lay before the reader, except those written immediately before his execution. His journey to Rome, his imprisonment and examination, whether by torture or not, remain in the deepest obscurity. No further information reaches us but through the reports of his enemies. It is somewhat difficult to fix the exact date of his arrest; but as the Latin oration, which he says he wrote twenty-five years ago, was written in 1542, this would bring us to the year 1567, when the first accusation was laid against him, so that perhaps we cannot be far wrong in supposing he was conveyed to Rome in 1568. The chief accusation against him, says Laderchi, was his having published “a little book in which he artfully concealed the mortal poison of heresy, and had on this account been persecuted by two friars and threatened with the Inquisition. This ‘poison’ had taken such hold of him, that in an oration written for the fathers of the Sienese republic he repeated the same things, without shrinking from making them public.”² This little book was *The Benefit of the death of Christ*; the hidden poison was the scriptural doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. We have already seen in the oration itself how nobly and fearlessly he spoke. His enemies, thinking to accuse, testify in his favour, and shew how courageously he defended the truth, and how willing he was to die for Christ. A slight recapitulation of some parts of the oration already before our readers³ will better enable them to understand the grounds of accusation against him. The ruthless

¹ Lasari, *Miscell.* ep. xxv.

² Laderchi, *Annales*, tom. xxii. p. 22.

³ See Vol. I. CHAP. VIII.

persecutors had at last their victim in their power, and the writings of twenty-five years ago were there to substantiate the charge of his being a follower of Christ.

“There are hard, sour, evil-disposed men,” said he, “before whom not even God the Father of our salvation, and Christ the King of all nations and people, can be praised. My having written this same year a book in the Italian language, setting forth the great benefits which our human nature has derived from Christ’s death, has been made an object of serious accusation against me. Is it possible to conceive anything more contemptible than this? I said that from Him, in whom resides the Deity, who has with so much love sacrificed his own life for our salvation, we may confidently expect tranquillity and peace, and that we have no need to doubt of His heavenly good will towards us; this I confirmed by most ancient and certain authorities, and declared that the term of evil was arrived, that all sin was cancelled and forgiven in those who turn to Christ crucified, and with full faith in Him and trust in His promises confidently rest on One who cannot deceive. This doctrine appeared so bitter, detestable, and execrable to these twelve¹—I will not call them men, but *feris immanissimis*, inhuman beasts—that they judged the writer worthy of being thrown into the fire; which punishment, if I am called to undergo on account of the testimony deposed no one will rejoice more than I shall, O Senators. These are not times for a Christian to die in his bed. It is not enough to be accused, dragged to prison, beaten with rods, torn to pieces with whips, sewn up in sacks of leather and thrown out as food for wild beasts; it is also our duty to allow ourselves to be burned in the fire, if by such an end truth may but be brought to light.”²

Here spoke the true spirit of a christian martyr, a spirit which Paleario sustained during his whole life, and which he was now about to seal with his blood. From his letter to the Senate of Milan it is evident that this oration in his defence, when accused of writing a book on the *Benefit of Christ’s death*, was the cause of his present arrest.

The only information which we have of his trial is given by a popish annalist, who says he has drawn his materials from the secret archives.

The chief heads of accusation were :

1. He denied the existence of purgatory.
2. He disapproved of people being buried in churches.
3. He despised all religious orders and their dresses, likening them to the priests of Mars.

¹ The twelve conspirators who had sworn neither to eat nor to drink till Paleario was destroyed.—See *Orat. pro se ipso*, Palearii *Opera*.

² *Idem*.

4. He attributed justification and the remission of sins solely to faith in the divine mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Laderchi says "that he fully approved of all the heretical doctrines written in various commentaries, and that there was no error of *Cæcolampadius*, Luther, Bucer, or other heretics which he had not embraced. Like Erasmus he derided the studies of our divines, and asserted that the Scriptures through their neglect had been laid aside, and that it was owing to heretics that they had been drawn from obscurity and studied afresh in new editions more faithfully translated. Besides the expressions already cited from his oration, while justifying himself on other points, he in fact confesses his heresies. More are to be found in the original trial, words pronounced by himself, which prove him to have been a thorough heretic and worthy of the severest punishment."¹

We have no wish to deny Paleario the glory of being a heretic, for it won for him the martyr's crown. The scanty accounts which have reached us of his constancy during trial suffice to convince us of the unflinching steadiness with which he avowed his opinions to the last. When before the cardinal Inquisitors, the venerable old man, convinced that there was neither hope nor mercy to be expected from those who were eager to dip their hands in his blood, and feeling that they were sitting there to judge him not according to the law of God but of the Pope, addressed them with dignified christian eloquence.

"If your Eminences have so many credible witnesses against me, there is no need to give yourselves or me any further trouble. I am determined to follow the counsel of the blessed apostle Peter, who said, 'Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps: who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously.' Judge therefore and condemn Aonio, satisfy my adversaries, and fulfil your office." This speech, so full of holy determination to die for the truth, is described by the annalist as a burst of fury. Every christian heart will rather exclaim with Schelhorn, "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints!"²

¹ Laderchi, *Annales*, tom. xxii. p. 22.

² Rev. xiii. 10.

Laderchi judged otherwise, and, as M'Cre observes, his "unnatural and disordered conceptions of right and wrong" led him to mistaken constructions of facts; for he closes his account with these remarkable words: "In what frame of mind this Paleario, this son of Belial died, may be learned from his hardened and obstinate mind. Not all the pains bestowed could reclaim him from the darkness of error to the light of truth. He richly merited not only to be destroyed by fire here below, but, after having suffered the present momentary and temporal fire, to be devoted to eternal flames." Words lose their meaning, and speech its value when thus applied; the clearest scriptural truths are here called the darkness of error, and the doctrines which led to the black deeds done in the dungeons of the Inquisition are termed 'the light of truth.'

It was the custom when a prisoner was condemned to death to send him to the prison of Torre di Nona,¹ belonging to the city. Carnesecchi was ten days in solitary confinement there before his execution. How long Paleario remained in the prisons of the Inquisition, and when he was given over to the secular arm, we have no means of ascertaining. A document has been published, said to have been drawn from the registers of the *Misericordia* or Society of *S. Gio. Decollato de' Fiorentini*, which we shall lay before the reader.

This Society was an association of Florentines, who had formed themselves into a company in Rome for the compassionate purpose of visiting, assisting, and comforting persons condemned to death. This fraternity was first established in 1488, under Pope Innocent VIII., under the name of *Misericordia*, and they laid it down as one of their rules that they should attend on every sufferer and exhort him to die patiently for the love of Christ. The government approved and permitted them to exercise this merciful office, and gave them notice the day before a person was to be executed. On receiving information that their services were needed, they chose four of their most devoted brethren who passed the night with the condemned person, exhorted him to penitence and patience in suffering, and set before him the ignominious and unmerited

¹ Torre di Nona, or Tordinone, was probably originally one of the 375 towers of Rome remaining in Alberi's time, who wrote in 1577. It stood in the street leading to the bridge of St. Angelo.

sufferings of Christ. They assisted him in writing letters to his friends, in making a will, and in any of those last friendly offices so consoling to a sufferer.¹

The extract which we now give from the registers of this Society was found in the library of Siena, in company with the autograph letters which Paleario wrote to his wife and children just before his execution.

“On Sunday night our company was summoned, and on Monday the 3rd of July, 1570, Messer Aonio Paleario of Veroli, an inhabitant of Colle di Val d’Elsa, was consigned to us in Tordinone as condemned and sentenced by the ministers of the Holy Inquisition. Who confessed, and penitently asked pardon of God and of his glorious mother V. Maria, and of all the court of heaven, and said he wished to die as a good christian, and that he believed all that the Holy Roman Church believes. He did not make any will except giving us the two letters below, written with his own hand, entreating us to send them to his wife and children at Colle di Val d’Elsa. The holy mass was then celebrated, and at the usual hour he was taken to the bridge, where he was hanged and then burned. Rome, 8th July, 1570.”²

It has been said that he was burned alive, but Latino Latini,³ who was at Rome at the time of his execution, wrote some ill-natured lines on the occasion, which prove this was not the case. In these verses, which are said to have been cold enough to extinguish the fire at the stake, Latino insults the memory of this good man, who died for Christ, by pretending that he changed his name from Antonius to Aonius from dislike of the letter T, because it was in the form of a cross.

We have the pleasure of presenting the reader with the

¹ This fraternity still exists at Rome, and a yearly service is performed at their church of S. Giovanni Decollato, on St. John Baptist’s day, when all the halters which have been used during the year for the criminals, are buried in the cloister. In the church there is a painting of St. John Baptist’s head in a charger.—See Bartolomeo Piazza, *Opere Pie di Roma*, capo 39.

² This extract has been several times published, but still we have no data to determine its authenticity. Lazzeri, in his *Miscellanea*, says he publishes it for the second time, it having been first printed by Lagomarsini, in his *Notes on Epist. Poggiani*, tom. ii. p. 188. M’Crie says it was reprinted by Schelhorn, in his *Dissertatio de Mino Coelo Senesi*, pp. 25, 27, from the *Novelle Letterarie dell’anno 1745*, p. 328, &c. Firenze. See Appendix D.

³ See Appendix E.

accompanying facsimile of the original autograph letters, which are preserved in the library of Siena, addressed

TO HIS DEAREST CONSORT MARIETTA PALEARI, AND HIS TWO BELOVED SONS LAMPREDIO AND FEDRO PALEARI, AT COLLE DI VALDENSA IN BORGO NEAR S. CATERINA.

“MY DEAREST WIFE,

“I would not have you to be sorrowful at my happiness, or to take ill my good. The hour is come in which I shall pass from this life to my Lord and Father and God. I go there as willingly as to the marriage of the Son of the Great King, which I have always entreated my Lord, in his great goodness and infinite liberality, to grant me. So, my beloved wife, console yourself in the will of God and in my satisfaction, and devote yourself to the disconsolate family which remain, bring them up and keep them in the fear of God, and be to them both father and mother. I am already past seventy years old, and useless. My sons must strive by virtue and by work to live honourably. God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with your spirit. Rome, 3rd July 1570.

“Thy husband AONIO PALEARI.

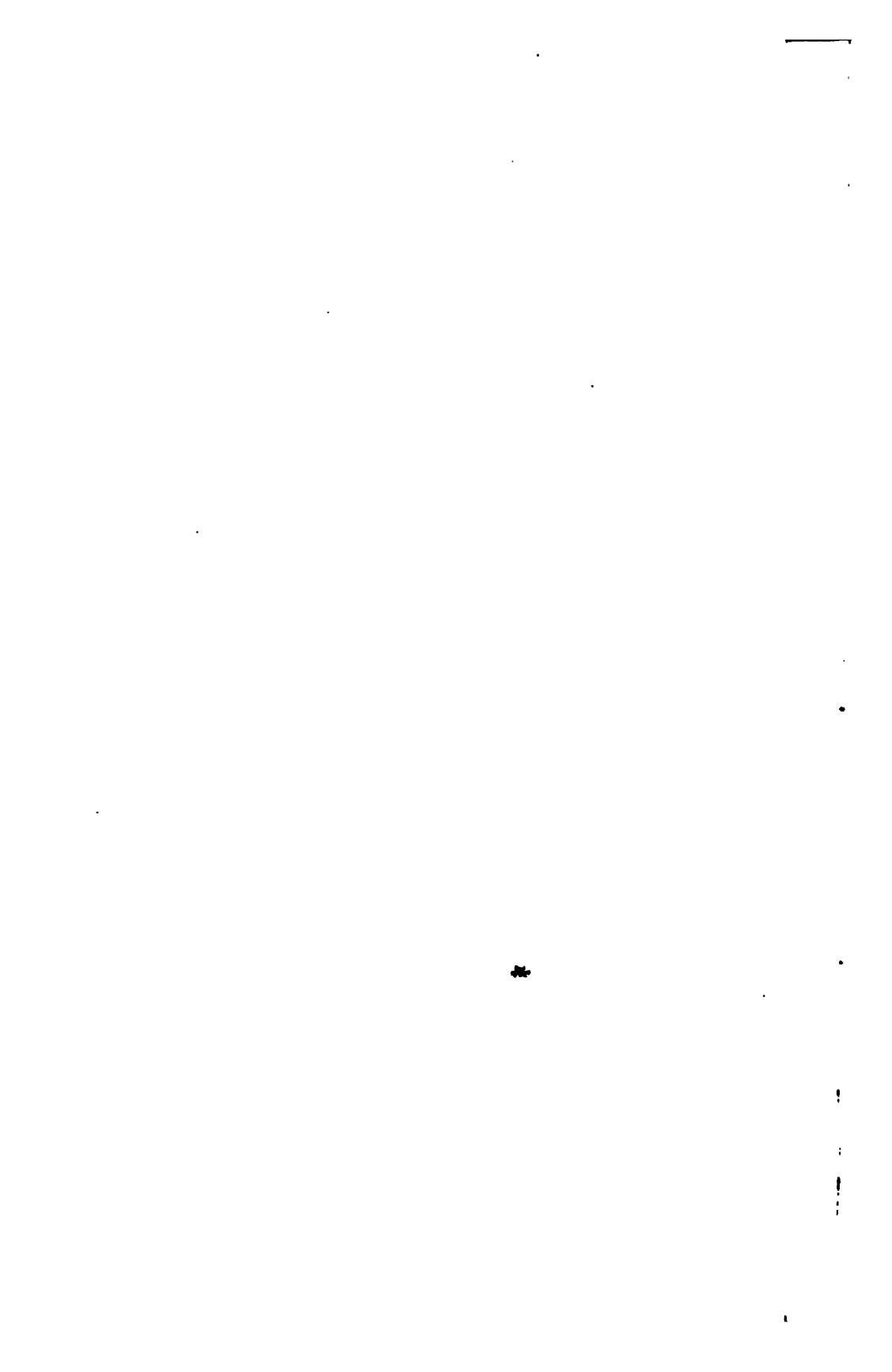
“TO LAMPREDIO AND FEDRO, MY BELOVED SONS:

“These most courteous gentlemen do not fail in their kindness to me to the very last, and allow me to write to you. It has pleased God to call me to himself in the manner which you will hear, and which will appear to you hard and bitter; but if you consider it well, and that it is my greatest pleasure to conform myself to the will of God, you also must be satisfied. I leave you for patrimony, virtue and diligence, as also the little property which you possess. I do not leave you any debts; many ask sometimes who ought to give. You have been emancipated more than eighteen years ago; you are not bound by my debts. If any require them, have recourse to his Excellency my lord Duke, who will not allow you to be wronged. I gave Lampridio the account of debt and credit; or there is your mother's dower. See to place your little sister as God may direct you. Salute Aspasia and sister Aonilla, my beloved daughters in the Lord. My hour approaches. May the Spirit of God console you and preserve you in his grace. Rome, 3rd July 1570.

“Your father, AONIO PALEARI.”

The existence of this friendly society, which was not known to M'Crie, may perhaps account for the certificate of orthodoxy here given by them. Under the cowl of the *Misericordia*¹ Paleario might have friends, members of the order, willing to make

¹ In Florence, as is well known to travellers, they go about in a black linen dress, entirely covering their face and person. Two holes for the eyes make their lugubrious appearance more frightful. The dress originated in the time of the plague. The Florentine society assists the sick, and in case of accident a bell brings the requisite number of brethren to do their office.



a favourable report to save him from being burned alive. The extract from the register records two witnesses, one a chaplain, the other a Dominican friar; these it is to be supposed were not members of the *Misericordia*. Besides the rector or *Proveditore* of the fraternity, there were present five *confratelli* "brethren."¹ We can never persuade ourselves that Paleario in his last moments declared "that he believed all that the church of Rome believed." What we cannot ascertain with accuracy we must leave to Him who knows the secrets of all hearts, and supports his servants in their most trying hours.

There is every reason to believe that executions took place publicly in the little square or *piazza* at the foot of the bridge of S. Angelo. The prison Tordinone was at a short distance, in a line with the *piazza*; a theatre is now built upon its site, and if the earth could speak instead of reechoing the sounds of the viol and the dance, it would tell of the sighs and the tears, of the prayers and the sufferings of the prisoners who passed from thence to death. The execution of the celebrated Beatrice Cenci in 1599 may give some idea of that of Paleario. "On Saturday morning a scaffolding was erected in the *piazza*, or square, of the bridge. Two carriages were sent to Tordinone. The *Misericordia* arrived, bearing a huge cross; the doors were opened, the condemned were brought forth, and knelt down before the cross. The executioner tied their hands and arranged them in the car on the way to the place of execution."²

In the library of Siena there is a genealogy³ of Paleario, by which it would appear he had had seven children, five of whom were living at the time of his death, two sons and three daughters. Aspasia was married in 1557 to Fulvio della Rena, son of Giuliano a physician.⁴ Aonilla was a nun in the convent of S. Catharina at Colle. Sofonisba was married to Claudio Porziji; as her father does not mention her she was perhaps not alive. Aganippe was probably the name of the little sister whom Paleario desired his sons "to bring up as God should

¹ In a loose sheet in the library of Siena, immediately following the extract above given, we find, "Oggi è stato bruciato Aonio Paleario già letterato in Pavia." This is a mistake for Padua.

² MS. account. See also Guerazzi, *Beatrice Cenci*, cap. xxii.

³ See Appendix F.

⁴ The contract is in the library of Siena; her dower was 1200 florins.

give them grace." As in the genealogy there are two sons called Lampridio, one probably died. His sons were grown up and had each entered upon a learned profession; they could inherit nothing, as the Inquisition would take possession of whatever property remained after the execution. By a refinement in cruelty the children of heretics were made beggars and their names marked with opprobrium. A MS. at Siena, of doubtful authority, says that Fedro Paleario had a daughter called Sofonisba, of such exquisite beauty as to shame the sun itself! The writer adds that she shone with brilliance at Florence, was admired by the grand duke Cosimo, educated and portioned by him, and afterwards suitably married. No direct descendants of Paleario are known except through this granddaughter Sofonisba.

But his works still speak for him, and attest his great zeal for the truths of the Gospel, and the close attention with which he had studied the Scriptures. His testimony or accusation against the Popes and their followers, which he happily succeeded in concealing, is a most able and lucid exposition of the errors of the papacy. Each point is logically argued and supported by proofs from Scripture and quotations from the fathers.

Paleario differed in two points from the generality of Protestants; he considered matrimony as a sacrament, and thought it unlawful to take an oath on any occasion in a court of justice. For the first, we must examine the etymology and original meaning of the word sacrament. For the second, the society of christians called Friends will be found on his side.

We cannot do better than close this tribute to the memory of so eminent a christian martyr by an extract from his most able controversial work. We must remember that it was written with the intention of being spoken before a General Council.

He addresses himself to all who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to princes, and to the whole christian world.¹

"The time is come to give a firm and holy testimony for Christ. For in past years, when the manifestation of the truth was threatened with thongs, rods, fire, and other horrors, we were unable to declare our faith, piety, or devotion towards Christ; we had then perhaps some excuse: because, even had we braved every danger, we could not have materially assisted

¹ AONII PALEARII VERULANI TESTIMONIUM, *Ad Gentes et Nationes que invocant nomen Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI.*—*Opera*, p. 207.

our brethren. But now that the opportunity is offered us by this same God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the author of all good, what have we to fear brethren? Why should we refuse to be mocked and scorned of men, to be beaten with rods, or thrown into the fire for having given our testimony to the truth? It is not the first time that these things have happened to those who seek to follow Christ. Remember, I beseech you, how Councils attended by great numbers, have (as our Lord predicted¹) condemned to these same punishments those holy men who within the memory of our fathers laid down their lives and shed their blood to render testimony to Christ. We shall suffer all things willingly by taking courage and fixing our minds, not on whether we can keep hold of life and see the Gospel of the Son of God burdened with the comments of Satan, but how, while animating our brethren, we can die for Christ that we may go to him; and thus not with words but blood leave a witness to posterity. I, Aonio, servant of Jesus Christ, here depose a firm testimony that if necessary, I do not refuse to die for that faith which I owe to Christ as the author of my peace and salvation."²

Some ingenious Greek and Latin lines have been written on Paleario, which are both truthful and elegant.

Πρὸς Ἀόνιον Παλεάριον.
 Ὀνομά σοι πάρος ἦν Ἀντώνιος· ὅτι κεκλήθαι
 Ἀονίδας φίλων ἤθελες Ἀόνιος.
 Καὶ φίλων Κικέρωνα, πέφυγας τοῦνομα κείνου
 Ἀνέρος, ὃν Κικέρων, σοι φίλος, ἐχθρὸν ἔχει.

Aonius qui nunc es, eras Antonius olim,
 Aonii Aonidum dat tibi nomen amor.
 Quin et amans Tulli, merito, quem Tullius hostem
 Sensit, ab hoc renuis nomen habere viro.³

¹ Matthew x.

² Palearii *Opera*; *Testimonia*, p. 207, and Appendix G.

³ Nicéron, *Hommes Célèbres*.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XII.

Page 9. A.

The academies or assemblies of learned men which arose during the revival of literature at the close of the fifteenth century spread in the sixteenth throughout Italy,¹ and were greatly instrumental in giving an impulse to learning. After Florence, no city of Tuscany was so distinguished for its literary meetings as Siena. The most ancient was the *Rozzi*. They met first under the name of *Congrega*; the original object was the recital of poetry, they soon began however to write and to recite plays in the evenings and on holidays. These comedies were for the most part written in a popular style, in which the sayings of the vulgar were introduced for the amusement of the audience. Their great success reached the ears of Leo X., who often invited the academicians to Rome to perform before him. The troubles of Siena put a stop to these meetings of the academies, and just as they were beginning to recover their ancient reputation in 1568 they were forbidden altogether. This was the period of the violent persecutions of Pius V. and the exaltation of Cosmo I., which may account for the suspension of the *Rozzi*, as well as of the *Inspidi*, *Smarriti*, the *Selvatichi* and *Raccolti*; the *Intronati* academy was chiefly occupied in polishing and embellishing the Tuscan language, and to this day the people of Siena speak a purer and more harmonious dialect than the rest of Tuscany. When Ortenso Landi printed his parodoxes in 1543 he was afraid of the censures of this academy. *Aspetto indubitemente, che gli Intronati di Siena mi muovino aspra guerra*. Theatrical composition also occupied the attention of the *Intronati*, and we can well understand how the Inquisition objected to the imprudent sallies of these keen witted spirits.²

Page 10. B.

