"THE EFFECT OF THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATION

ON ITALY BETWEEN 1520 AND 1550".

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A Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D., in the University of Edinburgh.

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by

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The Effect of the Religious Reformation on Italy between I520 andI550.

Professor Whitney reminded us some years ago that " it is needful for the sake of understanding the Reformation to study its origins in the MiddleAges and to study its characters not where they diverged most widely, but at moments when they approached most closely." This opinion is also held by the Warden of Keble; "- origins are common ground. Developments mark the points of divergence."

These opinions appear to justify us in going back so far beyond I520 into the earlier history of the Italian Church. Why the religious Reformation ultimately failed in Italy,and probably more important,how its effect was permanent,are questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given if pre-Reformation Italy with its particular characteristics receives no consideration. The parable of the sower refers to the ground just as much as to the seed.

And therefore we have spoken of the Italian tradition, artificially dividing it into three sides for greater ease of treatment. Then comes the zenith of ecclesiastical abuses with the Italian reply to them. As could only be expected,first,Savonarola,then the Lateran failed,although both had awakened a greater desire for reform. Could an external Reformation help to fulfil that desire?- a direct effect,or a radical change could not and did not, but its indirect effect certainly could and did.

The Italian tradition was almost quite antagonistic to an

external Reformation, and when certain Italians escaped that tradition they became not Protestants but "Protesters"- seeking a faith as different from Luther's as it was from Rome's, exalting the individual above the Church and owing their chief debt to Scotism. This movement was ,of course, that of the Sozzini, whose occasion only was the external Reformation: together with the first chapter the last which treats of this reveals something of Italian character and its behaviour in pre-Reformation times, as well as in our period.

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Part I. The Italian Tradition.

Chapter I. The Ecclesiastical Tradition.

Towards the close of the last century there appeared a series of works entitled "The National Churches". One of these works was ,"The Church in Italy",written by the late Canon Pennington. The presupposition of the Canon is of interest. The Roman Church, the international (or supra-national Church),is also the Italian Church in that she is relative and peculiar to Italy. It is obvious that our interest is in that Church in its national character,affected as other Churches by the vicissitudes of time,and confronted by its own peculiar problems. And among the greatest of these problems was the effect, actual and possible, of the great Reformation movement of the sixteenth century.

Just as Italy contained and developed the seeds of the Tridentinum, so too had she those of the Reformation, and the separation of wheat and tares is never easy.

Certain factors in this growth before the sixteenth century are therefore to be examined, and the first and most important must be Rome.

Rome's significance.

In order to show what Rome signifies for an Italian, I venture to quote the following paragraph from Gabelli. ".....Looking at the Gianicolo and Monte Mario..... it just seems as if in the depth of the narrow valley the silent centuries pass in the evening's mists, and a shudder runs through ones bones,as though from that depth arose silent and gloomy the ghosts of the great who gave to the people this land, fateful,dreaded and holy.

This little space,which the glance takes in carelessly,is the most historic spot in the whole earth. Allthe old civilization is condensed between these hills, and from here ,ascending the Tiber,it spread to conquer the greatest part of the known world. From this point moved the invading armies,here the victories were celebrated,from here were propagated the laws and the language which moulded into a single people a great part of the boundless empire. When the conquered rebelled ,the unconquered queen subdued with hopes of another life all who denied her dominion in this one ;and in the name of Christ raised up again the fallen empire. Since her weapons were wrested from her hands,she ruled unarmed:she regained with another banner the lost crown,nor was less great and powerful than before. And the emblem of this story, bond of past and succeeding ages,is there under our eyes: an Egyptian obelisk, brought by the Roman emperors and surmounted by a cross,is the compendium of all civilization's history."

This extract is here quoted at length, because it reveals, we believe, the heart of the Italian of any age in the past two thousand years. It shows forth an intense patriotic feeling, an unwavering certainty that he is succeesor to the mighty empire of the Caesars, and to the mightier one that succeeded it in Rome - that of the Church.

Therefore,first let us briefly notice the legacy of the ecclesiastical tradition to the Italy of the Reformation period.

We need not discuss whether St.Peter was ever in Rome: the discussion of that interesting question could scarcely add to or detract from the certainty of the gradual growth of the Roman

dominion. The Petrine tradition,"shadowy" though it was, received tremendous reinforcements, to the chief of which we must here turn, keeping the words of Gabelli, above quoted in mind; the Egyptian obelisk was certainly surmounted by ,but was far from being lost under ,the Cross.

The growth of the Papal dominion.

In the year 330, the transference of the seat of the Eastern Empire to the newly dedicated Constantinopolis can be said to have been completed. The consequences were momentous. Henceforth the government of the Empire was exercized from the east; but far more durable was the single Western Patriarchate, now unchecked by any superior ,local, or secular power.Evidently, this acession of possibilities was not very salutary at certain points, for indulgence in luxury seems usually to accompany growth of power. At any rate, Valentinian found cause to include in his laws one which restricted legacies made to the Church.[2]

Theodosius "the Catholic",who ruled from 379 to 395, promulgated an edict which is surprisingly pontifical in language. It ran[3] ;"It is our pleasure that all our subjects adhere to the religion taught to the Romans by St.Peter.....According to the teaching of the Apostles and the doctrine of the Gospels,we are to believe in the one Godhead of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, of majesty coequal in the Holy Trinity. We will that the followers of this doctrine be called Catholic Christians, and brand all others

I. Hasting's E.R.E. Vol.,IX. Art.,"Papacy."

2. Cotterill. "Medieval Italy", pg., 7.

3. Cotterill. pg.,55.

with the infamous name of heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the name of Churches." At a later date the code of Justinian concerned itself with ecclesiastical matters- the morals of the clergy, foundation and government of monasteries, and the administration of ecclesiastical property and jurisdiction over clerics. Like Theodosius, Justinian was strict in the treatment of heresy, and like him too, he evidently believed that his protection of the Church conferred upon him the right to guide it.

The reinforcements of the Petrine tradition by the actions of the Emperors like Constantine and Theodosius would not, however, have enabled the Papacy to rise to such great heights had there not been among the Pontiffs men of the calibre of Gregory the Great, who ruled between 590 and 604.[4] " Just as the spirit of classical literature was passed on chiefly through the mind and writings of Augustine to the medieval world; so the Roman genius for adminstration and govrrnment became the heritage of the Medieval Church chiefly through Gregory the Great ."[5] He was resoonsible for several great enterprises, and sowed the seeds which to come would grow to a great harvest. Under him ,certain functions of the civil government hitherto performed by the imperial officials, were taken over, and this civil experience en-

4.Deansly;"History of the Medieval Church",Chap.,ii:
Dudden,"Gregory the Great."

5.Deanesly: ibid., pg.I7.

abled the more efficient administration of the papal patrimony, and thus the whole of the Apostolic See profited thereby. The Churches of the West were brought into closer touch with Rome. In dealing with the Lombards and Constantinople, a policy of preserving the balance was inaugurated." Gregory had a wide correspondence which bears eloquent testimony to his wide influence:it is,indeed not improbable that in the Italian peninsula he became sufficiently strong to prevent the election of a Lombard Arian to the great See of Milan. Elected by clergy and people, Gregory was able to make use of two tendencies which,in an uncritical and superstitious age,would help in no small way the Papal dominion. In his"Diaologues" he could terrify his interlocutor, Peter,with several ghost-stories in which were given reports by tortured spirits of the terrors of Hell and Purgatory. If not one of the chief foundations of the medieval teaching concerning Hell and Purgatory,[6] there is little room to doubt that these visions granted to individuals have been,and still are, faithfully accepted by the common folk of Italy, in whose eyes the recipient of such divine favours must needs rise in esteem.

Moreover, a desire, confined to no one class in Italy,there was for the monastic life. The action of Cassiodorus,for thirty years the counsellor of monarchs, in withdrawing to a monastery in Calabria, had its effect. St.Benedict ,an Umbrian- not long dead when Gregory began to rule- created the first great monastic order of the west.[7]

6 "Dogma in History andThought."(edit.Matthews.) pp,63,64.

7. Cotterill. ibid.,pg.186 and ff..

Like the Umbrian founder of the Franciscan Oreder in the thirteenth century, he insisted on manual rather than on intellectual labours. It is probably not too much to say that the cowled militia has been down the ages the mightiest bulwark of the Papacy in Italy. As were his successors ,so was Gregory a great patron of the monks,championing them in their struggles for their rights against greedy diocesans.

We have discussed Gregory at length for reasons which are not without considerable weight.

The temporal dominion of the Papacy ,until the time of Charlmagne, received only small additions. Until 751 the Eastern Emperors' claim in Italy was maintained, but in practice the pope became a temporal ruler by the time of Gregory.

Having suggested the emergence of these momentous factors, obviously we cannot concern ourselves with what would be largely an irrelevant discussion by minutely tracing their growth in the reigns of succeeding Pontiffs. Between604 and 1073, other factors contributed to increase Papal power.There was the growth of feudalism with its scheme of linked and delegated powers,and the importance of the Papacy as an arbiter in and appeal court for Europe. Also further donations of Pepin and Charles, as wellas other benefactions, enabled the setting up and maintenance of a diagonal barrier across Italy which provides the key to the jig-saw puzzle of Italian politics,and helped most to keep Italy, in the famous expression of Metternich,a"geographical expression",until the nineteenth century. In this period too,legal support was given to the upholding of Papal pretensions. About the year 850,an anony-

mous ecclesiastic in the Carolingian Empire produced the False Decretals. Originally written to support a harassed bishop against a count, they came to be held by Nicholas I as one of the Papacy's chief supports.[8] The collection was included in Gratian, and ascribed to Isidor Mercator. Rutherius held Isidor's Decretals, the Canons of the Church, the Bible, and the Fathers, as equally the discipline of God.[9]

In 1059, new canons for the regulation of Papal elections were promulgated at the Lateran synod. Cardinal bishops were to choose the successors to the See of Peter, and Cardinal priests and deacons were restricted to acceeding to their choice. The stage was being well prepared for the rule of Hildebrand, and the illustrious Pope who marked the zenith of the Papacy- Innocent III. This narrowing down of the electorate presents a contrast to the larger electorate of clergy and people in the time of Gregory the Great. The further growth of Papal dominion was enhanced under Gregory VII.

This mighty pope is often thought of as merely one who sought a vast dominion in and of this world. Too much dwelling on the famous incident of Canossa, and his rigid prohibition of lay investiture, would justify an opinion correct only in part. There is a foundation for all this, whose nobility we cannot deny. The reform of the

Gregory and Innocent.

8. Deanesly. Chap., VII.

9. Poole. "Illustrations of Medieval Thought." pg.83.

Church must precede that of the world. Thus was the great reform movement, set going in places like Cluny ,encouraged by Hildebrand.

Innocent III built up the Papal States into a real Italian principality. But whereas later rulers contested with rulers for their own temporal possessions, Innocent and earlier Popes had fought for a spiritual ideal. For the achievement of that ideal the greatest general Council of the mediaval Church was convened in 1215. It was convened to strengthen the faith and reform manners. The Pope's zeal for reform can scarcely be doubted. Hehimself preached at the first session on Church reform, and attributed Christendom's evils to the clergy's shortcomings. Although he may appear to have been harsh with heretics in patronizing Dominicans and Franciscans largely with a view to heresy's suppression,the Pope made compulsory episcopal visitations and closer attention to the cure of souls.

The decline of Papal prestige.

After Innocent came certain Popes who, like Boniface VIII, made pretensions as great as those of Innocent, but who lacked the ability of Innocent,and found how impossible it was to maintain a national secular power combined with a power both spiritual and international. The Avignon captivity,probably the most gigantic misfortune of the Papacy before the Reformation,had momentous effects. The consequent loss of prestige by the departure of the Papal court from Rome we can scarcely fully estimate, nor can we say exactly what the

effect of seeing French politics given a spiritual sanction would be on European thought. As has been well said with regard to the close of the Captivity [10] - "The continuance of the Babylonish captivity at Avignon was impossible. When, in April, 1367, Urban V. departed from Avignon amid the wailing of the cardinals, he did homage to the public opinion of Europe."

The views of Italy on the matter were by no means concealed. The interference of Frenchmen in their affairs, and the use of Frenchmen in the States of the Church by Avignon Popes were productive of great irritation.[11] In Viterbo, when the Pope reached that city on his way back from Avignon, the mob attacked the French cardinals, besieged the Pope, and cried - "Death to the Church." [12] Yet the Romans were evidently so glad to have the Pope back again that they accepted changes in their government at his bidding. Whilst the Popes resided at Avignon the Italians had probably suffered greatly in the privation of this world's goods and comforts. At any rate, the mob stormed for a Roman or Italian Pope outside the hall of election at the conclave of 1378. Nor was the opinion of those attached to the Church one whit different from that of the lower class Italians. True, St. Bridget of Sweden attacked the Romans whose "incessant outbreaks had caused the Sovereign Pontiffs to become exiled to France." [13] But St. Catherine of Siena knew where the Popes ought to reside, and she visited Avignon to

10. Workman. "Dawn of the Reformation." Vol. II, pg. 5.
11. Miller. "Medieval Rome." pg., 149

12. Workman, ibid., Vol., II., pg., 45.

13. Pourrat, "Christian Spirituality," Vol., II. pg., 95.

persuade Gregory to return to Rome: indeed her chief mission was the restoration of the Italian Papacy. At the same time the Fraticeâli denounced the great scandal which had befallen the Church.[I4]

Yet a greater scandal was to follow,however. The Great Schism (I378- I4I7) inflicted another mighty blow on Papal prestige. Europe was now treated to a struggle between Popes and anti-Popes. Clement VII,a Genevan,received the support of Scotland and the Spanish kingdoms,whilst England and ,not too wholeheartedly,Germany,stood by Urban VI.

If the rising European nations had a great interest in the contest,none the less had Italy and Rome. Should an Italian or a "barbarian" be head of the Church,and should his headquarters be in Rome or elsewhere? If the Roman tradesmen were in any danger of minimising of the Papacy's possibilities, the Anno Santo of I390- which was so very successful,and brought swarms of Germans,English and Poles to Rome- would probably well remind them of how necessary the Italian Papacy was.

The first fifty years of the fifteenth century include the three great Councils -Pisa,Konstanz,and Basel. Their importance in history lies chiefly in the answer given to the question of where lay the supremacy in the Church. According to one authority[I5],the Conciliar Movement proved

I4. Deanesly, Chap.,I4.

I5. Hobhouse, "The Church and the World", pg.207.

incapable of curing the inherent vices of the Papacy, and another[16] holds that it was the justification of both the Reformation and Ultramontanism. Ultramontanism was saved by Martin V, and Pius II formally condemned the practice of appealing from the Pope to a general Council. The Papacy survived the shock well: it was Italian, and the great success of the Anno Santo of 1450 pointed to a wide international influence still remaining. The storm clouds were rolling up in Europe, but not so in Italy; for thereunto the Papacy had returned from Avignon, and consequent perpetual French shadows, to the broad Iralian daylight. Moreover, like those animals which are capable of changing their appearance to suit their environment, the Italian Papacy soon found itself quite comfortable in the Renaissance age. The movement became, indeed, in Italy one of the greatest reinforcements of the Papacy. We shall refer to it again more fully in the next chapter. The Renaissance. If the Church had been antagonistic to Classicism in its early history, that antagonism broke down in Italy earlier than elsewhere - a highly significant fact. Two Popes especially, in the fifteenth century, were great figures in the Renaissance age. Nicholas V won the favour of the Romans by his conferring upon them of privileges, and his attempt in the Papal States to reform the whole system of taxation. The advantages of this mild rule were reflected in the great success of the Anno Santo of 1450,

16. Figgis. "From Gerson to Grotius" pg.,36.

to which reference has been made. But of greater importance to us at the moment is the fact that Nicholas soon recognized the possible consequences of the work of Valla. He "saw that humanism would be less disastrous to the Vatican as an uncongenial inmate than as an irrepressible critic. It was a turning-point. The new papal policy was continued, with few breaks, down to the Reformation."[17] Pastor says that "As long as dogma was untouched, Nicholas V and his successors allowed the movement the most ample scope."[18] Pastor is doubtless correct in laying such emphasis on the Popes' desire to control the movement: the existence of the later Papal Maecenases proves that.

Pius II, besides being a highly talented man, who seemed to offer great prospects to the Italian Humanists, was determined to rule in other realms than that of learning. His desire for a temporal supremacy in the world was not disguised, for besides exalting the supremacy of the Pope over Councils, he proposed to the Sultan that he should embrace Christianity, and become Greek and Eastern Emperor under the patronage of the Holy See.[19]

To the Reformation period. During the time which elapsed between the death of Pius and the close of the fifteenth century, the old institutions

I7. C.M.H., Vol.I., pg.546.
I8. Pastor, "History of the Popes", Vol.,I, pg.,56.
I9. C.M.H., Vol.II., pg.78.

suggested not only durability but prosperity.This atmosphere seemed to pervade several countries besides Italy. According to a recent authority [20],- " dans les dernières années du XV e siècle, Rome semblait maîtresse de l'avenir; et peut-être le fût restée, si elle eût résolument, au seuil même de Renaissance,accompli elle -même cette reforme que les peuples reclamaient depuis la captivite d'Avignon." There can be little doubt that in Italy everyday religion suffered from Renaissance scepticism and morals,although various Popes sought to reform abuses. We shall have a further opportunity to notice the attitude of the laity towards the Papacy. It is sufficient to remark here that the wearer of the tiara received from the religious marks of respect,no matter what his character.

Catherine of Siena counselled complete submission to the Pope even if he were an incarnate devil. One of Urban's Cardinals addressed the Pope;"As Archbishop of Bari ,you have lied,"- thereby avoiding a direct aspersion on the Pontiff's veracity.

The Italian Clergy.

It remains briefly to notice certain points connected with the environment of the clergy in Italy during the period discussed in the foregoing pages. As we have hitherto been almost exclusively concerned with the growth of the Papal dominion,we have made only occasional references to the general clergy and its equipment ,spiritual and intellectual.

20. Hausser et Renaudet. Les Debuts de l'Age Moderne." pg.I54.

2I. ~~Rector~~. ~~Hist~~.,See the article in the "Realency Klopädie."

Above,we remarked that Benedict insisted more on manual than on intellectual activity. The circumstances of the times in which the Saint lived,continued into succeeding times,were such as to militate against a profound intellectual activity. Towns had to be fortified against the incursions of barbarians- Saracens in the South and Hungarians in the North- ,and turmoil was continued in the Peninsula during the development of that highly interesting feature- the civic life. Now,as the late Dean Rashdall says [22] ,"Order and peace,leisure and security,are the most indispensable conditions of intellectual activity." Unfortunately,such conditions were lacking.

St.Francis of Assisi was ,we think,the best representative of Italian Christianity: Lindsay believes him to be probably the highest embodiment of Italian religion.[23] It was the practical side which was uppermost in St.Francis,and although his Order had,even in its early days,great intellects like Duns Scotus and Roger Bacon (both non-Italians),the sister-Order of the Dominicans , founded by a Spaniard,excelled it in intellectual achievment from the beginning. And so ,when he begins to discuss the Italian School of spiritual writers of the XVI century,

22. Rashdall, "The Universities in the Middle Ages", Vol.,I, pg .32.

23. Lindsay, "History of the Reformation",Vol.II.pg.32.

Pourrat writes,[24] "Italian spirituality was always directed towards the practical and was less speculative"(when compared with the Spanish,which culminated in"scientists"like S.Juan de la Cruz). If we consider,therefore ,the characteristics of the clergy-and that of the regulars only in this connection,for the seculars became probably more corrupt than in any other land in Europe[25] - we find a wealth of preaching ability. Instances in the XV century are S.Bernardino da Siena,and Giovanni Capistrano. To remind their fellows and the people of the excellence of the sacerdotal dignity was an important part of their task[26] ,hence their great value to the Papacy. They were often eloquent,always of high moral integrity- as one would expect- and not greatly given to subtle theological disputations. In the early XVI century the Platonic vogue of the time and the interest in the Pseudo-Dionysius stimulated certain Franciscans, like Antonio da Monelia[27] ,to speculation in the realm of mystical theology. But the number of such was small. To speculation on questions of philosophical theology few Italians have been inclined. The Italian S.Thomas Aquinas was doubtless

24. Pourrat. Vol.,III., pg.,230.

25. C.M.H. Vol.,II., pp.,647-648.

26. Pourrat.Vol.,III.,pg.,255.

27. Sursum corda,Directorium inflammandae mentis abyssum divini hominis.Ejusdem expositio super librum de mystica theologia. Bologna,I522.

one,and the greatest Scholastic,but the Scholastic movement was not centred in Italy,and St.Thomas was not Italian by training. Throughout Europe,between the VI and the XII centuries,there were superstitions and ancient traditions to contend with,but no philosophic doubts of high importance. Various heresies were met with in Italy,but no criticism of dogma and Christian philosophy.[28] This is true of Europe as a whole. But when Islam's culture compelled the attention of Christian thinkers, the reply came from the North of Europe rather than from the South. A recent writer has expressed on this point the following opinion[29] ;"The Italian mind had never been so completely captivated by the infallible method of Scholastic thought,as elsewhere,hence mental free- freedom and an interest in life's sterner realities predominated there.....All the great Schoolmen flourished north of the Alps."

Thus,although often in danger of Mohammedan attacks by arms(Gibbon tells us of fortifications likely to shelter Saracens which were destroyed by Neapolitans[30]) - and often in close touch with them through trade,as was the case with Venice,and sometimes even in close sympathy

28. Wicksteed,"Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy",pg.4I.

29. Flick, "Decline of the Medieval Church",Vol.,II.pg.,222.

30. Gibbon,"Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire",Chap.,36.

with them,as was the case with the Normans of Sicily in the XII century,Italian thought was not stimulated so much as it might have been by the contact.This was in large part due to the peculiar type of Italian genius: it was due also largely to the fact that those who possessed an aptitude for study had one course open to them in Northern Europe,but two in Italy. Hence the ranks of the ~~rankx~~ Church in Italy never ineludded all the great intellects as was more nearly the case in other parts of Europe."Éclairée at renforcée par le savoir antique,la pensée en Italie s'affranchissait des disciplines mediévales.Non que la scholastique,plus qu'ailleurs, cédât la terrain sans combat."[31] We do not imply that Italy held aloof from that brilliant intellectual movement. What we have attempted in the reference to the clergy's intellectual environment- brief and inadequate as it must be in this place- has been to show that speculation on the more abstruse problems of medieval philosophical theology was never a strong point in the Italian clergy.[32] (The Socinian movement,to which we shall turn later,was,be it noticed,chiefly developed by Italian laymen and that in much different circumstances).

So that when faced by highly cultured Islam Northern Europe attacked the problem in the Universities like Paris and Oxford.

31. Hausser et Renaudet, pg.,100.

32. Harnack. "History of Dogma", Vol.,VII. pg.,127.

was it ever possible thatopposed by Lutheranism,and especially in this connection ,by Calvinism,with its criticism of institutions and dogma,that Italian ecclesiastics alone could later do what they had earlier failed to do?

The answer given by the Italian ecclesiastical tradition appears to be in the negative. In the XVI century Calvinism received its answer from Spain and Spanish methods.

In the opening chapter it was pointed out how great a part the Emperors had played in the opening centuries of the history of the Church. Not only had they protected the Church,but they had occasionally imposed their own will upon it. Eventually,as we saw,the Popes took over the Imperial control,and came to rule as temporal as well as spiritual monarchs. According to a much quoted statement of Hobbes[a] ,"If a man consider the origin of this great ecclesiastical dominion,he will easily perceive that the Papacy is no other than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."

This "ghost" reminds us of the persistence of the lay tradition in Italy,a persistence which explains the Italian Renaissance,which without it,could not have taken place.[33] As Dr.Walser of Basel pointed out , - Antiquity slept in Italy,whereas elsewhere it was dead,when the first streaks of the Renaissance dawn tipped the Italian peaks.

We do not intend to discuss the relations between the Empire and the Papacy in the Middle Ages,although "In the curious theocracy which dominated the Middle Ages

a. Troeltsch held a similar view,I believe: that the Catholic Church was the last creative achievement of the Classical civilization.

33.Walser,"The Italian Renaissance."

(Lectures given at Cambridge in the Michaelmas Term of 1926.)

secular and spiritual interests became so inextricably inter mingled that it is impossible wholly to disentangle them."[34] To clergy and laity in the Middle Ages, the conflict then would not be one between two societies, but a conflict between two officers (the Pope and the Emperor) of the same society.[35] But to the Italian, the Emperor would be a foreigner, little more than a shadow like Dante's "Veltro",[36] and moreover, he was the heir of the Caesars only in name. Italian pride naturally returned to the halcyon days of Rome.

The fact that antiquity slept in Italy, whereas elsewhere it was dead, enables us to understand how the laity of Italy differed from that of Northern Europe. The new intellectual life, manifest at the close of the X century and at the beginning of the XI century, a birth elsewhere, was in Italy a period of adolescence. The lay-teacher, a class whom Germany did not then know, apparently never became extinct in the Peninsula. His tradition persisted on one side, as that of the Church persisted on the other. He became familiar with the vast ecclesiastical organization alongside which he Lived, and society without it would seem impossible to him. The opinion of the Italian layman on his Church could not be antagonistic to it for any length of

34. C.M.H. Vol., I, pg ., 653.

35. Figgis, pg .,49.

36. Inferno, I., IOI.

time." For if there is one thing which, more than another, we must always bear in mind when studying the history of opinion it is that no opinion ever enjoys prolonged authority over the minds of men outside a lunatic asylum unless there is a certain amount of real good sense in it."[37] We shall probably understand therefore, when we come to discuss the Renaissance how, in spite of the vicious attacks directed by certain Italian Humanists on religion in general- not, be it noticed, so much against the Papacy itself- the Church came to receive tremendous support from the educated Italian laity.

The political conditions in Italy were such that men's minds were directed into a channel almost entirely unconnected with the Church as a spiritual body.[38] Instead of a "pure feudalism tempered only by ecclesiastical influence' the persistence of the old Roman municipal system made possible the development of a free and vigorous municipal life. Now the struggle between Empire and Papacy had at least two important results for Italy. Both sides appealed to antiquity, to ancient Roman law and authority: they did not appeal to abstract reason. Secondly, in 1177, after Frederick's defeat at Legnano, the Republican envoys met the Emperor and the Pope on equal terms: "Perhaps the most momentous crisis in Italian history", says Cotterill. It resembles in later European history the admission

37. Somervell, "English Thought in the Nineteenth Century", pg.5.

38. Rashdall's "Universities in the Middle Ages", has furnished me with considerable information on these points.

of the Dutch Republic at the Peace of Westphalia. By this event the conception entertained by the Italian states of the Papacy as an equal political factor in Italy obtained a legal sanction. (This important point would doubtless be recalled in the difficulties Rome had, especially with Venice, in the Reformation period, with regard to the treatment of heretics.)

It is, however, with the first of these results of the struggles of Empire and Papacy, the appeal to ancient Roman law, that we are immediately concerned.

Significance of the development of Law studies in Italy.

The development of technical jurisprudence was a slow process at Bologna. The famous text-book, the Decretum, was an attempt to do for Law what had been done for Theology by Lombard's "Sentences". Its preeminent position in the Ecclesiastical Courts dates almost from its first publication. It was not surprising that the ever active, essentially practical, Italian mind should so concern itself with the development of legal studies, for knowledge of the material Universe was difficult to obtain. This is quite clear when one remembers that in one sphere of science, the, to the modern mind, fantasies of Astrology occupied the place of Astronomy. Moreover, the respect for the written word amounted to reverence. Such was the attitude

39. Whitney, "Continuity through the Reformation", (in "London Theological Studies", 1911.)

which dominated in the Middle Ages and helped to produce its mighty and ordered systems of thought."The conviction that our life rests upon fixed foundations and moves within fixed limits imparts a characteristic quality to the work of every sphere of life,even of logic and scientific method. The fundamental truths are supposed to exist in a completed form as concepts and judgments. All that remains for us to do is clearly to define them,to place them in their relationships to one another,and to follow up their consequences."[40]

The study of the Decretum introduced a new class into the lecture-rooms,neither theological nor concerned with Civil Law,though closer to the latter. The importance of this is extremely great,as the opinion of Rashdall shows.[41]

"The prominence of legal studies in the South of Europe and of Theology in the North is a fact of decisive importance in determining the destinies of the Western Church. In the Middle Ages Theology was ,if not the foe ofthe Papacy,at least a very dangerous and suspected ally. The Latin Church received her laws from Rome,her Theology from Paris and Oxford.It was only in the hands of the Dominican Friars- and not quite always even then- that Theology could be reckoned upon as a safe ally of Papal pretensions. Wherever Theology was studied by seculars- in France,in England,and in Germany,revolt came soon-

40. Eucken, "Main Currents of Modern Thought", pg .,244.

41. Rashdall,Vol., I.Part,ii. pp.,155-157.

er or later . It was not by Theology so much as by Law- by her inheritance of those traditions of Imperial Jurisprudence which had subtly wound themselves round the common faith of Europe- that Rome established her spiritual monarchy. The Canonist was by profession a champion of the power ~~xfxxhx~~ which had created him. No Canonist (with the doubtful exception of Cranmer) ever headed a reform-party or inaugurated a religious movement,and no religious movement was inaugurated or fostered in an Italian University."