Muratori, in his learned dissertations on Italian antiquities, makes the painful confession that no age or kingdom since the use of letters has been free from literary impostures. Formerly it was much more easy to fabricate false deeds and to get them generally received, as few were able to discover the deceit; the easy credulity with which they were received offered great temptation for the concoction of what were called pious frauds. Such was the nature of the famous donation of Constantine to the Church of Rome which is now generally acknowledged to be a false deed got up in the early ages. It is uncertain, says Muratori, at what period the extraordinary liberality of the Emperor Constantine was bestowed on the Church of Rome or when it began to obtain credence; but it is not impossible that the legend took its

¹ See P. Giam. Alb., Somasco *Accademie pubbliche e private* 1688; and *Specimen Historiæ Academicarum Italiae*.

² Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 128.

rise from the unguarded expressions of some popular orator in the eighth century. In exaggerating the prerogatives of the Roman pontiff he probably declared that Constantine retired to the Eastern Empire in order to leave the Western entirely under the dominion of the Popes. In the eleventh century, during the reign of Leo IX., this was openly asserted. In the 49th Epist. of the *Codice Carolino*, Adrian I. wrote to Charlemagne saying, *Per Constantini largitatem Sancta Dei Catholica et Apostolica Romana Ecclesia elevata et exaltata, cui et Potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est.* If the reader stopped here, says Muratori, he might imagine that Adrian I. believed in this imposture. But on reading further the explanation is given, and it is evident that patrimonies and not the donation of Constantine are here spoken of. *Et pro hoc petimus eximiam Præcellentiam vestram, ut in integro ipsa Patrimonia B. Petro et nobis restituere jubeatis.* See the whole passage in Muratori, *Antichità Italiane*, Diss. 34, tom. ii. p. 21.

Page 19. C.

“Ecco il sincero e piacevol racconto che ne fa il Lancellotto. Questo di da hora una e mezzo di notte in casa di M. Nicolò Machello Fisico che faceva il pasto per una sua filiola fatta sposa di M. Francesco Camurana, in il più bello della festa se comparse tri trombetti mascarati e fecero mia sonata, come se fa a le eride e poi mentò due mascare in suso una credenza, uno legava pieno e uno diceva farte una cosa scritta in uno folio de carta pieno, le quali cose tute erano in vituperio e cariepo di Don Serafino Canonico Regolare et quale ha predicato lo advento e molti di dopo natale nel Duomo di Modena et ha declarato insieme con li Frati de S. Domenico et altri religiosi certo libretto ch s'era sparso per la città sotto spetie de Santità essere heretico et Luterano el quale libro lo vole sustentare li, infra scritti Letterati de Modeno appellati quel de la Cademia tanto più che in suso le colonne de la porta del Domo et per suso li contarni de la città e la porta di deti Frati ze stato anchora più volte de li scritti molto dishonesti

“Maritò (il Macohello) una sua figluola a Francesco Camurana. et nel celebrare le nozze Antonio Bandinello che poi riuscì Lettore pubblico d'umanità, ma scelerato, insieme con un compagno in forma di trombetti fecero certi bandi di far ridere ne quali pungevano le vedove et le donne devote de Frati.”—*Biblioteca Modonese.*

Page 19. D.

Lucrezia was the daughter of Lodovico Pico della Mirandola. She married Claudio, of the noble and ancient house of Rangoni. It was celebrated for its valour in arms and for its distinguished condottieri during the Italian wars. Claudio, Lucrezia's husband, was as well as herself a generous patron of literature and a liberal benefactor of learned men. They both patronised Pietro Aretino and loaded him with benefits. In the letters of Bernard Tasso we find Claudio so liberal of his gifts to him that he was obliged to refuse some of them. Lucrezia was a staunch Roman Catholic, and corresponded with Muzio one of the great champions of the Roman Catholic faith; it seems he had warned her not to be seduced by what he called new opinions, and pointed out to her what a dangerous person she had in her house, alluding probably to some learned man whom she patronised, perhaps to Ortenso Landi. These warnings were not without effect. A book having been lent to her, imbued with the reformed opinions, she immediately gave it up, and Muzio in his third letter thus addresses her: “It grieves me that I have disturbed your mind, though I rejoice at the cause, which cannot but be a merit in the eyes of God as you grieve that you have been even suspected of being out of the pale of the Roman Catholic Church, which is the pillar and foundation of truth.”—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 81.

Page 36. E.

Filippo Valentino was a doctor of laws, and endowed with those rare talents for which Modena seems to have been remarkable; he had studied under Panfilo Sassi, a man gifted with a most original genius and uncommon powers of memory. His passionate love of study urged him to form an Academy at Modena for the cultivation of learning. While still a young man he directed his attention to the whole range of human science and literature; he took special delight in philosophy, and was so desirous of understanding divine things that he studied the Scriptures in the original tongues. He was gifted with the wonderful talent of improvising verses on any given subject both in Latin and Italian, and often sang his verses to the sound of the lyre. He lived retired from the world in a villa near Verona, and refused all invitations to the courts of princes, saying it was a base thing for a philosopher to make himself the slave of other men. He died about the year 1515, long before the misfortunes of the Academy. Castelvetro in his MS. memoirs of learned men relates an amusing instance of Sassi's surprising memory. A person having recited a poem in praise of the Mayor, Sassi pretended to be offended with the poet for having borrowed his poem, and in proof that he was the author repeated the whole word for word as he had heard it read. The real author was aghast with astonishment, till Sassi laughed, and declared he had never heard a word of it before, and only recited from memory. Filippo Valentino was one of the magistrates of the town, and a member of the Academy; when the Confession of Faith was to be signed he fell ill and could not sign it. Lancelotto says he was one of the chief instigators of hatred against the priests. Flight alone saved him from condign punishment. See *Biblioteca Modenese*.

Page 50. F.

Fontanini says that Castelvetro published the *Luoghi comuni* of Philip Melancthon, printed them at Venice, and spread them with impunity throughout Italy and even at Rome, where they were afterwards burned by the hand of the executioner. See *Scaligerana*, p. 342; and Pallavicino, *Concilio de Trento*, lib. xv. cap. x., who cites the depositions of Castelvetro.

Page 58. G.

Tiraboschi in *Biblioteca Modenese* gives the following list of the works of Castelvetro:

Censura del Castelvetro sopra lo Canzone d' Annibale Caro.

Giunta fatta ai ragionamenti degli Articoli e de' Verbi di P. Bembo, 1563.

Correzioni di Alcune cose nel Dialogo delle lingue di Benedetto Varchi, 1572.

Le Rime del Petrarca brevemente sposte Basilea, 1582.

Poetica d' Aristotile volgarizzata ed espose. Vienna, 1563. A work of great erudition.

Lettera del *Dubbioso* Academia.

Dichiarazione del *Pater Noster* e modo d' ascoltar la Messa. Printed by P. Gadaldino in 1520. Without author's name, but has the owl and the word *керрика*, and Gadaldino's sign, a child seated on a tortoise.

Traduzione di Poesie Provenzali.

Opera varie critiche non più stampate colla vita dell autore da Lod. Ant. Muratori, Lione, 1717.

Unedited works.

Sposizione de' Vangeli del Crisostomo abbreviata da Teofilotto Arcivescovo di Bulgaria tradotta in lingua Italiana; from an ancient MS. in the

Vatican library, and that of St. Mark at Venice. The original is preserved in the Castelvetro family. *Racconto delle vite d'alcuni Letterati del suo tempo di Messer L. C.* In the Ducal library of Modena is preserved the edition of Juvenal and Persius, made by Aldo in 1501, with interlineations and Latin notes by Castelvetro.

A copy of the *Commedia* of Dante, with notes in Castelvetro's handwriting, was in the possession of S. F. Capelli.

CHAPTER XIII.

Page 70. A.

Pope Nicolò V., by a brief in 1456, granted an investiture to Count Borso and his legitimate children for the lordship of Ferrara, on condition of paying to the papal see 500 florins of gold. This investiture was renewed by Sixtus IV. in 1472 to Ercole I. with the title of Duke to him and his children, and the tribute was increased to 7000 florins. On the marriage of Alfonso prince of Ferrara with Lucrezia Borgia, daughter of Alexander VI., in 1502, the investiture was confirmed, and the tribute reduced to 4000 ducats during the lives of Ercole, Alfonso, and the children of Lucrezia; after this time it was to be annually increased 1000 florins. The estates of the Duke of Ferrara were confiscated by Julius II., but released by Leo X., and the rate of tribute fixed by Alexander VI. confirmed. Adrian VI. did the same in 1522, but in 1523 Clement VII. refused the tribute till Charles V. made peace by his *laudo*, and ordered the Duke of Ferrara to pay 7000 ducats of gold annually, and within a year 100,000 for Modena. Paul III. restored the investiture, and fixed the tribute at 7000 ducats. The Duke promised to pay down 180,000 ducats and to take annually 2000 sacks of salt at the Pope's price.—See Frizzi, *Memorie*, Georgi, *Vita Nic. V.*, and Rainaldi, *Annales*.

Page 72. B.

“ Au dict an 1528, le dimenche, vingthuictiesme de juing, madame Renée de France, fille de feu roy Loys dousiesme de ce nom et seur de la Roynne, madame Claude, dernièrement décédée, fust espousée au filz aîné du filz du duc de Ferrare, italien, et furent les espousailles faictes à la Sainte-Chappelle du Palays à Paris, et (il) estoit venu en France pour ce faire, incontinent après Pasques. Il y eust au dict mariage grand triomphe et fut la feste et banquet fait au Palays, en la salle de Saint-Loys, qui fut fort honorable, et y furent invitez tous les barons de Bretaigne et autres princes et seigneurs de France en gros nombre; et les espousa en la dicte Sainte-Chappelle monsieur Du Prat, chancelier de France, archevesque de Sens, à la porte de l'église, et le trésorier de la Sainte-Chappelle, évesque, chanta la messe qui fut basse.

“ Le Roy luy donna en mariage la comté de Chartres, avec Gisors et Montargis, pour en prendre chacun an le revenu, jusques à ce qu'il luy ait baillé la somme de deux cens cinquante mil escus pour une fois paie; et lui faisait bailler par chacun an, pour les choses dessus dictes, la somme de vingtquatre mil escus au dict duc de Ferrare.”—*Journal d'un Bourgeois*, p. 362.

Page 76. C.

“Les sévérités des parlements avaient redoublé à la suite d’une nouvelle et solennelle condamnation de la doctrine de Luther, prononcé en 1528 par les synodes provinciaux de Lyon, de Bourges et de Sens. Le synode de Sens se réunit à Paris; il fut présidé par le chancelier du Prat. Sa session dura huit mois, qu’il employa surtout à formuler la doctrine catholique en opposition à la doctrine luthérienne. Du Prat persuada à François Ier, d’encourager le synode à faire son devoir; c’était s’engager à faire le sien; on fit bien voir au roi qu’on l’avait compris ainsi. Déjà deux fois en 1523 et en 1526 François Ier, sur les instances de sa sœur, avait soustrait Louis de Berquin¹ aux poursuites de la Sorbonne. Berquin était considéré de la cour, chéri du roi; mais la faveur dont il jouissait ne put le sauver après cette nouvelle condamnation de la doctrine de Luther. Poursuivi comme auteur, traducteur et détenteur d’écrits hérétiques, il obtint, il est vrai en raison de sa qualité, qu’on lui désignât douze juges au lieu de quatre; mais il n’en fut pas moins brûlé vif, le 22 Avril 1529. Erasme a loué son savoir et raconté sa mort; son bucher est encore célèbre aujourd’hui.”—Lutteroth, *Reformation en France*, p. 13.

Page 81. D.

The energetic preface to the “Institutes,” written when persecution was hottest in France, was an endeavour to place before the king of France the real opinions of the reformed party, and the injustice of their condemnations. “To such lengths has the persecution gone, that the truth of Christ, if not altogether dissipated and destroyed, is as it were put to shame and buried. The unhappy church is suffering under the frightful punishments inflicted upon it; it is crippled by exile, and bowed to the earth by threats; none dare open their mouth in its defence; and still our enemies strive with undiminished fury to pull down this half-destroyed edifice. No champion arises to resist these furies. When any one appears more than usually affected by the truth, they pretend that the errors and imprudence of simple men must be overlooked. Thus speak these modest Catholics, calling that error and imprudence, which they know to be the most certain truth of God; and those foolish, to whose minds Christ has not disdained to reveal the mysteries of celestial wisdom; thus all are put to shame for the Gospel. Let it be your praise then, illustrious king, not to shut your ears or your heart to so righteous a cause; the more especially since it involves the defence of God’s glory upon earth, the exaltation of divine truth, and the firm establishment of the kingdom of Christ. Such a cause is worthy of your hearing, worthy of your consideration, worthy of your tribunal. It is the conviction that he is the viceregent of God which makes a true king. He is not a king, but a tyrant and a robber, who does not seek to promote the glory of his God. Miserably is he deceived who hopes to establish the prosperity of an empire which is not governed by the sceptre, that is, by the word of the Lord.”—*The Life and Times of Calvin*, by Paul Henry, D.D., translated from the German by H. Stebbing, D.D. London, 1849.

Page 93. E.

“On attribue à tort, ce nous semble, le changement, moins brusque qu’on ne le pense, qui survint dans les dispositions de François Ier, à la colère que des placards contre la Messe affichés à Paris, au mois d’octobre 1534, lui

¹ Le dict Barquin avoit cinquante ans et portoit ordinairement robe de veloux, satin et damas et choses d’or, et estoit de noble lignée et moult grand clerc, expert en science et subtil, mais neantmoins il faillit en son sens; toutefois il mourut repentant.—See Felibien, tom. ii. p. 984; Theod. de Beze, *Hist. Ecol.* liv. i.; and Haag, *France Protestante*, and *Journal d’un Bourgeois* de Paris, p. 384.

firent éprouver. On en colla un exemplaire jusque sur la porte de la chambre à coucher du roi, au château d'Amboise. Ces placards, d'un style traînant et lourd, plus propres à irriter qu'à instruire, avaient été affichés malgré l'opposition formelle des personnes sages du parti réformé qui avaient eu connaissance de ce dessein."—*Histoire des Martyrs persécutés et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'Évangile*, 1608. Lutteroth, *La Réformation en France*, pp. 15, 16.

Page 81. F.

FULV. PEEGRINUS MORATUS, Olympiæ filiæ S. D.

"Etsi non ignoro, nihil difficilius, atq; adeo tam difficile esse, quàm loqui ne dū docere de optima pronunciatione separatim, sine actione: tamen quia tibi quicquam negare non possum, nec debeo, cū mihi sis filia, et cupida non solū ornatè dicendi, sed bellè sermonem exprimendi, non nulla breuiter attingam: et primū. Pronunciationem nō tantū obtinere primas, secundas, tertiasq; partes dicēdi, vt de actione Demosthenes, sed multò nobiliorem esse, et maiori maiestate, quæ quidem actio, si quidem non habet totum suum ornamentum in pronunciatione, per alia haud multum renidet: quanquam ipse Tullius conatus sit ostendere, actionem et pronunciationem idem esse."—*Epist. Olympiæ*, p. 65.

Page 111. G.

Among the tracts of his writing Giulio di Milano mentions *Due trattati della proprietà di Dio*. *Due trattati della confessione*. *Due trattati de 'l modo di conoscere Gesù e il fedele da l'empio*. Cento sermoni sopra gli articoli de la fede. *Dichiarationi sui Salmi*. *Dichiarationi su Paolo*. *Dispute contra l'Inquisitione*. *Consolationi ai suoi parenti sopra i casi suoi*. *Avvisi de le cose de la sua vita*.

A very rare book, found in the library of Zurich, contains some tracts by Scipione Calandrini of Lucca, on heresy, and by Bernardino Ochino on purgatory; and *Esortatione al Martirio*, di Giulio di Milano riveduta e stampata. Vi sono aggiunti molti cose necessarie di sapere a nostri tempi come vedrai ne 'l volta de 'l foglio.

Quicumq; vult sequi me, abneget semetipsum et tollet crucem Suam ac Sequatur me. Marc. 8. Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio sit ad salutem. Rom. 10.

Giulio wrote also:

2. Se al Christiano è lecito fuggire la persecutione p. causa de la fede.
3. La passione di Fannio Martire.
4. Epistola à li farisei ampliatì.
5. Epistola contra gl' Anabaptisti scritta a una sorella d' Italia.
6. Una pia meditatione sopra de 'l Pater noster.

The same edition of the *Esortatione al Martirio* is in the Bodleian library at Oxford, bound up with *Dottrina Vecchia e nuova*, and some pieces of Curio Secundo Curioni. In *Il Catalogo* of 1549, published with notes and annotations by P. P. Vergerio, we find the following passage:

"*Il Catalogo* segue e dice *Libretto consolatorio ai perseguitati per la confessione de la verita Evangelica*. Questo, e un altro libriccino del quale si fa mentione poco appresso intitolato *Dottrina Vecchia e Nuova*, ò di Urban Reggius il quale quasi tra i primi hanno nominato e condannato, e anche

"*The Catalogue* goes on and notes *A consolatory book for the persecuted on account of their profession of Evangelical Truth*. This, and another little book which is mentioned soon after, entitled *The New and Old Learning*, are written by Urban Reggius;¹ it was among the first of those

¹ Born at Argalunga, died in 1541. See Melchior Adamo, p. 70, for his life.

in questo si vede la loro crudeltà, per- which were noted and condemned; so
ciò che vogliono ogni giorno affigere, that even in this we see their cruelty,
e perseguitare, cacciare in priggione, in that while they daily afflict, per-
metter in galera, mandare in bando, secute, throw into prison, send to the
privare della dignità, e della robba galleys, banish and deprive of their
questo, e quello, e non vogliono pure rank and property first one and then
che egli habbia dove consolarsi." another, yet they will not allow them
any means of consolation."

Page 113. H.

"Est asecavoir que le bruit fut en juing 1535, que le pape Paul, adverty de l' exécrable justice et horrible que le Roy faisoit en son royaume sur les luthériens, on dit qu' il manda au roy de France, comme il estoit adverti de l' horrible justice qu' il faisoit desdictz luthériens, et néantmoins qu' il pensoit bien qu' il le fist en bonne part, usant toujours du beau tiltre qu' il avoit d' estre nommé le Roy très-chrestien; néantmoins Dieu le créateur, luy estant en ce monde, a plus usé de miséricorde que de rigoureuse justice, et qu' il ne faut aucunes fois user de rigueur et que c' est une cruelle mort de faire brusler vif un homme, dont parce il pourroit plus qu' autrement renoncer la foy et la loy. Parquoy le Pape prioit et requéroit le Roy par ses lettres, vouloir appaiser sa fureur et rigueur de justice en leur faisant grâce et pardon. Parquoy voullant suivre le vouloir du Pape, ainsy qu' il luy avoit mandé par ses lettres patentes, (le Roy) se modéra et manda à la cour de Parlement de non plus y procéder en telle rigueur qu' ilz avoient (faict) par cy devant."—*Journal d' un Bourgeois*, p. 458.

Page 137. I.

Epitaphia. Cælivs S. C. in Olympiæ Fulviæ Moratæ ἀποθνήσκου.

Qui sparsam uiolis humum viator
Panchæoq; ; stupes odore passim
Fragrare omnia, jam benignus audi.
Treis nosti Charitas, nouemq; ; Musas
Scriptis per celebres vetustiorum:
Queis quantum est alibi venustioris
Artis, vel lepidæ eruditionis,
Harum pectora nutriente Phœbo, flatu
Ilo, quem perhibet chorus sacrorum
Vatum de ætherijs plagis uenire,
Consensu tribuunt pari poetæ.
Hoc quam fortè putas tegi sepulchro,
Musarum decima est, charisq; ; quarta.
Hanc, quòd progenitam ferant Olympo
Vatem, Pallas, Olympiam vocavit.
At cur Fulvia nomen inditum illi est?
Fulvi scilicet hæc quòd instar auri
Explorata malis laboriosis,
Et fatis agitata sæpe duris,
Auro purior attamen reperta est:
Seu fulvæ quòd avis modo, beatos
Inter niuere oclites sueta,
Terras liquerit ocyus jacentes.
Quòd verò ingenio valens sagaci
Baris dotibus ingeni puellas
Inter fulserit eruditione,
Castis prædita moribus, bonisq; ;
Morata est ideo uocata vulgo.

Hanc CHRISTVS dominus dedit videndam.
 Terris; at simul ac flagrare vidit
 Hanc desiderio sui, repente
 In cœlum rapuit, sibiq. junxit
 Firmo fœdere connubi ligatam.
 Qui cum nunc placidam capit quietem,
 Consort perpetua beatitatis.
 At tu vive, uale diu uiator
 Virtutemq. animo colas probato,
 Quæ te sola potest beare coalo.

Olymp. Moratæ Opera, p. 249.

Page 138. J.

M. Jules Bonnet in his interesting *Vie D' Olympia Morata* gives the following editions of Olympia Morata's works:

I. "Olympiæ Fulviæ Moratæ mulieris omnium eruditissimæ, latina et græca, quæ haberi potuerunt, monumenta, cum eruditorum iudiciis et laudibus." Basileæ, 1558, p. in 8^o.

II. "O. F. Moratæ feminæ doctissimæ ac plane divinæ orationes, dialogi, epistolæ, carmina, tam latina quam græca, cum eruditorum testimoniis et laudibus." Basileæ, 1562.

III. "O. F. Moratæ, etc. Opera omnia, cum eruditorum testimoniis." Basileæ, 1570. 'Cette édition diffère des précédentes. en ce qu'elle contient de plus sept lettres latines, deux lettres italiennes et deux épitaphes.'