This is highly significant. Honorius III forbade priests to study Civil Law:theological instruction became almost entirely confined to the Schools of the Mendicant Friars(the Papacy's creatures) ~~which~~ who were unconnected organically with the Universities in the XIII century.Thus the study of Canon Law with its exaltation of Papal and ecclesiastical supremacy gave the Church vast legal support.

It now remains briefly to examine pre-Reformation Italian Humanism,and its relations with the Church in Italy. Jebb points out[42] that,in the country where the Scholastic Philosophy had taken the least hold,there had been "some signs of a growing interest in the Latin classics for more than a century before Petrarch." This is evident when one turns to the great work of Dante,who had the highest respect for Virgil,his distinguished fellow~~xx~~ countryman. To discuss in detail the great medieval Dante's atti-

42. C.M.H.,Vol.,I, pg.,536.

tude towards the Church and its teaching would be to make a large and unnecessary digression; let us therefore briefly notice the following points. As Bullough pointed out[43], he is the Poet of St.Thomas. Yet he is no slave of Aquinas. Dante's view of Purgatory is considerably different from that held,for instance,by St.Peter Damian[44].For the poet Purgatory was a place of purification and 'educative discipline' only: moreover he never mentions prayers for the dead. He represents St.Peter as lamenting the ruin of the Church of Dante's day by"Quegli che usurpa in terra il loco mio"[45], and again he wails," navicella mia,com'mal si carca:"[46] The famous Gift of Constantine,not his conversion,had produced the evil: his intentions were good,but the consequences deplorable.

Although it might appear from this that Dante would be better placed alongside the Vaudois,nevertheless like Petrarch and several other Italian Humanists,he was devoted to Catholicism and the Holy See. He is not ,to use Ullman's expression,a"Reformer before the Reformation,"in spite of several seemingly hostile references to the Church in the Divina Commedia and elsewhere.

43.Bullough's lecture on"Dante,the Poet of St.Thomas",-

44.Moore, "Studies in Dante",Vol,V.Ch.I.("St.Thomas Aquinas"I924.)

45.Paradiso,XXVII,22.,

46.Purgatorio,XXXII,I29.,and also InfernoXIX,II5,Parad.,XX,56.

Probably the best insight into the views of Petrarch[a] on the Church is given in a letter he wrote to Giovanni Colonna[47]. It runs as follows,-

"We may love the schools of the philosophers and agree with them when they are in accordance with the truth, and when they do not lead us astray from our chief end. Should anyone attempt to do this,were he even Plato or Aristotle,Varro or Cicero,we must firmly and constantly despise and reject him. Let no subtlety of arguments,no grace of speech,no renown,ensnare us; they were but men,learned so far as mere erudition can go,brilliant in eloquence,endowed with the gifts of nature,but deserving of pity inasmuch as they lacked the highest and ineffable gift.....Let us admire their intellectual gifts,but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men,while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy,without merits of our own,we have been favoured above our forefathers by Him,who has hidden His secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to little ones. The real wisdom of God is Christ. In order to obtain true philosophy,we must love and reverence Him above all things. We must first be Christians- then we may be what we will. We

a.Several writers,e.g.Körter,Voigt,Geiger, ~~and recently~~, ~~Flick~~, wrongly consider Petrarch to have been a priest.He received minor orders only.

47. Epis,Famil.,VI.ii.,II2-II9.(2nd.edit.Fracasetti,Firenze,I864.)

must read philosophical works,poetical and historical,in such a manner that the Gospel of Christ shall find an echo in our hearts. Through it alone we become wise and happy: without it, the more we have learned,the more ignorant and unhappy we shall be. On the Gospel alone as upon the one unmoveable foundation, can human diligence build all true learning."

It is evident from this that among the earliest of the Humanists was a belief that good as Classical erudition was, Christianity was superior to it. This attitude was also not uncommon among later Italian Humanists,many of whom favoured the Church more than at first sight appears. For instance,the distinguished author of the Decameron,from whom one expects neither the expressions nor the feelings of Petrarch for the Church, showed his regard for it in another way. He left his library to the Augustinian Martino da Segna.[48]

Giannozzo Manetti,whose life covers the first half of the XV century,was far more religious than Boccaccio.He held that the Christian Faith was more than a mere opinion. The teaching of the Church he considered true and scientific. Manetti learnt Hebrew,was taught by the illustrious Calmoldolese Traversari,and lectured on Latin and Greek. This capable scholar,a lay-theologian,and a friend of Nicholas V,was commissioned by that Pontiff to make a new translation of the Bible from the original Greek and Hebrew.[49]

48. Pastor, Vol.,I.Chap.,i.

49. C.M.H., Vol.,I pg.,679.

Among other Humanists who supported the Church in this period were Bruni, Apostolic Secretary to four successive Popes; and Cerrare and Barbare. The Christian antiquarian Vegio was converted by studying St. Augustine's "Confessions". One of the most able and devout was the eminent schoolmaster to the Gonzagas of Mantua- Vitterino da Feltre[50]. He took the Classics as his foundation, and did not despise the sciences. Perhaps his greatest triumph was in his attention to his scholars, for he carefully attended to their moral and religious conduct, to their work and to their leisure.

Pastor wrote[51], "From the beginning, the true Christian Renaissance existed side by side with the false." He then went on to distinguish between those for whom Classicism was the end, and those for whom it was a means only- as for instance, in the case of Petrarch. "The twofold character of the Italian Renaissance renders it extremely difficult justly to weigh its good and evil in relation to the Church and to religion." This is certainly true, but it is certainly not easy to point to many Italian Humanists, and say that here is a Christian Humanist, and there is a pure Classicist, probably anti-Christian. If that is so with Boccaccio, it is very much so with Pulci. In his "Morgante Maggiore", there is an interesting collection of sometimes quite contrary opinions, which

50. Woodward's "Vitterino da Feltre".

51. Pastor. Vol., I. pg., 39.

are heretical or very Catholic alternately. Prelates, and serious views even, are laughed at. Elsewhere Pulci declares that all human things have an end and so has Christianity. He mixes the Trinity, and then holds that it cannot exist. Moreover, every man must work out his own salvation. Yet over against this other points must be reckoned with. If he expressed himself as an Antitrinitarian- as did other of his fellow-countrymen at a later date- he was not atheistic or anti-religious. To him the Divine Order was such that miracles were impossible. He believed in God, and also that the greatest sin in his sight was intolerance. In a work called "The Three Swindlers" it was suggested that all religions were false, but this opinion Pulci could not have held consistently. The Christian religion, although he doubted its permanence, was preferable to any other. In the "Morgante" is 'the age in its intimate and as yet not clear-cut tendencies, which turns its back on scholastic forms and ascetic contemplations.....and throws itself eagerly into the exploration of nature and of man.'[52]

Miracles, to which Pulci had made reference, were given a rationalistic explanation by Pomponazzi, who published his three books "De Fato", in 1520. This philosopher denied the possibility of the intervention of particular wills in the natural order. So long as like Pulci, he contented himself with academic disputations on such topics all might have been well. But in treating Aristotle he refused to reconcile that master's teaching with Christianity, and gave offence by pointing

52. de Sanctis, "Storia della Letteratura italiana", Vol.I, pg.370.

out that the Stagirite did not believe in the immortality of the soul.[53] This temerity brought forth a sharp answer:Pomponazzi's books were burnt at Venice,and the author escaped by pleading that he wrote simply as a philosopher. He was almost murdered,but died peacefully in 1525 at Bologna.

The Church allowed the Humanists,and up to a point,one of the few Italian philosophers,an extremely great amount of latitude. Before the rise of the Reformation its rule was evidently not repressive in Italy,so long as there was outward conformity,and no attack on such things as the relations of the teaching of Aristotle and Christian thought. We learn a great deal from the way in which the Church treated Lorenzo Vlla.

Much of the pagan element,noticeable in several Italian Humanists,is to be found in his work. In one treatise in the form of three dialogues[54] ,he attacked indirectly the moral teaching of the Church,whilst his "Hermaphroditus" is a filthy book. Continence was for him a superstition,and - as the Oxford Reformers and Reformation theory held later) the professors of religious vows enjoyed no superiority before God over those who did not so profess. Probably better known than all this,even than his work as an exegete,was his work on the Donation of Constantine,the genuine nature of which had been held doubtful by Cusanus before Valla.[55] This attack

53. Erdmann,"History of Philosophy",Vol.,II,pg.,603.
54. L.Vallae de voluptateae vere bono libri III,Basel,1519.
55. Encycl.Britt.,Vol.,6.Art.,"Nicholas Cusanus."

on the temporal Power had ,of course,its connection with the politics of the time. Eugenius IV was the adherent of Anjou, and Valla was attached to the opposing camp of Alfonso.What is probably the most significant action of the pre-Reformation PAPACY came in the reign of the eminent patron of scholars,Nicholas V. The opinion of Jebb on the action of that Pontiff seems to indicate the preponderance of the 'safety first' instinct in Nicholas over the disinterestedness of the Humanist. Apart from that,the importance of Nicholas'treatment of Valla is so weighty as to deserve the strongest emphasis. "Nicholas saw that Humanism would be less disastrous to the Vatican as an uncongenial inmate than as an irrepressible critic. He made Valla an official of the Curia. It was a turning-point. The new papal policy was continued,with few breaks,down to the Reformation."[56]

And so,if the Vatican could so come to terms with one whose attitude towards it had been that of an implacable enemy,it is obvious that it had no difficulty in dealing with the more numerous and infinitely more docile Humanists,who left alone the speculations of a Pomponazzi,and the attacks of a Valla. They may have been pagans, often violently subversive of morality and religion in their writings,but the Vatican,then as now,knew wellhow to handle men. Besides,there are other things to be remembered on the side of the Humanists: as Creighton says,the revival of

56. C.M.H.,Vol.,I. pg.,546.

classical learning"had produced a temper which was irreligious without being anti-religious,which was curious,observant,and critical without being constructive."[57] Again, 'There was no open rebellion against the Church;that was reserved for the time of Occhino and Sozzini;the humanists as a whole were faithful to the common practice of Italy: they conformed and they disbelieved.'[58] These views of Creighton and Beard are reinforced when we recall how certain Humanists died in a way vastly different from that in which they had lived.Cedrus Urceus and Machiavelli sought the Church's aid at their death:Marsuppino d'Arezzo,who openly despised Christianity in his lifetime,was an exception in dying without Communion.

Another interesting sidelight is thrown upon the relations between Humanism and the Church when we notice the interest of Poggio in the death of Jerome of Prague. He admired the Bohemian because he died like a Cato: he did not presume to tread on the Church's preserves on the question of the heresy of the Bohemian. As is well known,Poggio's obscenity was remarkable,and his attacks on the monks vicious.

The revival of classical learning and letters in Italy was only one side of the reawakening of human activity. Men's minds were turned to the pursuit of the beautiful,and there resulted an artistic activity the like of which has

57. Creighton, "History of the Papacy", Vol.,VI.,pg.5.
58. Beard, "The Reformation", pg.,40.

never been seen before or since in the Christian era."After Petrarch literature emerged. After Giotto rose a band of painters,and now we see both arts at their height." So wrote Pius II.[59] From Giotto's time onwards the Papacy encouraged art and artists,and Paul II,who employed constantly a great number of jewellers and embroiders,acquired a mighty collection of artistic objects in the middle of the XV century. These great Renaissance princes,the Pontiffs,competed with other states in Italy in securing the services of the leading artists of the age. The attitude of the last of these great men before I520,in which year he died,and the reign of art ended in Rome,has been discussed by Creighton.[60] That historian presented us with the ideals of Raphael and Luther,and held that they were not necessarily opposed. The painter "pointed to a future in which human enlightenment should reduce to harmony and proportion all that had been fruitful in the past;..... Raffaelle took the Church as it was,and recognised its eternal mission to mankind - a mission which was to increase in meaning when interpreted by the increasing capacity of the human mind." The difference between Raphael and Luther is seen,however,in the attitude of each towards the question of <u>when</u> the reform of the Church should come. The Italian was not in a hurry,and therefore no immediate action on the part of the Church was looked for in the matter of reform.

59. Epistolae,II9, quoted by Creighton, Vol.,III.,pg.355.

60. Creighton, Vol.,VI.,pg.,208-209.

It is quite clear in coming to the close of this chapter that much has been omitted in this brief summary of salient characteristic features in the Italian lay tradition before the Reformation. In recapitulating what has been said we also suggest the conclusion to which we have come as a consequence of studying the material from which we have drawn.

There is the ancient Italian Imperial tradition symbolised by the persistence of Italian culture. This persistence is evidenced by the development of Legal studies, and by the Rise of the Renaissance in Italy. The demand for a religious reformation in head and members was unlikely to come from the hierarchy of lawyers, who were just as much the creatures of the Papacy as were the Mendicants, in whose hands in Italy were theological studies.

Moreover, in the age of the Renaissance, among the often sceptical, often immoral, as well as amongst the 'Christian' Humanists, there was emphatically no desire to oppose the Church, and little desire for its reformation. And of the two brilliant sides of the Italian Renaissance, that of letters and that of art, the Papacy became the champion.

Hence, Raphael can be said to join hands with Gratian. It is not surprising that throughout the Reformation the Papacy was supported by those of whom it had been the protector and paymaster for a century before the hammer-blows of Luther resounded upon the door of Wittenberg Church.

It is possible to gather from the foregoing that the Italian tradition was a sort of petrifaction: such an idea is obviously diametrically opposed to the theory implicit in this thesis. We are concerned with the study of effects,and therefore we assume that even the central core is no petrifaction or crystallization which cannot be affected. Certain suggestions have already been made with regard to tendencies in the Italian Humanists capable of development;we hope to indicate more clearly in the course of this chapter such tendencies. Then there are points in Italian political life and thought which the Popes turned to attack with great zeal and no little fear. English Churchmen sometimes refer to Wycliffe as the first Anglican: with equal right might the Vaudois appeal to Arnaldo da Brescia as their first eminent champion against Rome.(Indded,in the nineteenth century,his name was made a party cry against Pius IX. [61]) The same antagonism to the Temporal Power is seen in Marsiglio.

More important for us is the existence of the Vaudois, "I nostri Protestanti avanti la Riforma" - according to the title of a book dealing with that interesting body by the late Dr.Comba.

With these three strands we propose,therefore,to deal ~~in~~: first,with the seeds of rebellion in Italian Humanism; second,with Arnaldo da Brescia and Marsiglio; third,with the

61. Miller, "Medieval Rome", pg.,43.

Vaudois. The three strands are ,of course,closely interwoven, and it is only for ease of treatment that an artificial separation is made.

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Seeds of rebellion in Italian Humanism.

We are often reminded that the Papacy was aided in its ascent to the great height marked by Innocent III by the conception of feudalism which dominated the political thought of the Middle Ages. Not so often,probably,are we reminded that,over against this view,Humanism was an essentially democratic movement. Turn to the greatest Italian poet. For Dante,the hero was not of the classical type: all his spirits were real men,and at least two of his great characters in the"Inferno",Farinata and Ugolino, [62] oppose the Divine Order - the first in his proud bearing under just castigation,and the second in feeding on the head of Cardinal Ruggieri. Both characters were laymen. One must not read too much into these celebrated episodes: we must always remember the certainly not anti-Church background of medieval Dante.

In the second great poet of Italy,that brilliant Renaissance figure,Lodovico Ariosto,the democratic tendency is far clearer than in Dante. The dazzling"Orlando Furioso" has no central hero; it is a pageant of transfigured men and women. The mass of details is a delicately veiled satire against chivalry and more significant,against the Papal court. Sometimes his satire is not veiled,as the following extract from the "Orlando" will show: -

62. Inferno X,and XXXIII.

"Di versate minestre una gran massa
"Vede,e domanda al sue dottor,ch'importa.
"L'elemosina è(dice) che si lassa
"Alcun,che fatta sia dopo la morte.
"Di varii fieri ad un gran monte passa,
"Ch'ebbe gia buone odore,or putìa forte.
"Questo era il dono(se però dir lece)
"Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece."[63]

The democratic tendency in Italy's two foremost poets is borne witness to on another side of the Renaissance.One of the chief features in that extraordinary movement might be entitled the emancipation of women. Already in Cavalcanti woman was becoming divine,while,as is well known,Dante's Beatrice is between heaven and earth,and closer to the former than to the latter. Arioste elevated his Angelica to a noble position in his galaxy: at the close of the Middle Ages the glimpses of woman's exaltation gave place in the Renaissance in Arioste, Castiglione,and Bembo,to a permanent view. Women were being educated,and the fact that she was not inferior in talents became unquestioned. How important all that was will more easily be seen when we come to consider at greater length the eminent women who belonged to the circle of Juan Valdés at Naples.

Moreover,the recognition of the lay scholar in theological fields by the Papacy of the pre-Reformation period bears testimony to the rise of these who were neither ecclesiastics

63. "Orlando Furioso", Canto XXXIV, Stanza,80.

nor lawyers. The treatment of Valla at the hands of Nicholas is highly significant. When that Pope became his patron,it was something like official sanction for a layman's labours as an exegete. And this was more clear in the Pope's dealings with Manetti. As has already been pointed out,that eminent lay theologian was called upon to prepare a new translation of the Bible. How very different things were a century later with regard to such translations can be readily discerned by reference to the decree on the use of the Vulgate in Session IV of the Council of Trent.[64] At this latter date it was quite obvious that a return to the conditions obtaining in the earlier days of the Renaissance was impossible. The attitude of the Papacy towards the lay theologian underwent a remarkable change in the space of a century,and the reason for it is not far to seek. Some of those who succeeded Valla and Manetti were the precursors,and others later,the ardent supporters, of the Lutheran revolt. And even among those who in the period of the Reformation remained faithful to the Church several were at best very dangerous allies,as we hope to show later. In this connection one recalls such names as von Hutten,Melancthon,and Juan Valdés.

The democratic tendency noticed in eminent Italian poets,in the emancipation of women,and the employment of lay theologians, is also exhibited in the use of the printing press. One of the most famous of these was the Aldine Press,established at Venice in I490.[65] It accomplished a very great work. After I47I,according

64. Mirbt."Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums",pg.,292.
"Decretum de editione et usu sacrorum librorum".

65. C.M.H., Vol.I, pg.,562.

to a recent authority ,several editions of the Bible appeared, 39
but that was not so subversive as such well known works as "Il Beneficio di Christo",and the translations of foreign Reformers which were found everywhere in the XVI century,and widely read by the Italian laity.

Having referred to that side of the Renaissance which was ,we might say,a'passive rebel", we pass over to consider two branches which were actively opposed to the Church. In the case of the first - that of Arnaldo and Marsiglio - the political aspect is the more important: in the case of the second,that aspect is overshadowed by the religious.

67
Arnaldo da Brescia appeared at a psychological moment. This remarkable figure,a disciple of Abélard at Paris,could draw upon new and philosophical ideas - often perilous to the Church - ideas whose renaissance had been rapid in the early XII century. But the role of the retiring student was not for Arnaldo who,enthusiastic for citizen liberty and the reform of the Church,and himself a model of sanctity,by his eloquence fortified the Romans and increased the Pope's difficulties. He did NOT flinch from a mighty attack upon the ecclesiastical corruptions of his day. Possession of property by the monks,the bishops' right to the regalia,and the conduct of these unworthy were denounced vehemently by him. At Brescia in II48,Eugenius III complained of the seduction of some Roman ecclesiastics by Arnaldo,and their refusal to obey their superiors. But the apostle of Breseia had little further to go:with great fortitude

66. Rodocanachi, "La Réforme en Italie", Vol.I pg.,56 & ff..
67.C.Med.H., Vol. V. pp.37I seq.,377, 4I8.

he met his death under Anastasius IV,who succeeded Eugenius in II53. The memory of this heroic opponent of St.Bernard long survived his death,and his ideas were widely spread,being productive of or related to many of these fundamental in some of the hard-dying heresies of Italy.

The famous "Defensor Pacis" of a one-time Rector of the University of Paris,which appeared about I325,had a relationship with both medieval philosophy and the political struggles of Empire and Papacy. Marsiglio described his ideal of government,and as physician to,thus adherent of,the Emperor,attacked the Papal primacy. He appealed to the order in the primitive Church,where presbyters and bishops were equal:convenience alone had decided the supremacy of some over others. St.Peter had had no authority over his fellows,and the habitual resort of ecclesiastics to his successors had in time been elevated to the rank of an obligation. The Roman supremacy was therefore unfounded and usurped. Moreover,not the Pope but a general Council should decide 'on doubtful points of divine law,fasts,questions of discipline,and so forth.'[68]

Poole concisely sums up the work of Marsiglio in the following words.[69]

"The two books of the 'Defensor Pacis'then comprise .....the whole essence of the political and religious theory

68. Hobhouse, "The Church and the World", pp;,I92-I94.

69. Poole,"Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought",pp274-275.

"which separates modern times from the middle ages. The significance of the Reformation,putting theological details aside,lay in the substitution of a ministry serving the Church, the congregation of Christian men,for a hierarchical class. The significance of the later political revolution,even now far from universally recognised,lay in the recognition of the people as the source of government,as the sovereign power in the state. .....Marsiglio.....thought(these ideas)out,defined them,stated them,with the clearest precision. "

The ideas of Arnaldo and Marsiglio were hostile by reason of their fundamentally democratic and anti-hierarchical flavour. The anti-hierarchical theory of Marsiglio was as subversive of the traditional form of Church government as Arnaldo's practical criticisms of it. As Poole reminds us,[70] - "Once grant"- as Arnaldo did - "that the clergy are bound to hold no property,and the whole territorial fabric of the Roman Church falls to the ground."

The Vaudois. Rodocanachi,in his excellent work, "La Réforme en Italie",writes,in introducing his subject, - "Italy which,more than any other country,has been fertile in heresies,has not produced religious revolts; heresy there.....always preserved moderation,if not in ideas,at least in actions; it attacked discipline rather than dogmas,the representatives of the Church rather than the Church itself." What is of particular inter-

70. Poole, ibid.,pg.,280.

est at the moment is the nature of Italian heresy,its tendency to criticize conduct rather than beliefs. As we noticed above,Arnaldo left dogmatic questions alone; it was Church corruption which met with his vehement attacks. As that roused Arnaldo,so did it rouse the simple folks in south-eastern France and north-western Italy to protest against the shepherds who tended their flocks so ill.

The possession of wealth by the Church had been pointed at with the finger of accusation,if not of scorn,by Dante, whose famous expression of regret at Constantine's generous donation to the Church found an echo in several times and places. The most formidable and sustained protest was that of the Vaudois. Actuated at first by disgust at the neglect of the Christian way of life by the Church's representatives,they aimed only at a restoration of the apostolic ideal.[71] Placing their finger on the bargain between Constantine and Sylvester, they argued that when the Pope became a pagan ,the Emperor became a Christian. From that time men had swerved from allegiance to Sylvester and his successors,for then decadence set in, and faith and morals were brought to ruin. An era of corruption began,but so too was an era of reform.

Two views of the origin of the Vaudois were put forward in the last century,the earlier by a learned French Vaudois,Muston,[72] and the later by an Italian Vaudois professor,

71. Comba, "The Waldenses in Italy", pg.,5 et seq.,

72. Muston, "The Israel of the Alps",Vd.Vol.,I. ppI7-30.

Comba. Thereis a great difference between the views of these two scholars. Muston points out the significance of the word Vaudois - dwellers in the valleys - and places their origin in very early times.On the other hand,Comba points out Waldo of Lyons as their founder,with the consequent denial of a pre-Waldo origin for the Vaudois. Muston,in ascribing to the Vaudois the dignity of an apostolic succession,indicates St.Ambrose and Claudius of Turin,among others,as being in the heretics' line of descent. McCrie,who wrote a "History of the Reformation in Italy" some time before Muston wrote,also referred to Papal pretensions in Italy by such as the great See of Milan until the XIcentury. Like Muston,the Scottish historian drew attention to what we might term the "Ambrosian resistence" - symbolised in the use of a different liturgy from that of Rome.

Claudius,the famous IX century bishop of Turin, of whom Poole said [73] ,"alone of his age (he)grasped the inevitable consequences of its spiritual condition" - wrote commentaries on St.Matthew,and possibly on all the Pauline Epistles. Heinrich Denifle [74] included him in his list of pre-Lutheran exponents of the doctrine of justification by faith. A powerful iconoclast in an age when image-worship was widespread,he challenged the belief in the mediation of saints, the efficacy of pilgrimages,and the authority of the HolySee.

73. Poole, ibid., pg.,32.

74. Denifle, "Luther und Luthertum", Vol.,III, pg.,12.

Add to this his view that the Popes succeeded Peter only in sofar as their lives resembled his,and Claudius would appear to have been a Vaudois of the Vaudois. But Poole's opinion, much more recent,onthe Vaudois connection,is quite opposed to that of Muston. The English historian wrote [75] ,"His fame as a commentator secured the survival of a good deal of his peculiar teaching; but it is hazardous,if not impossible,to connect him in any direct way with the appearance of similar opinions.....in the congregations of the Waldenses....."

The opinion of Comba is similar to that of the English writer. He held that that the Vaudois claim to apostolic antiquity is based on no more than the persistence of a certain idea; it was not based on the fact of their origin as a people. Their founder lived three hundred years before the Reformation. The work of the Vaudois in restoring a lost image at that time is a historical fact,and,moreover, is more glorious than a legendary persistence from earliest times.

The beginning of the Vaudois in Waldo of Lyons and their subsequent history is highly significant. It was only one side of a movement, European and essentially democratic,persisting until the Reformation,and probably at its height in the XIII and XIV centuries. That same movement found its expression outside Italy in the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and a wave of Mysticism which flowed over Europe.

75. Poole, ibid.,pg.,38.

Much in that movement was antagonistic to the Church.Pourrat says[76], - "Moreover,there were many whothought and said that the riches of the Church were the chief cause of the evils from which she was suffering. The remedy lay in bringing the clergy back to the poverty of the Apostolic ages,and many attempts were made in this direction. Amongst these reformers were heretics influenced by an exaggerated and false mysticism. Peter Waldo of Lyons,the founder of the sect of Waldenses,claimed,about II77,to revive the apostolic life. He preached poverty by word and example. His adepts were known as the Poor Men of Lyons. They were particularly numerous in North Italy."

The Jesuit has two footnotes to the above passage. The first is, "The Waldenses taught many heresies..... the non-existence of Purgatory,the uselessness of prayers for the dead,the illegality of indulgences. They were condemned in II84 by Pope Lucius III."[76]

We cannot expect Pourrat to go into details with regard to the condemnation of the Vaudois,since he is primarily concerned with a history of Christian Spirituality and its exponents in the Roman communion. But it is necessary to turn to an earlier date,that of the Third Lateran Council. On the eve of that Council Waldo set out in II77 to see the Pope,as the Archbishop of Lyons had already banished him for disobedience. It is significant that,although the Cathari are mentioned in the canon of the above-mentioned Council

76. Pourrat, Vol.II, pg.I54. Vd.Vol.II,pg.,2I2.

the Waldenses were not concerned until action was taken by Lucius at the Council of Verone at the date Peurrat mentions. We infer from that that the development of the Vaudois opinions was gradual; that they did not begin with a criticism of dogmas,as Peurrat seems to suggest by using the date II84,but with a criticism of the Church's representatives who were unfaithful to the demands of their sacred office. And as we hope to show later,criticism of conduct,as Rodocanachi suggests in the passage above quoted from his work,was the strong point in the programmes of all the Italian reformers(using the word in its broadest sense).

Peurrat's second footnote says,"The success of the Albigenses was also due to the fact that they preached poverty." That should occasion no surprise. The"Catholic Poor",in opposition to the Vaudois,like them adhered to a strict discipline. Innocent III expressed his view of them to the Bishop of Cremona, - "They were,it is true,deeply tainted with heresy;but they have returned to us to take refuge in the bosom of the Church."[78]

The great Franciscan Orddr also appealed to the ideal of poverty,and the "Little Flowers of St.Francis"shows how great were the aspirations after it.But the attitude of the Vaudois towards the priesthood was quite different from that given in the "Testamentum S.Francisci",which is extraordinarily Loy-

77. Hefele-Leclerq, Vol.5,part ii,pp.,II06-II09.

78. Comba, pg., 59 et seq..

ela-like.

"Even though I had the wisdom of Solomon, were I to find unworthy secular priests I should not preach against their con sent in the churches where they dwell. I desire to respect them like all others, to love them, to honour them as my lords. I do not wish to think of their sins, for I see in them the Son of God, and they are my lords. I act thus because I regard nothing corporally here below which pertains to the high Son of God, unless it be His most holy Body and Blood which they receive and which they alone administer in the Sacrament."

It will be noticed that in the passage above quoted from Peurrat the Vaudois are said to have been particularly numerous in North Italy. It is evident from this that a heresy originating outside Italy could have a powerful effect upon Italians, who, in spite of persecution and hardship could retain their faith until the later transalpine Reformation joined forces with it hundreds of years later. These Italian Vaudois were among the Reformers before the Reformation just as the Franciscans were among the Counter-Reformers before the Counter-Reformation.