IV. "O. F. Moratæ opera omnia." Basileæ, 1580. 'Cette dernière édition porte le même titre que la troisième, dont elle est l'exacte reproduction. Nous en avons fait constamment usage dans le cours de notre travail.'

The one I have used is not mentioned in the list, but seems to be an enlarged reprint of the edition of 1562, and is probably No. 3 of M. Bonnet's list, as it bears the same date, 1570. It has the dedication to queen Elizabeth, in Latin, by Curioni, dated Basileæ, 1562.

Page 143. K.

"Io ho sentito e sento quel dolore, che un affezionato ed obligato servitore di V. S. Illustriss. sentir possa per la morte di Madama Leonora, si per esser mancato un lume di tanta bontà, si per aver ella perduto un' amorevolissima e virtuosissima sorella, amata da lei quanto si potesse amar più persona in questa vita. Ma essendo stato il caso suo preveduto già tanto tempo, per la lunga e grave infermità, nella quale intendo, che quella felice anima desiderava sommamente partirsi di quà, ed unirsi al suo Redentore; ed avendo ella lasciato quaggiù una eterna memoria del suo Cristianissimo animo, io mi rendo certo, che V. S. Illustriss. con la sua singolar virtù anderà mitigando il dolor suo, ricevuto per tanta perdita, col pensar alla felicità, che deve ora goder in cielo quella benedetta anima, dove ella prega, e pregherà sempre per lei; la qual supplico si degni tenermi in sua buona grazia, e credere, che non cedo a niuno in osservarla e riverirla; ed umilmente le bacio le mani. Di Roma il dì 15 febbrajo, 1581."

CHAPTER XIV.

Page 163. A.

"A. M. AONIO PALERMI, per il Principe.

"Son molti giorni, che per una lettera vostra, scritta a Vincentio Martelli, e per una epistola indirizzata à me, io mi conobbi obligato non solo di ringraziarvi con le parole, ma di mostrarmene grato con li effetti, e dovendo il

Martelli in quel tempo passar da Lucca, hebbe in commessione da me di far l'un di questi uffitij a bocca con voi, e l'altro ch'io mi riserbava ad ogni vostro commodo, offerirre per ogni volta che vi voleste valere di me, e delle cose mie; intendendo poi da lui, che non vi havea potuto vedere, non ho voluto mancar di farvi fede con questa d'un ottima intentione, che tengo in beneficio vostro, e pregarvi ne facciate capitale in ogni vostra occorrenza, che non solo lo debbo fare come a persona della qualità che siete, (di che sempre ho udito ragionare honoratissimamente) ma anchora come à cittadino, e nobile di Salerno. Dove sempre che vi sarà caro di venire a rivedere l'antica stirpe vostra, a me sarà carissimo di conoscervi presentialmente: e in questo mezzo non risparmiateme che io non mi dimenticherò di voi."

Page 163. B.

"ALLA SIG. PORTIA SUA.

"..... Ma perche, se pur piacesse a Dio, della cui volontà, dobbiamo restar quieti, e contenti, che fusse più lungo forse di quello, che sarebbe necessario sappiate in questo mezo come disciplinare i nostri chari figliuolini, si che con molto nostro piacere, e loro ntile, et honore facciano testimonio al mondo della nostra affettione, e diligentia, e della loro virtù, poiche l'isperientia per la giovane età non v'ha anchora insegnato ad educarli, vi darò alcuni documenti cavati parte dagli antichi, parte da moderni Philosophi, co quali governandovi, sarete certa di poter (con la gratia di Dio) riposare la vostra honorata vecchiezza nel seno della loro virtuosa gioventù. 'E perche la ragione dell' educatione, ò della creanza (per parlare co 'l vostro materno vocabolo) si divide in due parti; cio è, ne' costumi, e nelle lettere; l'una delle quali è cura commune del padre, et della madre; l'altra più propria del padre; parlerò con voi solo dei costumi; riserbandomi (se pur piacerà a Dio di darmi vita) la cura degli studi di Torquato nostro; il quale l' infantile età non consente, che si ponga anchora sotto il giogo della disciplina. Dico adunque, che etiandio, che il Datore d' ogni gratia ce gli habbia dati (se la paterna affettione non m'inganna, per quanto in questa tenerà età si può conoscere) belli di corpo, e d'animo, nulladimeno, per ridurgli a quella perfettione, che si desiderà, hanno bisogno di coltura: perche si come non è terra sì aspra, sì dura, e sì infeconda, la quale colta non divenga subito molle, fertile, et buona; ne alcun buono albero, che non essendo

"TO HIS PORTIA.

"..... But if it please God, with whose will we ought always to be content, that our separation should be longer than necessary, learn in this interval how to educate our dear children, so that to our great pleasure and mutual benefit and advantage we may show to the world our affection and solicitude and their virtues. As from your youth you have not experience enough to educate them, I will give you some instructions taken partly from ancient and partly from modern philosophers. By their guidance you will be sure, with the grace of God, to be able to repose in an honourable old age on the bosom of their virtuous youth. The subjects of education or *delle creanza*, to use a maternal phrase, are divided into two parts, conduct and learning. The one is the mutual charge both of father and mother, the other more properly belongs to the father only. I will therefore speak to you only of conduct, reserving to myself, if it please God to spare my life, the care of our Torquato's studies, his infant years not yet permitting him to be placed under the yoke of discipline. I say then that though the giver of all good has made them, if paternal affection does not deceive me, and as far as we can judge in their tender age, beautiful both in body and mind; yet to bring them to the perfection we desire they need cultivation; for as there is no ground however hard, barren, or unfruitful which does not soon become friable, rich, and fertile by cultivation, nor any tree, if not cultivated by removal and grafting, which does not become wild and barren, so there is

co' l trasportarlo, ò con l' innestarlo coltivato, non ritorni sterile, et selvaggio; così non è ingegno di natura rustico, et rozzo, che con una lunga, et buona institutione, et disciplina non si faccia gentile, et docile, ne si buono, et felice, che senza buona, et diligente creanza, non si corrompa, et degeneri dal primo suo buono instituto. A voi che donna sete, il pensiero d' insegnare a Cornelia tutti quegli essercitij, che a virtuosae vergine, quasi ornamento della sua bellezza, e virtù sono dicevoli, e necessari il che so, che saprete fare perfettamenteamente. Vinete lieta, e co' l piacere, che pigliate de chari figliuoli, che ogni hor presenti vi rappresentano l' imagine mia, passate il fastidio della lontananza del marito e vivete lieta. D' Augusta."—Bernardo Tasso, *Lettere*, pp. 396, 403. Ed. 1558.

no mind, however naturally rude and ignorant, which by continued good instruction does not become civilised and docile; nor any so good and happily disposed that it may not be spoiled and degenerate from its good inclinations. To you as a woman belongs the care of teaching Cornelia all those accomplishments which are ornaments to the beauty of a virtuous girl, and which are both honourable and necessary, which I know you are perfectly able to do so. Be cheerful, and relieve the tedium of your husband's absence for the pleasure you take in the dear children, who every moment remind you of their likeness to me. Be happy." (From Augsburg, without date, but it must have been written in 1549 or 1550, when Tasso left Naples with the prince of Salerno.)

CHAPTER XV.

Page 188. A.

Fabrizio Colonna, the father of Vittoria, was a younger son of the ancient and noble house of Colonna, which traced its lineage as far back as 1101, when Pietro di Colonna took up arms against the Pope in favour of the Emperor Henry V. The origin of the family name is thought to be derived either from Columen in the territory of Palestina, or from the family residence at Rome near the Colonna Trajana. They possessed immense estates and lordships on the slopes of the Apennines, spreading down as far as the Appian Way. They lived like independent princes, coined their own money and were free from all acts of vassalage except the first investiture accorded them by the Pope. In 1417 Cardinal Oddo Colonna was made Pope by the Council of Constance. The election having taken place on St. Martin's-day, he took the name of Martin V. During the fourteen years of his pontificate he raised to its highest glory the prosperity of his family. After his death the Colonna were under a cloud for fifty years, and their rivals the Orsini had their turn of papal favour under Sixtus IV.; Innocent VIII. made peace between these two powerful families. In 1485, when the conspiracy among the barons at Naples burst forth, Fabrizio fought against the house of Arragon, and when Charles VIII. appeared in Italy, the Colonna burning to recover his possessions, Tagliacozzo and Albi followed Charles to Naples, but when the French king quitted Italy as hastily as he had entered it, the Arragonese dynasty sought for supporters in the powerful house of Colonna. Fabrizio was made constable of the kingdom, and the alliance was sealed by a marriage contract between Ferrante d' Avalos and Vittoria Colonna, both in their infancy. Her mother Agnesina was the daughter of Federigo, Duke of Urbino, whose family were celebrated for their talents, which seemed to reappear in a remarkable manner on the maternal side in every alternate generation.—Consult Litta, *Famiglie celebre d' Italia*; Coppi, *Memorie Colonnese*; and Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Duke of Urbino*.

Page 192. B.

All' Isola d' Ischia.

Superbo scoglio, altero e bel ricetto
 Di tanti ohiari eroi, d' imperadori :
 Onde raggi di gloria escono fuori,
 Ch' ogni altro lume fan scuro e negletto :
 Se per vera virtute al ben perfetto
 Salir si puote ed agli eterni onori,
 Queste più d' altre degne alme e migliori
 V' andran, che chiudi nel petroso petto.
 Il lume è in te dell' armi ; in te s' asconde
 Casta beltà, valore e cortesia,
 Quanta mai vide il tempo, o diede il cielo.
 Ti sian secondi i fati, e il vento e l' onde
 Rendanti onore, e l' aria tua natia
 Abbia sempre temprato il caldo e il gelo !¹

Proud rock, the bold and safe repair
 Of hero blood and kingly race,
 From whence such rays of glory shine
 As quench the light of other lands ;
 If to eternal bliss we come
 By virtue of a perfect mould,
 Those shelter'd in thy stony breast
 Would sure to highest good attain.
 The light of valour is within,
 And there the modest virtues dwell
 Of beauty chaste, and female worth.
 Propitious is thy happy clime,
 To bring thee honour, winds and waves,
 And air itself, do all combine,
 Temp'ring extremes of heat and cold.

Costanza d' Avalos, Duchess of Francavilla, a person of great talent and spirit, was *châtelaine* of the island of Ischia. In her society, surrounded by the brave and the learned, Vittoria passed the early years of her married life.

Page 202. C.

“ Il Cardinale Pole era, o per opera di Marc' Antonio Flaminio a cui aveva gran credito (*Compend. M. Ant.*) o perchè egli come molto erudito nelle lettere humane, e poco versato nella Theologia scolastica di questa materia, s'era talmente fisso nella giustificazione ex sola fede, et gratia del imputatione, che non solo per lungo tempo tenne così falsa e Luterana opinione, ma anche andava facendo famiglia e scuole numerosa di persone principali et empandosi la casa di persone, servitori e cortigiani che tenessero l' istesso (*Compend. V. Polus*). Voglio

“ Cardinal Pole, either through Marc' Antonio Flaminio, who had great influence, (*Compend. M. Ant.*) or because though very learned in human literature he knew little of scholastic theology, was on this point so wedded to the doctrine of justification by faith only and the grace of imputation, that he not only for a long time held this false Lutheran opinion, but also went about making disciples and numerous converts among persons of importance, and filled his house with servants, people, and courtiers who held the same opinions (*Compend. V. Polus*).

¹ *Lib. II. delle rime, a carte 52 ed. del Giolito 1560, and Visconti Rime di Vittoria Colonna, p. 78.*

credere ch'egli erasse *materialiter* massime essendo il punto così sottile, e difficile, ma nondimeno diede gran maravigliare e scandalo ch'essendo egli uno de' Card^{li} Presidenti al Consiglio di Trento come si è detto, quando vidde che la dottrina di justificatione era conclusa nel concilio, e stava per promulgarsi, con quella opinione ch'egli teneva s'infuse (come fu creduto) d'essere aggravato nel braccio da un catarro e partitosi dal Concilio se ne andò a Padova a' Bagni. Questa sua partenza per così lieve causa, et in tal tempo diede assai da sospettare di lui."—Adriani, *Suoi Tempi*. Thuan. *Hist.* t. i. Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paolo IV.* Chap. ix.

I am willing to believe that he erred theoretically, chiefly because it was such a subtle and difficult subject, but nevertheless he caused great astonishment and scandal, being one of the Cardinal Presidents of the Council of Trent, as has been said; for when he saw that the doctrine of justification was decided on in the Council and was about to be promulgated, holding the opinions he did, he feigned (as it was thought) to be suffering in his arm from cold, and left the Council for the baths of Padua. His departure at such a time for so trifling a reason gave much cause of suspicion against him."

Page 207. D.

"Morto Paolo III. ai 10 di Novembre 1549, Camillo Colonna col favore e coll' aiuto dei vassalli ricuperò ad Ascanio assente Paliano e le altre avite castella.

"Ascanio all' epoca della morte di Paolo III. era in Venezia. Ritornò poscia a Roma nell' anno 1550, e dall' Ambasciadore Cesareo fu presentato a Giulio III. il quale lo accolse cortesemente, e dispose che godesse tranquillamente i beni ricuperati."—Adriani, *Suoi Tempi*, lib. vii. Coppi, *Memorie Colonnese*, p. 309.

"On the death of Paul III., the 10th of November, 1549, Camillo Colonna, with the assistance and protection of the vassals, recovered Paliano and the other hereditary castles for Ascanio during his absence.

"Ascanio was at Venice when Paul IV. died: he subsequently returned to Rome in 1550, and was presented by the imperial ambassador to Julius III. The Pope received him graciously, and so arranged matters that he enjoyed his recovered property in tranquillity."

Page 208. E.

"Oratio edita per Victoriam Columnam Marchionem Piscariæ.

"Da preor, Domine, ut ea animi depressione quæ humilitati meæ convenit, eaque mentis elatione, quam tua postulat celsitudo, te semper adorem: ac in timore quem tua incutit justitia, et in spe quam tua clementia permittit vivam continue, meque tibi uti potentissimo subiiciam, tanquam sapientissimo disponam, et ad te ut perfectissimum et optimum convertar. Obsecro, pater pietissime, ut me ignis tuus vivacissimus depuret, lux tua clarissima illustret, et amor tuus ille sincerissimus ita proficiat, ut ad te nullo mortalium rerum obice detenta felix redeam et secura."—*Numero IV. dal codice Casanatense*, D. vi. 38; Visconti *Rime di Vittoria Colonna*, p. cxlv.

"Prayer of Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara.

"Grant me, O Lord, ever to adore thee with that humility of mind becoming my low estate, and with that elevation of thought which thy Majesty claims. May I live always in that fear which thy justice inculcates, and in that hope which thy clemency permits. I would submit myself to thee as omnipotent, be guided by thee as the all-wise, and look up to thee as the all-perfect and excellent. I beseech thee, O most compassionate Father, to purge me with thy brightest fire, to enlighten me with thy transcendent light, and may I so advance in the purity of thy love that no earthly object shall be able to prevent my resting happily and securely in it."

Page 209. F.

"Illustriss. e Reverendiss. Monsignor Obligatiss. Quanto più ho havuto modo di guardar le azioni del Reverendiss. Monsignor d'Inghilterra, tanto più me è parso veder, che sia vero e sincerissimo Servo de Dio: onde quando per carità si degna responder a qualche mia domanda, mi par di esser sicura di non poter errare seguendo il suo parere. Et perchè mi disse, che li pareva che, se lettera o altro di Fra Belardin mi venisse, la mandassi a V. S. Reverendiss., senza responder altro, se non mi fossi ordinato; havendo havuto ogi la alligata col Libretto che vedrà, celle mando e tutto era in un pligho dato alla posta qui da una Stafetta, che veniva da Bologna senza altro Scritto dentro; e non ho voluto usar altri mezzi che mandarle per un mio de servizio. Sicchè perdoni V. S. questa molestia, benchè, come vede, sia in Stampa, e Nostro Signor Dio Sua Reverendiss. persona guardi con quella felice vita di Sua S., che per tutti i suoi Servi se desidera. Da Santa Catarina di Viterbo adì iiii. di Decembre. Serva di V. S. Reverendiss. e Illustriss. la Marchesa di Pescara."

In a Postscript she adds: "Mi dole assai che quanto più pensa scusarsi, più se accusa; e quanto più crede salvar altri da naufraggi, più li espone al diluvio, essendo lui fuor dell'Arca, che salva e assicura."—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 43.

Page 211. G.

1538. Rime della divina Vittoria Colonna, marchesana di Pescara. Parma, in 8.

1539. Rime della divina Vittoria Colonna, marchesana di Pescara di nuovo ristampate, aggiuntovi le sue stanze, e con diligenza corrette. In 8, senza data di luogo e nome di stampatore, le pubblicò Filippo Pirogallo.

1540. In Venezia per Comin da Trino.

1544. Le rime della diva Vittoria Colonna da Pescara inclita marchesana, nuovamente aggiuntovi **XXIII**. sonetti spirituali, et le sue stanze, et uno trionfo della croce di Cristo, non più stampato, con la sua tavola. In Venezia per Bartolommeo detto l'Imperator, in 8.

1548. Le rime spirituali della illustrissima signora Vittoria Colonna, marchesana di Pescara. Non più stampate da pochissime in fuori, le quali altrove corrotte e qui corrette si leggono. In Vinegia al segno di S. Giorgio, per Comin da Trino in Monferrato, in 8.

1548. Rime spirituali di Vittoria Colonna. In Venezia presso Vincenzo Valgriso, in 4.

1552. Rime della signora Vittoria Colonna, marchesana illustrissima di Pescara, corrette per Messer Lodovico Dolce. In Vinegia, appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrara e fratelli, in 12.

1558. Tutte le rime della illustrissima ed eccellentissima Vittoria Colonna, marchesana di Pescara. Con l'esposizione del sig. Rinaldo Corso, nuovamente mandate in luce da Girolamo Ruscelli. In Venezia per Giovanni Battista e Melchior Sessa fratelli, in 8.

1559. Rime della signora Vittoria Colonna, marchesana illustrissima di Pescara, con l'aggiunta delle rime spirituali di nuovo ricorrette per messer Ludovico Dolce. In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito, in 12.

1586. Rime spirituali della signora Vittoria Colonna, marchesana illustrissima di Pescara. In Verona appresso Girolamo Discopoli, in 8.

1692. Rime di M. Vittoria Colonna d'Avalos, marchesana di Pescara, di nuovo date in luce da Antonio Bulifon. In Napoli, in 12.

1760. Rime di Vittoria Colonna, marchesana di Pescara, corrette ed illustrate, con la vita della medesima, scritta da Giambattista Rota, academico eccitato. In Bergamo presso Pietro Lancellotti, in 8.

1840. Le Rime di Vittoria Colonna corrette su i testi a penna e pubblicate con la vita della medesima dal Cav. Ercole Visconti. Si aggiungono le poesie ommesse nelle precedenti edizioni e le inedite. Roma.

CHAPTER XVI.

Page 270. A.

Peter Lombard was called the Master of Sentences, because he had drawn up a sort of theological digest from the Latin Fathers. He was bishop of Paris though a native of Lombardy; his five books of Sentences were written in the year 1172, and were soon used as a text-book, which took the place of the Holy Scriptures, and were illustrated and expounded by divines and learned men as works of paramount authority. This departure from the divine rule in religion prepared the way for a more subtle class of theologians, at the head of whom was Abelard, and thus the scholastic system was established, and the simple truths of the Gospel wholly cast into shade till the period of the Reformation. Then as now, theologians were divided into two classes, the *Biblici* and *Sententiarii*, those who took their religious belief from Scripture, and those who allowed human inventions and opinions to be their guide. Thus Peter Lombard, though so highly extolled by his followers, was far from being a benefactor to mankind, for he led them away from the light of the Sun of Righteousness to a land of shadows and subtleties. The most erudite expositors of Scripture of this period, such as Gilbert bishop of London, and Hervey a learned Benedictine monk, seem to have had no idea of the simple and spiritual meaning of Scripture.—See Mosheim, *Ecol. Hist.*, and Roger Bacon, *Opp. Maj. ad Clementem IV.* Lond. 1733.

Page 272. B.

The ceremony of baptism in the Roman Catholic Church is of so extraordinary a nature, and contains such a curious mixture of heathenism and christianity, that we translate a part, persuaded it will be new to the generality of readers.

N. Quid petis ab Ecclesia Dei ?

Patrinus respondet. Fidem.

Sacerdos. Fides, quid tibi præstat ?

Patrinus respondet. Vitam æternam.

Sacerdos. Si igitur vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata. Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, et proximum tuum sicut teipsum.

Deinde ter exsufflet leniter in faciem infantis, et dicat semel: Exi ab eo (vel ab ea), immunde spiritus, et da locum Spiritui Sancto Paraclito.

Postea pollice faciat signum Crucis in fronte, et in pectore infantis, dicens: Accipe signum Crucis tam in fronte ✠, quam in corde ✠, sume fidem cœlestium præceptorum: et talis esto moribus, ut templum Dei jam esse possis.

N. What do you ask from the church of God ?

Godfather answers. Faith.

Priest. What will faith procure for you ?

Godfather. Eternal life.

Priest. If you wish to attain life you must obey the commandments. Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself.

He then blows gently in the face of the child, saying: Go out of him (or her) thou unclean spirit, and give place to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclite.

Afterwards he makes the sign of the Cross with the thumb on the forehead and on the breast of the child, saying: Receive the sign of the Cross both on your forehead and in your heart; be faithful to the heavenly precepts, and let such be your life, that you may be henceforth in the temple of God.

[A prayer in Latin follows, and then the Priest, putting his hand on the head of the child, prays that all blindness of heart may be expelled and the chains of Satan broken with which he was bound.]

Deinde Sacerdos benedicat salem, quod semel benedictum alias ad eundem usum deservire potest.

Benedictio Salis.