The principal seat of the Italian Vaudois was Milan, the one-time seat of the Western Empire and of the great St. Ambrose. Although now subservient to Rome, Milan had never become fully reconciled to her position, and heresy, aided by the discontent, was in a thriving condition. When the Vaudois came, Arnalde was quite a strong memory, and the largely political, fairly influential, Patarini were well established, as were other

heretics like the Cathari. They appeared in the Italian Alps about the year I209. It was the time of the Albigensian crusade,and the victims of the Church's persecution seem to have included Vaudois as well as Albigeois. In the course of time they spread further abroad in Italy. Their increase in growth and prosperity was considerable,and they put forth one great effort at colonization in southern Italy. The deed of their settlement in Calabria was subsequently confirmed by Ferdinand of Aragon. Although the first great persecution caused its disappearance the persistence of the colony,even allowing for the aid rendered them by the Calabrese and Apulian lords,and their'occaisonal conformity',is remarkable.

Opinions of historians of the Vaudois are in agreement on the subject of the extent of the body in Italy. Muston quotes the well known authority,Gilles,who held that in Venice they came to number six thousand.Muston also asserted that they were as numerous in Genoa.Comba held that these figures are too great. A more recent and more reliable authority,Jalla,says,[79] - "The lawsuits of the Middle Ages,Berelli's incursion and Cattaneo's crusade,besides Seyssel'stestimony, suffice to prove that,much before Luther,the Vaudois were quite numerous in the Chisone basin,still known as Valle di Pragelato,and also particularly numerous in the Delfinese section of Reparia,.....with ramifications at Cesana and Berdonecchia." To execute the notorious Bull of I487,Cattaneo set out with eighteen thousand men against the heretics.

79. Jalla, "Storia della Riforma in Piemonte", pg .,I83.

On the eve of the Reformation, according to Comba, a Bohemian delegation found signs of decay even in the Vaudois communities. The Barbe Morel of Freyssinières complained of people in the lower classes who were not averse to receiving Roman gold for their treachery. We now come to the time when the stream of the Reformation was rising.

According to Beard, when, in 1526, they opened negotiations with the Reformed Churches of Switzerland and Germany, 'they found that if they had something to learn they had nothing to unlearn'.[80] Jalla points out that[81] the Lutheran Reformation was more radical than that of Waldo. At the close of his study, Comba records the words of Morel: "We hope that the spirit of God will enlighten us through thee, O Ecolampadius! that you will come to our help, according to the grace that has been given thee. O that we might be fairly be united together."

Before leaving the Vaudois, the most important points in their religious life and thought might be briefly mentioned. Free preaching - certainly not foreign in essence to the democratic theory in Humanism noticed hitherto - was united to an ideal of voluntary poverty. This ideal was shared by the Franciscans, but they refused to separate from the Church which the Vaudois regarded as a human creation. And yet, as Bossuet said somewhere, "when the Waldenses separated [redacted]

80. Beard, "The Reformation", pg.,26.

81. Jalla, ibid.,pg.,7.

themselves,they held but very few dogmas opposed to ours." Christ,the Vaudois held,had not given the Creed,but it was not despised,and its principal articles were used. It is not clear whether or not Purgatory was believed in by Waldo at first: although we must remember that Purgatory was probably not quite clear in the minds of the faithful in the Roman communion. "Faith without works",it is well to remember, the Vaudois did not hold. Their attitude towards the Sacraments, reduced in number and gradually modified,is an interesting feature. The Eucharist was highly important,and probably the doctrine of transubstantiation was held at first. But the Italian Vaudois paid attention not to the function of the celebrant,but to his moral quality. They maintained the practice of confession. This was to be made annually to one whose character was beyond question; a pious layman was preferable to an unworthy priest. Penance,consisting of prayer and fasting,was often severe. It was adhered to because of its salutary discipline,and also because it was in conformity with Scripture and Tradition. In their early stages they preserved episcopal government.

All this testifies to the existence in Italy of an organised body,hostile to the Church. Just as it was an attempt at the external reformation of the Catholic Church, so too it was awaiting ,as it were,the call of an external Reformation more mighty than it beyond the Alps. ~~It owed its~~ It owed its origin to a protest against abuses,as the later and greater Reformation did. To these abuses and the movements for reform inside the Church we propose now to turn.

Part II.

Ecclesiastical abuses and the Catholic Reform of the Church.

It is a well known fact that absolute power contains the seeds of its own decay and corruption. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the history of the Papacy.

The struggle for absolute power was long and difficult, carried on against obstinate Italian diocesans and Imperial claims. But the experience gained was extremely valuable, and progress, though slow and frequently disappointing, was nevertheless sure.

The growth of Papal Absolutism.

The medieval Papacy reached its greatest height in Gregory VII and Innocent III, both brilliant men, who alone were capable of supporting their pretensions.

What Gregory strove for was certainly a great ideal. He sought the absolute power wherewith to accomplish the reform of abuses. Thus when he issued the old decrees in 1075, forbidding lay investiture and clerical marriage, he moved also against simoniacal practices. First he sought to reform the Church, this to be the preliminary to the reformation of the world, over which should be the divine government whose head was the successor of St. Peter.

Innocent III built up the Papal states into an Italian principality: armed with the temporal power he could then set out to achieve spiritual reform. Thus he set out from

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a position analageus to that of Hildebrand.

Unfortunately,the means and ends seem to have changed places when the zenith of the medieval Papacy marked by Innocent was passed. Political aggrandizement became the chief end,and the spiritual ideal came to occupy a subsidiary place. The reason for this was fairly clear. The Popes became weak or their characters underwent a change for the worse. So Boniface VIII,famous as Dante's opponent,urged a Hildebrandine type of claim he could not enforce: the times had changed and Boniface was no Gregory VII.

The Avignon Captivity brought Papal prestige down from a dizzy height. Worse was to follow in the shape of the Great Schism,and to cope with this tremendous scandal the Conciliar Movement was required. Momentous problems confronted it. Which was the supreme voice in the Church - that of the Pope , or that of the general Council? The fact that the Papacy recovered is sufficient evidence of the depth of its roots. Of course, as Professor Whitney[82] pointed out ,the abolition of the Papacy was sought by none,although three different theories about its place in the Church were tenable. Opinion would thus be fluid and open to moulding influences.

One thing the Councils had discussed was reform in head and members. They themselves,the consequence of changed conditions and a weakened Papacy,had thus pointed out one of the chief reasons for that decline.

Clement V,the first of the Avignon Popes,seems to

82. Whitney, "Continuity through the Reformation",in"London Theological Studies",I9II, pp.,I96-I97.

have been a'small man',whose rapacity was imitated by John XXII,who succeeded him. Doubtless,much of this conduct was excusable when the depredations of bellicose barons had to be made good. Yet the frequently questionable devices to remedy the deficit were not calculated to enhance the prestige of the Papacy. It is instructive to turn to the opinion of Petrarch on the Avignon court: a more damning indictment could hardly be found.[83] He wrote, -

"All that they say of Assyrian and Egyptian Babylon,of the four labyrinths.....is nothing in comparison with this hell. All that is vile and execrable is gathered in this place. Gold is the only means of escaping from this labyrinth. .....Here reign the successors of poor fishermen,who have forgotten their origin. They march covered with gold and purple,proud of the spoils of Princes and people..... and where the apostles went on foot,shod only with sandals,are now to be seen insolent satraps,mounted on horses decked with gold."

But the Councils did little that had permanent effect. At Konstanz the party of Cardinals supporting the view of an absolutist Pope gained the day,and after the Councils,the Popes ruled unrivalled and armed with the old absolute power. Worst of all,they continued to practise such conduct as merited the greatest condemnation. That story has frequently been told,and even allowing for the additional embelishments of ultra-Protestant writers,the works of capable Romanist and

83. Petrarch,in the letters called"The Mysteries". Vd., also Sonnette,I07, -"Babylon faithless and wicked,"

other historians do not conceal the scandals and crimes of the centre of Christendom. The eminent opponent of Lancelot Andrewes, Cardinal Bellarmine, said,[84] - "For some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies were published, there was no severity in ecclesiastical judicatories and discipline with regard to the Church, any reverence for Divine things; there was scarcely any religion remaining."

Beginning with Paul II in I464, the wearers of the tiara for fifty years seemed to be endowed with neither conscience nor respect for their high office. Paul II drunk heavily and sold offices. Of his successor, Sixtus IV, the late Bishop Creighton - not the man to condemn Papal vices unreasonably - wrote,[85] "He lowered the moral tone of Europe, and prepared the way for still unworthier successors in the chair of St. Peter." Innocent VIII, who promulgated the Bull against the Vaudois, was steeped in moral vice. He used briberry to procure his election, and concluded a bargain with Sultan Bayazid II of Turkey with regard to the Sultan's brother, Djem. Of Alexander VI, in whom the Papacy reached probably its lowest depths of degradation, a vast deal has been said, and unfortunately with a considerable amount of truth. By shameless bribery he obtained the tiara; illegitimate children were no longer 'nephews'. Indecency in Vatican orgies and plays polluted the seat of Western Christendom. The contrast

84. Quoted in Pennington's "The Counter-Reformation", pg., I7.
85. Creighton, "History of the Papacy", Vol. III, pg., II6.

between this period and that of Hildebrand,who championed and was reinforced by the Cluniac reformation,is one of the most painful in history.

The attitude of contemporaries,including high -minded ecclesiastics,towards pre-Reformation Rome is most interesting. Boccaccio's story of the Jew converted to Christianity by the marvel of the triumph of that religion over the enormous wickedness of the highest ecclesiastics,its chief teachers,is most ironical and malicious.[86] That great 'novelliere' could not be called a moral reformer,but neither could Lorenzo de'Medici.[87] This great Florentine - of whom Villari wrote, "He encouraged all the worst tendencies of the age,and multiplied its corruptions." - was averse to allowing the young Cardinal-deacon,Giovanni de'Medici,to go to Rome[88] ,'the meeting place of all vices'. Luther was probably not much shaken in his belief in Papal authority by his famous visit to Rome in I5I0. The Jesuit,Grisar,describing the journey[89] ,says"..it was the Rome of the Popes of the height of the Renaissance , glorified by art,but inwardly deeply debased. Better evidence is furnished by a loyal son of the Church,the contemporary Canon Tizio.[90] He says; "What is the use of canonical laws,es-

86. Milman,"History of Latin Christianity",Bk.,XIV. Chap.V.

87. Villari, "Life and Times of Savonarola",pg.,45

88. Pastor, "History of the Popes", Vol.VII.,pg.40 & ff..

89. Grisar, "Luther", Vol.I.pg.,32. Vd.,also Mackinnon, "Luther and the Reformation",Vol.I. pg.,I40-I45.

90. Vd.,Gregorovius, "Rome in the Middle Ages",Vol.VIII,pg.,2I6.

tablished by holy Popes,forbidding priests to stain their hands with blood? for now Popes and Cardinals have become anti-Christs and tyrants."

The same sad story is continued,not surprisingly, in the lower ecclesiastical strata. The emphasis laid upon the necessity of following the Christian ideal among the clergy is evidence of the deviation from that ideal. We find at least one protest in the great Italian Scholastic,Aquinas, who wrote,[91] "There are some that are in the state of perfection(i.e.the clergy)and who have not either charity or grace." There is an illuminating passage in the "De Planctu Ecclesiae"of Franciscus Alvarus Pelagius,belonging to the first half of the XIV century.[92] I quote Dr.Coulton's introduction and translation; - "It was written at the Pope's command,and is one of the most valuable surviving documents for the history of papal claims,which Alvarus unhesitatingly and warmly defends. At the same time,he speaks freely as to the harm done to the Church by the Popes themselves,and is unsparing of Church conditions in general. As Papal Penitentiary,and later,Bishop of Silves,he knew ecclesiastical society inside and out.....In the first words of the second book,Alvarus comes to the subject of contemporary Church life: 'The holy estate of the Church is changed;the excellent colour of virtues is changed to vice. The stones of the sanctuary are

91. Summa, II - ii, Quaestio, clxxxiv, Art.4.

92. Coulton, "Five Centuries of Religion", Vol.II, pg.,544.

poured out(Lam.iv.I);to wit,clergy and religious,who are the foundations of the Church. .....For nowadays the clergy and many religious are to the laity the chief examples of relaxation of all living. The clergy have embraced the dung of fornication and filthiness,therefore they are blind leaders of blind laity. Sodomy is frequent. Alas,alas! within Holy Church many clergy and religious(practise this) in their hiding places and conventicles,and now the laity in many towns,especially in Italy,set up publicly a sort of unspeakable training ground wherein they exercise themselves in this vice. ..... Would that it were punished,as the law biddeth,with the avenging sword.'"

Additional light is thrown upon the decadence of Italian morals in ecclesiastical circles by St.Antonine[93], Vicar-General of the Dominicans in Tuscany and Naples,and in I446, Archbishop of Florence. He was a lovely character,and founded the "Buoni Uomini di San Martino".He wrote, "The Italian White Monks of the Benedictine Rule,that is,the Calmoldolese, have degenerated from their father,S.Romualdo,and have gone backwards,with the exception of very few monasteries and desert hermitages. The(Italian)Grey Monks(as those of Vallombrosa are called)have gone astray from the steps of their father. .....(The Silvestrini)convent was that of S.Marco, but it was taken from them by reason of their dissolute life by Pope Eugenius IV,who gave it to the Friars Preacher."

93. Villari,ibid.,pp35-36. Marchese, "Storia di San Marco",- - Book,I. "Chronicon" of S.Antonine.

Traces of extraordinary depravity are to be found even in the sermons,which cannot but cause us to marvel at not only the preachers but also their audiences. Codrus Urceus interlarded his"Sermones"with objectionable anecdotes,and yet the editor of them,Bervaldo,dedicated the work to one of the Bentivogli family who was Protonotary Apostolic.[94]

On the eve of the German revolt the protests against ecclesiastical abuses continued to come from the highest-minded Italian devotees of the Church. Let it suffice to quote the words of "Onus Ecclesiae"on the state of the pre-Reformation Church.

"How often does the choice fall upon a good,virtuous , and learned bishop,and how on one who is inexperienced,carnal, and ignorant of spiritual things? Prelacies are for the most part obtained by evil methods and ambition,not by election or other lawful means. .....Seldom do we find a pastor who is content with one church. .....Bishops care more for the table than for the altar....the Bishops are always looking out for war,they whose duty it is to promote unity and peace..... Nearly all the Bishops are covetous....and squander the property of the Church....For these reasons religion languishes in both laity and clergy and the churches...fall into ruin."[95]

Rodocanachi has recently pointed out several other instances of moral laxity among the Italian clergy in the

94. Lupton, "Life of Dean Colet", pg.,55,footnote.

95. Rodocanachi, "La Reforme en Italie", Vol.I. Chap.,I.

whole of the first half of the XVI century, abuses among both the higher and lower ranks of the clergy. There is a dismal record of murders, abductions, thefts great and small. It appears to have been a common practice to give to illegitimates classical names. Classical names were also given to public harlots who lived in high splendour[96]. All that illustrates how the Renaissance of Pagan glories had, unfortunately, led to the resuscitation of Pagan crimes. "The richest intellectual life blossomed in a swamp of vices", says Gregorovius. And yet there are instances of colossal ignorance. The great Italian chronicler, Muratori, refers to a sermon by a Minor Observant in which the preacher drew upon a Brief written by our Lord, by whom it was - "Datum in Paradiso terrestri".[97]

All this might be multiplied. We shall have occasion to notice again abuses in another context, for all that we have sought to urge here is the necessity there was for drastic reform.

The Reform Movement within the Church.

Voices within the Church had always sounded for reform, and from the beginning of the XIII century the only too-well-founded complaints about corruption in head and members, and the lack of success of the various remedies attempted, conspired to make the demand more insistent.

The Renaissance of the XV century in Italy could not dim the renaissance of Franciscan preaching. These sermons seem to have been extremely popular in a country where thousands

96. Gregorovius, Vol.VIII, pp.306 & ff..
97. Muratori, "Annali", Vol.IO, pg.,335.

could be reached from the open air pulpits erected there.[98] The preachers,whose method was to seek access to the emotions of their audiences,included S.Bernardino da Siena,and S.Giovanni Capistrano,the leaders of other noted preachers of their Order. Bernardino became in I438,the Vicar-General of the Italian convents of the Strict Observance,a momement originating in Greccio at the close of the previous century and seeking the re-enforcement of the early Franciscan austerity.In I5I7, Leo X constituted them,on account of their great increase,a separate Order.

Nor later,in the days of the notorious Alexander VI, did the sister Dominican Order fail to add its demand for reform. As Kraus wrote,[99] "None of these voices was mightier than Savonarola's,or left a deeper echo."

A variety of opinions about the Dominican have been held. Pastor seems to be too greatly concerned with defending Curialism and Alexander to be able to say much in defence of Savonarola's most lasting work.[I00] Another Romanist scholar,Pourrat,grants that he made a definite contribution.He says,[I0I] "It is only right to include among the Dominican preachers 'the truly pious Brother Jerome Savonarola' of St. Mark's,Florence. A mystical champion,he raised up the populace against vice in high places,and was put to death in

98. Pourrat, Vol.II, pg.,208.

99. C.M.H., Vol.II, pg.,2.

I00. Pastor, Vol.VI, pp.,I-53.

I0I. Pourrat,Vol.II, pg.,20I.

I498. Many,however,looked upon him as a saint,and his writings deeply edified successive generations of the faithful."

When we come to the Protestant side,we find Luther proclaiming him to be one of the Reformation's martyrs.[I02] Ranke maintained the same view.[I03] When speaking of Savonarola's celebration of three Masses on Christmas Day,I497, in spite of the sentence of formal excommunication already pronounced against him,the German historian says,"it is plain that it implied an attack on the whole system of the Church." Then,"Luther took up his position outside the hierarchy of the Church,while Savonarola still held to it." Ranke would say that the Dominican was a Reformer before the Reformation. This conception of Savonarola was repudiated by Lindsay,[I04] who points out his foundation on Aquinas and thoroughly medieval outlook,his intellectual conception of faith,and his belief in the manifold meanings of Scripture. Balbo[I05], writing several years ago,held the same view as Lindsay."One makes a saint of Savonarola,another an heresiarch,a precursor of Luther,another a hero of liberty. But they are dreams:true Saints do not make use of their time in human business;true heretics do not die in the bosom of the Church as Savonarola, though persecuted,died....." And so,in spite of the fact

I02. Vd., Villari, pp.,739-740.

I03. von Ranke, "Studien",pg.,289,et seq..

I04. Lindsay, "History of the Reformation", Vol.I.pg I58.

I05. C.Balbo, "Storia d'Italia" (ediz. X,Firenze,I856) pg., 276.

that the Dominican resembles Luther at certain points,there is a vast difference between them. Savonarola always held the Church and its ceremonies in far greater esteem than did Luther.Though at his death a rebel in the eyes of ecclesiastical authority[106],he was spiritually at one with the Church. His life and death had a wide effect,influencing,among others,Michelangelo,and Pico della Mirandola.[107]But it was besides the clearest proof that in the Italian peninsula no reformation on Lutheran lines could ultimately succeed:neither the political nor the religious complexion was for very long propitious there.Let us look for a moment at his denunciation of the abuses of the age,which he had a laudable desire to see rectified.He inveighed against the Religious whose aim was to get bread,money,and candles.[108] And again,[109] "God hath sworn upon His Son.....that bitter days shall come upon thee, O Rome.....Nowadays,men have given themselves to the Church through custom and outward worship,not through a lively faith or any inward worship. .....The Lord shall tread thee under foot.....forthwith,all shall be trodden down - priests friars,bishops,cardinals.....I promise thee,Italy,I promise thee,Rome,that since thou hast reaped up a harlot's pay, thou shalt find at last a harlot's reward. ....Trust not ,O Rome,in saying,'here are the relics,and here is St.Peter and

106. Jourdan,"The Movement towards Catholic Reform in the early XVI century",pg.,6,refers to Erasmus'disapproval.
107. Dark,"Five Deans",pg.24,gratuitously assumes that Colet heard Savonarola preach.
108. Prediche, pg.,93 (Baccini's edition,Florence,1889.)
109. Scelte di Prediche, pp.210,247,269-270(Villari and Casanova, edit.,Firenze, 1888.)

so many other martyrs'bodies!....The Church is a harlot and the sign of her harlotry is in"evil priests,lukewarm religious,great masters,and all the rest of the evil folk....Thou, harlot Church,hast manifested thy foulness to the whole world."

Savonarola was by no means alone in Italy in his heavy denunciations of abuses in the Church. To deny that there was a genuine desire for reform in the early XVI century among the higher Italian clergy would be grossly unfair.[II0]

A new Election-Capitulation,drawn up in the Conclave of I503 by the Cardinals,stated in one of its provisions that the Pope should summon a Council for the reform of the Church within two years of his election,and that a general Council should be held every three years.[III] But Pius,whose elestion followed this interesting Conclave and whose intentions appear to have been in the direction of ecclesiastical reform, died within ten days of his coronation. He was succeeded by Julius II,whose work for the consolidation of the Papal States has been the recipient of so much criticism,but has not been undefended. His great work,to which some attention must be given,was the convocation of the Lateran Council,eighty years after that of Basel. Pastor calls it[II2] "a landmark in the history of the world": for us,its importance lies in its being the last pre-Reformation Council.

II0. Beard, "The Reformation", pg.,I.

III. Pastor, Vol.VI. pg.,I94.

II2. Pastor, Vol.VI. pg.,406.

It was actuated by the highest motives; it sought the reform of abuses in all departments of the Church, and especially in the Roman Court. If the Pope had ever been in danger of forgetting this primary object of the Council, the several sermons preached by eminent ecclesiastics assembled there would have been a constant reminder. It is interesting to note the difference in emphasis in these sermons, as well as in proposals put before the Council,on dogma and discipline. Very striking in view of the later Spanish influences in Italy,and Spain's victory at Trent,is the preparatory session at Burgos at the end of I5II. There the projects were [II3] ,first,a free Council;second,"It will be necessary to treat there especially of things touching the faith, to check all schism and put forth ordinances to extirpate the heresy of the Savoy valleys....".Thirdly came the expression of the desire for peace among Christians; fourthly,the reform of morals in head and members;and fifthly,the discussion of laws regarding Pope and Church,and the checking of simoniacal practices. But the Spaniards seem to have taken no part in the Council itself. Instead of adopting the Spanish method,the eminent and pious Egidio Canisio,since I508 reformer of the Augustinians,appointed to deliver before the Council the opening address,attacked with boldness the evils in the Church and discussed the benefits to be derived from general Councils. Sadoleto,one of the "mediatizers",received the address joyfully,and sent it with high praise of Egidio's

II3. Hefele-Leclerq, "Histoire des Conciles",8.i. pp.306 &ff..

talents and character to Bembo and Sannofero.[II4] The "Memorial" of the great Augustinian, submitted to Pope Adrian, must be discussed later in a more suitable context.

So early as the Lateran Council, these Erasmian, mediatizing, views were opposed by a more formidable body of opinion which was curialistic. It included some who were keenly desirous for reform, and yet who believed its achievement possible only by the assertion of Papal supremacy. Of these was the Venetian Patriarch, Zane, an able student of philosophy and theology, besides being not averse to humanistic studies. Preaching at the first session, he attacked corruption, and emphasized the urgent need for submission to the Pope.[II5] The Dominican, Caietano, preached in a similar strain, attacking the contemporary Pisan synod as the offspring of Konstanz and Basel, and elevating the Papal supremacy.

The existence of Humanism on the curialistic side shows that before the Lutheran conflagration the movement was above suspicion, or not recognised as dangerous. To draw a distinction that is fairly sharp between the Humanists and the more enlightened curialists is not easy at this point. The Lutheran revolt did not originate the difference, as Lateran sermons suffice to show, but it did emphasize, as we hope to demonstrate, those differences.

The conclusion arrived at by the Lateran Council was in accordance with the wishes of the extravagant supporters

II4. Hefele-Leclerq, 8.i. pp., 345 ff., and C.M.H., Vol.II, pg., 30.

II5. Hefele-Leclerq, 8.i.pp., 346 ff..

of curialism. Instead of the fulfilment of the high ideals of reform of the first days of the Council,the"plenitudo potestatis"of the Papacy was given a strong accentuation. In the words of the Apostolical Notary,Cristoforo Marcello,at the fifth meeting of the Council in 1513,[116] "The Pope would be her(the Church's)physician,pilot,husbandman,in short,her all in all,almost as though God were again on earth."

Pastor says,[117] "The exceptional difficulties,both political and ecclesiastical,with which Julius was beset on all sides throughout the whole of his reign,drove the larger question of reform into the background." But it cannot be denied that both Julius II and Leo X contributed largely to the postponement of reform. Such was the view,expressed before the Council's close,of the able layman,Gianfrancesco della Mirandola. "If Leo leaves crime any longer unpunished,if he refuses to heal the wounds,it is to be feared that God Himself will no longer apply a slow remedy,but will cut off and destroy the diseased members with fire and sword."

It was not surprising that that Council's failure should stimulate the movement for reform in those who so much desired it.Their action after it proves thatthere were several who felt that Lateran was at least something of a failure.

Baudrillart says ,[118] "In the Catholic Church,as every-

116. Pastor, Vol.VII, pp.,I-II. 117. Pastor, Vol.VI, pg.,444.

118. Baudrillart,"L'Eglise catholigue,la Renaissance et le Protestantisme",pg.225. Hardouin,IX,"Collectio regia maxima conciliorum" (Paris.)

where else,reforms are first of all the work of certain individuals who earnestly desire them,and end by imposing them on public opinion and on the regular agencies of the hierarchy. This was what happened in the XVI century."

In Raphael we saw the artist who found in Christianity the religion of art and beauty: the Humanists who delighted to discourse on love,as well as upon art and beauty,may have had their effect in aiding the mystics like S.Caterina da Genova to treat of the question of the origin of divine love. And so we are reminded that Christianity is the religion of love,and that the famous Italian society rising in the twilight of Lateran hopes was called"L'Oratorio del Divino Amore." The aim of its members was as Baudrillart suggests.Church reform and charitable work were its especial duties. Ranke saw it as an analogy of Protestantism In Italy and a sort of literary reunion tinged with religion.[II9] The chief interest is in the question of the date of the society's origin,for the view that Lutheranism had an initial effect is at least plausible if we trust Ranke.Neither Collins nor Laurence are definite. Pourrat,writing much later than those three scholars,puts the date I5I6,[I20] and the Protestant Benrath is quite definite both on the early date of origin and its lack of Protestant affinities.The latter says,[I2I] "Doctrines alien to Catholic dogma cannot be attributed to any member of the

II9. Ranke, "Päpste", Vol.I, pg.,88.

I20. C.M.H.,Vol.II,pp.378 & 640. Pourrat, Vol.III, pg.,234.

I2I. Benrath's Article in Herzog-Hauck,"Realencyklopädie."

Oratory.....The early date of the foundation shows clearly that this was not connected,as Gothein thinks,with the dangers of the Lutheran movement."Pastor,of course,asserts even more strongly the orthodox nature of the movement. "Not one of these men thought even remotely of abandoning the foundations of Church doctrine on account of defects in the clergy,high or low,or of seeking reform in unlawful ways."[122]

The members of this excellent society,of which Vernazza was the chief founder,included,from the first,remarkably able(and sufficiently widely diverse to deny Lutheran tendencies or affinity)characters like Sadoleto,da Thiene, and Caraffa. Among others were G.and L.Lippomano,Giberti , Giovenale,and Dati. Contarini joined it later,as did Cortese,Bembo,and Pole. And so we find "the ascetic and the humanist,the practical and the doctrinal reformer"working, as they rarely worked in the days of the Lutheran revolt, together with something like harmony. Of the noble products of this society were the Theatine Order,the "Consilium dilectorum Cardinalium et aliorum praelatorum de emendanda Ecclesia",and indeed,much that was noble in the Counter-Reformation. Generally,the view of the Oratory seems to be expressed in the words of one who had no connection with the movement,Massimiliano da Saluzzo,who,opposing his opinion to that of the Vaudois,said[123] , "We condemn,as well as you,the errors of the Papal Church.We desire that they may

I22. Pastor, Vol.X, pg.,391.

I23. Muston, Vol.I, pg.,I37.

be reformed;but in the first place,it is necessary that we re-
form ourselves inwardly and that we know how to accomodate
ourselves to circumstances,and not to expose ourselves to
needless perils in attacking received usages." This opinion
is confined neither to time nor place.That famous sermon of
Dean Colet to Convocation in London in I5I2,with its empha-
sis on inward reformation,is of particular interest.Himself,
influenced by Savonarola to some extent,one of the Oxford
Reformers,therefore in close touch with Erasmus who was alrea-
dy not unknown in Italy,he may easily have had an effect on
the Oratory. Indeed,it is probably more feasible to repres-
ent the Oratory as the Italian version of the Oxford Reform-
ers than as affected by Lutheran or any other heretical opi-
nions.Let us note various points in Colet's sermon.[I24]

"As I am about to exort you,reverend fathers,to endea-
vour to reform the condition of the Church;because nothing
has so disfigured the face of the Church as the secular way
of living on the part of the clergy,I know not how I cannot
commence my discourse more fitly than with the Apostle Paul,
.....(Romans,XII,2.) - 'Be ye not conformed to this world,
but be ye reformed in the newness of your minds,that ye may
prove what is good,and well pleasing,and perfect will of God.'
This the Apostle wrote to all Christian men,but emphatically
to priests and bishops:for priests and bishops are the lights
of the world,as the Saviour said unto them,.....if priests
and bishops,the very lights,run in the dark way of the world,

I24. Quoted in Seebohm,"Oxford Reformers", pp.I37-I54.(Every-
man's edition.)

how dark must the lay-people be!.....By these words the Apostle points out two things: - First,he prohibits our being conformed to theworld and becoming carnal; and then he commands that we be reformed in the Spirit of God,in order that we may be spiritual. ....."'Be not,'he says,'conformed to this world.' By the world the Apostle means the worldly way and manner of living,which consists chiefly in these four evils - viz. in devilish pride,in carnal concupiscence,in worldly covetousness,and in worddly occupations!"