Exorcizo te, creatura salis, in nomine Dei Patris omnipotentis ✠, et in caritate Domini nostri Jesu Christi ✠, et in virtute Spiritus ✠ Sancti. Exorcizo te per Deum vivum ✠, per Deum verum ✠, per Deum sanctum ✠, &c., &c.

Deinde immittat modicum salis benedicti in os infantis, dicens :

N. Accipe salem sapientiæ: propitiatio sit tibi in vitam æternam. R. Amen.

Sacerdos. Pax tibi. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

[Then follows a Prayer, and the ceremony continues.]

Exorcizo te, immunde spiritus, in nomine Patris ✠, et Filii ✠, et Spiritus ✠ Sancti, ut exeas, et recedas ab hoc famulo Dei N. : ipse enim tibi imperat, maledicte damnate, qui pedibus super mare ambulavit, et Petro mergenti dexteram porrexit, &c.

Hic pollice in fronte signat infantem, dicens : Et hoc signum sanctæ Crucis ✠, quod nos fronti ejus damus, tu, maledicte diabole, numquam audeas violare. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. R. Amen.

Mox imponit manum super caput infantis, et dicit :

Oremus.

[Then follows a Prayer.]

Postea Sacerdos imponit extremam partem stolæ super infantem, et introducit eum in Ecclesiam, dicens : N. Ingredere templum Dei, ut habeas partem cum Christo in vitam æternam. R. Amen.

[Having entered the body of the church the Priest repeats the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and the unclean spirit is again exorcised.]

Postea Sacerdos digito accipiat de saliva oris sui, et tangat aures et nares infantis: tangendo vero aurem dexteram, et sinistram, dicat: Ephphata, quod est, Adaperire: deinde tangit nares, dicens: In odorem suavitatis. Tu autem effugare, diabole; appropinquabit enim judicium Dei.

Then the Priest blesses the salt, which when once blessed may serve again for the same use.

Blessing the salt.

I exorcise thee, thou creature salt, in the name of God the Father omnipotent, in the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in the virtue of the Holy Spirit. I exorcise thee by the living God, ✠, by the true God, ✠, by the Holy God, ✠, &c., &c.

Then he puts a small quantity of the salt which has been blessed into the child's mouth, saying: Receive the salt of wisdom: may it be a propitiation for thee unto life eternal. Amen.

Priest. Peace be to you. R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

I exorcise thee, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to go forth and depart from this servant of God. N. He that commandeth thee, thou cursed and damned, is the same who walked on the sea, and who stretched forth the right hand to Peter when sinking.

With the thumb he signs the child on the forehead with the sign of the Cross, saying: This sign of the holy Cross ✠, which we mark on this forehead, dare not, thou cursed devil, to violate. By the same Christ our Lord. R. Amen.

He then puts his hand on the head of the child, and says:

Let us pray.

Then the Priest lays upon the child the end of his surplice, and introduces him into the Church, saying: N. Enter into the temple of God, that thou mayest have a share with Christ in eternal life. R. Amen.

Then the Priest, with the saliva of his mouth, touches the ears and the nose of the child, touching both the right and left ears, saying: Ephphata, that is, be opened; then he touches the nose, saying: In odour of sweetness. Fly thou devil; for the judgment of God approaches.

Postea interrogat baptizandum nominatim, dicens: N. Abrenuntias Satanæ?

Respondet Patrinus. Abrenuntio.

Sacerd. Et omnibus operibus ejus?

Patrinus. Abrenuntio.

Sacerdos. Et omnibus pompis ejus?

Patrinus. Abrenuntio.

Deinde Sacerdos intingit pollicem in oleo Catechumenorum, et infantem ungit in pectore, et inter scapulas in modum Crucis, dicens: Ego te linio ✠ oleo salutis in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, ut habeas vitam æternam. R. Amen.

Hic deponit stolam violaceam, et sumit aliam albi coloris.

Subinde pollicem et inuncta loca abstergit bombacio, vel re simili: et interrogat expresso nomine baptizandum, Patrino respondente.

[The Godfather is then asked whether he believes in the several articles of the Creed? to each of which he answers, Credo.]

Subinde expresso nomine baptizandi Sacerdos dicit: N. Vis baptizari?

Respondit Patrinus. Volo.

The child is then baptised in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, by sprinkling water in the form of a cross three times on the child, or if by immersion by dipping it three times. After the infant is baptised the priest dips his thumb into the holy oil and anoints the child on the top of the head, saying:

Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te regeneravit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, qui dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum, (hic inungit) ipse te liniat Chrismate salutis ✠ in eodem Christo Jesu Domino nostro in vitam æternam. R. Amen.

A white linen cloth is then put on the head of the child as an emblem of the white vesture and immaculate purity of those who appear before God and who attain eternal life.

A lighted candle is given either to the child or to the Godfather to hold, signifying the ardour with which the newly baptised is to keep the commands of God and the grace conferred at baptism. The service closes by the priest saying, "Go in peace, and God be with you."—*Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pontif. Max.* Bassani, 1834.

He then interrogates the candidate for baptism by name, saying: N. Do you renounce Satan?

The Godfather replies, I renounce.

Priest. And all his works?

Godfather. I renounce.

Priest. And all his pomps?

Godfather. I renounce.

Then the Priest dips his thumb in the oil of the Catechumens, and anoints the infant on the breast and between the shoulders in the form of a Cross, saying, I anoint you with the oil of salvation, in Christ Jesus our Lord, that you may have eternal life. R. Amen.

Here he lays aside the violet stole and puts on one of a white colour.

After wiping his thumb and the anointed parts with cotton, or something similar, he asks by what name the child is to be baptised, and the Godfather answers.

When the name is given the Priest says, N. Wilt thou be baptised?

The Godfather answers, I will.

God Omnipotent, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has regenerated thee with water and the Holy Spirit, who gives thee remission for all sins (*here he anoints*), anoint thee with the chrism of salvation, in the same Christ Jesus our Lord, unto eternal life.

Girolamo Seripando was born at Troja in 1493, died at Trent in 1563, was of good descent by both parents, Ferdinando Seripando and Luigia Galeotta. He early entered the Augustine order, and was the secretary of Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo; he was extolled both as a preacher and for the exemplary manner

in which he filled various offices, till in 1539 he was elected general of his order. He was afterwards present at the Council of Trent, where he shewed a great desire to unite opposite parties, and reasoned with much erudition on controversial questions. After being general of his order for twelve years he laid down this office in 1551, and retired to Posilippo to devote himself exclusively to his beloved studies. In 1553 he was sent by the Neapolitans on an embassy to Charles V. The Emperor conferred on him the archbishopric of Salerno, and in 1554 he took possession of his see, and began to make what reforms he thought practicable, by assembling a synod, reforming his clergy, and repairing the churches: the more excellent way of preaching Christ to an ignorant multitude, he does not appear to have been acquainted with. In 1561 he was enrolled among the cardinals of the Sacred College, and united with those who wished to place Paul Manutio at the head of a splendid printing-press at Rome. He was named one of the presidents of the Council of Trent, and was one of the chief persons employed in drawing up the decrees and canons of that celebrated Council. The other legates, Cardinals Orio and Simonetta, wrote to Cardinal Borromeo, that "he was expecting the moment when God would call him, with so much tranquillity that it was wonderful to see," *se ne sta aspettando l' hora, che Dio lo chiama, con tanta quiete d' animo, ch' e quasi incredibile a chi nol vede.* He died on the 7th March, 1563.—See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 266.

Page 303. D.

Don Fray Bartolomé Carrança from a simple friar had become archbishop of Toledo on account of his services to the Church of Rome and the crown of Spain. He accompanied Philip II. to England, was a distinguished divine at the Council of Trent, and was present at the deathbed of Charles V. His memorable saying, as he pointed to the crucifix held by the dying monarch, "Behold Him who has answered for all—there is no more sin, all is forgiven," was a serious subject of accusation against him; and his Catechism, in which he dared to appeal to the Scriptures and the doctrines of the primitive church, was made the basis of a lengthened persecution. Don Fernando de Valdés, archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-general, the personal enemy of Carrança, put the Catechism into the hands of various divines, who universally declared it to be opposed to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and it was condemned by the Spanish Inquisition. (See *La vida y sucesos prósperos y adversos, de Don Fray Bartolomé de Carrança.*) In August 1559 Carrança was summoned by the regent Doña Juana to Valladolid; on the road he was met by Fr. Pedro de Soto, professor at Salamanca, who told him the Inquisition were about to arrest him. This proved true, for on the 20th of August he was seized in his bed in the night at Tordelaguna, by Don Rodrigo de Castro, the regent's messenger, Fray Diego Ramirez, and the *alguacil mayor*, with six or eight men. All his suite were sent away except two servants, and next day they carried him to Valladolid, not allowing him a carriage or a litter, but obliging him to travel on a mule till they reached the prison of the Inquisition. Among the archbishop's papers, partly in his own handwriting, there was a commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, with some passages extracted from Luther and other Protestants. It was about this time that his Catechism was approved by eleven divines at the Council of Trent. (See p. 303, and *Historia del Concilio de Trento escrita por el Señor Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, obispo de la Santa iglesia de Salamanca*, MS. Biblioteca Nacional.) The archbishop's only hope was to cause as much delay as possible: thus three years were passed without coming to any conclusion. He denied the power of the Spanish primates to try him, their superior, and appealed to the Pope. Pius IV. decided to take the cause out of their hands; but Philip II. entreated that the trial might be carried on in Spain. The Pope then named three judges, but nothing was

done till the election of Pius V., who, determined to uphold the power of the papacy, ordered Carrança to be sent to Rome to be tried. Notwithstanding the opposition of the king, the archbishop sailed from Carthagen in custody of the Inquisitors on the 25th of May, 1567, and was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo. His trial was translated into Latin, and, strange to say, Pius V. thought favourably of Carrança, and did not disapprove his Catechism, but he died before pronouncing sentence. His successor, Gregory XIII., finally overcame all obstacles, and on the 14th April, 1576, gave it as his opinion that "Carrança had drawn bad doctrine from Protestant writers, and in his writings had used phrases of doubtful expression." He declared the archbishop suspected of heresy, and commanded him to abjure sixteen propositions in his writings, suspended him from preaching at Toledo, and sentenced him to be imprisoned for five years in the Dominican convent at Orvieto. (See *Ambrosio de Morales*, MS.) After reading his abjuration on his knees before the Pope he was taken to the convent of the Minerva. Next day he said mass, and it being Easter, passed his days in visiting the seven churches. Such unusual fatigue after seventeen years' imprisonment proved detrimental to his health; he was seized with a fever which was aggravated by a local disease, and on the 2nd of May his sorrows and his life terminated, at the advanced age of seventy-three years.—See Simancas, MS.; De Castro, *Spanish Protestants*; and M'Crie, *Reformation in Spain*.

Page 313. E.

[Observe note 3, p. 313, is displaced; it refers to Manuzio, not to Morone, and ought to have formed part of note 2.]

Paolo Manuzio was born in 1512, and died in 1574. He had the misfortune to lose his father, the celebrated Aldo, when only three years of age, but seems to have inherited his liberal and enterprising spirit. Paolo studied under the learned Benedetto Ramberti, and in 1535 he reopened the family printing-press which had been so long closed. He afterwards went to Rome, but his hopes there not being realised he returned to Venice, and formed an academy of twelve noble youths whom he instructed in literature. In his travels he visited the best libraries to examine different editions. About the year 1540 he separated his press from that of his brothers Manuzio and Antonio, and printed on his books *In ædibus Paulli Manutii*. We find by a letter he wrote from Bologna in 1555 that he had been invited to remain there and devote his talents to the benefit of the university: a handsome salary of 400 crowns was offered him, and nothing required but that he should see to the printing of books most useful to students and honorable for the city. This offer however does not seem to have been accepted. In 1561 he was invited to Rome by Pius IV., who wanted to carry out the idea, suggested by the Cardinals Marcello Cervini and Alessandro Farnese in 1539, of opening a magnificent printing-press in Rome. Paolo Manuzio was established in the capital in the municipal palace, and all the books he printed during his nine years' residence there had *Apud Paullum Manutum in ædibus Populi Romani*. His career at Rome was somewhat clouded by his bad health, and under Pius V. the position of a printer was not an easy one: he left the capital in 1570 and retired to Venice, but was recalled by Gregory XIII. in 1572, who assigned him a liberal stipend. He did not however long profit by it, for a severe illness closed his earthly course in the year 1574, at the age of sixty-four years. A great work had been projected and begun by him; it was to include everything relating to Roman antiquities; one part only was finished, on the ancient laws, and was afterwards published by Aldo. Paolo printed several collections of letters both in Latin and Italian, as well as his own. His son, Aldo the younger, emulated the talents of his father and grandfather. He was professor of Latin at Pisa, and afterwards accepted a chair at Rome, and removed there his library of 80,000 volumes. He died in 1592.—Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* tom. vii. p. 163.

CHAPTER XVII.

Page 319. A.

The corruption and superstition of Rome are described by Caracciolo in his Life of Paul IV. as being of the deepest dye, and those who turned their attention to any kind of reformation had a most herculean task to perform.

“ Trovarono questi riformatori tanto dissoluta e pieno di sceleraggini la città che oltre a' vitij carnali, alle rapine, simonie, et altri simili peccati de quali era colma vi fu anche (cosa spaventevole a narrarsi, non che a commettersi) quel grande eccesso che empivamente si commise nel Campidoglio di Roma dal misero popolo, sedotto da Giudei e da negromanti, i quale persuasero a' Romani a far un publico sacrificio al Demonio con immolare un toro, recitando in tanto alcuni incantesimi o sacrileghe parole affine di far cessare la peste, la quale per molto tempo haveva fatta una gran strage in Roma et in quel d' intorno.”—See also *Lettere de' Principi*; Girolamo Negri a Micheli.

“ These reformers found the city (of Rome) so dissolute and full of wickedness, that besides carnal vices, robbery, simony, and other like sins, of which it was full, there was also (a thing frightful to tell, to say nothing of committing it) a great crime which was committed in the Capitol of Rome by the unhappy people, seduced by the Jews and by the necromancers, who persuaded the Romans to make a public sacrifice to the Devil by immolating a bull, meanwhile reciting some incantations or sacrilegious words to stay the plague which had for a long time made great havoc at Rome and in the neighbourhood.”

Page 320. B.

See Vol. I. Chap. V. Appendix D. p. 544.

Page 326. B2.

The title-page of this, the first edition of Paleario's Orations, is: *Aonii Palearii Verulani Orationes ad Senatam Populumque Lucensem*; the printer's sign is a stork with a stone in its claw, and below, *Vincentius Busdracus Luccæ excudebat 1551*.

This little volume contains nine orations delivered before the Senate and people of Lucca: De Concordia civium, De Prudentia, De Optimis Studiis Defensis, De Justitia, De Fortitudine, De Temperantia, De Felicitate, De Laudibus Eloquentiæ, De Republica. At the end of the oration De Felicitate there is a short note as follows: Vincentius Busdracus Lectori. Dux orationes quæ desiderabantur, quarum altera De laudibus eloquentiæ in Gymnasio, altera de Republica in Curia habita est, collocandæ sunt ante eam, quæ est De Concordia civium, deinde cæteræ ordinatim subsecuntur, nouissimè scripta, et habita est ab Aonio ea, quæ est De Felicitate. There is also a preface by the printer to *Senatoribus optimis Republica Lucensis*, commending the work to their patronage. This edition is very rare.

Page 340. D.

The city of Colle did itself honour in the year 1851, by putting up an inscription on the house which Paleario formerly inhabited. We subjoin a copy of the resolution from the Municipal Archives.

"Sotto di 22 Nov. 1851. Il municipio di Colle emanò la seguente deliberazione sotto, No. 46.

"Letta la ufficiale della Prefettura di Siena del 6 Novembre corrente con la quale si richiede il voto di questo Municipio circa la domanda avanzato dal G. Pietro del Cipolla tendente ad ottenere la facoltà di porre una lapide commemorativo alla casa abitata già dall' illustre Letterato Aonio Paleario.

"Considerando che il fine di perpetuare la memoria del luogo abitato da persona nota nella Storia letteraria è sempre commendevole. Il consiglio dichiara di non avere da opporre per quanto gli spetta alla esecuzione di quanto si dimanda con silicare, nella Porta dalla Casa del Cipolla le seguenti parole: QUI ABITÒ AONIO PALEARIO.

"Per voti fave 11, Contra 1."

Since this vote was taken, one of the most respectable inhabitants of Colle, Sig. Ceramelli, has pointed out another old house in the street opposite as the one inhabited by Paleario.

"Under the date of 22nd Nov. 1851, The municipality of Colle issued the following resolution, No. 46.

"The letter of the official of the Prefecture of Siena the 6th of this month of November having been read, in which the votes of this city are required concerning the request made by G. Pietro del Cipolla, desiring to obtain permission to put up a commemorative stone on the house inhabited by the illustrious *Letterato* Aonio Paleario.

"Considering that it is always commendable to perpetuate the remembrance of persons of note in the history of literature, the Council declares that they have no objection to the fulfilment of the request to put up a flint stone on the door of the house of Cipolla, with the following words: AONIO PALEARIO LIVED HERE.

"Carried by eleven votes, only one being contrary."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Page 350. A.

Enea Silvio was a native of Siena, and a member of the Piccolomini family. He left his native city to avoid the disturbances of the town during the war with Florence, and went to the Council of Bâle, which had been transferred from Paris to Siena and from Siena to Bâle. This, called the eighteenth General Council, was chiefly occupied in uniting the Greek and Latin churches, and in putting an end to the Papal schism. Enea Silvio was at first against Eugenio IV., and in favour of Felice, but afterwards he became a partisan of Eugenio as the most successful, and was rewarded with the bishopric of Siena, which paved the way for his election as Pope, in 1458, under the name of Pio II. He was so fond of study that even after being made Pope he did not relinquish his literary occupations, as he considered books more precious than jewels. He wrote a long dialogue on the power of the Council of Bâle in opposition to that of the Pope. Among his good works were enumerated the canonization of St. Catherine of Siena and the placing the head of St. Andrew, sent to him from the Morea, with great pomp in the church of St. Peter. He died in 1464 at Ancona, where he had gone to organize an expedition to the Holy Land.—See Platina, *Vite de' Pontefici*, p. 438.

Page 353. B.

John Bugenhagenius, of Pomerania, born 1485, died 1558, was an early partisan of the reformed opinions. He was invited by the brothers and successors of George of Saxony to join in organizing and establishing the reformation. He then went to Denmark, from whence in 1539 he wrote that the desire of the people for the word of God was great, and that in the winter time they assembled before it was light to read the Scriptures, and on holidays they had religious services during the day, and all temporal power was taken from the bishops. After his return from Germany he went to Hildesheim, where he was employed to make the necessary ecclesiastical reforms. When he first preached there he gave out a hymn, and was most agreeably surprised to find the whole congregation join him. The bishopric of Camin in Pomerania was offered to him, but he steadily refused it for the third time: he was at this period sixty years of age. In his last illness he was much in prayer for the suffering church, and retained his vigour of mind to the last, repeating with his latest breath, "This is life eternal, that ye may know him the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent." He had nearly completed his seventy-third year. Melancthon wrote his epitaph.—See Melchior Adam, *Vita Bugenagii*; Seckendoff; Gerdes; and Scott, *Hist. of the Church of Christ*.

Page 354. C.

In the *Archivio Segreto*, of the Vatican, there is a letter written by Aleander, papal Nuncio at Vienna, to Cardinal Cervini, which Pallavicino thinks is much against Vergerio: we give an extract.

"..... Ne manco ho voluto far intendere a S. S. le parole e fatti, che l' ha usato in luoghi et cose d' importanza, et minacce contra quella S. Sede, perchè son certo che'l Rev^{mo} Nuncio in Vinezia ne havra scritto qualche parte, ma hora io vedo trattare de l' honor di Dio, ne ho voluto far motto et d' vantaggio advertir, che circa le cose di Germania sua Santità non presti orecchie alle belle parole di detto Vescovo che so se vorra intramettere, et produrre lettere et dipinge Maris et Montes, et se pur S. Santità la ascolta nel resto, per amor di Dio non se le comunichi la sabia pur di una syllaba da quello che di qua habbiamo negoziato perche sarria pericollissima cosa, e questo sii per aviso dato sforzatamente per causa di l' honor di Dio et del ben publico. Prego anche V. S. che subito letta questa per se sola, et cum niun altra prorsus etiam cum quelli che meritamente gli sono nemici, la brusci non perchè io non habbi scritto il vero per giustificarlo nella venuta mia, ma perchè non è honesto, che un pari mio per ben far, entri in lingua di quel homo et bastia N. S. cum tutto il core mi raccomandando. Di Vienna, al XII.

"..... Nor have I less desired to convey to H. H. the words and actions which he has made use of in places and circumstances of importance, and the threats used against the Holy See; because I am certain that the Rev^d Nuncio in Venice has written something about it. But now that I see the honour of God concerned, I am desirous of saying a word in order to warn you, that about the affairs of Germany his Holiness should not listen to the fine words of this bishop, who, I know, would like to interfere, produce letters, and tell of seas and mountains: and even if his Holiness does listen to him, for the love of God let him not communicate even a syllable of that which we have negotiated, for it would be very dangerous. This advice is given perforce for the honour of God and for the public good. I beg you, immediately that you have read this by yourself, and with no other person, or only with those who are deservedly his enemies, that you burn it, not because I have not written the truth to justify my coming, but because it is not right that one of my standing should for well doing be exposed to

Marzo, 1539."—Carli, *Opere*, t. xv. the tongue of this man: enough, I commend myself to H. H. with all my heart. From Vienna, 12 March, 1539."

This letter gives us some idea of the secret dealings among the Cardinals, and how easy it was to whisper away a man's good name.

Page 356. D.