It is well to remember that this Convocation met for the extirpation of heresy. Colet,in the course of his sermon referred to that thus."We are troubled in these days also by heretics - men mad with strange folly; - but this heresy of theirs is not so pestilential and pernicious to us and the people as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy,...." Certainly,as we shall see,when confronted with the Reformation heresy,several in the Oratory held exactly the same opinion as the Dean of St.Paul's,and in later days,like him some were suspected of favouring heretical opinions. Moreover,Colet's method of reform would be no different from that of,say, Giberti at Verona,at a later date.As Colet said, - "The way, moreover,by which the Church is to be reformed and restored to a better condition is not to enact new laws(for there are enough laws and to spare)....Wherefore,in this your congregation,let the existing laws be produced and recited which prohibit what is evil,and which enjoin what is right."

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We have sought here to give a brief narrative of 71
abuses in the Italian Church,and the reply that was given to them. Savonarola,whose combination of the ecclesiastical and political produced his downfall,left a strong influence on the minds of aspirants for reform. The Lateran Council did not fulfil the ideals of such aspirants,some of whom came to work silently in the Oratory for the reform of the Church. To the cry of such as Savonarola the Church had replied with a stone for bread. It remained for the German revolt to rouse the Church from its age-long lethargy. We would do well to remember that, although helped in our task by considering the background,Italian tradition,the origin of the influence of the external Reformation is as difficult to trace as that of any and every movement of thought.As Archdeacon Lilley says: - "There is nothing more difficult than an adequate definition of the origins of any distinctive movement of corporate thought or action among men. The near and occasional origin of the movement may seem evident enough,but it is always in some more remote and intangible series of changes that its real origin is to be sought.Every movement occurs within a definite historical tradition and has its only sufficient explanation as a modification of that tradition determined by the needs of its own growing life. And that tradition,just because it is a life which is always acting upon and reacting to a changing environment, is always itself in a process of change long before the moment arrives when it becomes fully conscious of the change." I25

I25."The Modern Churchman",Vol. I7, pg.,333.

The Effect of the Reformation on Italy.

Part II. Chapter V.

The contact between Catholic and Reformed systems in Italy.

Flux in opinions.

The thirty years of history with which we are concerned is not only in Italy but also throughout Europe a period of growth and accomodation in religious thought. Crystallizations are not attained in this period save in rare instances like that of Calvin's "Institutes". This is true of both Catholic and Lutheran.[1] Friedrich Heiler finds a difference between the pre-Tridentine Church and the post-Tridentine. Père Pourrat[2] indicates a difference between the fluid nature of the Church in the one age and its more solid state in the later. Dean Inge[3] sees no difference, and finds the exclusive nature ever present. It seems that Heiler and Pourrat are correct, and certainly so if we turn to the Church in Italy. There was no really systematic persecution of heretics there until after our period, in spite of the fact that the Inquisition was reorganized on Spanish lines to secure greater efficiency in 1542. To turn to one part of Italy which became greatly infected with heresy - Venice.[4] Although incomplete, the Archives of the Inquisition record 3620 accusations for crimes of all sorts. In the sixteenth century, 803 Lutherans, 5 Calvinists, 8 Huguenots, and

1. Heiler. "Katholizismus".
2. Pourrat. Vol., II, pp.335-336.
3. Inge. "The Church in the World", Chapter on "Modernism".
4. Cecchetti. "La Repubblica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma...."1874.

others for possessing forbidden books,were condemned there.[5] More interesting still is the record given by Amante. The list shows that executions begin only in I548,six years after the commencement of the reorganized Inquisition's activities. In I548,two were condemned to death,and two women were executed;in I549,five were condemned to death;in I550,two were condemned to death,and two women were executed. Condemnations, needless to say,had been procured before I548. Four are recorded in I547 by other authorities,[6] in Cremona,Bergamo,and Rovigo. In Venice itself,where the Holy See had to overcome powerful opposition in the exercise of her spiritual jurisdiction in heresy cases,religious assemblies of Protestants were tolerated in I550.[7] And of other parts of Italy the same could be said.[8] A certain da Busca wrote in I559, "There is at Turin a great Church of Christ,and a minister goes from house to house preaching secretly. In the town a great number of faithful belong to the leading middle class families and the nobility; there are several even among the members of Parlement,jurisconsults and medical men. .....At Chieri a great number of faithful gather to pray,to read and hear the word of God. In the streets and squares they discuss the Christian religion without the least fear and have discussions with their opponents."[9] Rodocanachi tells us that M. van Eys discovered one

5. Amante. "Giulia Gonzaga", pg.,265. Bologna,I896.

6. "Revista Cristiana",an.,IV,cf.an.,III,pg.28,Elenco generale degli accusati di Eresia(I54I-I560) Camuffo,"Il Sant'officio
7. Rodocanachi, Vol.,II, pg.,3I8. (a Venezia",pg.,43I.)

8. Rodocanachi, Vol.,II,pp.,450-45I. 9. Vol.,II,pg.,452,footnote.

of the two known copies of Lefèvre d'Étaples'Bible in the Royal Library of Turin.

Then there is the case of Nacchianti,Bishop of Chioggia in the days of Paul III.[10] A student of Bologna University, he entered the Dominican Order in 1518. He became Professor of Philosophy at S.Maria sopra Minerva,which was the centre of the Inquisition's organization. His preaching disturbed his superiors,but his ability caused the humanism in the Pope to triumph over the orthodoxy,and in 1544,Paul gave him the Bishopric of Chioggia. We find him in 1546 retracting an opinion he had put forward on the authority of Scripture,and not long afterwards he was denounced by a schoolmaster. In 1548,witnesses testified against him,but both N.Bembo and Contarini were for him. Notwithstanding the zeal of the heresy-hunters,he did not go through the experiences of Morone,even though like him he was tried. In 1563,he appeared at the Council of Trent,in spite of della Casa's opposition,and died as titular of his diocese. If there is an air of mystery about the whole case,one thing seems to be fairly clear:there was great latitude in the Italian Church of the first half of the century for vagaries quite unknown in Spain for instance. Some years ago the question was discussed as to whether the illustrious Bembo,not hitherto as suspected as Contarini and Morone,was orthodox:[11] the ecclesiastic Marsolin decided in the affirmative. The members of the mediatizing school will be considered later: their existence is proof of the fluid

10. Rodocanachi, Vol.,II, pp., 52-54. Also Tiraboschi, Vol.,VII,I.

11. Marsolin, "La Ortodossia di Pietro Bembo", Venezia,1885.

state of Catholic opinion.

Nor was this fluid state peculiar to Catholicism. The list of condemnations quoted above is here of great interest. The Lutherans, in spite of the proximity of Geneva and the presence at Ferrara of the famous Renée, are vastly more numerous in the list than the Calvinists. Moreover, the one great pamphlet produced by an Italian in a Calvinistic spirit was Mainardo's "Anatomia della Messa" of 1552, at a time when any other than a Catholic and medieval reform of the Church was becoming quite impossible. Why this Lutheran triumph? - the reason seems to be this. A reference to the Italian tradition discussed in the earlier chapters of this thesis indicates that Italy was in its thought essentially practical and non-speculative. The chief thing for which the Italian saints strove was moral renewal, and not dogmatic precision. Similarly, the Vaudois as we saw, began with a criticism of morals, and retained beliefs and practices of the communion from which they had seceeded long after the formal break.

Now Luther's evolution, certainly in its earlier stages, is the epitome of this Italian trend. The Italian Renaissance had paved the way for the German's appearance: as Masi[12] expresses it, "L'talia è la culla del Rinascimento, cioè del maggiore coefficente della Riforma." Like the Humanist movement as represented by Erasmus he disliked Scholasticsm and advocated a practical reformation. He could side with Reuchlin[13], and

I2. Masi's lecture in "L'Italia del Cinquecento".

I3. Enders, I, 55.

speak of"our Erasmus"[14] His famous letter to Lang shows where he disagreed with the Dutchman.[15] "I have read our Erasmus,and from day to day my estimation of him decreases. .....The human prevails in him more than the divine. .....Perhaps the Lord will grant him understanding in His own time." As Grisar remarks,[16] "The monk and the theologian outweighed in Luther the humanist." Grisar goes on to point out that this foreshadows the rupture of I524,which disclosed[17] "the difference between the Catholic and Lutheran standpoints". We cannot deny the difference,but it was not always clear-cut,as is obvious from Grisar's own account of the Free-Will question.[18] Notwithstanding all this,decidedly unfriendly to Humanism as it is[19],we must remember the presence in the Lutheran movement of Melancthon,whose own"Loci Communes",as we shall see,was sonn translated in Italy. He could write to Erasmus when the latter's[20] "De libero arbitrio diatribe"appeared,"perplacuit tua moderatio." Later he modified the Lutheran postulate of the determination of the will[21],and in the German edition of the Assertio even Luther himself dealt with the denial of free will at shorter length,[22] and softened some expressions in the course of his own lifetime. Moreover,as will be seen in considering the Valdesian circle,the justification

I4. Enders, I.88. Also vd.,Mackinnon,"Luther and the Reformation", Vol.,III,pg.2I5.

I5. Enders,I,88, I,63,64. I6. Grisar,"Luther",Vol.II,pg.,253.

I7. cf.Pastor, Vol.,VII,pg.,406. I8. Grisar, Vol.II,pp.,223-294.

I9. Barry,in the "Guardian",Sept.I9th.I930,quotes Professor Grierson, "When put upon its mettle the Christian Church has always distrusted,and must always distrust,the arts,for in them the free spirit of man will endeavour to express itself uncurbed and in its entirety." cf. Symonds"Renaissance in Italy," Vol.,III.

20. Corp.Ref. Vol.I,pg675. 2I.Grisar, III,239. 22. III,237.

doctrine of Luther was not without mystical implications rendering it congenial to that circle. That doctrine, just before Luther made his appearance in Germany, had been set forth by Cittadella[23], whilst opposition to indulgences was no new thing in the Italian peninsula: the Vaudois Barbes had rejected in Piemonte the overtures on the matter made by Seyssel, Archbishop of Turin.[24]

Calvinism, on the other hand, had little to commend itself to the Italian temper. The leader of the Protestant Scholasticism represented in his "Institutes" a spirit dogmatic and ill-suited to Italy. Although claiming some adherents in one part of Italy it could make no headway in the peninsula generally. Calvin's doctrines offended Humanists and Theologians in equal measure if in different ways. He studied man's nature and marked off the limits of his underatanding, then he proceeded to develope this determinism. Man is incapable of rising to the knowledge of first causes, and cannot get beyond natural law in the sphere of morals. The demonstration of man's feebleness of will and the burden of sin follows: his debasement does not permit him to fulfil his duties towards God. Faith alone can save the sinner, and that faith is the gift of the Divine grace reconciling him to whom Christ has communicated his justice with God. The determination of the will and selection lead to the terribly rigid predestination doctrine of Calvin. He does not speak like Luther of a secret will and a revealed will of God: he had no humanistic Melancthon to curb him. Moreover, Luther's Consubstantion was, if condemned by the

23. In a work found in Venice in 1869. 24. Jalla, "Rif..in Piemonte" p.20.

Church,by no means so far removed from the doctrine of Transubstantiation as the Calvinistic view of the symbolical nature of the Eucharist and the denial of the Real Presence.

Another point we cannot neglect is that of Church government. Needless to say,Calvin's system has no room for an episcopal form of government or hierarchy,to which external symbol of the Christian religion Italian Humanist,Theologian of whatever school,noble and lowly born,were alike profoundly attached.[25] Luther himself said,"Even to me it seemed incredible that this impregnable stronghold which had so long withstood the storms should fall." An American writer says of Luther and Melancthon that they[26] ,"had no intention of separating from Rome, and of changing the constitution of the Church or her order of worship. .....The old institutions and orders might remain.They only needed purification." The German Reformer in I524 published suggestions for the dispensation of the Lord's Supper and Baptism in wittenberg. Even in I545 he was not without hope that a permanent alteration in the external form of the German Church would not be neccesary. And even to this day we have in Scandinavia national Lutheran Episcopal Churches. The very possibility of the Ratisbon Colloquy,that magnificent failure,is proof that in those years between I520 and I550,both in Germany and Italy,possibilities,as well as hopes,of reunion were not absent.

The view of two writers on the religious thought of

25. Grisar, Vol,II, pg.,278.

26. Richard, "Melancthon", pg.,49.

this period seems to be relevant to our discussion. Moore says;[27]

"There is a remarkable unity in the history of Protestant thought in the period of the Reformation to the end of the eighteenth century. .....Few seem to have realised how largely Catholic in principle Protestant thought has been. The fundamental principles at the basis of the reasoning have been the same. The notions of revelation and inspiration were identical. The idea of authority was common to both,only the instance in which that authority was lodged was different. The thoughts of God and man,of the world,of creation,of providence and prayer, of the nature and means of salvation,are similar." Fawkes says;[28]

"The Reformation.....was an emancipation,but it was originally rather a religious and moral than an intellectual emancipation;and the dogmatic positiom was its weak side. It was an appeal from the Church to Scripture,i.e.,from one authority to another. .....The Reformation was followed by a hardening of the dogmatic crust which overlaid rational and spiritual religion. There was greater freedom of thought in Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century than there was at its end, either in the Roman Church or in the Reformed Churches. ..... The theology of the Fathers,of the General Councils,and of the Creeds,was taken over by the Reformers automatically,and as a matter of course. ....."

We are thus concerned in this period especially with evolution and transition.

27. Moore, "Modern thought since Kant", pg.,2.
28. "The Modern Churchman", Vol.,XVII,pp.,318-319.

The effect of the Reformation on Italy.

Chapter VI.

Piemonte.

The references in the last chapter, and especially in Chapter III, to the Vaudois, remind us that the first Italian home of these "Protestants before the Reformation" was Piemonte, the geographical position of which facilitated their immigration, as well as the infiltration of the ideas of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. This suggests the desirability of beginning our investigation in that part of the peninsula. The history of the Italian Vaudois has already been briefly sketched, and now we come to the time when "it runs into the river of the Reformation, and the river flows on."

The liberty in the valleys up to the time of the Reformation was attributed by di Castellamonte[29] to the ecclesiastical abuses of the age. "According to an octogenarian of Val Perosa, 'the cause of heresy has been in the bad example of the priests, and the bad government of the Prelates!" Jalla, in his excellent work, attributes the spread of the external Reformation's ideas to the following reasons. The Vaudois, prepared by their long struggle, largely accepted the more radical Reformation than their own, and before Morel called upon Ecolampadius, had by means of their Barbes, scattered wide their own seed, which was different only in degree from Luther's. Three other reasons Jalla gives are, the diffusion of the Reformers' writings, the passage of foreign troops, and the French occupation.

29. Jalla. pg., 5.

In spite of the fact that only the educated could profit by the diffusion of Reformation writings, those who could so profit were by no means lacking in translations upon which the ecclesiastical authorities could little more than scowl. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Duke, Charles III, interpreted "ordinary" as a civil judge when the brief of Julius II (dated May 8th, 1506) conceded that in Piemonte the "ordinary" should assist the judge appointed by the Inquisition. Especially when it is recalled how little Charles liked the Inquisition's judges, it is not difficult to see what an opportunity presented itself to escape ecclesiastical vigilance. And thus we find that the works and opinions of the Reformers were being received among the curious students of the University of Turin round about 1523. According to Benrath[30], an Augustinian, Girolamo Negri da Fossano, gave Celio Secondo Curione writings of Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli. This same monk, says Jalla[31], preached against Luther from the pulpit, and the forbidden fruit was too much for the resistance of student curiosity. Curione will come in for more detailed consideration later. Of importance at the moment is the fruit of the Reformers to which he, and several others, had access. This list of writings includes the "Propositiones de Indulgentiis", which Luther published in 1517, his "De captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium", and as Jalla adds, probably the great work of Huldreich Zwingli, "De vera et falsa Religione". Several works of Melancthon were available, especially the "Loci Communes".

30. Herzog-Hauck, "realencyklopädie", Art., on "Curione".

31. Jalla, pg., 13.

Too much may easily be attributed to the movements of troops and to their occupation of territory. Understanding even little of the soldiery of the sixteenth century one would hesitate to attribute to them considerable powers of evangelization. Like the Crusaders - or the majority of them - and their own contemporaries at the Sack of Rome, the missionary labours of the French soldiery in Piemonte were probably of doubtful extent. It is, however, at least possible that some influence would be exercised upon those who witnessed the religious innovations of a largely heretic soldiery. In the struggle of Habsburg and Valois, the spectacle of Rex Catholicissimus supported by the heretics whom German princes sent to his aid must have been strange, as must that of Rex Christianissimus with similar elements in his forces. The soldiers' accounts of the course of events, if neither too truthful nor too theological, in Germany for instance, would, in these Piemontese valleys at a time when interest in religious questions was widespread, attract some attention.

That the outlook was distinctly promising for the advance of the Reformation in Piemonte seems to have been the opinion of Luther himself, when, on September 7th, 1523, he wrote to Carlo III.[32] In the course of this letter, by way of introduction, he says that a French gentleman, Coctus, had informed him how favourable was the Savoyard prince to the Reformation. Luther, believing misrepresentation of his doctrines to be possible, outlines them for Carlo's benefit. He sets forth his doctrine of Justification by Faith, and his consequent criti-

32. De Wette, Luther's Briefe, Vol., II, pg., 400.

cism of the "abominable sacrilege on the part of the Pope and Bishops" in setting up the doctrine of meritorious works. It is not difficult to pass to strong words about the hierarchy, to say that"the world is terribly perverted by Popes,Councils, by precepts of the Fathers." These all stand in the way of the Word of God,by which alone Christians must be governed.

But Carlo was not the man to be moved by Luther's, or indeed by any other religious,appeal.

It is remarkably interesting that,like that of Luther, the first protest in Piemonte was that against indulgences. There was a strong protest against the indulgence preachers,reinforced by others against ecclesiastical abuses generally.In I522,Carlo wrote to the Bishop of Glandève that an effort at converting the Vaudois should be made,and the following year the Duke's suspicions of the infiltration of heresy were seen to be well founded. Lutheran opinions were being disseminated in the valley of Aosta,and that,moreover with some success.In this same year,I523,Berutti,Bishop of Aosta,himself moved.Luther's condemnation as a heretic decided the attityde to be taken towards those who professed his doctrines: excommunication and fine was to attend such persons.[33] And yet these opinions were becoming more widespread. Berutti died in I525,and as there was now a three years'vacancy before the next appointment,the opportunity afforded for the further infiltration of heresy was not lost. It was during this interim that Curione sought with two companions the teachers of the opinions they

33. Monsignor Duc. "Histoire de l'Église d'Aoste". Châtel St. Denis, I9II.

had welcomed from beyond the Alps. In Turin, readers of heret- 84
ical works included, according to Curione, monks, and especially, Augustinians.

In 1526, writes a Jesuit[35], a French army entered Piemonte under the Marchese di Saluzzo. In this army were about 10,000 Swiss, the majority of whom were heretics. This chronicler adds in his record of this event that these were "accompagnez de Prédicants qui prechêrent publiquement dans le Piémont et le Marquisant ne parlant que de réforme." Probably somewhat inaccurately the Jesuit adds that "Les Réformés, ne pouvant pénétrer dans l'Italie d'autre manière, jetèrent les yeux sur les Vallées."

Some letters of the previous year show the anxiety on the part of the authorities in Piemonte at the propagation of heresy. The Bishop of Atene wrote to the Duke on the matter. "Our Lord says that he has gathered that this Quadragesima in Savigliano many of the Propositions of the Lutheran sect were preached. He is dissatisfied and wonders why Your Excellency allows it. I have made the excuse that on account of the troubles in that country Your Excellency has not moved, but when he does, he will render justice." To this letter of April, Carlo replied two months later, deploring the fact that heresy was spreading.[36] In a brief of the 3rd. of September, Clement VII himself encouraged and exhorted the Duke as well as inform-

34. Jalla. pg., 23.

35. "Histoire véritable", Manuscript in the King's Library, Turin.

36. Jalla. pg., 24.

ing him of his own action in the affair. The Pope was pleased at Carlo's devotion to the Church and he called upon him to punish the refractory. Those renouncing heresy were to make a solemn abjuration immediately,and give pledges of the sincerity of their faith. In the attempt to suppress Lutheranism,the Bishops of Aosta,Ivrea,Mendovì,Geneva,and Lausanne,were nominated to cooperate with the ordinaries in the respective districts, and to spare not in their office of judges. To carry out the sentences imposed by them the secular arm was to be invoked.[37]

Meanwhile the preaching weapon was not neglected. Illirico,with the experience acquired in Germany behind him, preached in the course of I525 in Piemonte,thundering against eccleaiastical abuses and heresy. Also in the same year the Vaud congregation voted a statute against the partisans of Martin Luther.[38]

It was in I526 that the Vaudois,interested for some time in the new doctrines,convened their great and memorable synod at Vallone del Laux,at which I40 Barbes were present. A delegation was composed with a view to setting up relations with the Reformers. It is interesting to note that the movement attracted the attention of no less than Butzer,who,in his Latin translation of some of Luther's writings printed at Basel in this same year,dedicated his work to the Italian converts.

In I527,the zealous Illirico gained his reward by being appointed an Inquisitor General. With three others to

37. Brief in the State Archives of Turin.

38. Jalla. pg.,25.

aid in the work of preaching, residence was taken up near Avigliana. Papal approval of this site from which to carry on operations, as well as of the Duke's demonstration of loyalty to the cause of the Church, were soon forthcoming. Illirico was to operate "contra omnes Lutheranos ac eorum complices et fautores ac pauperes de Lugduno seu Vaudenses nuncupatos." A prelate selected by Carlo was to act with the Inquisitor General. An interesting illustration of the Pope's well founded belief that the religious Orders were susceptible to heretical opinions is forthcoming in this same brief.[39] Visitation of convents and the burning of heretical books were to be carried out. Both seem to a large extent to be one and the same duty implied by visitation. In the following year the Congregation of transalpine States and Valle d'Aosta proposed the rigid prohibition of all discourse in favour of Luther and against the Church.[40] Moreover, Lutheran writings must be burnt and sectaries punished.

The release of the Pope after the Sack helped to increase the enthusiasm of the loyal sons of the Church. The Synod convoked by the Duke at Chambéry in July, 1527, gave Gazzini, the recently appointed Archbishop of Aosta, a further opportunity of demonstrating his zeal besides lamenting the frustration of the Church's progress against heresy. Notwithstanding the execution not long afterwards of sixteen men on the charge of heresy, the spread of the ideas of the Reformers was not by any means checked.

39. B.Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani contro l'eresia luterana", pg.92.

40. Jalla. pg.,26-27.

At the close of I528,the papal Commisary on heresy, who was also the Duke's Procurator,Lanceo,wrote to Carlo about a Carmelite,Pallavicino,who was sowing seed other than that of the Church. Salvation by works instead of by faith,the intercession of Saints,and life not according to Christian precepts,were condemned by the Carmelite,who elevated the appeal to the Bible to the first rank. He said that he rejoiced to live in an age when the Reformers had reinstated the truth. His publication at Chieri of his heretical notions attracted the attention of Clement VII,who ordered his punishment.[41] Caught at Casale,he was made to reveal the names of other Reformation adherents. When free again he appears to have forfeited his liberty once more,[42] and it is possible that he suffered death in more severe times for his many offences against the Church. Such is the suggestion of Bertolotti.

The report of Perrot,a Parisian who went in I528 to study law at Turin and had been under Farel,seems to indicate a diminution in the ardour for the Reformation among the people of Turin. Perrot saw one ray of hope in the presence of a small number of the faithful who persist in the steps of the Reformers.[43] And yet the anxiety of the ecclesiastical authorities did not abate.

Towards the end of I529,Gazzino was called upon to examine the list of suspects furnished by Pallavicini. More-

41. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani", pgI04.

42. Bertolotti."Martiri del Libero Pensiero", pg.,I4. Roma,I892.

43. Herminjard."Correspondance des Réformateurs", Vol.II,pg.,I64.

over,the political situation and the resistance of the civil power to ecclesiastical encroachment were not in the best interests of the Church. Indeed,in February,I530,Perrot reported the exhibition of interest in the German Reformation on the part of Carlo himself:were Luther's high expectations of him entertained in his letter of I523 to be fulfilled? Perrot,quite correctly,thought not. Carlo inclined to the Reformation solely"on account of his immoderate love of money."[44] The change in the political situation once more dictated an anti-Reformation policy,and incidentally led the Duke into dealings which cost him some excellent territory and a heavy fine.

In this same year,the Vaudois Church in its Mérindol Synod reaffirmed the agreement of I526 with the Reformers. In the inquiry on points of doctrine it was made clear where the Vaudois differed from the more radical Reformation Churches. The delegates of I530 were sent,partly on account of community of language,to Switzerland and Alsace,instead of,as in I526,to Germany. The very open profession of the Reformation on the part of the Churches in those Countries probably prompted in these latter in their negotiations with the Vaudois the desire to see a more open profession in Italy of the new opinions. At any rate,when the Barbes met at Basel in the October,satisfactory replies had been given to their questions by Ecolampadius, and the Vaudois had been asked to recognise their duty in coming out of their accustomed shadows into the full light of day. The importance of these negotiations was so great that it was decided to convoke the greatest Synod possible,an event to take

44. Herminjard. Vol.II, pg.,238.

place when those at that time absent in the Vaudois colony in Calabria and Apulia should have returned.[45] Before this great Synod met, the Duke had again moved in the direction of repression. The impunity with which Mainardo and, of course, Pallavicino, had preached in favour of the new opinions inspired others to follow suit, and very soon, quite a body of monks were spreading the same opinions. The Duke, in April, 1532, prohibited preaching on the Pauline Epistles (even when quite favourable to the Church), religious disputation in public, and both the sale and reading of prohibited books.[46]

In the course of September, the great Vaudois Synod of Cianforan met, Farel and Saulnier having been invited from Switzerland to attend. The ideas expressed in Ecolampadius' letter, as well as those expressed by the two Swiss leaders at the Synod, were carefully examined. The momentous decision to adhere completely to the doctrines of the new Reformation was arrived at and carried by a large majority.[47] Probably even greater was the decision to issue a new version of the Bible in French. This new translation, known as "Olivetan's Bible", was issued from the Neuchâtel press in 1535, and was for over three hundred years the foundation of further French Protestant translations. Saulnier, as well as other French and Swiss Reformers, traversed the valleys of Piemonte after the Synod, and besides encouraging those already adherents of the new opinions, probably helped to

45. Jalla. pg., 32.

46. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 446.

47. Jalla. pg., 33.

confirm many who were wavering. In November,I532,Saulnier wrote to Farel,outlining various conversions,one of a monk named Bernardino,and of cases which showed the greatest desire on the part of several to be instructed by him.[48]

These activities could not fail to attract the Pope's attention. "Lutherana et Valdensium haeresis"was rising to such a pitch that every day more of the faithful were becoming infected with the pestilence. Evidently the Carmelites,and even the Dominicans,had produced so many suspects that the Pope suspended privileges accorded to them by his predecessors.[49] Yet, in September,I535,the orthodoxy of Mainardo,who had been accused of heresy in the time of Clement,was recognised by a brief after his examination by Badia.[50] This seems to indicate that in spite of the strict surveillance exercised there was a distinct possibility of evading the consequences of preaching heresy. It is one of the many anomalies of the period.

Largely on account of the action of Bersour of Pinerolo,a loyal son of the Church,a means of trapping the Vaudois was devised. One thing he recognised was the need of checking the missionaries from without. Saulnier himself fell into his hands,but the capture of the Bernese naturally led to complications with Bern.[5I] If these actions moved the Swiss to claim more lenient treatment for their subjects in Piemonte,moreso

48. Jalla. pg.,34.

49. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani", pg.,I34.

50. Vd.,Tiraboschi."Storia della Letteratura Italiana",Vol.VII, pp.,85-94.

5I. Jalla. pg.,38.

did,the threat of invasion from France force upon Carlo the necessity of coming to better terms with those of his subjects outside the Church.

It is of the most famous Frenchman of the period that we have heard somewhat conflicting statements. The great authority on Calvin says that it is an old tradition that the French Reformer visited Aosta.[52] On his way back from Ferrara,he reached Aosta in February. He counted,the tradition ran,on partisans in the Assembly of the States,but orders for his arrest having been given,he narrowly escaped about a month later. The Croix de Ville in the Piazza records his flight from Aosta. The whole thing has,however,turned out to be mythical,on examination of the dates and the circumstances of Calvin and Aosta in that period.