Cardinal Federigo Fregoso was a Genoese; his mother was Gentile da Montefeltro, sister of Guidubaldo duke of Urbino, his father's name was Agostino. Federigo was the brother of Ottavio, Doge of Genoa in its most troublous times; he was brought up to the Church, and through the influence of his uncle, the Duke of Urbino, was made archbishop of Salerno at a very early age, in the year 1507; but as he favoured the French party in the kingdom of Naples he could not get possession of his see. He was a good Hebrew scholar, and wrote the Lord's Prayer in verse, a poem which was thought to entitle him to rank with the best poets of Italy. After the death of his uncle, Duke Guidubaldo, he spent some time in travelling from Bologna to Rome and Genoa. His brother Ottavio being elected Doge he shared his authority and honours. It was observed that while Ottavio was of a very peaceable disposition, Federigo the churchman was so ardent and impetuous that he sometimes allowed himself to be carried beyond the limits of moderation. His violence fanned the flame of discord between his party and the rival families Adorni and Fieschi; but his military genius found a more legitimate exercise in an expedition which he planned and commanded against the corsairs of Africa. Ariosto mentions him as Federigo Fulgoso in the forty-second canto of his *Orlando*. In 1522 the reign of the brothers came to an abrupt termination by the capture of Genoa by the Imperialists. The Doge was taken prisoner; Federigo escaped by sea to France, but was very nearly drowned on the voyage: he lived for some time at a small abbey which belonged to him near Dijon. His letters to Bembo and Cortese shew the elegance of his style and the firmness of mind with which he bore his adverse fortune. He devoted his time to study, and frequently enjoyed the society of his friend Sadoletto. It was probably at this period of his life that he wrote the pamphlets which are attributed to him; one only, Tiraboschi says, has been printed, that on Prayer, in 1542. A reprint was afterwards issued, bound up with some tracts of Luther on justification and faith, and was consequently put in the Index. In 1529 Federigo returned to Italy and lived at Gubbio, and in 1539 was made Cardinal by Paul III.: he did not long enjoy his new dignity, for he died at Gubbio in 1541. It was said that he had adopted the reformed opinions (see *Ital. Reform.* p. 262), but except the publications in his name there is no decided proof of this being the case.—See Tiraboschi, *Lett. Ital.* t. vii. p. 378.

Page 357. E.

As the works of Marguerite are rather scarce, we give an extract from this very Scriptural poem.

Pere, mais quel ? qui jamais son enfant
 Ne veult damner : mais l' excuse et defend.
 Et puis, je voy n' avoir accusateur
 Que JESUS-CHEIST, qui est mon Redempteur :
 Qui par sa mort nous a restitué
 Nostre heritage : et s' est constitué
 Nostre avocat, devant DIEU presentant
 Ses merites : qui sont et valent tant,
 Que ma grand debte en est sy surmontée
 Que pour rien n' est en jugement comptée.

Mon Redempteur, voicy un bien grand cas,
 Peu se trouve il de sy bons Aduocatz !
 Doux JESUS-CHRIST, o' est a vous, que je doy ;
 Car vous priez et plaidoyez pour moy :
 Et qui plus est, quand poure me voyez
 De vostre bien ma grand debte payez.
 O de bonté, mer, abisme et deluge ;
 Mon pere saint, daignez estre mon juge,
 Qui ne voulez voir la mort du pecheur.
 O JESUS-CHRIST, des ames vray pescheur,
 Et seul Sauveur, amy sur tous amys,
 Mon advocat icy vous estes mis ;
 Parlant pour moy, me daignant excuser,
 Ou me pouez justement accuser.

Marguerites de la Marguerite, pp. 59, 60, ed. 1547.

Page 359. E2.

We give an extract from the twelfth Satire, more true than courteous.

Oh chi vedesse il ver, vedrebbe come
 Piu disonor tu, che l' tuo Luther Martino
 Porti à te stessa, e più gravose some.
 Non la Germania no, ma l' ocio, il vino,
 Avaritia, ambition, lusuria, e gola
 Ti mena al fin, che già veggiam vicino.
 Non pur questo dico io, non Francia sola
 Non pur la Spagna, tutta Italia anchora
 Che ti tien d' heresia, di uizi scuola.
 Et chi nol crede, ne dimandi ogni hora
 Urbin, Ferrara, l' Orso, e la Colonna,
 La Marca, il Romagniuol, ma più chi plora
 Per te servendo, che fu d' altri donna.

He who sees clear, must surely see
 That thou dost more dishonour bring
 And heap upon thyself
 Than ever Martin Luther can.
 Not Allemagna, no, but idleness and wine,
 Av'rice, ambition, lust and glutton feeds
 Which lead thee to thy near approaching end.
 It is not I alone, nor France,
 Nor even Spain and Italy combined,
 Who tax you as the school of every vice.
 And if there be some luckless wight
 Who credence will not facile yield,
 Ask Urbin, Este, Orso, and Colonna,
 Romagna, Marca, and all those who weep
 In serving thee of spurious race.

Alemanni, *Opere Toscane*. Lugd. 1532.

This Satire had a double meaning, for it was equally applicable to the personal history of the reigning Pope Clement VII. and to the Roman Catholic Church as a body.

Page 369. F.

Giovanni della Casa, born 1503, died 1556, was of noble Florentine parents; his mother's name was Lisabetta Tornabuoni; he entered the Church, became Archbishop of Benevento in 1544, and was sent the same year as Nuncio to Venice. He displayed great zeal for the Roman Catholic Church

in his persecution of Vergerio under Paul III. Not being favourably regarded by Julius III., he retired from court to Venice, and lived in retirement there till the election of Paul IV.; he was then summoned to Rome, and made Secretary of State; he would have been created Cardinal, but death deprived him of this honour when only fifty-three years of age. He was considered an elegant poet both in Latin and Italian; though some of his poems are rather too free. He wrote the lives of the Cardinals Contarini and Bembo. His life has been written by il Conte Giambattista Casotti. Five volumes of his works were published in 1728, in 4to.

Vergerio, in his annotations on the Index of prohibited books by della Casa, says: "Pietro Citadella, forty years before Luther, pointed out that the true doctrine of Christ was buried and forgotten under superstitions and idolatries. Nine years ago he was cited before the Nuncio (della Casa) and imprisoned in the *Fresca Gioia*, where he is still, and is fed on bread and water; in vain they try to make him recant. Though now seventy years of age he remains firm, saying he is content to suffer rather than deny the truth which God has revealed to him. Can those who wish for a miracle in proof of our faith desire a greater than this? Fra d'Albona has been in the same prison for seven years." These allusions to Reformers show that we do not know a thousandth part of the sufferings of the disciples of Christ under the unrelenting persecution of the Church of Rome.

Page 380. G.

The Index of 1559 was compiled by order of Paul IV. who ten years before he was Pope suggested the idea of an Index of prohibited books, which was carried into execution in 1549, and in the formation of which he had a great share. Caracciolo, his biographer, boasts of this invention of the Theatine Cardinal as of a good work performed. A second Index was printed at Florence in 1552, a third at Milan in 1554, and a fourth the same year at Venice; thus that which appeared in 1559 during the Pontificate of Paul IV. was the fifth Index of prohibited books.—See Mendham, *Indexes*, and Gibbings, *Exact Reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius*.

See *Postremus Catalogus Hæreticorum Romæ conflatus*, 1559. Continens alios quatuor Catalogos, qui post decennium in Italia, nec non eos omnes, qui in Gallia et Flandria post renatum Evangelium fuerunt editi. Cum Annotationibus. Pforzh. 1560, Regiom. 1560, Tubing. 1563.

"Per opera del d^o. nostro Padre Paolo 4^{to} fu eretto in Roma il Tribunale del S. Offitio, fortissimo ferro degl' Eretici; et egli stesso a tempi nostri fu inventore dell' Indice de' libri prohibiti, come zelantissimo della santa fede Cattolica; e li padri nostri come legittimi figli del S. Padre fecero scoprire la setta di Valdez a tempo di Scipione Rebiba."—Caracciolo, *Vita de Paolo IV.*, MS.

"By the exertions of our father Paul IV. the Tribunal of the Holy Office was established at Rome, that strong arm against heretics; and he also in our time, being a zealous advocate for the holy Catholic faith, invented the Index of prohibited books. Our fathers, like faithful sons of the Holy father, discovered the sect of Valdés in the time of Scipione Rebiba.

Page 385. H.

CONFESSION OF FAITH.¹

"We believe and openly confess our belief in the Athanasian Creed, in the Trinity, in Christ as the Son of God, who never knew sin, nor could sin. That he was crucified, dead and buried, and rose again in the same body in which he will appear at the general resurrection.

¹ The original is said to be in the *Bib. Civic.* Berna, but there is a copy in the library at Zurich, from which I have extracted the chief articles.

"*We acknowledge* that Christ is gone to heaven, and sits at the right-hand of God. We acknowledge the corruption of human nature, and that we can do nothing good till we are reclaimed from its natural tendencies. Even after regeneration our nature is weak and prone to sin; the flesh fights against the Spirit.

"*We believe* that sin entered through Adam and that it brought forth death.

"*We believe* in the immortality of the soul both before and after the resurrection of the body.

"*We reprove* and excommunicate all errors against the Catholic doctrines, especially those diabolical anabaptist doctrines which Satan has scattered to ruin the reviving church and to ensnare the weak.

"*We confess* according to Scripture and the universal Church that God has given to men two laws. The one, the natural law, common to all. This having been obscured by sin, the written law, that is the decalogue, became necessary. But our imperfect natures having failed to observe it, God in his mercy provided another and a better way, by which we may be both saved and justified; even Jesus Christ who suffered for us.

"*We acknowledge* nevertheless that we are bound to observe the written law as the command of God, though the law of Christ has freed us from its maledictions.

"*We believe* and confess with Holy Scripture and the universal Church, that God has instituted two ceremonies or signs called Sacraments, besides those mentioned in the Law—Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; not so much for the benefit to be derived of the givers or by the recipients, but as signs between God and man, as proofs of the remission of sins and the stability of the divine promises.

"*We believe* that Baptism ought to be administered with pure water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and without any of those ugly mixtures (*imbrattamenti*)¹ of salt, oil, and spittle, exorcisms and conjurations, which the Papists use.

"*We condemn* the Anabaptists who hold it necessary to rebaptise converts, and we think it a pernicious error to disown the baptism of the Roman Catholic Church, it being administered in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But nevertheless we recommend those who come to the knowledge of the Gospel to have their children baptised by those ministers who administer this ordinance with purity and simplicity, as we hold infant baptism as a sign of their being received into the (visible) Church of Christ.

"*We acknowledge* every assembly where the word of God and the Gospel is preached, where the doctrine of justification by faith is held and the sacraments rightly administered, to be a true Church, though it may not be a perfect one; in contradistinction to the Anabaptists, who acknowledge no Church which does not claim a spotless purity; the which in this life we cannot attain.

"*We acknowledge* that magistrates are necessary for the government of this world, and that God has instituted them for the preservation of good men and for the benefit of the human race. All Christians are at liberty to fill such offices, but those only are fit for them who know the will of God and who are guided by his Spirit to every good work.

"*We condemn* all who say that a true Christian cannot be a magistrate, and consider such men the perturbators of society.

"Besides which we are of opinion that the true Christian is a lover of peace and union, and does not affect singularity in matters not forbidden by God. In this we agree with the ministers of the Synod under the dominion of Venice,² and the Helvetian Churches at Zurich, Bâle, Berne, and Geneva. Not that we would insinuate that our faith is founded on these churches, for

¹ See p. 590; and *Rituale Romanum*, pp. 18, 19.

² The Grison country.

we desire to rest only on the Word of God; but because we judge that so many good men can scarcely err, and that in these matters we ought to esteem their judgment more than our own. And we are willing on this account to submit ourselves to their admonitions when they think we deserve reproof or counsel.

"This is our confession (then follow the signatures): Camillo Renato, Giovan. Agostino Mainardi, ministers; Giovanni Antonio and Filippo Versepma, elders. Signed 18th Jan. 1551.

"Paulo Pietro Vergerio, minister of Vico Soprano, and ordained visitor of the Synod of Ministers, and Joannes Portisella, deputed also from the Synod, presented this confession to Camillo Renato in the presence of the Rev^d Agostino Mainardi, minister of Chiavenna, his elders and brethren. Camillo after long deliberation signed the confession in presence of the above, with his full assent. He was admonished by the above-named Vergerio and Pontisella to keep the promise he had made, and to persevere in unity with the Synod, the which he engaged to do. This confession and reconciliation was referred to the judgment and opinion of the Synod by Vergerio and Pontisella."

Vergerio wrote to Rodolph Gualter, at Zurich in 1551, that he had reconciled Camillo with the Minister and Church of Chiavenna, and obliged him to sign a confession of faith.—See original in *Bibl. Civic. Bernensis. MS.*

Page 388. I.

Tiraboschi says all Vergerio's works were written in Italian; Bayle that many of them were translated from Latin into Italian for general circulation. It is very likely that both are right, and that the Latin works were translated into Italian and the Italian into Latin, to be spread throughout Switzerland and Germany, as *Relatio de persecutione facta contra Evangelium in urbe Justinapolitanis contra librum cui nomen Flosculi sancto Francisci.*

Contra librum cui titulus Rosarium.

Contra librum cui titulus Miraculus Virginis.

De Libro cui titulus Luce fidei.

De Librum cui titulus Flosculi Bibliæ.

De coronatione Julii III. Pape.

Quatuor Literæ sub nomine Bonino de Boninis.

De Statu Romanæ Curis. De nugis et fabulis Pape Gregorii I.

De Idolo Lauretano.

*Scholia in orationes Cardinalis Pole ad Cesarem. Nova editio Libri Cere-
moniarum Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cum Præfatione et Scholiis.*

A very full catalogue of Vergerio's works are given in Sixt, *Petrus Paulus Vergerius*, 1855, too long to insert here.

Page 389. J.

EPITAPH.

Beverendis. in Christo Patris ac Dn. Dn. Petri Pauli Vergerii olim
Episcopi Justinopolitani Evangelicæ Veritatis Amore in Exilio mortui.
Tubing. iv. Octobr. An. M.D.LXV.

Hac ego sum Petrus Paulus cognomine gaudens
Vergerii sancta contumulatus humo.

Qui Justinopoli dicebar Episcopus olim,
Legatus fueram regna per ampla Pape.

Attamen abjecto, mundus quem quaerit, honore
Cum vera amplexus sum pietate fidem.

Sic volui potius pius Exul in orbe vagari,
Quam Praesul patriis impius esse locis.

PETRUS eram primo, quia te, bone Christe, negabam,
PETRUS eram pascens post tibi, Christe, gregem.

PAULUS eram, quia te contra, bone Christe, fremebam,
 PAULUS eram pro te, Christe, ferendo cruceam.
 VERGERIUS merito vergens dicebar ad orcum;
 VERGERIUS vergens dicar ad astra poli.
 Quisquis es in meritum Christi qui fidis ad urnam
 Accedens nostram talia vota feras:
 Vergerivs fVerat qVI CLarVs EpIsCopVs oLIM
 EX IVstInopoLl VIVat In arCè poLI.

Page 391. K.

Mr. Panizzi has printed this little book verbatim from a copy in Mr. Grenville's collection. He says the date is 1554, not 1555. Haym, in his *Notizia de' Libri Rari*, says: "L'Orlando Innamorato rifatto da Francesco Berni fu stampato tre volte, in 4to. La Prima in Venezia per i Giunti, 1541. La seconda in Milano, 1542, e la Terza per i medesimi Giunti di Venezia, 1545. Thus Vergerio's edition was published many years afterwards. Prefixed to the Preface there is an address by *Ilario ai Lettori Cristiani*. After giving the suppressed verses, Vergerio, under the name of Ilario, observes as follows:

"Voi avete sentito la confessione della fede del nostro Berna, il quale da tutta l'onore della redenzione e salute nostra a Dio per Gesù Cristo, affermando questo esser l'eterno Agnello e sacrificio, e l'eterno Pontefice: e d'altra parte il Papa essere Anticristo, il Dio della distruzione, il padre delle ipocrisie e delle eresie. Dirà qui alcun saviotto: è possibile che voi non possiate parlare del vostro Evangelio, se non urtate addosso de' Papi e della Curia Romana, dicendo parole tante aspre dell'uno e dell'altra? Rispondo di no; che non possiamo far conoscere la purità della dottrina insegnataci dal figliuol di Dio Gesù Cristo Signor nostro," &c.—See Panizzi, *Orlando Innamorato de Boggio*, vol. iii. London, 1830.

"You have heard our Berna's confession of faith, and that he gives all the honour of our redemption and salvation to God through Jesus Christ, declaring him to be the eternal Lamb and the eternal High Priest, and on the other hand that the Pope is Antichrist, the God of destruction, the father of hypocrisy and heresy. Some wise person will here say, 'Is it possible that you cannot speak of your Gospel without being attacked by the Popes and the Roman court, and receiving the most severe reproofs from both?' I answer, No; we cannot make known the purity of the doctrine taught us by Jesus Christ our Lord," &c.

CHAPTER XIX.

Page 400. A.

There is another book, entitled *Pasquino in Estasi nuovo*, which passed for being written by Curioni, but it bears marks of Vergerio's style, and has his favourite text, *Vi dico, che se questi taceranno, le pietre grideranno*, Luc. 19. On the first page we find *Nuovo ragionamento di Pasquino, e di Marforio, più pieno ch'el primo cerca le cose del Cielo, e del Purgatorio e de l'Inferno*. Marforio and Pasquino are the speakers.

M. Io non credevo, che vi fussero diavoli in cielo, ne che vi fusse bisogno d'altri avvocati, che Christo.

M. I did not think there were devils in heaven, or that we wanted other advocates than Christ.

P. Onde cavi tu questa opinione?

M. Fuor di mezzo l' Evangelio.

P. Adunque di canonista tu sei fatto così tosto Evangelico?

M. La Dio merè.

P. Hor dimi il loco.

M. Christo dice: che' egli è la via, la verità, e la vita. Se Christo e la verità: e se egli è giudice de vivi, e de morti, come dice la scrittura, che bisogno è quivi d'avocati? imperò che l'avvocato non è per altro ordinato, che per informare il giudice de la verità? se adunque il giudice è la verità istessa che bisogno è di chi gliela dica?

P. Se io ti dirò, che in questo luogo avvocato vuol dire intercessore, come mi risponderai.

M. Paulo dice, che noi habbiamo Christo designato avvocato dal padre, perche interceda per noi appresso di lui. In un altro loco il padre dice, Christo essere il suo figliuol diletto, nel quale solo si è compiaciuto. Se Christo è designato dal padre a intercedere per noi, et se Christo solo è accetto à Dio, perche vogliam noi cercare altri avvocati?

P. From whence do you take these opinions?

M. From the Gospel.

P. Then from a canonist you are quickly become an Evangelist?

M. Thank God for it.

P. Now shew me the place.

M. Christ says that he is the way, the truth, and the life. If Christ is the truth, and if he is the judge of the living and the dead, as says the Scripture, what need have we here of advocates? For an advocate is only employed to inform the judge of the truth. If then the judge is truth itself, what need is there to tell it to him?

P. If I were to say to you that in this passage an advocate means an intercessor, how would you answer me?

M. Paul says that we have Christ appointed as our advocate by the Father to intercede for us with him. In another place the Father says, Christ is his beloved son in whom alone he is well pleased. If Christ is appointed by the Father to intercede for us, and if Christ alone is accepted by God, why should we seek other advocates?

Page 406. B.

Girolamo Zanchi was one of the most solid and distinguished theologians among the Italian refugees. He may be ranked next to Peter Martyr in piety and learning, and his life was nearly as diversified. Of a noble family, distinguished for their talents, he entered the Canons regular at a very early age, and there formed an intimate friendship with Celso Martinengo, the future pastor of the Italian church at Geneva. The preaching of Peter Martyr at Lucca directed the attention of Zanchi to the Scriptures, and he began to compare them with the fathers, and with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. His earnest enquiries were followed by a salutary conviction of divine truth as revealed in the word of God. He was one of the twelve monks who followed Peter Martyr into exile; he went first to Rhetia, and then to Geneva, and was at Strasburg when Peter Martyr invited him to England, but he did not accept the invitation. He succeeded Gaspar Hedion as Professor of sacred literature and philosophy in 1552, and shortly after was married to the interesting Violante Curioni, whose early death he so pathetically bewails in a letter to Peter Martyr (see App. C). In 1558 he was invited to Geneva as Pastor of the Italian church.¹ Zanchi subscribed the Augsburg Confession of Faith with this protest, *modo orthodoxe intelligatur*. On the article of the Lord's Supper he made the following remarks: "The very body of Christ sacrificed for us, and his very blood shed for the remission of our sins, is in the supper truly eaten and drunk, not with the

¹ "En 1558 on sollicita Hierome Zanchius pour accepter le Ministère de cette Eglise qui ne le peut faire étant engagé au magistrat de Strasbourg."—*Archives de Genève MS.*

mouth and teeth of the body, but with true faith." In vain he tried to promote concord on this much agitated point; contentions were very fierce at Strasburg, and the Lutheran opinions so greatly prevailed that, when on the death of Agostino Mainardo at Chiavenna, Zanchi was invited to be pastor of that flock, he not unwillingly made the change. But the remote and uncivilised country of the Grisons was not an atmosphere suited to a learned theologian, and four years after he gladly accepted the invitation of Frederic Elector Palatine to fill the chair of Theology at Heidelberg. Ten years after the Elector died, and Zanchi then went to Neustadt at the request of Casimir Count Palatine, but in a few years he returned to Heidelberg, where he died in 1590, at the advanced age of seventy-five. He was a voluminous writer, and has left nine volumes of Theological and Scriptural writings behind him, including two volumes of letters published at Geneva, 1619. His most celebrated work, *De Dei natura et de tribus Elohim Patre, Filio et Spirito sancto uno eodemq. Jehova*, is remarkable for its soundness, piety, and erudition. It consists of two parts; one lays down the true doctrine and explains the mystery of the Trinity, the other refutes the sophistical arguments of unbelievers. His epitaph does him justice:

Hieronymi hic sunt condita ossa Zanchii, Itali exulantis Christi amore a patriâ. Qui Theologus quantus fuerit et Philosophus. Testantur hoc libri editi ab eo plurimi; testantur hoc, quos voce docuit in Scholis: quique audiere eum docentem ecclesias. Nunc ergo quamvis hinc migrarit spiritu: claro tamen nobis remansit nomine.

See a list of his works in Melchior Adam, p. 152.—Consult Gerdes, *Ital. Reform.*, and McCrie, *Reform. in Italy*.

Page 407. C.

Curioni, in a letter to Olympia Morata, mourns over her illness, and communicates to her his domestic sorrow: "My daughter Violante, who is at Strasburg with her husband in consequence of an unfortunate confinement, has fallen into such a state of prostration that for seven months she has been struggling with death. For a few days past only she seems to revive and to breathe, and I hope by the grace of God she will recover, as I have myself been restored after a very serious illness." The hopes of the father were in some degree realised, for Violante rallied sufficiently to be carried in a litter from Strasburg to Bale, and stayed some months with her parents whom she had left three years before, but she never recovered her strength, and only lived a few months after her return home. Her afflicted husband wrote a touching account to Peter Martyr of the last days of his young wife, "She took leave of all her friends, and joyfully contrasted the shortness of every earthly good with the joys of eternity. 'Weep not for me,' she said, 'but rather rejoice that I shall soon be in heaven.' She frequently fancied she heard her Saviour's voice calling her home. Her husband, when watching by her bedside, regretted he could not accompany her to heaven. 'No,' she said, 'not yet, you have still work to do for the Church of Christ, but you will one day join me with all whom I love.'" After her death Zanchi wrote to Curioni: "Dear and venerable father, now is the time to show ourselves strong, and to apply to Christ as our chief consolation; now let us fix our eyes on heaven where your sweet saintly daughter, my beloved wife Violante, dwells in everlasting glory. My tears blind me, and the deep sorrow of my heart has scarcely left me strength to entreat you and my mother and sisters-in-law to moderate your too natural sorrow. I hope that if you have had the courage to read the letter to Peter Martyr in which I have described this heavy trial, you will feel some consolation in knowing all the beauty and excellence of your daughter's mind. I try to console myself with this remembrance, but my grief increases at the thought of having for ever lost such a sweet, faithful, and pious companion, so dear and precious to me. May I be enabled to glorify the Lord in my affliction."—*MS. Lib. Bâle*. Jules Bonnet, *Revue Chrétienne*, Mars 1856.

Page 407. D.

In compliance with her request Violante was laid in the coffin by her husband, and buried in one of the churches at Strasburg. The following epitaph to her memory was put up at Bâle :

D. O. M. S.

Violanthe Curionis C. S. C. Itali F. Conjugi sanctiss. : clariss. ob singularem probitatem, industriam, candorem, fidem, amorem, admirabilem in longiss. et graviss. morbo constantiam, patientiam, pietatem incomparabili : Hieronymus Zanchius Italus optime merenti mæstiss. P. Tertio puerperio eoque infausto ad Christum Jesum quem sincera coluit religione cupidiss. concessit. Cum quo vivit beata illum expectans diem quo suo corpori reddita, integra immortalitate fruetur. Ann. Sal. M.D.LVI. xiii. Nov. ætat. suæ. An. XXII.

Page 410. E.

Angelæ, Cœliis, Felici puellis nobilissimis castissimisque, quarum ingenium, candor, industria, pudor, pietas, morum elegantia et sanctitas grata Deo, multis nota, probata bonis, parentibus jucunda fuerunt: Cœlius Secundus Curio pater et Margarita Isacia mater Itali tribus filiabus præstantiss. dulciss. carissimisque ut earum quod mortale fuit, in beatæ Reparationis spem conderetur, hoc mon. p. Migrarunt ad Deum in max. hujus Urbis pestilentia Mens Aug. Ann. Sal. Hum. M.D.LXIV. Ætat. singular. Ann. XVIII. XVII. XVI.

Vivit ut exigua lucens in lampade flamma

Sic nos æternum vivimus ante Deum,

Surgemus vivæ: lachrymas cohibete Parentis:

Quum tuba supremum fuderit alma sonum.

Page 412. F.

Agostino Curioni was born at Salo near Milan, and pursued his studies in Italy. After the death of his sisters, as soon as the plague had left the city, he was recalled to his father's house, and shortly after obtained the Professorship of Rhetoric in the University of Bâle; but he held it only two years, for death closed his career in 1566. Agostino was the most learned of Curioni's sons; he left behind him several valuable works on the history of the Saracens, of America, and on the subject of hieroglyphics.

Page 413. G.

Leo Curioni was born at Salo in 1536. He studied with his brother Agostino at different Italian Universities, went to Poland, and joined in the war against Sweden. He afterwards travelled throughout Europe on important diplomatic missions; he spoke the Latin, German, French, Italian, and Polish languages fluently, and was very unwilling to leave Poland when summoned by his father in 1567, but the affliction of his bereaved parents made him obey without hesitation. He married Flaminia, a daughter of the family of Moralto, originally from Locarno. During the religious wars in France he was imprisoned by the Guise party, and kept for some time in confinement.—See *Taschen Buch*, Bâle.

Page 414. G 2.

Hospes mane et Discæ Non Cœlius heic sed Cœlii Χωμα immo Χημα spiritum Christus habet, cætera nomen veræ pietatis, humanitatis insignisque constantiæ. Quum Χωμα in חַוְמָא tunc verè erit Cœlius Secundus Curio Hospes, si didicisti vale. Reliquit ætat. suæ Ann. LXVII. Salut. CLO.LO.LXIX, ad VII. kl. Decemb.

Page 415. H.

Giovan Niccola Stupano, who wrote an account of the life of Celio Secondo Curioni, gives the following list of his works :

L' Encomio della noce, a youthful production.
 Probo, the Dialogue already mentioned.
 Il Ragno, on the providence of God.
 Della Immortalità dell' anime. D' una pia educazione ai figli.
 Parafrafi, on the beginning of the Gospel of John.
 Paradossi cristiani. Esortazione alla Religione.
 Orazione sulle buone arti. Encomio degli scrittori.
 Encomio di chi muore per la patria. Orazioni funebri.
 Orazione contro Antonio Floribello.
 Dell' antica autorità della chiesa di Cristo.
 L' Instituzione della cristiana Religione.
 Della Dottrina puerile e delle Lettere, libri cinque.
 Grammatica Latina. Libro del perfetto Grammatico.
 Somma di tutto l' artificio nel dissertare e nel trattare.
 Dialettica. Compendio della Dialettica di Perionio.
 Commentarj contro Perionio. Storia della guerra Maltese.
 Pasquillo estatico. De' pesi dei Romani.
 Continuazione della guerra Sabellica.
 Orazioni di Diogene tradotte dal Greco.
 Rettorica d' Ermogene. Nizolio arricchito.
 Tesoro della Lingua Latina, corretto ed accresciuto, and some others.
 Amplitudine del Regno di Dio.

He wrote also a beautiful letter to his Italian brethren on conformity to the ceremonies of the church of Rome, entitled :

C. S. C. Ai Fratelli i quali per tutto il Regno di Babilonia sono sparse, grazia e pace con accrescimento di Spirito.

CHAPTER XX.

Page 431. A.

In the translation of Niccolò Balbani's life of Galeazzo Caracciolo we find :

Au Tres-illustre Seigneur, et plus noble encore par sa vertu, que par sa haute naissance, Galeazzo Caracciolo, unique et légitime héritier du Marquis de Vico.

..... Car encore que vous ne cherchiez en façon du monde l' applaudissement des hommes, content que vous êtes d' avoir Dieu pour Spectateur de votre probité, et que ce ne soit pas non plus mon intention de me jeter icy sur vos louanges ; il n' est pas juste neantmoins que je laisse ignorer à mes lecteurs ce que vous êtes, et qu' ainsi je les frustre de la grande satisfaction qui doit leur revenir, d' entendre qu' un homme né comme vous de famille tres-illustre, abondamment pourvu de charges eminentes, et de biens, et ayant une femme tres-noble et tres-chaste, et d' alle une grande lignée de fort beaux enfans, et mis après tout par la jouissance d' une parfaite concorde, et de la paix de sa maison, dans une condition tout à fait digne d' envie, a bien voulu, pour être enrollé sous les étendards de Jesus-Christ, quitter une aimable patrie, un pais délicieux, un ample patrimoine, et une demeure assurément des plus commodes et des plus pompeuses, se dépouiller pour ainsi dire de l' éclat d' une naissance relevée, et se sevrer de la douce compagnie de pere, de femme, d' enfans, de parens et d' amis, pour apres avoir renoncé à tout ce que le monde a de contentemens, ou si l' on veut de charmes, se contenter de ramper icy avec nous, et y vivre aussi modestement avec le commun du peuple que si rien ne l' en distinguoit. Mais je souhaiterois sur tout,

Tres-illustre Seigneur, que tous prissent exemple à vous, pour apprendre à renoncer à eux memes, ce qui est le solide fondement de toutes les vertus, et proprement l'essence du Christianisme, et vous n'ignorez par le peu de cas, (comme aussi scay-je que vous ne les estimez pas plus) que j'ay accoustume de faire de ceux qui ayant quitté leur patrie, font voir au bout du compte qu' ils n' y avaient pas laissé leurs mauvaises affections Je prie donc, Jesus-Christ Nôtre Roy à qui Dieu le Pere a donné toute puissance, et qui est le depositaire des dons de l' Esprit de grace, qu' il vous conserve dans une longue prosperité, pour l' avancement de son regne, et qu' il continue à triompher en vôtre personne de Satan et de ses organes. Ce sont les vœux qui fait, Tres-illustre Seigneur, Votre serviteur et frere en Christ, JEAN CALVIN.

Le 20 de Janvier, 1566.

Page 435. B.

Girolamo Fracastoro, born 1483, died 1553, was one of the most learned and eminent physicians of his day. He was a pupil of the celebrated Pomponazzo, but not a follower of his opinions. Fracastoro had no taste for scholastic or metaphysical studies. Eminent as a medical man, the positive sciences engaged his attention. He excelled in the knowledge of geography, cosmography, and natural history, sciences at that time in their infancy. He wrote upon all these subjects, and Tiraboechi says it is difficult to decide whether the polished elegance of his style or the originality of his matter is most to be admired. He passed some years at Pordinone with Bartolommeo Alviani, the Venetian general, and then retired to the neighbourhood of Verona, where he had a charming villa. Here he gave himself up to the delights of literary retirement, sometimes alone and sometimes surrounded by a chosen circle of friends, who shared his pursuits, and by whom he was much beloved for his amiable disposition and affable manners. He was a poet, and devoted his muse to medical subjects. He wrote also a poem called *Giuseppe*, and many poetical epistles to his friends and epitaphs to their memory. Adamo Fumano has written his life, and Josephus Cominus published a splendid edition of his works, Patavii, MDCCXXXIX. This edition includes the Italian letters of Fracastoro, his occasional poems, and his principal writings.

Page 437. C.

Libro di memorie diverse della chiesa Italiana raccolte da me Vincenzo Burlamacchi in Geneva MDCL.—*MS. Archives de Genève.*

In appresso saranno notati li nomi delle persone Italiane le quale sono venute ad habitare in questa città di Geneva, e fatto professione della Religione reformata e di più l' anno del loro arrivo in esso luogo.

1550.—Giuseppe Fogliato di Cremona. Bartol. Roncado di Piacenza, con sua moglie.

E qui do notizia che solo sono qui messi i nomi che sono scritti ne' libri; essendo certissimo che solo una parte d' essi è qui registrati. Ciò si prova perche già l' anno 1551 furono deputati alcuni per la cura de' poveri. Il che mostra che già allora e davanti v' era numero d' Italiani qui. La raunanza per le prediche cominciò nel 1552, che venne Celso Martinengo da Basilea che fu primo ministro.

1551.—Galeazzo Caracciolo Marchese di Vico nel Regno di Napoli (Signor Marchese) Antonio suo Servitore.

Giovanello Connello di Reggio a Calabria, Lattantio Ragnone di Siena nobile Sanese. Francesco —. Tedesco di Messina. Paolo Buonaria. Vincenzo di Roccia. Jacomo Tomasini di Siena, con sua moglie. Lazaro Ragazzo di Cremona, con sua moglie. Francesco Santa di Cremona, con sua moglie. Giuseppe Fossa di Cremona. Paolo Gazo di Cremona. Niccolò Fogliato di Cremona. Am. Varro, Piemontese. Michele Varro, Piemontese. Simoni Pauli di Fiorenza. Tomaso Pueraro di Cremona, con sua moglie.

1552.—Celso Martinengo, Conte Bresciano. Marzo. Primo Ministro.

Bernardo Loda di Brescia e suo servitore. Giuseppe Fenasco di Cremona. Alfonso Mulazano di Ravello. Ludovico Manno di Sicilia. Gio. Paolo de la Motta. Gio. Aluigi Paschale. Orsino Roccia di Capua. Francesco Gazino di Dragonesi. Geo. Tom. Gazino di Dragonesi. Francesco Sartoris di Chiesi }
 Sebast. Sartoris di Chiesi }
 fratelli con due sorelle. Bernardino Susanno di Piacenza, con sua moglie e due figliuoli.

1553.—Francesco Marchiolo di Cremona, con sua moglie e cinque figliuoli. Gio. Ant. Pellissari di Mussa (moglie et 4 fig.) Girolamo da Milano. Silvestro Tello di Fuligno, con sua moglie. Fabio Tedesco di Reggio in Calabria. Simone Fiorello di Caserta Catechista poi ministro in Tirano (circa 1559.) Gio. Bernardino Ventiglia. Nicolao Giustiniano Bottini di Genova con sua moglie.

1554.—Andrea Rubatto di Cuneo, con sua moglie. Tomaso Portuguese, con sua moglie e cinque figliuoli. Giacomo Milanese, &c. Georgio Miol di Pancabero, con sua moglie, e cinque figliuoli. Gio. Paolo Alciati, Piemontese Stefano Rivorio di Canore. Domenico Fiorentino. Andrea di Verto di Salasso. Nicolao Carignano di Carignano. Bonifacio Morena di Cavourre, con 3 figl. Giofredi Morena di Cavourre, con sua moglie e 4 figl. Gio. Pietro Milanese. Antonio Gazzino Piemontese. Costanzo Gazzino, con sua moglie. Giuseppe Bondiolo di Cremona, sua moglie e 2 figl. Giulio Cesare Paschali di Sicilia, con sua moglie. Ant. del Buono di Novara, sua moglie e 5 figl. Gio. del Buono di Novara Calzo^o, con sua moglie e 5 figl. Gioannina Cottina di Raconiggi con 4 fig. Anselmo Quaglia. Tonino Tomasini. Giofredo Mozino. Hipolito Carignano. Gio. Batt^a. Guazzone. Gio. Ugali, con sua moglie di Verona. Pietro Cierigino. Gio. Ant. Merenda. Giorgio Scarparo.

In 1555 the number of Italians who fled to Geneva to profess the Reformed religion, amounted to sixty persons, many of whom were from Calabria. In 1556 the number was somewhat less, being only thirty-six, among these were seven persons from Lucca, including the Balbani family and Francesco Vidine, a Spaniard.

1557.—This year the emigrants amounted to thirty-nine: among them we find Goffredo Varaglia di Bosco, *ministro in Angrogna poi martire*; Apollonia Merenda di Cosenza; and Giorgio Blandrata, the Antitrinitarian physician.

In 1558 there were thirty-five new arrivals, among whom were seven Spaniards, Merchio Vias de Siviglia, Cipriano Valleria de Siviglia, translator of the Bible, Giovan. de Mellona de Varracina d' Arragona, Aloiso Battista de Canalia, Lopes Contes de Castiglia, Gio. de Vivares de Vagliadoli.

1559. This year the number of arrivals increased to forty-seven persons.

1560.—There was a diminution, only nineteen persons arrived, including Andrea del Ponte, brother of the Doge of Venice.

1561.—Twenty-two arrived this year.

1562.—There were thirty-seven persons, and among them Lodovico Castelvetro and Fausto Sozzini.

1563.—The exiles were more numerous than ever this year, amounting to fifty-three persons.

Thus during thirteen years nearly four hundred persons had fled to save their lives, besides numbers who fell a sacrifice to the Inquisition. The register of names is carried on for many years, but we have given enough to shew how numerous the exiles were who composed the Italian Church. We now return to the reminiscences of Burlamacchi.

Si è trovato in memoria, come le prime Catechisme furono fatte nella Sala del Collegio nel qual si celebrava il Battesimo e il Mariaggio. Et che il numero dell' Italiani crescendo giornalmente, il luogo d' essa Sala dal Collegio non sendo bastante per celebrare la Santa Cena, fu per arresto nel consiglio alle 13 Giugno 1555 ordinato che si predicerebbe et celebrerebbe la

Santa Cena alla Madalena la Domenica seguente quella de' Francesi e nell' hora solita della prima predica.

Nota di coloro che hanno esercitato il Santo ministro nella chiesa Italiana raccolta in questa Città di Geneva.

1552.—Il Conte Celso Massimiliano Martinengo di Brescia arrivò in questa città nel mese di Marzo 1552, et poco dopo fu stabilito ministro nella chiesa. Morì alle 12 Agosto 1557.

1551.—Lattantio Ragnoni di Siena arrivato quà nel mese di Giugno 1551 (prima catechista), fu ricevuto ministro nella chiesa alle 24 Octobre 1557. Morì alle 16 Febrar. 1559. Non potendo ottener Girol^o. Zanco, ne appresso M. Emanuelle, dopo lunga ricerca.

1561.—Niccolò Balbani di Lucca, arrivato quà in Luglio 1557, fu ricevuto ministro nella chiesa, alli 25 Maggio 1561. Passò a miglior vita alli 2 Agosto 1587.

1577.—Gio. Batt. Rota di — in Piemonte fu ricevuto nella nostra chiesa, alli 20 Agosto 1577, ne fu scaricato alli 20 Luglio 1589 per avere lui desiderato ritirarsi in Francia.

1590.—Gio. Bernardo Bosso di nazione Piemontese venuto in questa città anno 1578, fu ricevuto ministro nella chiesa Italiana alli 20 del mese di Maggio 1590. Esso passò a miglior vita alli 5 Dec. 1612.

1612.—Gio. Diodati di nazione Lucchese nato quà alli 6 Giugno 1576, fu ricevuto Ministro nella chiesa Italiana alli 20 Dec. 1612.

During the 17th century there was a succession of Italian pastors up to the year 1639. We find the names of Benedetto Turretini of Lucca, Jacomo Sartoris of Piemonte, Antonio Leger, also a Piemontese, Francesco Turretin, Fabritio Burlamacchi, Benedetto Calandrini, and Michele Turretini, both of Lucchese extraction, and Antonio Leger, which closes the list of those who filled the office of Pastor up to the year 1689. In process of time the French language was so generally used by the Italians, that it was no longer necessary to have worship in their own language, and they were gradually merged in the different churches of Geneva.

Burlamacchi has given a list of the names of those who had the management of the Italian Church, either as Elders or as Administrators to the poor. Galeazzo Caracciolo was an elder from the year 1551 till his death in 1586. The Register goes as far as 1669.

The following minutes in French are found in the Archives of Geneva.

Conseil d'Etat Archives MS.

Memoires concernant l' Eglise Italienne de Genève tirés du Register du Consistoire, &c.

1551.—Le Marquis Galeace Caracciolo arrivé ici 1551, travailla avec M. Calvin pour établir l' Eglise et l' ordre de la predication ordinaire, y ayant déjà grand nombre de familles. Il alla querir a Bâle le Conte Celso Masa. Martinengo fameux auparavant pour ses predications en Italie et compagnon de Martyr a Lucques, qui arriva ici en Mars 1552, et y fut établi Ministre des Italiens, étant examiné par la compagnie des Pasteurs.

1555.—On precha au commencement, et on fit les Catechismes en la sale du college vieux : et l' assemblée étant fort accrue en 1555, par Arrêt du Conseil du 13 Juin fut dit qu' on feroit le Preche Italien pour la Sainte Cene a la Madeleine, le Dimanche suivant la Cene des Francois a 8 heures du matin.

1556.—En l' Assemblée générale de Mars 1556, on établit pour adjoints du Pasteur 4 Anciens dont le dite Marquis fut le 1^{er} pour la conduite de l' Eglise comme corps de Consistoire qu' on appella Collegges, avec 4 Diacres pour administrer les Aumones. Les reglements du dite College se trouvent renouvelés le 8 Mai 1564. Les dites Anciens avoient charge de visiter frequemment les familles, se partageant les quartiers. Item les malades. Il y en avoient toujours deux établis sur les differences, pour les accomoder. Un ou deux sur les écoles qu' on dressa.

On établit pour Catechiste dès devant 1556 Simon Fiorello et on expli-

quait un petit formulle, et un plus grand a certains heures. En 1556 Lattantio Ragnone Noble Siennois faisait aussi des Catechismes. Dès le commencement on eut 60 Pseaumes qu'on imprima en 1556 augmentés. Tout ceux qui arrivoient d'Italie se presentoit au Concistoire, et etant connu de leur instruction, ils estoient incorporés en la communion de l'Eglise, se soumettant à la Confession de foi, et à l'ordre de la Discipline. Ceux qui n'estoient pas suffisamment instruits, estoient renvoyés aux Catechistes.

La Congregation generale se tenoit dès l'an 1557, après les Catechismes Italiens, au Temple ou Auditoire de St Marie, dout il y eut quelques demelés avec les Anglais pour l'heure et tout fut remis a M. Calvin. Dès cette année on fit la depense de plancher la dite Auditoire par resolution du 3 Mars 1557, et de quelques bancs pour les femmes in 9^{bre} 1558, et de plancher les chapelles y mettant des bancs Janvier 1559.

Switzerland was indeed a nursing-mother to the suffering Church of Christ; besides the Italian, Spanish, and French refugees, great numbers of English took shelter at Geneva and Zurich in Queen Mary's reign.

Page 438. D.