The French occupation was heralded by the investiture of Turin by 6000 German soldiers,the greater part of which force was Lutheran,in the pay of France. It was in I537 that the formal annexation of Piemonte to the French crown was announced,and throughout our period was maintained. Everywhere misery prevailed in the land. Brigandage was rampant,just as it came to be in Milan under the Spanish domination,the picture of which was painted by Manzoni in his immortal"I promessi Sposi". The action of the French government was soon taken against the Lutherans. A Parlement,instituted(under the presidency of René de Birague from I543 toI562) in I538, decided that cases of heresy were to be under its and the

52. Doumergue. "Calvin", Vol.II,pp.85-94.

Inquisition's jurisdiction. There was certainly need for decision, as the commander of the German troops had appointed Farel's own brother Governor of the Valleys. This helped to bring over the inhabitants of the district of Angrogna openly to the side of the Reformation. In the October of I537 the Governor went to Geneva. 92

It is interesting to note that in the following year Calvin compiled a Vaudois confession of faith. It was in this same year that the Turin Parlement was instituted, but it was not until I539 that it began operations in earnest. In I540 preaching began in Acceglio, and thenceforward extended to the other places in the Valleys hitherto little or not approached. The action of the Parlement was reinforced in the course of I540 by a royal edict which called upon the maximum of energy on the part of the judges against heretics. The subsequent persecution was apparently severe.[54] A second royal edict was promulgated in this same year. But the civil authorities did not always exercise the rigour demanded of them. Especially was this the case with du Bellay, Governor of Turin, who, unfortunately for the cause of the Reformation, died in I543. Other Governors like Furstemberg did their best for the interests of the Reformation in their respective provinces.[55]

In June, I54I, Alfonso d'Avalos d'Aquino wrote to the Pope to give information of heretical preaching during Lent - a very happy season for heretical preachers in Italy generally.

53. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 447.

54. vd., e.g. Herminjard, Vol.VI, letter of October, 3Ist., I540.

55. Rodocanachi. Vol.II pg., 447.

It was necessry,however,to wait for six years for action on a big scale,that is,until the accession of Henri II to the French throne. Then,as soon as he had mounted the throne,he established beside each Parlement a "Chambre ardente" against the heretics. Francis I had,in 1525,promulgated a decree on this matter,but for some reason or other it appears to have had no sessions under the late king. The Chambre ardente met with some resistance for various reasons. One was the presence at Turin and in Piemonte of armies.[56] Preachers were to be seen,and colporteurs wandered about disposing of their wares from Germany and Geneva. Turin alone held out against the preachers from the Valleys and elsewhere ,who "died with envy" to establish themselves solidly there. But a great number of foreigners, who passed already for natives,infected the others,who grew accustomed to and understood the manner of performing like the King's officials. The spirit of disputation became popular. Those who should repress were absent of incapable or not virtuous. The city had recourse to François Bacod,nuncio to the Duke,then to the Pope,without obtaining aught but nice promises. It had sent to the Court of France a gentleman who brought back an order from the King,in virtue of which some ministers were,according to one report,chased out of Turin. But they did not go far. The Catholics believed the evil to be irremediable,and scarcely dared complain in public. So writes the chronicler. Buschetto,a correspondent of Calvin at Chieri,conveys the impression that there was no need to

56. The "Histoire véritable",quoted by Jalla,pg.,62.

hide the discussion of religious questions in that city[57]" - while nobody prevents me from teaching the truth, there is nobody who constrains me to believe in those falsehoods and participate in the superstitious prastices of the Church. Nay, I can, if I have in me some useful conscience, acquired by the grace of God, from you, expound it publicly, without having to be compliant with their idolatry at all, compelling myself to take the idols from their hearts, if I cannot take them from before their eyes. And that appears to me to be no little thing, in a country where liberty is not enjoyed." The letters in which this passage appears were written in I548 and I549.

Henri's success would therefore seem to be exceedingly small when he revived in I549 his father's ordinances against the heretics. This ordinance of December was supplemented in the same month by an edict forbidding books not approved by the Sorbonne. Aided by Giacomelli, the Inquisitor, the Parlement of Turin initiated a series of prosecutions. These had not gone far when the Vaudois objected on the score of the antiquity of their faith, and the assent of the King's own forefathers to the profession of that faith. Henri insisted upon the necessity of conforming with the Church's laws. He also added that "it (the Parlement) should not have Lutherans burnt throughout the kingdom of France, in order to have a reserve for that purpose in the Alps."[58]

In June, I550, the Parlement was informed of proceedings

57. "Calvini Opera." Vol.XIII, Letters on pp., III, and 378.

58. Perrin. "Histoire des Vaudois", pg., I62. (Geneva, I6I8).

which had been taken against a woman in the valley of Luserna. She had persisted in avowing heresy in the interrogations, and had preached in the valleys of S.Martino and Perosa where heretics were numerous. Further proceedings against those suspected of heresy were undertaken[59] in the course of the year.

On the 27th., of the month in which the woman of Luserna was proceeded against the king issued a new edict. The tolerant Governor, Caracciolo, had no alternative but to acquiesce in its promulgation, and he eventually had to make way for another in his office. This new edict concerned itself with the same subject as that of 1549. By it the introduction into Piemonte, and the possession of, books not approved by the Sorbonne, translations and commentaries on the Bible published later than 1510, and of works of the Fathers of the Church which were annotated, were prohibited.[60]

Notwithstanding these repressive measures heresy continued to make headway.

Celio Secondo Curione.

The most eminent Piemontese to join the Reformation party was Curione, the youngest of a family of twenty three children. Born in 1503, he received a very careful upbringing. Early an orphan, he was sent to pursue his studies at Turin when but nine years of age, and he subsequently studied ancient tongues as well as law at Milan. His father had given him a Bible, and

59. Jalla. pp., 65-66.

60. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 449. Jalla. pg., 67.

the initiation into religious literature he thus received prepared him for the study of Luther's "De Indulgentiis" of I5I7, and his "De Captivitate Babylonica" of I520. Also Zwingli's work on true and false religion, coming from the pen of one who was both humanist and theologian, was spread abroad, and was not without some effect on Curione.[6I] He sought the lead of the Humanist, Erasmus; as one would expect of a man of his education and taste at that time. His interest became so great that he set out for Germany with two companions, both of whom eventually became 'evangelical' pastors in Switzerland.[62] The Bishop of Ivrea, Ferrerio, having gained some knowledge of their plan, had them arrested. Curione was placed in the fortress of Capranno for two months, and then in a convent, where it was probably hoped to divert him from the path which was leading him outside the bosom of the Church. If that was the hope of the Bishop, then it did not materialise. Curione had now to come to a decision, and it is not improbable that the deplorable conditions obtaining in the convent led him to decide against remaining in the Roman Church. A certain Saliero told the monks that Curione had given him a copy of a writing of Melancthon, but it was Curione's joke at the expense of the monks when he substituted a Bible for some relics in a reliquary which made his flight imperative. In I530, he became a Professor at Milan. His success there in the exercise of his duties was fairly considerable, but he was unfortunate in being surrounded by an atmos-

6I. Rodocanachi. Vol.I, pg.,3I2.

62. Herzog-Hauck. "Realencyklopädie" Art., "Curione", by Benrath.

phere of suspicion. While there he married into a noble family, and to reach greater security betook himself to Casale in Piemonte, where he lived for the greater part of his life, and became intimate with Fulvio Morata(Pellegrini) the father of the illustrious woman, Olimpia Morata. One day he chanced to hear a Dominican preach at Turin against Luther, charging the Reformer with doctrines which were a caricature of what the German held. Curione had with him Luther's commentary on "Galatians", and roused by the Friar's invective, ventured to argue with him. Hence, in the closing months of 1530, he was again in prison by order of the Inquisition. Again he escaped the toils, and writing of this incident he said, "For this event I made no vow to visit Compostella or Jerusalem, for there are idolatrous practices there; nor to protect my chastity, which God alone can: I consecrated myself entirely to Jesus, our liberator."[63] In spite of these escapades, he came to be a teacher of Grammar and Rhetoric at Pavia for three years. He engaged in fruitful literary work, and with Mainardo, who was later a Protestant pastor in Poschiavo, had deep discussions "De Amplitudine Regni Dei". Nor was he less energetic in practice than in theory, for besides discussing with Mainardo, he gained such a reputation for propagating heresy as to cause ecclesiastical authority to insist upon his departure from the place. In 1538, after the birth of one of his sons, he went to Venice, where he found an environment congenial as could be for him. In this "Hafen der Ruhe"[64] he enjoyed

63. Rodocanachi. Vol. I, pg., 313.

64. Benrath on Curione. "Realencyklopädie".

the company of like minds - Lupetino, and Ochino. There he wrote his "Araneus" on the Christian view of Nature. Eventually he came to Ferrara, and passed thence to occupy a Chair at Lucca where Vermigli was working. Things at Lucca became serious, and in a letter to Pellegrini in 1542, Curione told him that he was not safe there, and soon afterwards he fled beyond the Alps, visiting Zurich and Bern. After other adventures, in the course of which he got his family in safety to Lausanne, he was able to stay for four years in that city on friendly terms with Viret and Calvin. Whilst there he published some of his works produced during his stay at Venice, the most famous being the "Pasquillus Ecstaticus"[65], a satire on Papal pretensions which acquired a reputation in Italy, and appeared also in French and German translations. From 1547, he taught at Basel, and whilst teaching there, corresponded with Borrhaus, Amerbach, and Castellio. His catholicity of taste is shown in his interest in types as different as those of Lelio Sozzini, Pierpaolo Vergerio, and Juan Valdés, and it was even rumoured that he was connected not only with Antitrinitarianism but also with Anabaptism. And indeed, round about 1550, Curione became a rather interesting figure. His divergence on the subject of predestination from the view of his fellow-Protestants was seen in his publication in 1554 of the "De Amplitudine Regni Dei dialogi". As we have already seen, this question he had discussed seriously with Mainardo some years before its publication. His optimistic view stood out in his affirmations that God's kingdom is greater than that of the damned, and that the heathen,

though without that direct knowledge of God imparted by Christ, could nevertheless be blessed. The effect on the Reformers can well be imagined,[66] but his return from this latitudinarianism to a more zealous orthodoxy about I559 was followed by an increase of friends. He was sought by Melancthon,and was reconciled with Vergerio. Moreover,it was even said that he was the recipient of offers from crowned heads. But in Basel he had found a refuge from which he did not seek to depart,and in that comparatively safe haven of libertarianism he resisted the violence of Calvin in that Reformer's action towards Servede. He died in Basel in I569,after having received the highest honours from the city of his adoption.

65. In the Library of Ediburgh University,where there is a number of Curione's works,is a French copy of the "Pasquillus" of I547,and an English translation of I584. This latter,edited by Gibson in I6I4,has a quaint preface. "Pasquine in a traunce. A Christian and learned dialogue (containing wonderfulll(sic)and most straunge news,out of Heaven,Purgatorie,and Hell).Wherein besides Christian truth plainely set forth,ye shall also find a number of pleasant hystories,discovering all the empty conveyances of Antichrist. Whereunto are addedcertaine questions put forth by Pasquine,to have bene disputed in the Councill of Trent. Turned but lately out of Italian into this tongue by W. P(age)." London, I584.

66. For Curione's defence against the Reformers' charges,see, Schelhorn "Amoenitates",XII.

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Chapter VII.

In a previous chapter reference was made to the history of Milan in the centuries before the Reformation. The tradition of St.Ambrose,its late submission to the Pope,the power and importance of its Archbishops,and the existence in the city and province of a number of heretics for centuries,all facilitated the access of heretical opinions. And especially did the geographical position of the country facilitate the infiltration of such ideas from beyond the Alps. In 1521,a poem was composed in the city in praise of Luther.[1] It ended thus; -

"Macte igitur virtute,pater celebrande Luthere,
Communis cujus pendet ab ore salus:
Gratia cui ablatis debetur maxima monstris,
Acidae potuit quae metuisse manus."

The wars between Francis and Charles,and the consequent diversion of attention from ecclesiastical and religious matters,besides the incentive provided by the presence of numerous heretics in the armies gave,in our period,a great opportunity for the spread of heretical doctrines. Converts,says an old authority,[2] were to be found in Milan in 1524. In the following year an Augustinian monk on Lake Como wrote to Zwingli in the following terms.[3] "It is now fourteen years since I,under the im-

1. Schelhorn. "Amoenitates",Vol.,II,pg.,624.
2. Gerdes. "Historia Reformationis", Tom.,IV,pg.,30.
3. Hottinger. "Historia Ecclesiastica,Sec.,XVI.",Tom.,II,pg.,611.

pulse of a certain pious feeling,but not according to knowledge,withdrew from my parents and assumed the black cowl. If I did not become learned and devout,at least I appeared to be so,and so for seven years discharged the office of God's word, alas! in deep ignorance. I savoured not the things of Christ; I ascribed nothing to faith,all to works. But God would not permit His servant to perish for ever. He brought me to the dust. I cried,Lord,what wilt Thou have me to do? At length my heart heard the delightful voice,'Go to Huldreich Zwingli,and he will tell thee what thou shouldst do." O,ravishing sound ! my soul found ineffable peace in that sound. Do not think that I mock you;for you,nay not you,but God by your means,rescued me from the snare of the fowler. But why do I say me? For I trust you have saved others along with me." Others who were even more uncomprising towards the Romanists than the Swiss Reformer were prepared to join him. The district round Como and the Lake was a real nest of heresy,as Ghislieri,later Pope Pius V,when he became Inquisitor there in 1549,discovered almost at once. Refugees passed in easily from the regions beyond the Alps probably from the beginning of the period with which we are concerned. These refugees had set up little heretic congregations on the side of the lake and,very naturally, aimed not only at keeping in touch with their correligionaries in the Milanese but also at proselytizing in that same region.[4]

We have another letter of the following year,1526, of a Carmelite,Baldassare Fontana. He was a Locarnese. Writing

4. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,276.

to the evangelical Churches of Switzerland from Como,he
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says ,"Hail,ye faithful in Christ. Think,oh,think of Lazarus in the gospels,and of the lowly woman of Canaan,who was willing to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the table of the Lord. As David came to the priest in a servile dress and unarmed,so do I fly to you for the shew-bread,and the armour laid up in the Sanctuary. Parched with thirst I betake myself to the fountains of living water:sitting like a blind man by the wayside,I cry unto him that gives sight. With tears and sighs we who sit here in darkness humbly beseech you who are acquaintwith the titles and authors of the books of knowledge (for to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God) to send us the writings of such eminent teachers as you possess,and particularly the works of the divine Zwingli,the acute Melancthon,the accurate Ecolampadius. The prices will be paid to you through his excellency,Werdmyller. Do you endeavour that a city of Lombardy,enslaved by Babylon,and a stranger to the gospel of Christ,may be set free."

In Crema,preachers of heresy were,by I524,increasing
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daily. The Bishop of Bergamo,Lippomano,was busy from I527 checking the smuggling of Lutheran writings from Switzerland and
7
Germany into his own diocese. This smuggling was evidently carried on to a remarkable extent,and began very early in the Milanese,as may be inferred from the following letter which was written by Froben to Luther from Basel in February,I5I9.It ran;

5. Hottinger. Tom.,VI,par ii, pp.,6I8,620.
6. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,I2.
7. Pastor, Vol.X, pg.,308. Vd.,also,Uccelli,"L'Eresia in Bergamo".

"Blasius Salmonius,a bookseller of Leipzig,presented me at the last Frankfurt fair with several treatises composed by you,which,being approved by all learned men, I immediately put into the press,and sent six hundred copies to France and Spain. They are read at Paris and even approved of by the Sorbonnists,as my friends have assured me. Several learned men there have said,that they,for a long time,have wished to see such freedom in those who treat of divine things. Calvus also, a bookseller of Pavia,a learned man,and addicted to the muses, has borne a great part of the edition into Italy. He promises to send epigrams in praise of you by all the learned in Italy; such favour have you gained to yourself and the cause of Christ, by your courtesy,courage,and ability." The Francesco Calvi mentioned in this letter was quite a distinguished scholar,[9] as were several other Italian booksellers of the day.

This trade in foreign books,to which further attention must be devoted when Venice is considered,occupied not only a diocesan like Lippomano,but also the Pope himself. In the following year,1528,Clement VII issued from Viterbo a circular letter on this subject to the Italian bishops.[10] He called upon them to suppress the heresy now penetrating the fold,over which,as good pastors of Christ's flock,they must carefully watch. Those who had been affected and were penitent were to have gracious treatment accorded to them,but those who were obstinate would recieve severe punishment,and the aid of the

8. Given in M'Crie."History of the Reformation in Italy",pp.,31-32.

9. Tiraboschi,"Storia della Letteratura italiana",Vol.VII,pg.,365.

10. Fontana."Documenti Vaticani",pg.,103.

secular arm might be invoked. Clement later deplored the state of affairs in Italy generally.[II] "From the report made to us we have learned that in different parts of Italy the pestiferous heresy of Luther prevails to a high degree not only among lay persons,but also among ecclesiastics and the regular clergy,both mendicant and non-mendicant;so that some by their discourses and converaation,and worse still ,by their preaching in public,infect numbers with this harangue, and scandalize gravely faithful Christians living under the obedience of the Catholic Church and observing its laws. All this to the increase of heresies,the stumbling of the weak,and the no small injury of the Catholic Church." That the Milanese was involved cannot be doubted,for it had as early as I52I a preacher of heretical doctrines,and he was most probably not alone.

The Holy See was by no means inactive,and Clement's complaints were reinforced by action. Knowing of the inroads which heresy was making in the Milanese,the Church took action in I535. A priest,along with several laymen were arrested on suspicion of heresy,and torture seems to have been resorted to,for one died in consequence of the injuries he had recieved not many days afterwards. The others went through the formality of making a public abjuration in the Cathedral. Two persons,one of whom was a priest,also had to undergo a public penance,appearing regularly at the door of the Cathedral from September until Christmas,clothed in the ugly garb of a penitent.[I2]

II. Raynaldi Annales,ad.ann.,I530.

I2. Burigozzo."Cronaca di Milano",pg.,537.

Three years later, in I538, an edict appeared which imposed upon the Milanesi the duty of surrendering within three days the forbidden books which they possessed: the Senate were to decide upon the penalties to be inflicted upon those who did not or would not comply with the edict.[I3] In I542, further repression was applied. In earlier times, one and the same Inquisitor undertook the surveillance of all the country between Bologna and the Alps. The Inquisitor's judges had been dependent upon the Holy Office, but in I542 they became its representatives. Hitherto, before entering upon their functions, it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the Podestà and the Governor. The institution of proceedings could thus be undertaken only with state authorization. Needless to say, the disputes between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were, in consequence, both numerous and bitter, and came to a head in I550. Julius III then excommunicated the city for violating the immunity of the clergy by compelling them to participate in public matters. Fearing that an interdict was imminent, the city sent Pecchio, a jurisconsult, to Rome to arrange the affair. The Bull pronouncing absolution of the city was received towards the close of I550.[I4]

These actions of repression and the increased desire for greater freedom of movement on the part of the Church show how greatly heresy had spread in the Milanese. When we remember the ease with which Curione entered upon his duties in Milan, our belief in the widespread nature of heresy is reinforced.

I3. Fumi. "L'Inquisizione romana e lo Stato di Milano", Archivio Storico Lombardo, an., XXVII, pg., 34I, Milano, I9I0.

I4. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 339.

One of the best illustrations of the extent of heresy is that furnished by certain activities of Melchiorre Crevelli, Inquisitor at Milan, in I547. He accomplished his duties very successfully, and gained the appreciation of the Senate in his attack on heresy in the city. In a short space of time he declared heretical more than a hundred works. Among those written in the Milanese was one by a Genoese Franciscan, Cornelio, to whose monastery the Inquisitor wrote with a view to having the offender sent to him. The subsequent altercation between Crivelli and the prior of the monastery, who had refused to comply with the order, was not by any means exceptional: disputes between monastic and ecclesiastical authorities, Pope, bishops, or their representatives, have a long history in Italy.[I5] The prior was threatened with a fine of 500 ducats if he continued his opposition, and then Crivelli threatened to take the accused by force. Fortunately for both parties a way out was found by the offender himself, who submitted to the Inquisitor.[I6]

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The Lutheran Reformation reached Mantua somewhat later than most other places in Italy. In July, I530, the envoy of the Duke wrote, "A reformation is certainly necessary in view of the great corruption. God grant that it may not be brought about by the Turks instead of by a general Council." He might also have feared the possibility of a reformation by those who

I5. Cf., the history of the great Benedictine monastery, Monte Cassino. Vd., Pastor, Vol.VI, pg., 32I ff..

I6. Fumi. pg., I88.

were often bracketed with the Turks by one part of Western Christendom,as were the Catholics with the Sultan's subjects by the other part.

The freedom of discussion enjoyed by other Italians was enjoyed by the Mantovani also,and towards I54I,discussion became very free in Mantua. The subjects of Papal power,intercession of saints,fasting,and confession,became very topical, as did also the freedom of the will and predestination -terms as widely spread as they were suspiciously viewed by the Roman Church. Ercole,Cardinal Gonzaga,who was acting as regent during the minority of Francesco in the Duchy,was not blind to the way in which matters were developing. He issued orders in March,I54I,to the Podestà of Viadana to execute the ordinances dealing with persons who publicly or privately expressed agreement with the new doctrines. In dealing with the offenders no exception was to be made on account of age or sex. A male offender who had commited his first offence in private was to receive two lashes and a fine of six ducats;a further lash and four ducats in addition were to be added if the offence were commited in public. Female and juvenile offenders were to be whipped,and for a third offence women could have the tongue cut out. For a male,a second offence met with a double punishment,and a third,with either death or cutting out of the tongue.[I7]

In spite of all this,however,heresy was to be found in city and rural districts. The villages,even the smallest,were not immune,and proof of the freedom with which

I7. Rodocanachi. Vol.,II,pg.,32I,ff..

they discussed prohibited subjects is forthcoming in the attacks made upon them by the ecclesiastical authorities.[I8]

In I545,a recommendation reached Gonzaga,sent to him doubtless by reason of the interest manifested on a large scale by laymen of all classes. Prosecution was advised of "those laymen who,ignorant of literature and theology,devoid of culture and concerned with the work of artisans...dabbling in controversies on the things of religion,by this means putting their salvation and that of others in peril."[I9] And so,not only were there several interested in theological matters,but also there were several interested in initiating others into the same paths,and playing the part of Protestant missionaries.

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Giulia Gonzaga.

The family to which Cardinal Gonzaga belonged was one of the most illustrious in Italy,although the province over which they ruled was comparatively small. In the Renaissance period,as we have already seen,it had been the patron of the famous Vittorino da Feltre,and the reputation it had acquired was certainly not lost in the sixteenth century . The Roman Court found it not always eager to fall into line with its requirements - an obstinacy which was by no means peculiar to the Gonzagas,despite the fact that Ercole seems to have been very energetic in serving the Church in its war

I8. Fumi. pg.,358.

I9. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani",pg.,397.

on heresy.[20] And the family had given to the Church five Cardinals during its rule in Mantua. It had also provided viceroys and generalissimos, and when one looks at the records of some of these and of at least one Duke, one is scarcely surprised at the lack of understanding at times between the Gonzagas and Rome. Ferrante was one of the generals who figured in the "Sack", and Guglielmo is mentioned by Laderchius in his "Annales", as having refused to comply with Rome's demand that he should surrender those accused of heresy who had been cited to Rome on that charge. Easily the worst of the family was one who became deeply tainted with heresy - Giulia Gonzaga.[21]

Her master was the famous Juan Valdés. Giulia was held to be one of the most beautiful women of her time, and was certainly in the foremost rank intellectually.[22] One chronicler places her in the category of those "illustrious women suspected of heretical pravity".[23] It is probable that, as in several similar cases, a tragedy which befell her in the shape of the death of her husband, Vespasiano Colonna, in I528, had the profoundest effect on her religious thought. It was an experience undergone by both Vittoria Colonna and Caterina Cibo, with very similar consequences to those of Giulia. She had at the time been married only two years. As contemplation and mysticism are produced by disillusionment and a distaste for the things of this

20. "The Catholic Encyclopedia", Art., "Gonzaga".

2I. Paladino, "Giulia Gonzaga", Napoli, I909, Benrath, "Giulia Gonzaga", Halle, I900: Rodocanachi, Vol.I, pp., 3I5-322. M'Crie, pg I62.

22. Tiraboschi. Tom., VII, pg., II95.

23. Thuani Historia, lib., XXXIX, cap., 2.

world,all these three ladies were naturally attracted towards the quasi-mysticism of their teacher,Valdés. Giulia turned out to be his most apt pupil,and alone of these three eminent ladies went further than he;she probably left the Church completely. Before going to Naples,where she took up her abode,she had known the Spaniard at Fondi,and her introduction to the Valdesian circle was not long delayed. There she met Flaminio,Carnesecchi,and Ochino.

The experiences of the mystic were Giulia's. In her was the conflict between the things of the world,and on the other hand,the soaring of the spirit out of and beyond it. When she accompanied Valdés on one occasion to hear the celebrated Cappucino,Bernardino Ochino,preach,the friar held forth on the subject of eternal life. This question was one which moved her strongly,and left her as clay in the hands of the potter,Valdés. He showed her how the preacher's words had come to find an echo in her heart,shaken as it was by doubts and anxieties. She had been rendered by Ochino's eloquence profoundly afraid of everlasting damnation and equally desirous of reaching eternal bliss. To be able to attain this latter was all-important, and her instructor went on to illustrate [redacted] by what way she must proceed. To attain the knowledge of God she must make use of the three-fold way;the Old Testament,the inner Light, and Christ. That this must occupy her every attention is shown by the very careful instructions he gives her. "Every day it is necessary that you should employ every moment in meditating upon the world,yourself,God,and Jesus Christ,without confining

yourself to superstitious practices. Before your eyes keep constantly two images, Christian perfection and your own imperfection." On this subject Valdés produced a book, to which hereafter more full attention must be given. This was his "Abecedario Cristiano", which appeared in 1536. During this period, 1535-1537, as is shown by extant letters, the Spaniard and Giulia Gonzaga kept up correspondence.

Giulia continued her search for peace and eternal things the more the object of her search eluded her. The Gospel according to St. John, and the Epistle to the Colossians she frequently resorted to in the course of her quest. The remark on "superstitious practices" seems to suggest that Valdés advised his pupil to neglect to conform with the Church's worship, or with the external forms. Valdés' advice is, however, not that of an adherent of the Reformation, but that of the mystic. It is unfair to him to imply that he was seeking to evade the possibility of the Church's taking action against him by attacking only indirectly her outward forms of worship. What he, and several others in the Church, sought, was greater sincerity. And so he advised Giulia to attend Mass so long as it was not detrimental to her works of love: she must not be attracted more than was absolutely necessary towards the world of sense which she sought to flee. A real Erasmian touch appears in his recommendation that she should attend the sermons in which Christ was preached, and not a series of scholastic and theological subtleties, and various fables.[24]

24. Vd. "The Child's Piety", Erasmus' "Colloquies", (Bailey's translation), Vol., I, pg., 96. Here preachers are discussed.

In order better to separate herself from worldly things, Giulia sought and obtained the permission of Paul III to betake herself with her servants to the Convent of S. Francesco where she could reside and yet be exempt from compliance with the Rule. Here her tendencies became gradually more defined, and her external conformity with the Church became weaker. In 1540, Valdés died. His influence had been ever on the increase, and his teaching never lost its impression upon her. But his death certainly helped her to break the more easily her connection with the Church with which he himself had never broken and to the observance of whose ordinances he had never advised Giulia not to conform. She became after the Spaniard's death the head of the Protestant movement in Naples, and her correspondence became more and more tainted with heresy. Those who were the supporters of the Reformation dedicated their writings to her. And yet she took a great interest in the Catholic reform of the Church, following with the greatest interest the discussions of the Council of Trent, and encouraging certain Bishops, whom the Italy of that day was fortunate in possessing, in their individual efforts at reform in their respective dioceses.

She incurred further suspicion by keeping herself well informed of the movements of those who, her friends, were either in flight, in prison, or in exile, by reason of their heretical opinions. Carnesecchi maintained a secret correspondence with her, sending her letters three times a week.

In 1547, an attempt to establish the Inquisition at Naples was the signal for a popular uproar. Giulia, however, had

now to seek refuge from the danger with which she was menaced. She withdrew to the place where Vittoria Colonna had recently died. After the suppression of the rising, the Inquisition began its activities, and in April, 1550, the first denunciation was made against her. It is exceedingly unfortunate that in addition to the attack made on her religious inclinations the besmirching of her character was also attempted. Giulia was rumoured to have been on other terms with Valdés which were not of a spiritual nature at all. This is all pure scandal, for knowing this illustrious woman and the Spaniard as we do, and especially that these accusations were quite unfounded, she cannot well be condemned on that ground, even if Alicarnasseo, her biographer - and be it noted - a monk, accepts such accusations as true. As a Gonzaga, she was carefully dealt with by the Inquisition, which proceeded to hedge her about. It appears from a letter which she wrote to Ferrante Gonzaga in the April of 1553, that gentle means of persuasion by agents were tried in the attempt to bring her within the fold of the Church. The activities of the Holy Office were directed also against the other members of the famous Valdesian circle. Pérez, Giulia's maggiordomo, was arrested as well as another two valets of her household. The two latter just escaped the dread engine by flight, and the net was prepared for Giulia when death removed the victim out of its reach in 1566.