1551.—Dès le commencement de 1551 jusque au feu de 1553, furent élus entre les Italiens pour le soin des pauvres qu'ils assistoient de leurs deniers Niccolò Fogliato de Cremona, et Amed. Varro Piemontois.

1554.—Pour les pauvres en l'Assemblée Generale du 4 Janvier 1554, furent députés Simon Fiorillo, et Niccolò Fogliato et en Janvier 1555, leur fut adjoint Jean Paolo Alciati.

1556.—Pour l'entretien des Ministres et des pauvres, il y avoit une regle dressé de ceux qui volontairement s'y obligeoit selon leur pouvoir, et depuis ceux de la nation y ont toujours pourvu a les frais, comme aussi pour les Maîtres d'écoles, et un chantre a gages. Le Chantre pour 8 ecus.—Note, a crown was about 4 frs.

Extract from *Registres du Concistoire, unedited MS.* The register extends to 1612, but is too long to insert here.

Page 451. D.

Epitaphs of Galeazzo Caracciolo and his second wife Anne Framery, who survived him only eleven months.

I.

Illustri Domino D. Galeacio Caracciolo,
Marchionatus Vici, in Regno Neapolitano,
Unico et Legitimo Hæredi.
P. P. L. P.

Italiam liqui patriam, clarosque Penates,
Et lætam antiquâ Nobilitate domum;
Cæsareâque manu porrectos fortis honores
Contempsî, et magnas Marchio divitias;
Ut te Christe ducem sequer contemptus et exul,
Et pauper variâ pressus ubique Cruce:
Nam nobis Cœli veros largiris honores,
Et patriam, et census annuis, atque domos.
Exceptit profugum vicina Geneva Lemanno,
Meque suo civem fovit amica sinu:
Hic licet exiguâ nunc sim compostus in urnâ,
Nec claros Cineres alta sepulchra premant,
Me decus Ausoniæ gentis, me vera superbis
Maiorem pietas Regibus esse facit.

II.

Lectissimæ Matronæ Annæ Fremeriæ,
 Illustris Domini D. Galeacci
 Caraccioli Uxori.
 P. P. L. P.

Vix vix undecies repararat cornua Phœbe,
 Conspicitur tristi funus in urbe novum :
 Anna suum Coniux lacrymis venerata maritum,
 Indomito tandem victa dolore cadit,
 Illa sui cernens properantia tempora Lethi,
 Dixit tunc demum funere læta suo :
 Quàm nunc grata venis, quàm nunc tua iussa libenter
 Mors sequor, ad sedes nam vehor athereas,
 Hic ubi certa quies concessa laboribus, Aurâ
 O Coniux tecum iam meliore fruar.
 Pectore quem toto conceperat illa dolorem,
 Sola superveniens vincere mors potuit.

Page 452. F.

Extract from the Preface of the French translation of the life of Galeazzo Caracciolo by Balbani, addressed to the heads of the Lucca families at Geneva in 1681 :

“ Je scay Messieurs que vous auriez dû la lire dans la langue ou Monsieur Nicolas Balbani, vôtre illustre Compatriote, et l'un des plus anciens Pasteurs de vôtre Eglise, vous la laissa, sur la fin du siècle passé : Mais outre qu'elle ne se trouvoit comme plus, et que c'est, pour ainsi dire, un tresor qu'il m'a falu deterrer, j'ose esperer que vous ne me sçavez pas mauvais gré, qu'au même temps que je vous dedie la traduction que j'ay faite de cette belle histoire je tâche de procurer encore par ce même moyen l'édification commune de toutes les Eglises reformés. Genève, outre cela, nôtre seconde Mere, étoit Messieurs, si peu instruite d'un événement si rare et si beau, quoy qu'il se soit presque tout passé chez elle, qu'il étoit desormais bien temps que l'on le luy fit connoître, peur en luy aprenant non seulement comme quoy une Eglise Italienne s'est formé dans son encointe, mais aussi de quelles vertus ont brillé les fideles des diverses Nations et Langues que Dieu conduisit icy les premiers, dès la reformation établie, l'induire à se remettre dans cette premiere ferveur de pieté, qui servit autrefois d'attrait, à tant d'honnêtes gens qui s'y refugierent.”

CHAPTER XXI.

Page 463. A.

Privileges granted to Aonio Paleario at Milan, with the letter of the said Paleario requesting these privileges.

According to the request of the most eloquent orator and celebrated poet, Aonio Paleario, the letters of the most excellent Senate have been brought to the most Magnif. D. Octaviano Cusano, Juriconsult Vic., and to the twelve Decuriones charged with the finance department in this distinguished city of Milan, after this manner :

DIPLOMA OF PHILIP KING OF SPAIN, &c., DUKE OF MILAN, &c.

“ Beloved, we give you authority to assist and prefer above all others, the distinguished orator, Aonio Paleario, who, having been invited from Tuscany

to instruct the youth in classical literature during the perilous times of the state, came here to his own inconvenience, preferring our city to his own country. On which account, that he may receive from you some proof of gratitude; and especially, because at a period of great scarcity he has brought hither his wife and children; we concede to you the power of giving and granting to the said Aonio those extraordinary privileges and honours which you may be pleased to give and grant according to his merit and virtue; thus, whatever is by you given and granted in this matter, is to be considered as approved and ratified. Given at Milan the 8th of March, 1559.

(Signed) FRANCISCUS PETRANIGRA."

Sealed with the usual red wax, and addressed:

"To the distinguished Jurisconsult and nobleman, my Lord Vicar, and the twelve principal districts of Milan, our beloved, &c."

AONIO PALEARIO TO THE MILANESE DECURIONES CONCERNING THE PRIVILEGES.

"Aonio Paleario, invited some years ago to teach the Milanese youth, lived with one servant only, at an inn, and would not make use of the diploma of Privileges, in order to avoid burthening the state for his private advantage. But now that he has taken a house and brought his family from Tuscany, and has to support them at great expence and inconvenience, in consequence of the extreme scarcity of provisions; he begs and entreats that those privileges, which were given him without asking, may now at his request be confirmed with greater certainty. Moved by a special regard for your city and for the general welfare of the Milanese youth, he left his patrimony and an honourable stipend in Tuscany,¹ and in these hazardous times came among you, and desires to remain with you. He hopes, therefore, that the *Ædiles* and the *Decuriones*, men of justice and humanity, will have regard to his circumstances, and allow him to be assisted by the generosity of your government. For this purpose, Senators, he needs your favour and aid, and he requests you to give or extend authority to the magistracy, called the board of finance; so that whatever the president of that magistracy and his colleagues have given and granted to Aonio, in the matter of these privileges, may by a decree of the Senate be now confirmed and ratified as having been by a most excellent law granted and conceded."

"These letters and petitions having been read, and duly and seriously considered, and it having been most certainly ascertained that the aforesaid Aonio Paleario, by his erudite instructions in Greek and Latin literature, has conferred no small advantage, and brought both honour and distinction [to the city] and will continue to do so; and that on this account he is eminently deserving of being relieved from every burden and inconvenience, and of being gratified by every favour and honour: in consideration of his virtue and learning, and of the well-proved and singular assiduity with which he instructs the Milanese youth, daily rendering them more noble and more accomplished, the aforesaid *Magnif. D. Vic.* and the *Decuriones* are disposed to consent to the petition of Aonio Paleario, who has deserved well of the Milanese. By these presents they confirm the aforementioned sanction of the most excellent senate, and concede and grant all the extraordinary privileges which have been already granted by the honourable community to the said Paleario, as well as those yet to be granted; and they decree that these privileges shall be in force from the first of January last, and henceforth. In order that this gracious concession (though his great virtue, admirable life, and the benefits conferred on the Milanese youth give him greater claims) may immediately begin; they order and decree that according to custom a mandate shall be transmitted to *M. Giovan. Francesco Homato*, *Quæstor* of the same *Magnif. community*, to administer and disburse to the said Aonio Paleario, every year,

¹ From this it appears that Paleario did not give up his professorship at Lucca till he was appointed to Milan.

after having made the usual calculations, a sum of money sufficient for the support of seven persons, both for wine, corn, and meat; these extraordinary supplies to be always at a fixed rate. Given at Milan on Thursday, the 6th of April, 1558.

O. CUSANO. JO. ANTONIO SPANZOTTA."

*Registered in the book of Exemptions for the Noble M. Aonio Paleario.
Order for Privileges.*

Page 475. A2.

Extract from a letter by Claude, bishop of Turin :

"Ho ricevuto, dice egli a Teodemiro, da un latore particolare la tua lettera, cogli articoli pieni zeppi di ciarle e di follie. Voi dite in questi articoli, che provaste rammarico pell' essersi la mia fama sparsa non solo per tutta Italia, ma altresì in Ispagna e altrove, quasi avessi predicato io, e tuttora predicassi una setta nuova, contraria alle massime dell' antica fede cattolica; locchè è assolutamente falso, nè havvi da stupire in verun modo se i membri di Satanasso parlino di me in siffatta maniera, essi che hanno pure chiamato il capo nostro *impostore*, avere un demonio, ece. Percio chè io non insegno setta nuova di sorta alcuna, attenendomi alla pura fede, e non predicando nè pubblicando altro che questa: anzi, per quanto sta in me, io ho ripreso e rintuzzato, rovesciato, e distrutto, come tuttavia reprimò, rintuzzo e distruggo con ogni mia possa, tutte le sette, i scismi, le superstizioni e le eresie; nè mai cesserò di farlo, coll' aiuto di Dio, per quanto io ne sia capace, conciossiachè, siccome viene espressamente detto *non ti farai rassembranza di alcuna cosa sì nel cielo che sulla terra, etc.* cio non deve intendersi soltanto delle immagini e rassembranze de' estranei dei, ma anche di quelle delle creature celeste."—Amadeo Bert, *I Valdesi*, p. 393.

"I have received, he says to Teodemiro, your letter by a private hand, containing the articles brimful of folly and nonsense. You say in these articles that you feel sorry that my reputation is spread not only throughout Italy but also in Spain and elsewhere; as if I had preached and do still preach a new sect holding opinions contrary to the precepts of the ancient Catholic faith. This is absolutely false, nor is it at all surprising that the followers of Satan should speak of me in this manner. They have also called our head an *impostor*, having a devil, &c. But I have not taught the doctrines of a new sect of any kind; I have kept close to the purity of the faith, I have neither published nor preached anything else; on the contrary, I have as much as possible checked, reprovèd, overturned and destroyed, and still reprove, check and crush with all my power all sects, schisms, superstitions, and heresies; nor will I ever by the help of God cease to do this as far as in me lies. For it is expressly said 'Thou shalt not make any likeness of anything in heaven or on earth;' this is not only to be understood as a prohibition against making a likeness of strange gods, but also of celestial beings."

Page 481. B.

Mrs. Gilly has kindly favoured me with a part of the report of the Vaudois Committee, from which the following is an extract.

"It was attested by official documents in the State Paper Office, that a sum of money amounting to £13,333 16s. 3d., the residue of a collection made in England in 1655, for the relief of the Vaudois, had been placed at interest, and that this interest had been regularly remitted to the Vaudois during the Protectorates of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. Soon after the Restoration these remittances were stopped, and no steps were taken to renew them until the year 1689, when measures were adopted by Queen Mary to make some restitution for the loss, and a pension of £425 a-year, increased after 1703 to

£500, was directed to be paid through the hands of the Lord Almoner, Archbishop Sharpe, to the Vaudois churches. The Vaudois ministers of Piedmont continued to receive their pensions with greater or less punctuality according to circumstances, through the channel of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, up to the year 1797, when the remittances became very irregular, and ceased altogether in 1799. By the investigation of the Committee it was ascertained that a secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury received the issues from the Exchequer until the year 1804, but failed to remit them, and died insolvent in 1809. From 1804 to 1807, the sum of £1500 had accumulated in the Exchequer appropriated to the Vaudois churches, but was uncalled for; and in July 1807 a treasury-minute ordered the payment on account of the Vaudois churches to cease from that time." The Committee represented the claims of the Vaudois to Lord Liverpool on the 11th March, 1826. "The result was a restitution of the £1500 which had accumulated in the Exchequer, and a partial renewal of the pension formerly granted to the Vaudois churches of Piedmont to the amount of £277 1s. 6d., being two-thirds of the nett sum appropriated by Parliament, the other third being due to the Vaudois colonists in Germany."—*Report of the Vaudois Committee, 1827.*

Page 482. C.

Henry Arnaud was one of the Waldensian ministers who had been fortunate enough to escape from the Valleys to Holland. There he consulted William, Prince of Orange, just before his descent on England in 1688, who encouraged him to attempt to return to his native hills. Arnaud then sent emissaries into the Valleys to prepare them for his return; he assembled a valiant troop on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, and on the 16th of August they crossed into the territory of Savoy. Being in want of a commander Arnaud put himself at the head of 900 armed men, and facing every peril and privation they passed Mont Cenis, and in the space of eight days found themselves at the entrance of their dear valleys. Here a strong detachment of French troops fired on them and put them into momentary disorder; the firing was so hot that had not one of the captains called out *docche in terra* they would have been all destroyed, for they were surrounded by enemies; their valour however cleared the bridge, and the first who crossed cried *Animo, animo! il ponte è nostro*. This electric sound animated them afresh; they fought with the bayonet, put to the route 3000 French troops, and arrived in the Valley of S. Martino on the 27th of August, 1689, eleven days after leaving Geneva. No sooner did they catch the first glimpse of their native mountains than they prostrated themselves in gratitude to the Great Being who had brought them back, and swore eternal fidelity to the holy cause through which they had incurred so much persecution.—Bert, *I Valdesi*, cap. x. p. 200.

Those who wish to read a compendious history of the Waldenses will do well to consult the following succinct work, "*The Vaudois*, comprising observations made during a tour to the Valleys of Piedmont in the summer of 1844; together with introductory remarks interspersed, respecting the origin, history, and present condition of that interesting people." By E. Henderson, D.D. London, 1845.

Page 487. D.

M. Amedée Bert, the Waldensian pastor at Turin, sent the following letter to the *Risorgimento* to plead their cause before the public.

"Torino, il 9 Febbrais, 1848.

"Torino, 9th February, 1848.

"Ornatissimo e pregatissimo Signore,—Tutti si rallegrano in Piemonte, ed esultano, non senza gran motivo, le nobili e veramente paterne istituzioni

"Much respected Sir,—All are rejoicing in Piemont, and exulting with good reason in the truly paternal institutions which the generous heart

dal generoso cuore del Sovrano ai felici popoli impartite collo *Statuto* ieri, in mezzo alla universale esaltanza, pubblicato.

“Speravano anche 22,000 cristiani Valdesi non essere obbiati dall'amato Monarca, e che dopo trecento anni, o di persecuzioni o di lente sofferenze, ma sempre d'illibata fedeltà, fossero pur essi ammessi nel consorzio de' fratelli piemontesi, con cancellarsi nel nuovo politico reggimento le antiche incapacità! Ma dura per noi l'antica eccezione, e benché felici oltre modo delle ottenute riforme dai *nostri* (oseremo noi dire)? concittadini, non possiamo neppure non essere profondamente addolorati.

“Aspettiamo, nondimeno, un avvenire migliore dal cuore del nostro Augusto Principe, lo aspettiamo dai lumi e dalla carità e giustizia della nazione, e pure, aspettando che giunga quel giorno in cui anche noi saremo riformati, non mai cesseremo di benedire al nostro Rè, e non altro scopo avranno le nostre preghiere all'Onnipotente che la prosperità della cara patria, e la felicità di tutti e suoi figli. Gradisca, &c.

“*Firmato*, AMEDEO BERT,
“Ministro Valdese.”

Bert, *I Valdesi*, p. 303, Torino, 1849.

of the Sovereign has conferred on his happy people by the Constitution proclaimed yesterday in the midst of universal joy.

“Twenty-two thousand Waldensian christians had also hoped not to be forgotten by their beloved Prince, and that after three hundred years of protracted suffering and persecution, having been always unswervingly loyal, they too would be admitted within the circle of their Piemontese brethren, and that the new political organisation would cancel their former incapacities. But the old restrictions still exist; and though inexpressibly happy at the reforms obtained by *our* (dare we say?) fellow-citizens, we ourselves cannot but be deeply grieved.

“We look, however, to the heart of our august monarch for a happier future. We expect it from the enlightenment, charity, and justice of the nation; and thus waiting for the day to arrive when we too shall be reformed, we will never cease to bless our King; and the great object of our prayer to the Omnipotent will be the prosperity of our dear country and the happiness of all her children. Accept, &c.

“*Signed*, AMEDEO BERT,
“Waldensian Minister.”

CHAPTER XXII.

Page 490. A.

Mignet says: “Charles-Quint n'abdiqua qu'après y avoir long-temps pensé. Il n'eut aucun repentir d'un acte auquel il fut naturellement conduit, et qu'il accomplit avec une lenteur prudente. En possession de sa forte raison et d'une expérience consommée, il fut instruit, dans son cloître, de toutes les affaires de la monarchie espagnole, et consulté sur les plus importantes et les plus délicates d'entre elles par son fils, qui conserva toujours envers lui une respectueuse déférence et une tendresse soumise. Il y vécut séparé des moines, dans les habitudes et avec la dignité d'un ancien souverain. Malgré son extrême dévotion le chrétien fervent ne cessa point d'y être un politique résolu. Il aurait voulu que son fils, attaqué en Italie par le pape Paul IV., ne ménageât pas plus cet ambitieux pontife qu'il n'avait ménagé lui-même le pape Clément VII.; et lorsque le timide Philippe II. termina en Septembre 1557, sans avantage et avec peu de dignité une guerre marquée jusque-là par des succès éclatants, le fier Charles-Quint trouva que la paix avec le saint-siège avait été conclue trop humblement et trop vite.”—Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, pp. 5, 6.

Page 497. B.

Mignet gives from *Retiro estancia* the following list of the library of Charles V.

L'Almageste, ou la grande composition astronomique de Ptolémée.

L'Astronomie impérial de Santa Cruz qui avoit donnée des leçons de mathématiques a Charles V.

Commentaires de Cesar.

Histoires d'Espagne dans les temps anciens et durant le moyen age, reunies par Florian de Ocampo.

Consolation de Boece en français, en italien et en langue romane.

Commentaires sur la guerre d'Allemagne, par le grand commandeur d'Alcantara.

Chevalier delibéré roman poetique. *Caballero determinado.*

Méditations de Saint Augustin, et *Méditations pieuses.*

Les ouvrages du docteur Constantin Ponce de la Fuente et du Pere Pedro de Soto sur la doctrine chretienne.

Somme des Mystères Chrétiens, par Titelman.

Deux *Bréviaires*, un *Missel*, deux *Psautiers* enlumines, le *Commentaire* de fray Tomas de Portocarrero sur le psaume *In te, Domine, speravi.*

Prières tirées de la Bible.

"Plusieurs de ces livres avaient un intérêt particulier pour lui. Les *Commentaires* sur la guerre de 1546 et 1547, contre les protestants d'Allemagne avaient été écrits en espagnol sous son inspiration par Don Luis de Avila y Zuniga puis traduits en latin par van Male, et rapidement publiés." "En Espagne d'abord, vers 1548, chez Jean Steelz, à Anvers, en 1550, dans l'original espagnol et la traduction latine et dans une traduction flamande; à Paris, en français, en 1551; en italien, à Venise, en 1549 et 1553." *Lettres de Malineus* (van Male) *sur la vie intérieure de Charles-Quint.*—See Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, pp. 217, 218.

Page 503. C.

Doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente was born in the diocese of Cuença, and studied divinity at the University of Alcalà de Henares. As he was a contemporary of the brothers Valdés, who were natives of that province, he was probably their companion in study. Constantino early acquired a great reputation for learning and purity of life; his irreproachable conduct and abilities made Charles V. select him as his honorary chaplain, and afterwards as his preacher, and as such he accompanied him to Germany. Juan Cristobal Calvete, a Catholic writer, speaks of him in the highest terms as a great philosopher and profound divine. On his return from Germany in 1555 he was elected magistral-canon of Seville; whenever he preached great crowds attended; and though like the Italian monks he was obliged to veil the most striking doctrines of the gospel in obscure language, yet his enlightened convictions gave so distinctive a character to his preaching, that the Jesuit general, Father Francisco de Borja, finding him the centre of attraction, went to hear him. But missing the customary phrases about the Virgin, the saints and purgatory, he said, "there is here some latent error, do not believe him." By way of protection Constantino tried to enrol himself among the members of the Jesuit college at Seville, but without success; and while he was thus endeavouring to conceal his sentiments he was discovered to be a Protestant by Luys Soletto, a myrmidon of the Inquisition, who, while searching for some jewels belonging to Isabel Martinez, a widow lady, who had been arrested by the Inquisition, the secret of some concealed books was betrayed by her son Francisco Beltran; Soletto breaking down a part of the wainscot, discovered a number of Protestant books and some MSS. in the handwriting of Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. He was immediately arrested by the Inquisition; and Charles V., when he heard that Constantino was accused of heresy, said, "If Constantino is a heretic, he is a great one."

When his writings were shewn him he acknowledged they contained his sentiments. He was then put into a damp fetid cell, the very air of which was poisonous. In the agony of his sufferings he exclaimed, "Oh my God, were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or pagans, still more savage, that thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptized fiends!" Death soon put an end to his torments; Fernando, a young fellow-prisoner, consoled him in his last moments.—See De Montes; Geddes, *Miscell. Tracts*; McCrie, *Reform. in Spain*; De Castro, *Spanish Protestants*; and Antonio, *Bib. Nova*.

Page 506. D.