It was only after her death that her real position could be ascertained, so great were the secrecy and care which it had been always Giulia's custom to observe. In view of what was revealed in going through her papers after her death it

need hardly be said that she was obviously deeply incriminated in the eyes of the Church. Soon after his election, the bloodthirsty fanatic, Pius V, instructed the viceroy of Naples to put under sequestration the convent of S. Francesco wherein Giulia had lived for so long and died. The Pope himself characteristically declared, after becoming acquainted with the contents of her correspondence, that had all this been revealed during her lifetime she would have suffered death at the stake. Two of her intimate friends suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. Carnesecchi paid the supreme penalty, and the other, a prominent ecclesiastic, Cardinal Morone, was for a time imprisoned.

It is people like this famous member of the Gonzagas who make it possible to say with deLeva,[25] "The religious movement of Italy in the sixteenth century.....honours us no less than that of letters and arts."

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25. Archivio Veneto. Tomo, X, Parte, ii, 1875.

Chapter VIII.

These two Italian states were,in the period with which we are concerned,under the rule of the House of Este which was rendered famous by the brilliant work dedicated to it by the celebrated Lodovico Ariosto. Modena had produced some famous men, four of its citizens enjoying the rank of Cardinal.

Luther had correspondents in the state at a quite early date.[26] In I530,Clement issued a decree to Butigella,the Inquisitor[27] of Modena and Ferrara. Lutheran heresy was infecting clergy and laity,said Clement in this decree,which was of a general character. Discourses and even sermons preached in the Churches were leading many adrift. The Arian heresy was the first spark, which,not having been extinguished,had become a conflagration.

Three years later,Pallavicino,who had caused considerable disturbance at Venice,as Clement himself had just written to Aleandro,[28] was in Modena. This troublesome monk announced that the patron-saint of the city,S.Geminiano,as well as our Lord,were leagued with him. Christ had told him that punishment was about to be inflicted upon the citizens,"faithless and false as they were.For,had they not refrained from executing the promises they had made?"[29]

26. Gerdesius."Italia Riformata",pg.,6I.

27. Pastor,Vol.,X,pg.,308. Fontana."Documenti Vaticani",pg.,I03.

28. Fontana,ibid.,pg.,I38.

29. Tacchi-Venturi. "Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia" pg.,245.

Evidence of the widespread nature of heresy in Modena is forthcoming from various sources. Both Tiraboschi and Caracciolo have something to tell us. The latter says, speaking of the year 1539,[30] "There was scarcely a city in Italy that was not affected by heresy; learned men were more disposed than others to become heretics. False doctrine everywhere abounded, and it was a most deplorable thing to see the monks, who were bound to be zealous professors of the Catholic faith, the most deeply infected, and doing the greatest mischief to Christendom both by their irregular and scandalous lives, and by their wicked and impious doctrine." And then, specifying distinctly the state of Modena, he says, "In Modena, the heretics give more trouble than in any other city in Italy. There was the vicar of Cardinal Morone, called Bianco di Borghis, who was strongly suspected of heresy. There was Antonio Gadaldino, a Modenese bookseller, a thorough heretic with all his family. He sold a great many copies of "Il Beneficio di Cristo", a most pernicious book which taught justification by faith alone imparted through the merits of Christ, in the Lutheran style."

In 1538, a certain Paolo Ricci, otherwise Lisio Fileno, came to Modena where, as a learned man, he was well received.[31] He set out to find those who had become enamoured of the new opinions, and evidently, if Caracciolo is to be relied upon, the number must have been highly satisfactory to him. Ricci prevailed upon them to gather under his instruction in a house.

30. Caracciolo. "Vita di Paulo IV", a rare work in the British Museum.

31. M'Crie. pg., 77. Tiraboschi, Vol. VII, Parte, i, pg., 135.

Additional converts swelled the band, and encouraged the recital of in public to interested crowds heretical opinions. A controversial atmosphere being thus cultivated, the points at issue between Romanists and Protestants were discussed eagerly and by large numbers in the city, of all ranks and degrees of education.[32] Tiraboschi describes this state of affairs thus, "He (i.e. Ricci) knew, that some in Modena already inclined in favour of the new opinions; and having revealed himself to them, he began to make other converts, and these having been privately gathered in some house, he spread there his wicked doctrines, with that fiery spirit of presumption characteristic of innovators, by which even the most stupid, and women also, mounted the pulpit, and decided boldly the sense of the Sacred Books." Here he follows the Latin record of Tassoni.'"And not only men of condition learned and ignorant and devoid of a knowledge of letters, but also women, whenever occasion was given, in public places, in shops, in churches, disputed about faith and the law of Christ, and all out of the Holy Scriptures promiscuously, quoting Paul, Matthew, John, Revelation, and all the Doctors whom they never saw."'

News of the success of the Reformation in Modena reached the countries beyond Italy, and Butzer congratulated the Reformation adherents in Modena, and at the same time gave advice.[33]

Eventually Ricci was forced to make a public recantation at Ferrara, but his apprehension occasioned in Modena an

32. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII, Parte, I, pp., I35-I36.

33. Buceri Scriptae Anglicanae. pg., 689.

outburst against ecclesiastics. Tiraboschi,quoting Tassoni, writes;"but the evil seed spread by him(Ricci)had in the meantime taken deep root,and the fruit of it was,ridiculing and mocking the Catholic preachers publicly,the which preachers did not always unite to the justice of their cause that wisdom,and that level of life which might render it more respectable". Morone,whose absences from Modena for diplomatic reasons,along with his well known mildness,had allowed the freer spread of heresy,wrote to Contarini in July,I542,"From Pietro Martire.... .....I have never had a reply,save that the other day,a minister of the Order ingenuously told me that his Preachers wished to come no more to this city (i.e.Modena) on account of the persecution which the Accademicians mete out to them,it being everywhere given out that this city is Lutheran."[34] To cope with the serious menace to the Church Cardinal Gonzaga had,in March,I54I,put forth an edict:this he followed up with a severe order in I543. The edict of I54I ran,"It is the duty of every faithful Christian and especially those who have the task of directing others,to concern themselves with spiritual things, and to prevent any opinion fatal and opposed to the Roman Church from coming into prevalence."[35] His order of I543 announced that the possessors of forbidden books were to surrender such to the ecclesiastical authorities. Failure to comply was to invite the sentence of exile to the galleys.

The responsibility for this state of affairs must rest

34. Epistolae Card.Poli. Vol.III,pg.,286.At the end of a letter.
35. Davari."Archivio Storico Lombardo",an.VI,pg.,556.Milan,I879.

largely with the "Accademia", to whose members Morone referred in the letter to Contarini from which we took the extract given above. The "Accademia" in Modena was only one of the numerous like societies which arose in Italy in this period, but none exerted a greater influence on religious opinion than this one. Muratori furnishes us with the following details.[36] Two select circles gathered in Modena, the one round Castelvetro, the other round Grillenzone. Unfortunately, "there arose then in Germany, and made a great stir throughout Christendom, the innovations of Martin Luther, who, under the specious title of Reformer, declared himself chief enemy of the Roman Church his mother; to which novelties afterwards were attached those of other heresiarchs and innovators, and especially, John Calvin. All Germany was convulsed, England and France; nay, this fierce conflagration menaced Italy itself, and it would probably have succeeded, if the vigilance of the Popes, and of the Inquisition's tribunals, had not suppressed it in time in various cities. Then it was that in Modena arose the suspicion of malignant humours by reason of the very Accademia itself."[37] Muratori says that the times were bad, and thus, bad reputations were only too easily acquired. Be that as it may, the members of Grillenzone's Accademia discussed besides literary subjects the most dangerous theological doctrines with freedom, and when a book began to be circulated in the town the orthodoxy of which was questionable, its circulation was facilitated by the

36. Muratori. "Vita di L.Castelvetro" in "Opere Critiche inedite di Lodovico Castelvetro", Milan, 1727.

37. Muratori. "Vita di L.C." pp., I6-I7.

interest of the Accademia. The view of Muratori that the ori- I20
gin of the charge of heresy arose from one of the numerous li-
terary feuds of the time in which the society became involved
is rejected by Tiraboschi. Muratori holds that the charge was
the result of "puro sospetto":Tiraboschi says ,"But to tell
the truth there was more than suspicion". Morone,whose gentle
methods were so irritating to the Inquisition,wrote to Ales-
sandro Farnese that the whole town was infested with Lutheran-
ism,and it was suggested that there were more heretics in Mode-
na than in Prague. Ridiculing of the Mass,Purgatory,and the
invocation of saints was done in public. This ecclesiastic was
saying precisely what Tassoni had said.Paul III was very inter-
ested in the whole matter,and wrote to another celebrated Mo-
denese ecclesiastic,Gregorio Cortese,in December,I54I,asking
him for a report. Cortese was a moderate man like Morone,but
he did not make matters out to be as black for the Church in
Modena as its bishop had done in his letters to Farnese and
Contarini. He did not deny the Modenesi's alienation from the
Church but he urged the need for a more optimistic view of the
situation. In June,I542,Sadoleto wrote to Castelvetro and his
companions. "Yesterday (i.e.the IIth.)I being in Consistory,
discussion of you was raised before His Holiness by some Card-
inals,who,it appears,have some sinister report about you. At

38. M'Crie. pg.,76, Rodocanachi.Vol.I,pg.,200.

39 Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,Parte,i,pg.,I35.

40. This letter I have been unable to trace.

4I. Rodocanachi,Vol.I,pp.,202-203. 42. Sadoleti Epistolae Famil-
iares, Vol.III,pp.,3I7-3I9.

this I was highly displeased, and for less trouble I pointed out that the thing should not be made public throughout the Consistory. It appearing to me then time to reason with His Holiness of such a matter, I beseeched His Holiness that he should not be moved through these suspicions to do anything, until I had given my opinion." Then follows his exhortation to the members of the Accademia to do their duty; he cannot believe that "among you is any stain of any opinion unworthy of literary men and true Christians." Sadoleto requested that, if any should be inclined towards heretical opinions in the Accademia, such should be excluded from their company and conversation. Both Sadoleto and Cortese recommended gentle persuasion on the part of ecclesiastical authority, with a view to conciliating the members and those who inclined towards the new opinions elsewhere in Modena. The suggestion was made, that in order to facilitate the reconciliation of heretics to the Church the Pope might authorise the clergy to absolve heretics who repented without imposing any penance on them.

Shortly after Sadoleto had written to the Accademia, Castelvetro replied to the Cardinal in his own name and in that of his companions. From a second letter of the Cardinal addressed to the society a month after his first, we can gather what form the letter of Castelvetro took. Sadoleto wrote, "With much gratification have I read your letter, which has not only confirmed me in my good opinion which I have of your talents, but also certified the Christian and Catholic soul you possess." He had been in consultation with Paul III, and advised the members of

43. Sadoleti Epistolae. Vol.III, pp., 319-321.

the Accademia to write to the Pope, each and all of them signing the letter. Muratori, with some of Sadoleto's optimism, says, "It did not appear that any were truly infected with blameworthy sentiments; and therefore, recourse was had to the device practised from the first centuries of the Christian Church in such emergencies, that is of the acceptance and subscription of a Formulary [44], maybe of forty and more articles of faith, sent by Rome for such a purpose." Sadoleto wrote the preface himself, and the document was widely signed, among the signatories being the three Cardinals then in Modena, Sadoleto, Morone, and Cortese. Muratori is probably too optimistic in inferring the absence of "sentimenti biasimevoli" in the Accademia. Castelvetro was deeply involved in Protestant ideas, and his subsequent career shows how great was his alienation from the Roman Church. He fled to Chiavenna eventually, and passed thence to France. He was Orator for a time at Geneva, and after residing for some time at Lyons returned to Chiavenna where he died in I57I, as Muratori tells us, universally regretted. It is of great interest to recall that in I825 a lucky accident brought to light a part of Castelvetro's library [45]. In that year workmen were employed in demolishing a wall in the Pini Palace at Modena, when they found this collection and the archives of the Accademia hidden away.

44. Opera G.Cortese, Vol.I, pp., 57 &ff. I have been unable to come by this, as the only edition of the "Opera" I found in the British Museum and Tübingen University does not include this important document. Evidently, the Formulary caused Morone some anxiety, for he wrote to Contarini on July 3rd., I542, "I beg your Eminence not to let my letters get into

The archives were destroyed,but the books are in the Estense Library. The chief works,which an Italian heretic might acquire in our period,are as follow;-

Institutio Christianae Religionis,tuns vere demum suo titulo respondens auctore Joh.Calvino.(4th edition, Strassburg) I545.

Evangelium secundum Matheum in lingua hebraica,cum versione latina Sebaltiani Munsteri. I537.

In Salomonis regis filii David Sacrosanctam Ecclesiasticis concionem,Commentarius Martino Berray,alias Cellario auctore. I536.

Sacrorum Psalmorum libriquinque ad hebraicam veritatem genuina confessionem in latinum traducta per Antonium Felinum. I532.

Contemplationes Isaiae profetae,per Uldericum Zviniglium [I529.]

Amica exegis,id est expositio Eucharistiae negocii,ad Martinum Lutherum,Huld.Zuiniglio auctore.

Ennarationes doctissimae,et lectu utilissime doctoris Martini Lutheri,in quintum,sextum,et septimum,capita Mathei. I553.

Commentaria Bibliorum Conradi Pellicani, 5 Vols. I536.

Index Bibliorum,auctore Conradi Pellicani. Comment,I537.

Metaphes (metaphrasis) et ennarationes perpetuae epistolarum S.Pauli Ap.per Martinum Bucerum. I536.

44.(cont)the hands of others,save your faithful secretaries."

Poli Epistolae. Vol.III, pg.,284.

45. Sandonini. "Lodovico Castelvetro",pg.,306. Bologna,I882.

Insacra quattuor Evangelia ennarationes perpetuae per Martinum Bucerum,Vol.I. I536.

In divinum Jesu Christi Evangelium secundum Matheum Commentariorum,lib,XII,per Hen.Bullingerum. I544.

De Danielem profetam Johannis Oecolampadii doctoris, libri duo,Vol.I. I532.

Loci Communes collecti et recognôti a PhilippoMelanctone. I539.

Works and letters of Martin Luther.

Among the people with whom the Bishop conferred were a layman,Geronimo da Sassolo,and Giovanni Poliziano,a Priest. This latter,known also by the name of de'Berettari,was a member of the Accademia. Summoned to Rome to answer the charge of heresy,and failing to put in an appearance,he was excommunicated. According to Muratori,friends interceded,and the priest escaped the consequences.

"So did this city purge itself of the stain",says Tiraboschi,[46] "and made it known,that if the arts of the Innovators had somewhat disturbed it,it had nevertheless preserved its respect and the obedience due to the Roman Church." That all the trouble in the city was not done with he agrees,and records that in I544,two Franciscan Conventuals,Pergola and Pontremolo,came to Modena and preached erroneous doctrines. The bait ,however,was not seized and the two gained no followers, but were thrown into prison. This,Tiraboschi holds ,goes to prove the resuscitation of zeal for the Church in the city,as

46. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pg.,I37.

does the fact that never again was the whole Academia involved in the charge of heresy. "It is true that Filippo Valentino and L. Castelvetro were accused afterwards by reason of.....suspicions of other heresies. These,however,did not fall upon the whole Accademia". It is difficult to substantiate all the charges made by Erri at Rome in I544 against the Accademia,but the Pope's subsequent brief to the Duke of Ferrara seems to indicate suspicion of the whole society. The brief stated that on information received, Lutheranism was increasing daily at Modena,the chief offender being Filippo Valentino. The Duke was called upon to seize this propagator of heresies,then this centre of the disturbance ~~disturbance~~ having been quelled,the reduction of his associates might then be accomplished. This alarming evil must be uprooted.[47] To apprehend Valentino,Erri returned to Modena with an armed force,but the victim eluded his pursuers. His books and papers were seized,however,and the examination of these revealed how deeply implicated were several of his associates.

Some degree of quiet having been restored,it was not until I555 that the Duke of Ferrara was called upon to surrender four heretics.[48] Then Paul IV wrote, "There is in the city of Modena a certain body of heretics so pernicious that,if good order is not restored there,the whole town runs the risk of being infected." The four heretics were,Bonifazio and Filippo Valentino,Antonio Gadaldino,and Lodovico Castelvetro. Bonifazio went through a humiliating recantation;Gadaldino was detained in pri-

47. Raynaldi Annales ad.an.I545.

48. Vd.,Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pp.,93-94.

son for having sold heretical books;the other two made good their escape.

The city in which the Este family ruled was Ferrara,a state which has for us a peculiar interest by reason of the particular type of Reformation ideas which gained the ascendancy there. It was pointed out at the beginning of Chapter V that the converts to Calvinism in Italy were very few. The only place in Italy where Calvinistic ideas secured any hold was Ferrara for the very obvious reason that Renée of France and her entourage were interested in the doctrines propounded by their fellowcountryman. The story of the influence of the Reformation on Ferrara is therefore bound up with that of the life of the illustrious wife of Ercole II. The Duke's family had several members in the service of the Church,and some of these had acquired a place in the Sacred College.

In I527,the Duke had married Renée de France,and in I528,he arrived with her at Ferrara. The city had a University which,like most others in the sixteenth century,was not altogether exempt from suspicion of heresy. This suspicion became much more well founded in the course of Renée's stay at Ferrara, since the people coming there to study were in several cases foreigners of very doubtful orthodoxy. It is interesting to recall that in the early years of the century English students were so numerous as to rise to the dignity of forming a separate "nation" in the University. These were almost certainly absolutely orthodox. The rise of the Reformation seems to have

49. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,Parte i,pg.,96.

affected this stream from beyond the Alps but little numerically, but it affected its orthodoxy vastly, and both teachers and students, foreigners and Italians, were in several instances greatly infected.

Yet when Renée arrived, she could certainly not be said to be other than severely orthodox.[50] She wore the belt of St. François de Paule, and had sent to her two vests similar to those of the Virgin in the treasury of the Cathedral of Chartres. When unable to hear the sermon on one occasion she had the preacher sent to her in order that he might repeat to her his message. She called herself "the most devoted and most humble daughter of His Holiness",[51] and desired Rome to send a preacher to deliver Lenten sermons.

Notwithstanding all this external profession of loyalty to the Church, other things must be taken into consideration. Whilst in France, her master had been Lefèvre d'Étaples, and his influence over his pupil was capable of great development. At the same time, she was bound to encounter the opposition of her husband to her schemes. Doumergue says, "....if Renée was singularly well disposed to receive Calvin and his exhortations, Ercole II, pushed on by his interests not less than by his temperament, had to interpose, as the bitter antagonist of Protestants, between his wife and the Reformer."

Concerning the date of the visit of Calvin to Ferrara there has been a great deal of discussion. Hausser and Renaudet tell of his visit after the completion of the "Institutes",[52]

50. Rodocanachi. "Renée de France", Paris, 1896.

51. Rodocanachi. Vol. I, pg., 337. 52. "Les Débûts de l'Age Moderne", pg., 244.

when,in I536,he came with his friend,Louis de Tillet. He preached,says this authority,before Renée and her court,and found some adherents of the Reformation there including Clément Marot,the translator of the Psalms. Rodocanachi asks if Calvin did visit Ferrara. A mysterious personage appeared there in the Spring of I536,and Renée had several interviews with him. Muratori records how 'l'Eresiarca Giovanni Calvino'came disguised,and so infected the Duchess that never could the poison she had drunk in be withdrawn,although the Frenchman was compelled to make tracks for Geneva fairly quickly.[53] Later,a Franciscan,who fell into the hands of the Inquisition,declared before one of its judges that he had been present at one of these secret and nocturnal interviews during Lent. He said that some other persons had also been present,and that this French stranger had inveighed strongly before this assembly against Romanism,attacking the Papal supremacy,the authority of the Church, and the freedom of the will.[54]

On Good Friday of the same year,a young Frenchman,who was a member of the Duchess' suite,left the Church loudly and ostentatiously at the point of the Adoratio Crucis. This was the signal for the beginning of a series of intrigues and struggles between the Duke and his wife,in which there intervened, among others,the French king and the Pope. The creator of this disturbance at the Church was eventually put to the question, although he was probably but a tool. He confessed to the presence of Marot,Cornillan,and others suspected of heresy.

53. Muratori. "Annali". Vol.X, pg.,I2.

54. Vd.,Doumergue. Vol.II, pp.,I-84.

Cornillan was imprisoned by order of the Duke,but eventually he,as well as others who had been imprisoned,were all set free. Whether this is to be attributed to one of the numerous sudden diplomatic storms characteristic of the Italian princes of the period,or,as is probably more likely,the evidence was insufficient to condemn the accused and the prime mover (Calvin) had disappeared,we can hardly say owing to the absence of official records. In Ercole the political greatly outweighed the religious. A certain Pallingenio Stellato had written the "Zodiacus Vitae",in which the monks were represented as pigs,the Pope made out to be an atheist,and Martin Luther as the avenger. This work was dedicated to the Duke,and the latter accepted it. And so Ercole needed to be warned by the Ambassador of Ferrara at Venice against Marot. "I believe I can warn your Excellency,"said Tebaldi,the Ambassador,"that a Frenchman,named Clément (i.e.Marot) has recently come and settled with your most serene Duchess,after having been banished from the French kingdom as a Lutheran. He is too capable of introducing this plague at court,of which may the divine goodness preserve us." Marot disclaimed being a Lutheran. "Luther for me has not come down from the skies,nor has he for my sake been hanged on a cross,"said he in one poem. When trouble loomed into view,however,Marot was not to be found in the breach: he fled to Venice.

Doumergue,from whom most of these details are taken, describes Calvin's meeting with a certain Richardot,a priest. Accused with heresy as well as being a fugitive from convent discipline,he was known as the "rejeté de l'écloe sorbonnique."

His methods displeased Calvin because he appeared to advocate a reconciliation of mutually contradictory doctrines and practices. The Reformer advised Renée not to communicate at the Mass - advice possibly prompted by his detestation of Richardot. He asked her to recognise her calling, and gave her some books. Richardot certainly caused trouble. He was involved in intrigue at court, was imprisoned and then released, and finally received a certificate of orthodoxy from Ercole in I555, along with certain preferments. It was in I537 that he lectured on the Pauline Epistles, and later explained Isaiah for the special benefit of Vittoria Colonna, who came in that year and stayed for probably about ten months at Ferrara.

If this lady had any inclination towards Reformation doctrines, this inclination was certainly towards those of the Lutheran variety. In any converaations on religious questions, which, it is highly probable, took place, it is hardly likely that Renée would be won over. Indeed, it may well be asked if she had as yet any clearly defined inclination towards either the old Church or the new ideas. Two things would seem to suggest that she had not. First, in spite of the fragmentary nature of his correspondence with her, Calvin's letters to her have encouragement and reproaches intermixed. Second, in I543, when Paul III passed through Ferrara, she showed herself as submissive as any of the faithful could very well be, and in recognition of this was absolved from all jurisdiction of the Inquisition in the question of faith. And yet, from this same year onwards we find incidents in which her liaison with the Reformers is only too pronounced. Besides succouring Protestants, she

corresponded with Calvin, Bullinger, and Curione. Ferrara and the surrounding region became a centre of resistance, or at the very least, of irritation against Papal authority, and this found its head in the Duchess. In 1549, she took up the defence of Camillo Fannio, or Fanino, in the development of whose ideas Bible study had played a great part. Fannio came to doubt some of the Church's teachings, and was rewarded for his temerity with imprisonment. His zeal could not be quenched, and although he was released, he set out to evangelise his native Romagna. On being captured a second time he was brought back to Ferrara where, as a relapsed heretic, he was condemned to be burnt. Ercole was, however, in no hurry to carry out the order of the Church, and Fannio was imprisoned. His conduct there evoked the admiration of all those who came to visit him, and among those who came to see him were Olimpia Morata and Lavinia della Rovere. His liberty was again offered to him on condition he abjured, but the captive refused. When Julius III began his reign, it became more clear that Fannio's days were numbered. The Pope informed the Duke's envoy at Rome that the heretic must be executed. The methods of delaying theexecution of the sentence which Ercole had successfully adopted in his dealings with Paul III were not to succeed with Julius, even if the Pope's zeal was not entirely prompted by the desire for the destruction of a dangerous heretic. As Pastor says, [55] "If the Pope urged the execution of the relapsed heretic, Fannio, in Ferrara, this was more on account of the dangerous state of affairs prevailing there, the palace of the Duchess Renée being known as the 'refuge of heretics.'"

55. Pastor. Vol.XIII, pg., 218. Vd., also, Young's "Paleario", Vol.II, pp., 107-111.

Not only Renée but also Ercole himself, it appears, opposed the execution of Fannio, and even when another heretic, a Sicilian priest, Domenico Giorgio, was hanged as a 'Lutheran and heretic', just after Fannio, the Duke was not desirous of alienating the French court to secure the friendship of the Holy See.

Some years previously, in 1544, Ercole sought a way out of his difficulties with his wife by asking the French king for an Inquisitor. Ory, penitentiary of the Pope, came, as did an uninvited envoy of Calvin, Morel of Colognes, and between these two was the battle fought for the possession of the hesitant Duchess. Renée was imprisoned and then, for reasons for which we cannot account [56], she was released, although at Rome suspicion of her was not removed.

It is out of our province to discuss further in detail Renée's career. More repressive measures were subsequently adopted at Ferrara, and from a letter of Olimpia Morata to Sinapius, we infer that [57], no matter what rank heretics enjoyed, they were very severely handled. In 1568, sixteen heretics were arrested there [58]. Ercole died in 1558, and free at last to escape from the toils, Renée made her way to Montargis, where she could give audiences to Calvinists and other adherents of the Reformation without hindrance. She died in 1575, a relapsed heretic. In the Register of Prospero Santa Croce are fifty letters to S. Carlo

56. Here again, the absence of full records is responsible for the mystery surrounding this matter.

57. Rodocanachi. Vol. I, pg., 350.

58. L.N. Cittadella. "Notizie relative a Ferrara", pg., 390.

Borromeo;three of these describe her as "more than ever pertinacious in the sect of Calvin".[59]

Even if all the details are not available and we are uncertain of Renée's fidelity to the Reformation until late in life,the course of events in Ferrara during her residence there furnish us with abundant evidence of the spread of heresy in Ferrara,and show us how much that spread was aided by her presence and activity. Among those at her court at least two must be mentioned. These are Olimpia Morata,and her father,Fulvio Pellegrini (Morata).

Olimpia Morata was a delightful person,and a remarkable prodigy even in an age of remarkable women.[60] Born in I526, she soon made an acquaintance with the Classics,was able to translate and compose in both the Classical tongues at the age of fifteen,and retained her brilliance until an early death. One of her masters who had the greatest respect and admiration for her was Curione. This preoccupation with serious studies inclined her towards the consideration of spiritual things at an early age,and hence a growing interest in religion. In this she was attracted towards the Reformers' interpretations,and was assisted therein by certain of the teachers she had. The two brothers Sinapius,one of whom was a doctor,both inclined towards heresy,and found in their pupil kindred tastes which they helped to foster. In I54I,notwithstanding her father's obvious leaning towards the Reformation,Olimpia was chosen by Renée as a companion for her eldest daughter Anne,who was to

59. [redacted]. Fontanini. "Dell'Eloquenza italiana",Vol.I,pg.,II9.

60. Rodocanachi.Vol.I,pp.,353-358. "Realencyklopädie",Art."O.M."

marry the Duc de Guise. Both girls were highly endowed with intellectual ability, and a hearty friendship betweenthem was soon set up. Not only was Anne committed by the Duchess to the charge of Olimpia, but eventually Renée's other two daughters also. Meanwhile Olimpia had become attracted towards philosophical studies, and seems to have imbibed beliefs fantastic and anti-religious as any of those of Pomponazzi, either as a consequence of these studies or in accordance with the prevailing fashion among many of the erudites. Misfortune caused her to turn her back on this barren speculation. Her father fell ill, and it was only natural that his daughter should tend him, which she did until I548 when she returned to court, there tofind that things had undergone a complete change during her absence. Anne was gone to be married, but more unfortunate, Renée received her with considerable asperity and sent her away. Bolsec, who had succeeded Richardot and was the Duke's spy, had, by his machinations and duplicity, already got the Sinapius out of Ferrara. Was the expulsion of Olimpia due to these machinations? Or, was it due to the intrigues of Calvinists and Lutherans (to whom Olimpia belonged) in Ferrara? This latter alternative was by no means impossible in Italy at the time, as we shall see in the following chapter. The misery and dejection into which ahe was plunged caused her to have recourse more and more to religious works and contemplation. Her inclination towards Lutheranism was pronounced, and she eagerly read Luther, Valdés, and Ochino; nor was her aversion to Calvinism less pronounced, as may be gathered from a letter to Cherubina Orsini.[6I] An extract

6I. Olimpiae Moratae Opera. pp., 2I8-222. Basel, I580.

from this letter runs,".....Do not listen to those who,despising the commandments of God and the means which he appointed for their salvation,say,if we are predestined we shall be saved,although we neither pray nor study the Bible. He who is called of God will not utter such blasphemy,but will strive to obey God,and avoid tempting Him. The Lord has done us the honour and the benefit to speak to us,to instruct and console us by His word,and should we despise such a valuable treasure...? Now consider the person who speaks to you as nought,but examine whether she speaks the words of God or her own words,and provided the Scriptures and not the authority of man be your rule, you will not fail to discover the path of duty. ....Draw near to your heavenly spouse,contemplating Him in the Bible,that true and bright mirror,in which shines all the knowledge that is necessaryfor us. ....."

She did not confine her attacks to Calvinism,but struck at the Roman Church also by translating into Latin two of Boccaccio's "novelle" which attacked its worldliness and superstition. One is the story of the converted Jew,to which reference has been made earlier in this thesis,and the other of the saint's corpse - a clown's dead body - which worked miracles.

On the accession of Julius III,the reaction had set in, and the time of the Protestant apogee in Italy was past.Therefore,the departure of Olimpia with her recently married husband, Gunthler,was not long delayed,but the troubles with which they were beset beyond the Alps were as great as those which they had left behind. Peace of conscience may have been found,but peace

of body was not,and a dreary pilgramage from town to town in a war-ridden land was their lot. One town to which they came, Schweinfurt,was sacked,and in the disaster Olimpia lost all her belongings and literary store. Yet she could compose a dialogue on good fortune in which she deplored our careful attention to physical needs and our neglect of the things of the spirit. Said she, "the greatest misfortunes are easy to bear when their duration is short,and what is shorter than life? It is only a dream,an ephemeral vapour." That is indeed true of this illustrious lady,for, doubtless by reason of the hardships she experienced,she died at Heidelberg in I555 at the age of twenty nine.

Her father ,Fulvio Pellegrini,who died just before Olimpia's marriage,was a man of high intellectual ability. He was a Mantovano,and his capacity for teaching had received recognition in his appointment to the office of tutor to the two younger brothers of Duke Ercole. He became interested in religious subjects,and whilst Professor of Belles Lettres at Ferrara in I526 wrote an "Esposizione dell' orazione della Pater noster". Both Bembo and Calcagnini had a great respect for him. The one who influenced him most was Curione,whose heterodox opinions he soon came to share completely. He was obliged in I533 to leave Ferrara,but the reason for this is unknown. He taught at Venice,Vicenza,and Cesena,then seems to have fallen foul of ecclesiastical authority,and sought the safety of Ferrara once more. He was readmitted to his Professorship in I539.

62. M'Crie.pp.,73-74. Vd.,Articles,"Curione",and "C.M."in "Realency".

63. Schelhorn."Amoenit." tom.ii,pg.647.Bembo. "Lettere",tom.iii,pg., 647. Calcagnini,"Opera",pg., I56.

The State to which we now come in the course of our eastward passage is one which in several ways is unique in the Peninsula. The glorious Republic of S.Marco,famous from the Middle Ages,presents us with several peculiarities. For instance, there is a well marked individuality in her art. The part she had come to play as the main converging point of the roads from the north of Europe into Italy and from Europe to the near East had helped most to confer upon her a certain definite character which we can distinguish only by the word "Venetian". Her vast trade brought her into touch with the Roman Church,with the Greek Church,and with the non-Christian faiths of the Orient. She was compelled,therefore,to frustrate any attempts upon her toleration of the most widely diverse beliefs. Hence,it is not surprising that Spanish intolerance in the course of its growth in Italy should make little headway in the Veneto in our period. She was one of "the two states which,in the coming years showed the most marked economic decline..those which were the most independent of Spanish influence".[1]

As can only be expected,there were frequent altercations between Venice and the Holy See, and these continued for a very long period,as is evidenced by the case of Teodoro.[2] He was a friar,and had attacked very harshly the Greeks who lived in Venice. The Council of Ten demanded a public retraction of his accusations,and five years later,in I584,the right of prea-

I. Armstrong. "Charles V". Vol.II,pg.,297.
2. Cecchetti. "La Repubblica di Venezia e la Corte Romana..."pg.88

ching having been with drawn from him, Teodoro was forced to leave the city. The course of events which we have to trace will show that liberty of conscience was as much enjoyed in the Veneto as any where else in Europe and far more than in the greater part of it. Bolognetti, who was Nuncio at the time of Teodoro's retraction, complained that the Venetians turned religious questions into affairs of State,[3] and complaints against this practice were by no means confined to Bolognetti. The Nuncios' reports are full of complaints. As Pastor says, "The Absolutism of the Venetian Republic was a source of repeated and angry conflict." These conflicts began before the Reformation movement in Germany. In 1510, a peace treaty was signed concerning the appointment to vacant bishoprics in the Veneto, but the agreement was frequently transgressed by the Republic. Between 1530 and 1532, Venice taxed the clergy in their dominions without seeking permission. Carafa thundered at the lack of observance of the Church's ordinances among the Venetians, and at their little zeal for the faith. Heretics came to Venice for shelter in large numbers.[4]

From what has been said in this preface it may be gathered that the advance of the Reformation was going to be facilitated by the conditions obtaining in Venice, and that that advance was to be more considerable there than in any other part of Italy.

In the course of our journey eastwards through the Veneto, we begin with Brescia.

3. Nunz.Ven., Vol.XIX, col, 366. Vd., also Pennington's "Counter Ref", pg., 28.
4. Pastor. Vol.X, pg., 310-315.

1. Brescia

Heretical ides fell in Brescia upon fertile soil. This city was notorious for heresy long before the sixteenth century; was it not associated with that well known figure of the Middle Ages, Arnaldo?

Towards the close of the preceeding century a society, one of several founded in Italy in that period, aiming, like the others, at the cultivation of the devotional spirit, and thus paving the way for the famous Oratory of Divine Love, came into existence in Brescia.[5] But whilst its adherents in the city in this way expressed their loyalty to the Church, others became infected, in the course of the German revolt, with innovations. It is probable that, as in Milan, the spark of ancient heresy was not extinguished. As early as 1524, Clement VII was recommending the Venetian Nuncio to move in Brescia, as heretical ideas were spreading.[6] The Nuncio was advised to burn heretical books which could be found in Brescia, and to punish the booksellers who were trading in the pernicious stuff. Not only were there readers of such works, but also there were several converts to the Reformation.[7] The heavy hand was laid upon one delinquent in 1526, but it was by order of the secular authority. In that year, a monk, Benedetto della Costa, was decapitated and then burnt. But that was by no means the end of

5. Rodocanachi. Vol.I, pg., 208.

6. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 552.

7. Gerdesius. "Italia Reformata." pp., 274, 280, 238, 351.

the matter,for the heresy he had spread,and probably the effect of witnessing the monk's execution,attracted the attention of many. These went about commiting sacrilege,ridiculing images of saints and divine worship,so that the authorities of the Commune set out to trap those who had taken part in the demonstrations. But the search was not rewarded by the discovery of the offenders. When the monk,Pallavicino,made his initial appearance in the city at the beginning of Lent,1527,he preached against the heretics who were creating such disturbance amongst the faithful. A vast crowd of some eight thousand heard his discourse,but the preacher himself eventually fell under suspicion,which was well founded,of having spread the very heresies he had attacked.His case was sent to Rome for consideration.[8] This certainly did the cause of the Church no good.

There is abundant evidence that Lutheranism persisted in Brescia many years after 1550. In 1551,mild measures were adopted on the advice of Rome. The heretics were allowed one month to come forward and confess their errors before the recently appointed Bishop,Cardinal Durante. Among those who came forward to make this public abjuration were two brothers named Gandini. But,as in so many other cases,the outward profession was no indication of any inward change,and heretical doctrines continued to be held by the pair as zealously as ever. When an enquiry as to their position was prosecuted in 1559,the Gandini fled,and the Council of Ten interfered to point out that the absence of the State's representatives invalidated the case which the Bishop and Inquisitors had taken up. Even as late as

8. Pastor. Vol.X,pg.,30.

and the public meeting of heretics in the diocese. In I569, the legate reported that the Protestants had formed a small Church,invited a minister from abroad,and that five relapsed heretics were peacefully settled "under the very nose of justice".[9]

Considerable anxiety prevailed among the ecclesiastical authorities with regard to the monks just at the end of our period. It was only too obvious that Lenten sermons provided a happy medium for the dissemination of heretical opinions. When the vicar of the Bishop issued his instructions to the monks he therefore dwelt at length on this point,emphasising the need for Catholics and not innovators in religion. One of those,to whom these remarks were very relevant,was Firenzuola, an associate of Caterina Cibo,Duchessa di Camerino. He was a preacher of censures and writer against the abuses in the Church. Permission to preach was restored to him only on condition that he gave up discussing the thorny subject of ecclesiastical reform - a condition he made light of. This invited further threats.

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ii.Verona.

The influence of the Reformation made itself felt in Verona,and converts to the new opinions could be numbered there as elsewhere.[10] Matters in the diocese had been going ill for a

9. Cantù. "Gli Eretici d'Italia", Vol.III,pg.,I49. Nunz.Ven., Vol.IV,col.,37., Vol.VII,col.IO.

IO. Vd.,Gerdes,op.,cit..

long time, and a deplorable state of affairs existed: it was I42
bad even for the Italy of that day. In July, I525, the Bishop's
vicar was informed of the bad conduct of the nuns in the dio-
cese, those of S.Chiara being singled out as especially notorious.
This business of righting matters of conduct was such a great
work that the Papal permission to employ collaborators was ac-
corded to the Bishop. In I526, monastic reform was ordered and
II
special attention devoted to the Conventuals. The great ref-
orming Bishop, Giberti, also deplored the colossal ignorance pre-
vailing, and set out to check it by furthering education in the
I2
diocese. His successor seems to have been one of the type to
which Giberti did not belong, for his non-residence in his dio-
cese became notorious, and the clergy sank once more to a low
I3
level of degradation. In I548, it was reported that over five
thousand of the inhabitants had not communicated, some for five,
others for ten, and some for even twenty years - a sad state of
affairs which even a Giberti had been unable to change.

It is unfortunate that beyond giving this brief account
of the exceptionally favourable conditions for the infiltration
of heresy there is little to record until after our period. A
certain Matteo di Riva and his son were sent to Venice in I567,
and there revealed their own Lutheran tendencies and denounced
others, Pasquaglio, Corte, and Negrone. The first two of these
fled and the third was suspect, but concrete evidence against
all three was lacking. Matteo's son, Alessandro, who showed little

II. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., II.
I2. "The Catholic Encyclopedia", Art., "Giberti".
I3. Nunz., Ven., Vol.IV, col., I4I.

zeal for the new opinions, underwent a mild penance. I43

In I569, Pius V complained of the inroads heresy was making in the diocese. This the Pope attributed to the Friars Minor, whom, henceforth, he decided must be excluded from the Inquisitorial tribunals and their places taken by Dominicans. I4

iii. Vicenza.

Among the societies which were the forerunners of the Oratory of Divine Love was one at Vicenza, set up about the same time as other similar societies in the north of Italy. Like the Genoese confraternity, which, originating in I497, appears to have been the first, these societies aimed, in the words of the Genoese rule, to strive to have "no other object but that of planting and rooting in the heart the love of God, otherwise called caritas." Ruled by a prior who was nominated for six months, the confraternity was not easy to enter, and it came to resemble very closely a secret society. I5 And as we have already noticed, the societies and academies with which Italy was literally honeycomed came to harbour members whose ideas were not infrequently dangerous and sometimes highly heretical. This is not to say that this body at Vicenza became particularly suspect, but that the training which it gave in secrecy and indeed, its whole nature, were such as to be certainly not inimical to new ideas.

Vicenza is extremely interesting for one reason: it was there that Socinianism was born, the ideas of the Spaniard, Servede (Servetus) meeting with a good reception among several

I4. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pp., 554-556.

I5. Biancone. "L'Opera delle Compagnie del Divino Amore", I9I4.

of its inhabitants. In the famous words of Zanchi,[16] "Spain pro- I44
duced the hen, Italy hatched the eggs, and we in the Grisons hear the chickens chirp." There will, however, be a further opportunity of noticing the rise of Antitrinitarianism in Italy. For the moment let us confine our attention to the influence of the heresy of the north of Europe.

Heresy, other than the Antitrinitarian, became widespread in Vicenza, and in 1535, the Doge of Venice caught one Sigismund, a German, who was delivered up to the vicar general of the Bishop for punishment. He had been scattering abroad obnoxious doctrines, the heresies of Luther, and for that reason had been captured. The Doge, for this excellent service rendered to the Church, received from Pope Paul III a brief in which he was cordially thanked.[17] But such methods of the Doge do not seem to have had much effect, probably because there was quite insufficient recourse to them, and consequently less difficulty in the way of an open profession of heretical opinions. Anyhow, in 1540, the Pope asked the Venetian government to work against heresy in Vicenza, to prevent discussions on the freedom of the will and predestination which were evidently taking place. This step Paul urged at this particular time because he wished the city to be fully prepared to receive the next Council of the Church.[18] In 1545, the Pope complained strongly about the way in which heresy was increasing in Vicenza.[19] A rescript was addressed to the

16. Bock. "Historia Antitrinitariorum", Vol. II, pg., 415. 1774-1778.

17. Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1535.

18. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani", pg., 390.

19. Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1545.

Doge and Senate in which the Pope stated that on several occasions he had sent nuncios and letters dealing with the matter of heresy, which was rampant. The Civil authorities had done nothing, and governor and magistrates had abstained from cooperating with the ecclesiastical authorities - a very necessary duty - in crushing out heresy. In consequence, the heretics had enjoyed considerable freedom, and it was very much to be feared that their pernicious tenets, instead of being confined to Vicenza would, besides gaining ground there, be spread far and wide. It was absolutely essential that strong action should be taken without delay.

Notwithstanding this energetic protest, matters showed no signs of improvement. Cardinal Ridolfi, who was administrator of the diocese, was an energetic and zealous man, but even he met with criticism. The ardent Greek, Dionisio Zannettini, Bishop of Mylopotamos in Crete, was held as highly important in the Veneto. He denounced, often, it would appear, as a matter of form, including in his denunciations, with scarcely a vestige of evidence, Lippomano, Soranzo, Morone, Grimani, and Ridolfi. Vergerio was probably alone in being denounced by him with any degree of justice. Ridolfi was accused of having made Vicenza a Lutheran city.[20] The Pope did not, however, thunder against the Cardinal on that head, and when he wrote in the very next year, 1546, it was the civil authorities that bore the brunt of his attack. A brief sent to the Senate in that year was very much to the point. It began with a formal compliment on their zeal for the faith and their fidelity to the Holy See. This zeal, and the fact that

20. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 537.

innovations in religion were prejudicial to civil peace and produced discord and sedition,should inspire them to rid the place of heresy. The conduct of the Podestàand the Capitano of Vicenza was then singled out and roundly condemned: instead of doing their duty they allowed Lutheran heresy to flourish unchecked - the very heresy for whose extirpation the Council of Trent had been convened. Therefore it was desirable that the civil authorities should atone for this deviation from duty,and offer all the more zealously every assistance in checking the innovations in religion.[21] The Senate obeyed for once, and the consequence of their action was the scattering of the adherents of the Reformation in Vicenza.

Yet the adherents of heretical doctrines were not all crushed,in spite of the repressive ~~of the~~ measures against them. Pius V complained of the persistence of heresy in Vicenza,and even so late as I604 we hear of the Bishop giving to charitable undertakings large sums which came from fines imposed on heretics and confiscations at their expense.[22]

Iv.Padua.

Padua,the great University town of the Veneto,attracted to it,largely by reason of its excellent medical school,a large number of foreign students. Paleario,writing about the middle of the century in answer to Cencio Frangipani's letter exhorting him to come to the University,spoke of it with enthusiasm:[23] "Poetae,Oratores,Philosophinonignobiles Patavii habitant;et sapientia in unam urbem commigravit,veluti in aliquam domum,ubi

21. Raynaldi Annales, addnn.. I546.
22. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.56I.
23. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pg.,9I.

Pallas omnes artes docet....." Pomponazzi had taught there. I47
The Germans came in large numbers. "The Latin poems of many Germans at the departure of George Purkiker from Padua..... show us how great was the number; and of this concourse we have another proof in Facciolati,who narrates that in this same year (I564) there were in Padua as many as two hundred Germans who studied law." Is it taking too much for granted to assume that among such a large number there were several who professed the new doctrines which were so widely held in their own land? It hardly seems so. Throughout our period propagators of heresy in Italy among the German students were to be found everywhere. It was a German,Geismayr,the peasant leader who fled from Salzburg,who helped to spread Lutheran doctrines in Padua.[24]

In I53I,Ferrus said,probably with some exageration, "Patavium quoque haec impridem invasit pestis,ut jam nemo in ea civitate litteras scire videntur qui non Lutheranus sit." Yet the spread of heresy was so considerable as to attract the attention of the Council of Ten,in whose meeting in June,I550, the question of the students was brought forward.[25] It was announced that some sectaries were carrying on at Padua an energetic propaganda. The rectors at Padua,as well as those of other towns, were advised to keep the movement under observation,without,however,acting on their own initiative. The rectors of Padua,with as much exaggeration as the above mentioned Ferrus but at the other extreme,replied to the effect that there were no heretics in the city. This does not appear to have satisfied the Council,

24. Pastor. Vol.X, pg.,3I0,footnote.

25. Cecchetti. "La Repubblica di Venezia e la Corte di Roma",pp., 27 & 490.

who directed the rectors to extract from the students an oath of loyalty to the Holy See and to have the heads of foreign colonies in the University know that the Government intended them to live in conformity with the Church's precepts.

It was some years later,in I555,that a young student who had set out from Nola,arrived at Padua with the object of proselytizing in the University. He was imbued with the new doctrines,but had the misfortune to be one of the rare cases in which the victim was handed over to the Inquisition. A letter he wrote to his friends in the University seems to indicate that he had in that body some friends [26] . "To alloy the grief you feel on my account,I am anxious to impart to you a share of my consolation. .....As to what they say concerning the Venetian nobility and senators,extolling them as the most august,wise,just, pious,pacific,and of the highest character and fame,I give this its due weight. .....I grant they are august,but as yet they require to be perfected in Christ, ...they are called illustrious, but they have not yet received Christ our Saviour,the Lord of glory,.....Pray for me. ....." This unfortunate man refused to retract his particular doctrines,and died at the stake for them in I556.

A little later,the Inquisitor of Padua complained that more than six hundred students were heretics [27]. He advised the Holy Office of the need for watching the delinquents,and also recommended the witholding of degrees until the recipients should give certain pledges to ensure adhesion,or return,to the faith. For many years,however,notwithstanding the efforts of the

26. Vd.,M'Crie.pp.,4I5-4I8. 27. Rodocanachi.Vol.II,pg.,549

authorities, Padua was a centre of heresy in the north of Italy. I49

The Effect of the Reformation on Venice.

Chapter X.

The oratories for the cultivation of the Divine Love, to which reference has been made hitherto, included in their number one at Venice. For cultivation of the higher spiritual life there it is abundantly evident that such societies were highly necessary, so low was the moral and spiritual level of the clergy of the place. When, in I494, Pietro Casola visited the city, he recorded, evidently with some surprise, that the convent of della Vergine was closed to men.[29] Some years later, in I5I4, the Council of Ten issued a decree on this subject. Dealings between the nuns and strangers coming to the convent must be stopped: moreover, admission of members of the nuns' families, their hours of entry and departure, were carefully regulated, and it was decreed that the minimum age of confessors should be sixty.[30] The prevailing laxity could hardly fail to imbue those who saw it with disgust at the frightful state into which the official representatives of the Church had fallen. Combined with the curiosity characteristic of Italians of the time, suggestion of reformation from whatever source attracted the attention of serious minded Venetians. And moreover, "the power of the hierarchy was so great that the Gospel could not be preached save in towns which, by an able policy, had been able to acquire some independence with regard to Rome."[31] Hence we find an infiltration of heretical ideas

28. Nunz.Ven., Vol.II, col., 54. 29. Casola. "Il Viaggio a Gerusalemme"
30. Cecchetti.pg., I98. 3I. Carrasco. "J.& A.Valdés", pg., 53.

very early in our period, an infiltration considerably aided by the possibilities of printing in the city of the famous Aldo Manuzio. I50

It is, therefore, highly probable that the "Liberty of the Christian Man", and the "To the Nobility of the German Nation", appeared in Venice and were read there very soon after their appearance in Germany. The second of these two writings of Luther was not without some political significance, and it is likely on that account to have had a better reception in Venice than a work in which the doctrine of predestination was discussed. In the "Adress to the Nobility", Luther called upon the repudiation by princes, lords, and cities, of the payment to Rome of Annates, and urged the suppression of commendams, reservations, graces etc., as well as indulgences, dispensations and privileges. This appeal was greatly to the liking of several Italians, some of whom had proposed equally drastic measures. Two letters, written in I520, show something of the way in which heretical writings were coming into Venice, and of the attitude of the civil authorities towards the influx. The writer of these letters was a German nobleman who had embraced the monastic life and was resident in Venice. He wrote in September, I520, to Spalatin, chaplain to the Elector of Saxony. [32] "According to your request I have read the books of Martin Luther, and I can assure you that he has been much esteemed in this city for some time past. But it is a common saying, 'Let him beware of the Pope'. Upwards of two months ago ten copies of his books were brought here and bought immediately, before I heard of their coming. But

32. Seckendorf. "Historia Lutheranismi", Vol.I, pg., I5. I594.

in the beginning of this month an order from the Sovereign Pontiff, confirmed by the Patriarch of Venice, forbade that they should be read; and a strict search having been made amongst the booksellers, one incomplete copy only was discovered. I did what I could to get it into my hands, but the bookseller who had it in stock dared not dispose of it." The Senate does not seem to have been any too willing to assist the Patriarch in his repressive measures, as appears from a letter of Schenk written in 1521.[33] He said that the Senate had at length consented to the publication of the Bull fulminated against Luther with reluctance, and had given proof of this reluctance. They had forbidden the Bull to be read in the Churches until the people had left the service. The smuggling of heretical works continued, and eventually drew the attention of a Pope who was frequently lacking in foresight, and, as Guicciardini says,[34] always slow in forming his plans, as well as in their execution. In 1524, he commanded the nuncio at Venice to have the decrees of the Fifth Lateran Council concerning the printing of books observed.[35] On the 15th of this same month, January, five days after the issue of this instruction, the Bishop of Trent was called upon to institute a search for and burn heretical books which in 'clandestine fashion' were coming in from Germany. The sale of such works as had found their way into Italy must be checked, and the Bishop was reminded that the vendors of these works must be punished. An account of this smuggling and the ingenious way in which

33. Seckendorf. ibid..

34. Guicciardini. "Storia d'Italia", Vol. XVI, pg., 5.

35. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani". pp., 76 & 77.

it was carried on is furnished by the elder Scaliger,who was visited by the Cardinal Serapion,Counsellor of the Data,and informed by the Cardinal of the way in which the "Loci Communes" of Melancthon had been introduced into Italy.[36] "We had a highly amusing matter before us today. The "Loci Communes" of Philip Melancthon were printed at Venice bearing this title,per Messer Ippofilo da Terra Negra. These "Loci Communes",being sent to Rome,were widely sold for a whole year,and read with the best approval. The copies having been disposed of,an order for a new supply was sent to Venice. Meanwhile,however,a Franciscan friar, who had in his possession a copy of the original edition,discovered the ruse,and denounced the work as a Lutheran production whose writer was Melancthon. It was proposed to punish the unfortunate printer,who probably could not read a word in the book, but at length the burning of the copies was agreed upon and the suppression of the whole matter." It is recorded that Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans and his work on Justification both passed as Cardinal Fregoso's productions.[37] The great Reformer was,needless to say,delighted at the introduction of Reformation doctrines into Italy by this means,and he wrote to that effect to a friend in I528.[38] "You give me joy by what you write,that the Venetians receive the word of God. Thanks and

36. M'Crie. pg.,35.

37. Fontanini. "Biblioteca dell'Eloquenza italiana".Vol.II,pg.490, says this was a trick 'degna del Vergerio'. Fregoso's name had been appended to these works.

38. "Luthers Samtliche Schriften",tom.,xxi,pg.,I092.Walche's edition,Halle,I749.

glory be to the Lord." The works of other Reformers appeared under similar disguises.[39] Zwingli's works appeared under the name of Coricius Cogelius,a variation of which form is to be seen in Abydenus Corallus in the Roman Index Expurgatorius of I559. Butzer's works were also translated,and he himself agreed to the publication of his works under a pseudonym. He wrote to Zwingli about this matter.[40] "I am employed in an exposition of the Psalms,which,at the urgent request of our brethren in France and lower Germany,I propose publishing under a pseudonym,in order that the work may be bought by their booksellers. For it is a capital offence to introduce into these countries works bearing our names. I pretend therefore that I am French,and,if I do not alter my resolution,I shall send out the book as a work of Aretius Felinus,which,of course,is my name and my surname,the one in Greek and the other in Latin."

These books were coming in almost daily from Switzerland and Germany,and their success in Italy ensured their having an editor in Venice. If they did not get into Venice under pseudonyms,they came in as they came into other parts of Italy, hidden in merchandize.[41] A Venetian,Natale Conte,said at a later date that[42] ,had these heretical publications been burnt together at one time,the conflagration would have been so great as to

39. Gerdesii Italia Reformata,pp.,I2-I4. It is interesting to note that this kind of thing was carried on in Austria until I582. Vd.,Janssen. "History of the German People",Vol.XIV, p,50I.

40. M'Crie.pg36. This work was entitled,"Psalmorum Libri quinque ad Ebraicam veritatem versi et familiari explanatione elucidate,"perA.Felinum Theologum,and dedicated to the Dauphin,I529.

4I. Rodocanachi. Vol.I,pg.,I43.

42. Conte."Historia sui temporis"Libri xxxi,Bk.xiii,pg.,268. I6I2.

exceed in magnitude that of Troy. Were they to disappear from libraries,both public and private,the result would be an extraordinary impoverishment,or a complete sweep of the whole of their literary possessions. Besides the works mentioned,there were printed Brucioli's "Annotations on Proverbs" in I533,his translations of the Book of Job in I534,of the Old and New Testaments in I542 and I546. Flaminio's "Paraphrasis" appeared in I526,and his book of Psalms in I545. Vergerio's work on the Church's unity and peace appeared in I542,Valdés' Commentaries on St.Paul's Epistles to the Romans in I547. In the latter year was published also an edition of the tragedy of the Freedom of the Will.[43]

In an event which took place in I530 the Venetian adherents of the Reformation took a very lively interest.[44] The pliancy of Melancthon in his dealings with Campeggio had permitted the Reformer to go to great lengths in attempting to secure a reconciliation between the Roman position and that of his own party. News of his proposed concessions came to the ears of a Venetian convert,who was certainly not alone in his particular view of the position Melancthon had taken up. This man,Roselli,seems to have been a little sceptical about the rumours which were current when he wrote at the beginning of August,I530,[45] to Melancthon. He expressed the greatest respect for the Reformer's person,and the joy he had had in reading his writings. He called on Melancthon to stand fast in the faith to

43. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pp.,50I-502.

44. "Corpus Reformatorum",Vol.II,I69-I74. Mackinnon.Vol.IV,pg.,I2.

45. "Corpus Reformatorum",Vol.II,pp.,226 & 267.

which he had brought so many. "In this cause you should regard neither Emperor nor Pope,nor any other living man,but the eternal God alone. If there be any truth in what the Papists rumour about you,the very worst consequences must follow for the Gospel,and to those who have been led to embrace it through you and Luther. Be sure that the whole of Italy awaits with anxiety the result of your conference at Augsburg. Whatever is determined by it will be embraced by Christians in other countries through the Emperor's authority. It is incumbent on you and others,who are there with the object of defending the Gospel,to be firm,and not to permit yourselves to be either by threats frightened from Christ's banner,or by blandishments and promises to be seduced from it. I exhort and call upon you, the head and commander of the whole army of the Gospel,to take due care of every person's salvation. Even if called upon to undergo death for the sake of Christ's glory,do not fear,I beseech you;for better is it to die with honour than to live in disgrace. You shall gain a glorious reward from Jesus Christ, if you defend his righteous cause;and in so doing,you may depend on the aid of the prayers and petitions of many who,day and night,invoke Almighty God to prosper the cause of the Gospel, and to preserve you and other champions of it,for the sake of Christ's blood. Farewell,and desert not the cause of Christ." Within a few days,this same Roselli sent a second letter to Melancthon,sending therewith a copy of the letter which,rumour said,had been sent to Campeggio. Suspecting the possibility of Melancthon's pursuing a conciliatory policy, the writer called

46. "Corpus Reformatorum",Vol.II,pg.,245.Both letters dated Calends.

upon him to show more courage and to stand more firmly in the future, if it were really true that he had evinced an unworthy spirit of concession in his dealings with the Legate. If, however, the whole thing had been trumped up, as several of his friends said, then Melancthon must act without delay in clearing himself of so wicked and malicious an accusation. Those who would descend to such depths as to seek in such a way to blacken him he should not spare but oppose boldly and vigorously.

It was about the time when Carafa's zeal in connection with the Theatines and in the cause of a more pure faith had commended him to the Pope, Clement VII.[47] This zealous reformer had been entrusted with a case in which a Lutheran, Galateo, had been concerned, and he was now entrusted with the very much needed reform of the Franciscans.[48] His introduction to Venice was most opportune, for, in I530, the Council of Ten had refused action against heresy because the Republic was a free state. Carafa was diplomatic enough to extol the Venetians, and by his praises was far more likely to win their favour than any other servant of the Pope. The commission to reform the Franciscans was doubtless given to him because the propagation of Lutheran heresy was due largely to those who had broken their vows and showed a great interest in innovations. Although Carafa moved with his customary zeal and harshness against heresy he was not successful by reason of the lack of support from the lukewarm Venetian Government. This halfhearted fidelity to the Church, and easy

47. "Realencyklopädie", Art., on Carafa by Benrath.