M. Gachard has printed the MS. account of the anonymous monk, who gives an account of this simulated funeral. According to him (Joseph de Siguenza) Charles proposed to his confessor, Juan Regla, to celebrate the funerals of his father and mother, and of the empress; and when these were over he said to Juan Regla: "Ne vous parait il pas, fray Juan, qu' ayant fait les obsèques de mes proches, je puisse aussi faire les miennes, et voir ce qui arrivera bientôt pour moi? En entendant ces paroles, fray Juan Regla s' attendrit, les larmes lui vinrent aux yeux, et il dit comme il put: Que Votre Majesté vive nombre d' années, s' il plait a Dieu, et qu' elle ne nous annonce pas sa mort avant l' heure. . . . L'Empereur qu' animait un esprit plus haut, lui dit: Ne croyez-vous point que cela me profiterait? Oui, Sire, repondit fray Juan, et beaucoup. Les œuvres pieuses que quelq' un fait pendant sa vie sont d' un plus grand mérite, et elles ont un caractère bien plus satisfaisant que celles qu' on fait pour lui après sa mort. . . . L'Empereur ordonna qu' on préparât tout pour le soir et qu' on commençât aussitôt ses obsèques. On dressa au milieu de la grande chapelle un catafalque entouré de cierges. Tous les serviteurs de Sa Majesté descendirent en habit de deuil. Le pieux monarque, également vêtu de deuil et un cierge à la main, y vint aussi pour se voir enterrer et célébrer ses funérailles. Il pria Dieu pour cette âme à laquelle il avoit accordé tant de grâces pendant la vie, afin que, arrivée au moment suprême, il prit pitié d' elle. Ce fut un spectacle qui arracha des larmes et des soupirs à ceux qui etaient presents, et qui ne l' auraient pas pleuré davantage s' ils l' avaient vu réellement mort. Pour lui, a la messe de ses funérailles, il alla faire l' offrande de son cierge entre les mains du prêtre comme s' il avoit déposé entre les mains de Dieu son âme. . . . l' après midi suivante du 31 août, il appela son confesseur, et lui dit combien il était joyeux d' avoir fait ces funérailles, et qu' il sentait dans son âme comme une allégresse que lui semblait déborder jusque dans le corps."—See Mignet, *Charles-Quint*, p. 410.

This account seems too monkish to be credible; the name of the anonymous writer was Father Joseph de Siguenza. See *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Page 520. A.

Flaminio, in his letter to Carnesechi, alludes to Bucer having been once adverse to the Sacrament of the altar, and doing more harm than the Zuinglians, but that he retracted his errors at the colloquy of Ratisbon. This was not the case, but Bucer, for the sake of union, expressed himself in an ambiguous manner, and advised Martyr so to do though without effect. It is evident that the love of antiquity and respect for his superiors had great influence with the submissive mind of Flaminio, for he entreats Carnesechi

not to make shipwreck by separating from the Catholic Church, and concludes with this devout aspiration, "Teach me thy ways, O Lord, for thou art my God and my Saviour." In these contentious times, he says, there is danger of calling light darkness, and darkness light.

Carneseochi's reply to this letter is written with the utmost courtesy, learning, and elegance; he thanks Flaminio for the interest he has shewn on his behalf, deeply regrets the breach of charity which the subject has occasioned, and praises Flaminio's moderation in not going further than declaring the opinion of the Sacramentarians, as some called them, execrable. He cites Pontano, Sabellico, and Pomponio Leto as examples of impartiality, and alludes to Nicola Leonico and Giacomo Sadoletto as models of patience and moderation. He then enters on the question of Flaminio's letter by saying that in discussions of this nature, the great object ought to be the discovery of truth, in spite of all obstacles which we find in custom, antiquity, or human authority. It would require much time and labour to read all the books he has named, he esteems and admires Irenæus, and often regrets that his works have not been preserved in the original Greek; for the extracts found in Eusebius and Epiphanius and others seem to be written with great ease and elegance, but he cannot feel confidence in the Latin translation. In examining the extracts which Flaminio has cited, the design for which they were written must be well considered in order perfectly to understand the author's meaning. He then gives an example of scholastic reasoning by which wrong conclusions may be drawn. Thus, Christ says, "Without me ye can do nothing." To commit sin is doing something; it follows then that we cannot sin without Christ: again, "Give to those who ask you;" are we then to give to any heretic what he asks of us for some improper object? We must therefore observe the circumstances under which Irenæus spoke; it was to confute the heretic Marcion, who denied that Christ was the Son of God, or that he had any human body. He denies that Irenæus spoke of the sacrifice of the mass, and is astonished that with Flaminio's acuteness and critical definitions he should fall into this error. He then asks what the word mass means: the original signification was, assembling the people, ἐκκλησιάζειν, which in later times has been called *Missas habere esse*. Laying aside the point that the impiety of this doctrine has been treated of in several books, he will only say that some have thought it their duty to expose the guilt of erecting an altar in some corner, load it with every ornament, and then consecrate a man to say mass there for the living and the dead, and to impart the benefits of this mass to the hearers of it, especially to those who pay. In vain do their defenders rub their foreheads and deny that these things are so, or that they are full of impiety and fraud. How is it that when so many remarks have been made on so important a point, nothing has been done in the way of improvement. It is certain, in short, that such a use of the mass is not founded on any divine ordinance or ancient usage, but is partly the result of a superstitious innovation, partly of evil intentions. Upon this turns the hinge of the whole controversy on the subject of transubstantiation sanctioned by law, and also by the still later invention of consubstantiation. Did Irenæus ever say a word about either of these subjects, or did any more recent author name them as long as the Christian religion remained inviolate? None can be found till the time of Pope Gregory I., when they began to use that wonderful word *transubstantiatio*, and a sort of inexplicable change of the bread and wine was introduced. It is evident that this is a change of grace and not of nature, for it is still really bread and wine, but no longer common, but sacred and blest. What think you? It is useless seeking to advocate under the authority of Irenæus, the presence of the body and blood of Christ in that holy ordinance which we call the Lord's Supper, or according to a Greek word, Eucharist."

We regret not to be able to quote more of this energetic Epistle. See the original in Schelhorn, *Amanitates Hist.* t. ii. p. 155.

Page 524. B.

Autograph letter of Pius V. to Duke Cosmo.

"Dilecto filio, nobili Viro, Cosmo Medicæo, Reipublicæ Florentiæ et Senarum Duci,

Pius Papa V.

Dilecte fili, nobilis Vir, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Ob rem, quæ maximopere ad Divinæ Majestatis obsequium, et ad Catholicam Religionem spectat, mittimus, qui nostram hanc tibi exhibebit, nostri Sacri Apostolici Palatii Magistrum; et nisi ferventissimi calores extitissent, adeo cordi Nobis est res ipsa, tantique eam ducimus, ut hanc provinciam ipsi Cardinali Paceo mandavissimus. Eandem ergo prefato Magistro fidem habebis, quam Nobis ipsis haberes, si coram colloqueremur. Sic Deus te, unâ cum filio ac Nuru Principibus, ac Cardinales benedicat, uti Nos ex corde Apostolicam Benedictionem impertimur. Datum Romæ, die xx Junii MDLXVI."—Laderchi, *Annales Eccl.* tom. xxii. p. 60. Schelhorn, *Amen.* tom. ii. p. 183.

Just as this sheet was going to press I have received the June number of the *Revista Contemporanea*, Torino, 1860, which has an article by Cantù, entitled, *Spigolature negli Archivi Toscani*, in which he gives some particulars about the proceedings of Paul IV. in condemning Carnesecchi, not in our text, and some letters of Cosimo, Duke of Florence, to his resident, Pero Gelido, at Venice, where Carnesecchi had taken refuge. On the 25th of November, 1557, Cosimo writes:

"Del travaglio ch'è stato mosso dalla inquisizione di Roma a monsignor Carnesecchi ci dispiace assai; perchè, amandolo come facciamo, li desidereremmo piuttosto argomento di onori e di comodi che novità di molestie. Confidiamo nondimeno che egli colla innocenza sua facilmente remedierà a tutto, e con la prudentia saperà pigliare quelli espedienti che saranno più opportuni per la sicurezza sua. E ben vero che il proceder della detta inquisizione è molto rigoroso, e non basta molte volte esser netto come voi sapete, e come crediamo ch'egli sia."

Gelido was a priest of Luca, had been secretary of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and Carnesecchi's great friend. On the 9th of June, 1558, he wrote to Bibiena, the Duke's secretary:

"Molto spesso ragiono di lei con Monsignor Carnesecchi il quale è abbandonato si può dir da ognun, eccetto da me, il quale tanto lo potrei mai

"To our beloved son the noble man Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of the Republic of Florence and Siena.

Pope Pius V.

Beloved son and most noble man, health, and Apostolic benediction. To treat of a matter which greatly concerns the service of the Divine and Catholic Religion, we send the Master of our Sacred Palace who will present this to you. The object so near our heart is of such great importance, that were it not for the excessive heat now prevailing we should have sent the Cardinal Paceo himself. In the above-mentioned Master you will repose the same confidence you would in Ourselves if we were speaking face to face. May God bless you and the princes, your son and daughter-in-law, and the Cardinals, as We from the heart bestow our Apostolic benediction. Given from Rome 20th June, 1566."—Gibbings, *Trial and Martyrdom*, p. 15.

"The persecution from the Inquisition of Rome to which Monsignor Carnesecchi has been exposed has grieved me much; for loving him as I do, I rather desire for him increase of honours and advantages than fresh annoyances. I trust however that by his innocence he will be able easily to remedy all, and that he will have prudence enough to take the best measures for his safety. It is true that the proceedings of the said Inquisition are very severe, and that often it is not enough to be innocent, as you know, and as I believe he is."

Gelido was a priest of Luca, had been secretary of the Cardinal of Ferrara, the 9th of June, 1558, he wrote to

"I often speak of you with Monsignor Carnesecchi, who is as it were forsaken by every one but me. I can no more forsake him than a mother

abbandonare quanto la madre il suo figliuolo, amandolo quanto si può amare un vero amico: e certo non per benefizi che io abbia ricevuto o spero ricevere da lui, ma perchè l'ho sempre conosciuto uomo da bene e buonissimo, e se mai l'ebbi per tale, in questa sua affizione, ch'è delle gravi che possono accadere a un uomo, poichè si perde la robba, l'onore e quasi la vita, finisco de certificarmi che Dio è con lui, e lo governa, lo consola, e lo fortifica: che altrimenti non potrebbe tollerare questo colpo mortalissimo con tanta costanza d'animo e quasi con ilarità, come con effetto la tollera.

"S'è ritirato in una casa che fa conto la gli sia un onesta carcere, conversa co'suoi libri e co'suoi pensieri per la maggior parte divini, e volti alle cose dell'altra vita, di maniera che questa persecuzione che lo priva della conversazione degli uomini, l'assuefarà a conversar con gli angeli, e così verrà a trarsi altro frutto di questo suo esiglio, di quello che trasse dal suo Boezio, o qualsivoglia altro animo di filosofo, perchè altra consolazione si trova nella filosofia cristiana che nella umana."

can forsake her child, for I love him with the affection of a true friend. And certainly this is not for any benefits which I have received, or hope to receive from him, but because I have always known him to be a good and most excellent man. If ever I thought him such, now under his great misfortune, which is one of the most serious that can happen to a man, for he loses property and reputation, and almost his life, I am completely persuaded that God is with him, that he guides, consoles, and strengthens him, or he could not bear this mortal blow with so much firmness of mind and even cheerfulness as he does.

"He has retired to a house which he turns into a decent kind of prison; he converses with his books and his own thoughts, which are chiefly directed to divine things and to the concerns of another life; so that this persecution, which deprives him of the conversation of men, accustoms him to converse with angels, and thus he will derive greater advantage from this exile than from his Boethius or any other philosopher, for the consolation which springs from christian philosophy is very different from that of human origin."

Galido writes like a man who had himself known the value of divine truth, and hence knew how to appreciate such a character as Carneseccchi.

I am at a loss to ascertain to what Cantù alludes when he says, 'una lettera del Serristori a Cosimo da Roma informa della *abjura fatta dal Carneseccchi*, a letter to Cosimo from Serristori at Rome informs him of the abjuration of Carneseccchi.' Serristori's words are, "Piaccia a Dio averlo compunto in quel punto della morte; perchè per prima non si era partito, per quanto s'intende, dalla sua prava opinione." 'May it have pleased God to take compassion on him at the moment of death, for before this he had not laid aside his perverse opinions.'—See Serristori, *Legazioni*, p. 445, and chap. xxiii. p. 532. Other abjurations were made at the Minerva, but as Carneseccchi was declared impenitent to the end, he could not have abjured, for this would have been a sign of repentance.

• Page 533. C.

The Rev. Mr. Gibbings, who has published the original "Trial" of Carneseccchi, found it among some papers and documents purchased by the late Duke of Manchester at Paris, which were disposed of to Mr. Gibbings. They consist of seventy folio volumes, and are now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Gibbings, in a private letter, says he has published the only two trials given at length, those of Carneseccchi and Manfredi, the latter being of a later date, the time of Paolo Sarpi. I had myself heard at Rome that the French, in their occupation of this city under the first Napoleon, had carried away a great many papers, but did not know how far this was true

till I saw Mr. Gibbings' book, in which he mentions that Dr. Wall, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, had "generously purchased and presented to the library of that University the very valuable MS. records relating to the Inquisition at Rome." See dedication of Mr. Gibbings' book. He does not agree with Mr. Babington that Paleario wrote the *Beneficio*. This diversity of opinion is to be regretted in so sincere and earnest a friend of the Italian reformers. It would have been a gratification to have had his vote in favour of Paleario's authorship. The subject requires special and extended research into collateral history, and perhaps will be best cleared up by the Italians themselves, now that their press is free. Cesare Cantù has long since directed his attention to this period of history. In 1853 he published *Sacro Macello di Valtellina Episodio della Riforma Religiosa*; and now in 1860 he has an article in *Rivista Contemporanea*, entitled *Spigolature negli Archivi Toscani*, in which he treats of *La riforma religiosa. Eretici. Inquisizioni*.

Page 534. D.

Translation from Girolamo Gigli, *Diario Senese*, tom. i. p. 63.

After describing the generous courage of Pius V. in sustaining the authority and privileges of the Church against the encroachments of lay Princes, he dwells on the Pope's gratitude to those princes who were favourable to the Apostolic See, and the special satisfaction which Pius had experienced from the conduct of the Duke of Florence. For these and other good services done to religion (which he enumerates as follows), the title of Grand Duke was conferred on him and his descendants.

5th March. This day in the year 1569 Cosimo I., Duke of Florence and Siena, was solemnly crowned in the Consistory, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

1. Because Duke Cosimo had made every effort to prevent heresy from entering Tuscany.

2. For having on various occasions rendered important services to the Church.

3. Because the governors and magistrates of Tuscany deserved well of the Church of Rome for having taken up arms against all who oppressed her.

4. Because from the time Cosimo had assumed the government of Tuscany he had shown great zeal for religion and justice.

5. That at the simple request of the Pope he had sent a body of infantry and cavalry to France, and had generously contributed more than 100,000 crowns to make war against the Huguenots.

6. For having instituted and established an order of knighthood under the invocation of S. Stephen, pope and martyr, composed of the first nobility of the state for the defence of religion against the infidels.

7. That he ruled in peace and governed his people in love.

8. That he was diligent in chasing the corsairs who depredated the Maremma and ruined trade, and in dissipating and extirpating the banditti who took refuge in his states, filling Tuscany with homicide and rapine.

9. Because the riches and extent of his principality made him one of the chief princes of Italy.

10. Because he had the power of collecting a numerous army.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Page 540. A.

Extract from MS. Life of Paul IV.

"Furono molti anni in Bergamo "In Bergamo there were for many
alcuni principali Eretici, ovvero sospetti years some of the greatest heretics,

e processati d'Eresia. In primis Vettor Soranzo, Vescovo di Bergamo, il suo Vicario, il Preposto chiamato D. Nicolo Assonico, et altri di minor conto furono processati gravamente. Il Vescovo in particolare fu tenuto per Eretico fino, e fù quello ch'ebbe ardire di mandare gente armata per carcerare fra Michele Ghisliero all' hora Inquisitore in quelle parti." "Il quale era mandato per ordini di Roma a formar secretamente processo contra Vettor Soranzo, nobile Venetiano, Vescovo di quella città, inquisito d' heresia; nè formar potendosi senza manifesto pericolo di chi lo formava, per essere il Vescovo, dai Rettori, e da gran parte della città grandemente favorito, F. Michele intrepidamente formollo; ma essendo alla fine scoperto, e mandato i Rettori, e 'l Vescovo gente per ritenerlo e per farlo con grande stratio morire, se ne fuggì avvisato, e aiutato d'alcun fautore della Inquisizione, e fù condotto in sicura parte, e 'l processo tanto importante è (affinche non corresse pericolo insieme con la persona) lasciato in salvo in mano d'un Frate di San Francesco, il quale non guarì dopo, per mano d'amico ribebbe, e tornossene a Roma, con molto honor suo per si degna opera; ove citato il Vescovo, benchè favorito, e difeso da potenti huomini, comparve in persona, e posto in Castel Santo Angelo, e convinto sottoscrisse à molti capi d'errori heretici, e di pessimo esempio, per li quali scorgeasi lui tener modi per infettar tutto'l paese, se con l'opera di F. Michele alla ruina di tante anime non si riparava. Il Vescovo privato della chiesa morì poi in Venetia infelicemente."—Caracciolo, *MS. Vita di Paolo IV.*, capo iii.; Catena, *Vita di Pio V.*

or suspected and tried for heresy. First, Vettor Soranzo, Bishop of Bergamo, his Vicar, the parish priest, named D. Nicolo Assonico, and others of less importance were seriously tried. The bishop in particular was considered a finished heretic; he it was who had the courage to send an armed band to arrest friar Michele Ghisliero, Inquisitor at that time in those parts." "He had been sent, by orders from Rome, to prepare secretly a suit against Vettor Soranzo, a Venetian of noble family, bishop of that city, accused of heresy. This could not be done without evident danger to the person who undertook it, as the bishop, the rectors, and great part of the city greatly favoured him. Friar Michele courageously carried it on, but being finally discovered, armed bands were sent by the rectors and the bishop to take him and cruelly put him to death; but having been warned, and assisted by some partisans of the Inquisition, he fled, and was put in security. The suit, being so important, that it might not run the same risk as the Inquisitor, he left in the hands of a friar of St. Francesco, but soon after, through the intervention of a friend, he recovered it, and returned to Rome, where he was much honoured for so praiseworthy an action. The bishop being cited there, though favoured and defended by powerful men, appeared in person, was confined in the castle of St. Angelo, and convicted. He subscribed to many heretical articles of very bad example, by which it was discovered that he had the means of infecting the whole country, if through F. Michele the ruin of so many souls had not been prevented. The bishop, deprived of his see, died afterwards at Venice, in an unhappy condition."

The two Catholic writers from whom this narrative is taken, completely prove how Gospel truth was crushed by papal violence.

Page 543. B.

"AONIO PALEARIO, Servant of Jesus Christ, to the faithful and holy men, depositors of his book, peace and grace through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"My letters, written some years ago, one to the Swiss and the other to the Germans,¹ without my name being affixed thereto, fully indicate what were my

¹ See Palearii *Opera*, p. 205.

hopes, what my counsel, and the sentiments of my heart. GOD the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST is my witness that for a long time past I have entreated Christian Princes to assemble good and learned men, and be themselves present at the assembly which is to be held, that in their presence I might render a firm and holy Testimony, and if necessary die courageously for the glory of Christ. Having entertained this idea for many years, and seeing that Princes were occupied about other things, and that the time of my decease drew near, I wrote this Testimony, and added to the Testimony an Act of Accusation against the Roman Pontiffs and their followers, in order that if death seized me, though prepared not to fear it, I might be useful even after my death to my most excellent brethren, whose miseries I hoped through this Testimony to remedy in the Council. I depose this Testimony with sincerity, integrity, and singleness of mind before holy men full of faith, that it may be in such wise preserved till the time of the future Council, which will in its own time undoubtedly be held, œcumenical, free, holy, and solemn; and bend my knees before the Father of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, praying that this time may soon arrive. Should this Council be so long delayed as to make you as depositaries fear from your advanced age to be overtaken by death, choose and substitute other men of good reputation and zealous for evangelical piety, either from the faithful in Switzerland or from your Germans; in order that the deposit may be passed from hand to hand, and each receive it from the other to preserve it till the time of the future Council. Take care that it be not published or made known, and that no one reads it, or has it in his hands, except the Depositaries. This a servant of JESUS CHRIST prays and entreats of you, by that fidelity which you owe to a faithful testimony, and to the Judge of the living and the dead who will render to every man according to his works. When the long-expected day arrives that the desire for public tranquillity and the concord of the Church shall incite the people who obey the gospel to combine among themselves to demand and entreat from the Emperor of the Romans, and the Kings and Princes of Christendom, that a Council be seriously intimated to the Roman Pontiff, where, with his cardinals, bishops and followers, he may meet, in a place to be hereafter decided on, to hold a public and free Assembly composed of men of all nations and peoples who call on the name of our Lord JESUS CHRIST; in which assembly all the people shall be freely and attentively listened to by means of orators, to whom it shall be granted to speak without danger, without deceit, and without fear, in presence of the Emperor, the Kings, Princes, and Ambassadors of States, in order that, an equitable judgment being established, the sword of the Word of God may rectify abuses, terminate religious controversies, and purify and heal the wounds of the Church so that it may be united in one body. When you see such a Council about to assemble, then, Depositaries, remember me and see that this my writing shall be delivered intact and unaltered to the ministers of the faithful Swiss and German churches, and to the defenders of the Holy Gospel, whom, in the name of our Lord JESUS CHRIST and in the Holy Spirit, I appoint and institute as true and legitimate guardians of this book after it leaves the hands of the Depositaries."—*Palearii Opera*, p. 203.

Page 545. C.

Thomas Guarini was a native of Belgium, and an exile on account of religion. He was one of the many printers who had full employment at Bâle in printing books prohibited in other countries. Pietro Perna, of Lucca, Oporino, and Isingrino were all usefully employed in printing works on religion in several languages. Bâle was especially the centre from whence many Italian works spread into Italy. The printers above named are all buried at Bâle. See *Johannis Tonjolæ Cæsus Ital. qui Basileæ colligitur Ministri*. Basil. 1661.