48. Pastor. Vol.X, pp., 420-423.

tolerance of the Venetians towards heresy was deplored and de- I57
49
nounced in his memorial to the Pope in I532. In this memorial,it was pointed out that the leaders of heresy in Venice were members of the religious orders "many of whom had broken their vows,and were roaming about". Carafa named some disciples of a deceased Franciscan. He had already apprehended Galateo and di Sacco,but another,Bartolomeo Fonzio,had made his escape beyond the Alps to Augsburg. Worse still,"Luther had powerful friends in the Curia",and one of these had procured for him a Papal brief.(Pastor,in a footnote,suggests that Carnesecchi was implied.) This greatly roused Carafa's indignation. "A heretic must be treated as such,and the Pope lowers himself if he writes to him,or even allows graces to be procured for him;it is, indeed,possible that in this or that instance some good result may follow,but as a rule the recipients are only made more obdurate and gain fresh adherents." Less generosity in the matter of Apostolic briefs,and a firmer handling of officials was a lesson the Pope might learn from this. The Supreme Pontiff must know that heresy was in most instances the product of erroneous writings,wrong preaching,and evil living. Of the writings he had good cause for complaint. In I527,the Council had had burnt in the Piazza the works of Luther and of other Reformers,and yet withal,in I530,the Government had refused to prevent the entrance into their territories of German merchandize - too often the happiest medium for the entry of German
50
writings. Then,the memorial pointed out,when these pernicious

49. Pastor. Vol.X,pp.,3II-3I4.

50. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,486.

books got into Venice, their sale was permitted with little demur, notwithstanding the fact that they were the fountain-head of heresy. There was probably some Dominican prejudice in Carafa's finding that the preponderance of Franciscans on the Inquisitorial tribunals had facilitated the spread of heretical books. His second charge of heretical preaching was also well founded; again the Franciscans felt his lash. He had also to cope with the effects of the discussions on religious matters engaged in by German merchants whose gatherings were permitted by the Government, and which were a source of interest to too curious Venetians. Against evil living the Nuncio thundered. Too often were vagrant monks evil men and heretics. In drawing a picture of the situation he declared, "The greatest part of the Venetians in the upper classes do not go to confession, even on Easter day." He probably had in mind the statement of a member of his own Order in I525 that the tax on meat had brought in far more than usual in Lent on account of the non-observance of the fast.[5I] Not only were monks and laymen attacked by Carafa, but even those in higher ecclesiastical ranks. The decay in the episcopate and the non-residence of bishops permitted no reply to be made to the attacks of the heretics. The Nuncio advocated a reform of all this which was drastic and far-reaching. A commission to go into the matter was advocated, its duties to include the examination of all clergy desiring to preach or hear confessions. All unprincipled titular bishops were to be deprived of ordaining faculties, and those clergy already ordained were to be examined, and if found

5I. Sanuto. "Diarii", Vol.xxxviii, col., I05. Venice, I893.

wanting,to be suspended.

In the meantime,the Holy See recommended on the I7th of February,I532,a careful oversight of the introduction of prohibited books into Venice.[52] Carafa's departure from Venice prevented his undertaking this task,hence it came to be performed by the Bishop of Brindisi,Geronimo Aleandro,who succeeded him as Nucio.[53] His attitude towards Luther is well known. Even Grisar admits that he spoke"much from hearsay.....and enter(ed) into no detail" about Luther,whom he represented as drunk, stupid,possessed,coarse in looks,words,acts,demeanour,and gait. Only one man incurred greater wrath with him than Luther,and that was Erasmus,who had "written worse things against the faith the Luther."[54] This man was hardly likely to be more lenient than Carafa. Like Carafa,he complained loudly of ecclesiastical abuses,and considered the situation so very dangerous as to merit less rigour than peaceful measures - strange enough moderation for an Aleandro.[55] He even sought from the Pope a brief authorising him to absolve penitent Lutherans as well as those who had read dangerous writings,for,said the Nuncio,"several acquired prohibited books without asking permission,and would grow hard in their sin if they were persecuted". Indeed,some might be allowed to read these works so as the better to confute them. He probably repented this latter recommendation very soon afterwards,for these heretical works spread ever more and more.

52. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani". pg.,I28.

53. "Realencyklopädie". Art.,on "Aleandro".

54. Grisar. Vol.II,pp.,78-79,256.

55. Pastor. Vol.X,pp.,3II-3I4. Rodocanachi.Vol.II,pp.,488-489.

In May,I533,he wrote to the Pope that the carelessness of an Inquisitor,charged by the Council of Ten with censuring books imported from Germany,had allowed to come into Venice a pamphlet "of a highly poisonous nature". The command was given that the thing should be destroyed. The alarm of the Nuncio at the increase in the propagation of heretical works is to be seen in his seeking to have the printing of all works which had not received his approbation forbidden at Venice.[56] It is not to be expected that the civil authorities would consent to this,when it is recalled that the State denied to one of her most distinguished sons,Bembo,who wrote a history of the Republic,access to the public archives,on account of his being an ecclesiastic. Venice,as has often been said,was in no mood to obey every wish and behest of the Church's representatives in either their public or private capacities.[57]

A little later,another 'frightful' book came from Germany and gained a wide circulation in Venice.[58] So well was it received that a Venetian printer put forth an edition under the title,"Unio Dissidentium". The work was Butzer's,and it is therefore hardly surprising that most pernicious errors were found in it by Aleandro,who,in March,I534,wrote to the Pope asking him to remonstrate with the Council of Ten on the matter of strict measures against such works.

In a report of Aleandro of the 9th of May,I533,[59] it

56. Nunz.Ven.,Vol.I,col.,II7.

57. Young. "Life and Times of Paleario",Vol.I,pg.,II5.

58. Nunz.Ven.,Vol.I,col.,209. Vol.I,col.,208.

59. Nunz.Ven.,Vol.,I,col.,I27.

was revealed that the lower classes were becoming involved in heresy, several among the artisans having been infected. In this letter to Salviati the Nuncio furnished details about the trial of a Lutheran carpenter, who was not devoid of intelligence and had spread heretical doctrines among the workmen. He did not believe in Purgatory, the freedom of the will, or in confession. He had accomplices also. The Inquisition had such a dangerous character arrested, and in the subsequent investigation two works, a Bible and a copy of "One hundred charges and annates", were brought to light. This latter had been published in Germany about I522, and was eventually translated into Italian. A striking testimony to the spread of Reformation ideas by such works is to be seen in the Nuncio's declaring in a letter to Rome his intention of basing his accusations on the very possession of such works.[60] This would then exempt him from being accused of "having wished to get profit from the confiscation of the goods of the defendant." From this we may gather that the Nuncio's actions in the past in certain instances had been viewed by Venetians suspiciously as the consequence of ulterior motives with little admixture of genuine religious zeal. The fact that some ecclesiastics were devoid of such zeal seems to be well established - even if Aleandro is exonerated, as he probably should be - by one of the Nuncio's own letters, written a few days after the one above quoted to Salviati.[6I] "The unfrocked are more numerous than the priests. One monk has created himself a priest on his own authority and has celebrated Mass, then has become a lay doctor, and,

60. See a letter of G.P.Carafa of ~~march~~ July 3rd, I536, addressed to an unknown destination in "Zeitschrift f.K-Gesch." Vol.V, p.587.
6I. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 523.

to crown all,has married a girl of high birth while continuing I62
dealings with an old concubine." On the 3Ist of July,he complai-
ned that life was troubled "by friars,monks,nuns,and bigots who
commit shocking crimes. So your Holiness must not be astonished
if,in the majority of my letters I speak of monkish tricks." Long after
our period things continued in a disgraceful condition.

In October,I533,Aleandro sought to enforce the Papal
prohibition against the misuse of the Pauline Epistles by illi-
terate mendicants who occupied Italian pulpits.[62] This was an op-
portune moment. A monk,fra Zaccaria,a Florentine,who had preached previous-
ly,came to Venice in this same year. Venice was not at the time
on friendly terms with Clement,and when the monk painted the
corruption of the Curia in lurid colours and insulted the Pope,
Aleandro's complaints were lost on the breezes. Zaccaria took
his texts from the highly popular Pauline Epistles and from the
Book of Ecclesiastes,and enjoyed such great success in his none
too orthodox preaching as to attract the largest crowds. Here
is the reason,said Aleandro,for the growth of the "Lutheran
curse".[63] That Lutheranism had attained great conquests in the
Veneto is explicitly stated by the Nuncio in a letter to Carne-
secchi,written in July,I543.[64] In a heresy trial at Padua in
which the defendant was a certain Pietro Bonacita,the names of
the witnesses were required not to be given,as such a procedure
would draw down upon them the wrath of fellow-citizens,so great
was "the respect with which heretics are held in this country."

62. Pastor.op.,cit..

63. Nunz.Ven.,Vol.I,col.,20I.

64. Nunz.Ven.,Vol.I,col.,279.

This danger warranted the most extreme measures. Aleandro not only developed his system of espionage, but even proceeded also against works of a polemical nature of whose orthodoxy no one could possibly doubt. One of these was a work of Torquemada, "De Virginis Sanctificatione", in which the author replied to a heretical tract on this subject. The dissemination of such polemical writings would, the Nuncio held, only help to fan the flames of controversy on delicate matters.[65] The opportunity thus given would be eagerly seized by those who cared nothing for the faith, and sought merely its exploitation.

The place the Reformation had gained in Venice encouraged hopes among the Reformers that great progress was still to continue and was possible in the highest circles in the State. This belief was held by Melancthon. He wrote a letter in I539 to the Venetian Senate "ex Lypsia" in which he expressed the hope, nay, the belief, that it was willing to receive instruction from the Reformation's leaders outside Italy. In this letter he mentioned a certain Braccieti, a Venetian who came to study at Wittenberg in I538 and gave Melancthon a hopeful picture, if rather highly coloured by the imagination, of the state of affairs at Venice, where many were favourably inclined towards the reform of abuses already being achieved in Germany. This report had encouraged Melancthon to approach the Senate. The radical and aggressive side of the Reformation he repressed, and attempted to show how their movement had sought to remedy defects, and not uproot the system to which they inhered. As the writer expressed it, "veram Ecclesiam defendimus, nec discedimus ab Apostolicis scriptis."

65. Nunz.Ven., Vol.I, col., 208, I83.

This suppression of the radical,coupled with a desire to point out that the German Reformation was not to be judged by vagaries and perversions only too well known to the Venetians,caused Melancthon to declare the total disagreement of the Reformers with Servede. The Spaniard's ideas he denounced in an appeal to the Scriptures. In expressing the desire that the Reformation should progress in the Republic Melancthon used some flattery. "Such slavery surely should not be set up - that we should be compelled,for the sake of peace,to approve of all the errors of those who rule the Church. Especially should learned men be protected in the freedom of thought and its expression,as well as in their teaching. Your city,being alone in the world in its possession of a genuine aristocracy several ages old,and its opposition to tyranny,must feel it incumbent to protect good men in the freedom of thought,and to resist the injustice practised elsewhere. Thus,I cannot but exhort you to use your care and authority in advancing divine glory,a service to God which is most acceptable."[66]

These hopes that Venice would deviate completely from her old allegiance to the Church could not be realised. Both the religious temper and the demands of fluctuating politics militated against anything approaching the permanent establishment in the Republic of a Reformation Church.

Of all the polemical works published in Italy,none had a wider influence,or was so keenly sought after by the

66. "Corpus Reformatorum".Vol.III,pp.,745-750. M'Crie,on pg.,95, gives the date of this letter,wrongly,it would appear,as I538. The exact date of the letter is not given in the "C.R"

ecclesiastical authorities,as the work which was printed for the first time at the Biondone press at Venice in the follow-year,I540. This little book bore the title,"Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Jesu Cristo Crocifisso", The name of the author was not given. M'Crie attributed the authorship tp Aonio Paleario:[67] he says, "But Paleario gave the greatest offence by a book which he wrote on the Benefit of the death of Christ, of which he gives the following account in his defence of himself pronounced before the Senate of Siena.'.....When I wrote this very year in the Tuscan language,to show what great benefits accrue to mankind from His death,it was made the ground of a criminal accusation against me!'" This view was also asserted by Babbington in his edition of the "Beneficio" of I855,[68] in which other reasons besides those given by Schelhorn[69] were put forth in favour of Paleario's authorship. Young,following Babbington,cites the extract above quoted from Paleario's speech,[70] and even so late as I90I,Pennington[7I] repeated the error. The doubts of several received reinforcement from Benrath,[72] and the distinguished German's suspicions have been proved correct by further research. The authorship of the "Beneficio" must be at-

67. M'Crie. pg.,I27. 68. Babbington's edition,pg.,37.

69. Schelhorn."Amoenit.Hist.Eccles." tom.i.pp.,I58-I59.

70. Young. Vol.I.pp.,324-329,339.

7I. Pennington."The Counter-Reformation in Europe",pg.,3I.

72. "Revista Cristiana",an.,I876. In his article Benrath ("Paleario"in the Realencyklopädie) points out the confusion between the "Trattato" and another tract - presumably lost - of Paleario,"Della pianezza,sufficenza,etsatisfactione della passione di Cristo."

tributed to another. Who was this other person? Suspicion fell even on leading ecclesiastics like Morone, and Pole. It fell also on Flaminio. Caracciolo ascribed the work to a Benedictine of S.Severino, a convent in Naples, this monk being a member of the Valdesian circle.[73] In the highly important document, the "Estratto", which came to light after Young and Babbington had written, Carnesecchi ascribed the work to Benedetto da Mantova, and mentioned Flaminio as having polished up the work.[74]

The work was extraordinarily successful, and whether forty thousand copies were sold or not,[75] another edition appeared at Venice three years afterwards, and several editions appeared at Modena, where Gadaldino was suspected as being responsible. One of these editions was entitled, "Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Gesu Cristo con li Misterii del Rosario con l'indulgenza in fine di Papa Adriano, alle corone de' gran Benedetti." The preface, resembling that of the Venetian edition of I543, closed with the words, "Adesso nuovamente Ristampata et Corretta per Antonio Dalmatino et Stephano Istriano". The work was translated into French in I545, and it also appeared in Spain, England, and Germany.

One cannot but notice two points in connection with the question of the authorship of this work. First, that some contemporaries attributed it to certain ecclesiastics, and second, that others believed that its author was to be found in the circle of Valdés. The first of these theories must be

73. Caracciolo. "De Vita Pauli IV". Köln, I6I2.

74. "Estratto del Processo".pg.,202. Also Pastor.Vol.XII,pg.,496.

75. Rodocanachi. Vol.I,pp.,I50-I5I.

discussed later. Theremust be some similaritybetween the writer's views and those of the Valdesian school to which he belonged. What suggested this similarity was the teaching of the work. For instance,in the first chapter we read,"The Scriptures say that God created man in His own image and likeness,making him with regard to his body "impassibile",and as to his soul,peaceful,truthful,pious,pitiful,and holy. But since he,by the lust for knowledge,ate of the fruit forbidden by God,he lost that image and divine likeness,and became like unto beasts,and to the devil who had deceived him. Wherefore,as to the soul he became unjust,mendacious and savage,impious,and the enemy of God;and as for his body he became weakand subject to a thousand ills and infirmities;not only like unto,but also inferior to brutes....." Valdés describes in closely parallel terms this "Imago Dei". The work's chief object is to discuss that highly controversial issue of the Reformation period,the question of whether a man is reputed just before God by inherent merit or by a merit imputed to him. Patristic opinion,as well as that of St.Bernard, are drawn upon in the course of this discussion. In the fourth chapter we read,"This holy faith works in us so that he who believes that Jesus Christ has taken upon Himself all his sins becomes like unto Christ and conquers sin,the Devil,death and hell." And so the writer goes on,"it is for this reason that the Church.....is married to Jesus Christ,and Christ is her husband. Now we know that the custom is that of two we.....become one flesh,and the goods....of both become common to them..... . By this means God has married His only and well beloved Son with the faithful soul,which,having no other thing apart from sin

which was its own,the Son of God did not disdain to take it for His well bwloved spouse,with her own dowry,which is sin. And through the union which is in this holy marriage,what is belonging to one belongs also to the other. Jesus Christ then spoke thus:"the dowry of the soul,my dear spouse,that is to say,her sins and transgressions of the law,the wrath of God against her,the boldness of the Devil towards her,the hell prison and all her other evils are in my own faculty! Through which it is for me to traffic in them,to cast them into the fire of my Cross,and completely destroy them."[76] To trace our way through this pamphlet,in its quaint ways and forms of expression,is not within our province,and therefore we will come to its closing words. These seem to indicate a still closer affinity with Valdés' own ideas,and at the same time,to indicate a view of Justification by Faith not by any means so radical as Luther's,if at times approaching it. "And so we have now arrived at the end of our plan,in which our principal object has been to exalt,so far as our little strength will allow,the admirable benefit which the Christian has received from Jesus Christ crucified,and to demonstrate that faith in it alone justifies,to know that God receives and considers just those who truly believe that here below they have satisfied for their sins." The reference to faith and works in the following passage is highly interesting. "Wherefore,the true Christian shows himself on one side to hold himself with certainty (sicurezza) predestined to eternal life

76. During this period,this idea of 'mystical marriage',of which traces are to be found in St.Bernard,was the theme of much Spanish mystical poetry.

and redeemed,not through his own merits,but through God's election.....and on the other side he seeks to do God's good works on the example of Jesus Christ,as if his salvation depended upon his conduct and solicitude." And we are reminded that,"just as light cannot be separated from flame,which of itself burns and consumes everything,so good works cannot be separated from faith, which only by itself justifies." This simile is taken word for word from a work of Valdés.[77]

The Theology of this tract was certainly not offensive to a number of distinguished ecclesiastics,more than one of whom,as we saw,was suspected of having written it. Cortese was greatly interested in it,as was Morone,who,Pastor holds,[78] without giving reasons for his opinion,was somewhat ignorant of the contents of the work. This shows then that the work was moderate. It was a guide in the living of the Christian life,and with the externals of worship it was not concerned. Is it any wonder,therefore,that the appeal was so great to several serious men and sincere Catholics? Moreover,it will be recalled that the year of its first appearance was that in which interest in the possibility of a reunion of Catholicism and the Reformation was at its height. It was round about the days of the "Regensburg Book" and the defeat of the famous Colloquy of I54I was not yet. The opportunity was,therefore,if we consider this feeling, so prevalent at the time,the best possible,and was not to occur again.

In August,I54I,an interesting figure in Venice was sent

77. "Cinque Trattati Evangelici",pg.,I7.

78. Pastor. Vol.XII,pp.,502-503.

to prison. This was Giulio della Rovere who came from Milan. I70
He became an Augustinian hermit in I520,and sixteen years later preached during Lent at Tortona. In I537 and I538,he preached during Lent at Monza and Bologna,and in the season of Advent at Trieste in I540. His intercourse with the Valdesians whilst at Naples,and his imbibing of ideas held in that circle,attracted suspicion,it being rumoured that he was not orthodox on the question of Justification. Nevertheless,he preached twenty two times in the course of Lent at Venice,apparently very acceptably to the most illustrious Venetians,according to the report of Andreassi,the Nuncio,in I54I. In the April of that year,several works of Luther,Butzer,Bullinger,and Melancthon,and letters in which the writers sought heretical books,were discovered in the possession of della Rovere. Among those involved were a medical man of Trieste and a bishop,Bonomo. The problem of bringing the culprit to book was ,however,no easy matter. There was no denying the compromising nature of much that was revealed,but the evidence of the witnesses against him was extremely vague: one heard him commit the offence of preaching on the freedom of the will;another said he omitted in his discourses mention of the veneration due to images,and so on. If his attacks on the Church's corruption and on justification had been somewhat unguarded,it is hardly probable that Giulio considered himself other than a loyal son of the Church. Hehad a large body of devoted followers, many of whom always accompanied him as an escort to the sessions of the Tribunal before which he wascited. In spite of all this, the Nuncio found him deficient on twenty nine heads,and Giulio's

79. G.di Leva. "Giulio da Milano",in Archiv.Ven.,an.,IV,pg.,235 et seq..I874.

incarceration followed. He was now allowed fifteen days in which to prepare a defence, and the victim being in ill health, an extension was granted. His friends sought his transfer to a more healthy place, and offered 8000 ducats as caution money. There was no way out: the offer to repeat every word of his sermons, the request that his hearers should come forward, were ignored. In January, I542, he went through the humiliation of reading in public an abjuration, then followed a further year's imprisonment by the Nuncio, who required that afterwards he should leave Venetian territory. Truly, this was hard treatment for one whose offences were so light. But it was not without significance. It was in that year, I542, that the authorities were becoming more and more stringent: it was in Lent of this year that Ochino "began to give evidence of his poison"[80], and a little later apostatised.

Two months after della Rovere's imprisonment for the second time, Baldo di Albone, better known as Lupetino, was involved.[8I] This man, who was Provincial of the Franciscans in the Veneto, was said to have preached in the Cathedral Church of Cherso the most frightful things, highly scandalous to those who heard him. One of the inhabitants of Cherso came forward to give evidence[82]. He was Giacomo Carzula, and felt constrained to report this matter to the authorities at the session of the Tribunal of the Inquisition. Lupetino was said to have preached in this fashion. "God has not predestined some to hell, others to heaven,

80. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII, parte ii, pg., 296.

8I. Gerdesii Italia Reformata. pp., 58, I72-I74. M'Crie. pg., 94.

82. Comba in the "Revista Cristiana", an.III, f.i, pg.6: f.ii, pg., 49.

but notwithstanding,prayers are of no avail for the souls of the former or of the latter. Indulgences are useless,and the Pope and priests recommend them solely with the object of extorting money. Purgatory does not exist;Christ by His merits has saved man. Sunday prayer must be addressed to God alone: confession is not a part of dogma: the Church has no right to order fasting." The accuser asserted before the Tribunal that so great was the effect of such teaching that the town was turned upside down and only little was required to make the whole place heretic. This denunciation of Lupetino was followed,at the request of the judges,by further denunciations against others in various walks of life. Calantino was a medical man,and the possessor of severalLutheran books: his absence from confession was notorious. Then there was Adriario,a lawyer,and Polito,who had smashed the images of saints in his house. Two others,Radini and Antonio,were priests. Believing that the list was not yet complete,Carzula was asked if other names were forthcoming. On being invited to give others,he added those of two Friars Minor,Tommaso and Antonio,as well as two canons,Moscadin and Denari,and denounced others.

Another witness,who professed to understand little of what Lupetino had preached,and yet maintained that he had preachin a surprising way,came from Cherso and gave evidence on the 27th of October.

In the following year,1542,Ochino inveighed against the way in which the secular arm was permitting the ecclesiastical authorities to treat those "who preach to you the truth".[83]

83. M'Crie. pg.,191.

"What remains for us to do,my lords? and to what purpose do we fatigue ourselves,if those,O noble Venice,Queen of the Adriatic, if those who preach to you the truth,are to be thrown into prison,thrust into cells,and loaded with chains and fetters? What place will be left to us?what field will remain open to the truth? O that we had liberty to preach the truth! How many blind,who now grope their way in the dark,would be restored to light!" In this outburst in the Church of the SS.Apostoli,he was doubtless thinking,not only of the restrictions upon himself,but also of the recent condemnations. That things were not going well for the friends of the Reformation in the Veneto can be gathered from a letter addressed to Luther in the November of this same year.[84] A highly interesting feature of it is that it shows to what extent the Reformation had gained ground in the Veneto. The writer was Baldassare Altieri,a Neapolitan[85],who wrote "in the name of the brethren of the Church in Venice,Vicenza,and Treviso". In Altieri's group,according to Moeller,"Together with Luther's and Melancthon's writings,those of the Swiss and Strassburgers were read,as well as the writings of Servetus." He wrote to say that they were sorry they had not written before, and were in difficulties to justify their omission. They thanked Luther most heartily for leading them to the correct path of salvation,and could not say whether it was their sudden discovery

84. Enders-Kawerau. Vol.XV,pp.,26-28.

85. Moeller. "History of the Christian Church".Vol.III,pg.,225. See also Carnesecchi in the "Estratto",pg.,553: Altieri "had close connections with the Protestant princes and heretics of Germany and...and hoarded suspicious and heretical books."

which rendered them forgetful of all else,or their fear to approach so eminent a personage as the Reformer. They were,however, compelled by circumstances to write,for Antichrist's beginning to rage had caused the flight of some,the incarceration of many, and the terror of others. Hence the appeal to Germany by a body exposed to such persecution. They desired Luther to interest the Protestant princes in their cause and to get them to approach the Senate on behalf of those who were so beset by the Pope's minions. Until at least the meeting of a general Council,those in Italy of the Reformed faith sought permission to follow their own forms of worship - and incidentally freedom to proselytize. "If God permit that we obtain such a truce,what gains in faith and love will be added to Christ's kingdom! How many preachers will come forth to proclaim faithfully Christ to the people! How many prophets,now hiding away troubled with fears,will come forth to explain Holy Writ! The harvest is truly great,but there are no labourers. You know what a great increase your churches had,by thetruce which,we understand,you have enjoyed for three years. Strive to obtain a similar favour for us;foster our common cause;seek,we beseech you,so that the consolation of Christ may be imparted to us who undergo hardship every day for Him. For we do wish that God's word be spread abroad,but we,lacking and needing food need to be supplied from your abundance." In this same letter Altieri sought advice on the Eucharistic controversy,which was being carried on between Luther,with considerable bitterness,and the Zwinglians [86]. The letter Luther received from Altieri only fanned the flame in him. It was extremely unfortunate

86. Mackinnon. Vol.IV,pg.,I79 et seq..

that the Reformer failed to realise how very necessary it was for the Italian Protestants,if they were to be a united force and not split from top to bottom by dissension,to be free from sucha bitter controversy. Altieri wrote,"There is another matter which every day threatens our churches with ruin. That question about the Lord's supper,which was stirred up in Germany first and then brought to us,alas,what disturbances has it provoked! .....For,if in Germany,where so many churches are properly constituted,and where are so many devout men,in spirit fervent and in learning of all sorts outstanding,poison has so much spread as to cause to appear two parties (because although such things had to happen,yet must they be guarded against as frightful, dreadful and hateful in God's sight) how much is the persistence and daily spread of this pest to be dreaded by us? Here,where no public assemblies exist,where every one is a church to himself,acting according to his own will and pleasure - the weak exalting themselves above the strong beyond the measure of their faith,the strong not receiving unto themselves the weak nor treating them gently and kindly and not remembering that they themselves are surrounded with the same weakness and sin,wherefore they neglect and ignore them - everyone would be teachers rather than pupils,although they are ignorant and not led by God's spirit. There are several teachers who neither understand what they speak nor of what they speak,and many are the Evangelists who would be better learning than teaching,and many are the false apostles. Everything is carried on in a disorderly and unseemly way." A ray of hope,Altieri went on,had come forth when Butzer,who,in narrating an agreement on the question,called upon

them to worship in unison the God of peace, and said that Melancthon was about to put forth an apologia for this agreement. The peace produced by this news had now been broken by foolish men who stirred up disputes again about the question. They in Italy, although unacquainted with Luther's position, recognised his authority on this subject as most in accordance with the words of Jesus and of St.Paul, and desired to be informed about the manner of conciliation by him to whose opinion they paid a higher deference than to that of any other living man. "Be mindful of us, most kind Luther, not only before God in your ardent prayers, that through Christ's spirit we may be filled by the knowledge of Him, but also by the frequency of your learned, welcome, and fruitful writings and letters. So then, those whom by the Word of truth you have begotten may the sooner grow to the stature of the perfect man in Christ. We struggle here under a great and painful scarcity of God's word, not so much by reason of the cruelty and harshness of Antichrist's followers, as by reason of the almost unbelievable wickedness and greed of the booksellers bringing your writings here, who hide them with the intention of raising the price to the greatest height, to the loss of the whole Church. The brethren, who are numerous here, salute you with the kiss of peace." Luther's answer was a stone for bread. In January, I543, Melancthon wrote to Veit [87], "Italian letters move Luther's wrath", and in March [88], "We shall write again to Venice .....there mention is made of the controversy concerning the Lord's Supper, which, if Luther touches upon, will cause new struggles".

87. "Corpus Reformatorum", Vol.V, pg., 23.

88. "Corpus Reformatorum", Vol.V, pg., 62.

Melancthon's forecast was only too correct. Luther wrote in June,I543,[89] to the Venetians. Any dream of theirs of a reconciliation he dissipated: he attacked the Zwinglians as enemies of the Sacrament,aliens in spirit,drunkards,supporters of a view of the Sacrament less tolerable than "the Popish tenet of transubstantiation."

Notwithstanding the difficulties besetting them and the danger of schism in Venetian Protestantism on account of the Sacramentarian controversy,the Reformation's adherents in Venice continued to be a force to be reckoned with. In the following year,I544,a letter dated March Ist.,was addressed by Francesco Venier to the Council of Ten from Rome[90]. "His Holiness tells me that he knows that in Venice and in the rest of the territories belonging to it,there are several people who think ill in the matter of faith." In June,an Augustinian who had preached heresy elsewhere,was handed over by the Republic to the Nuncio. By such actions it was sought "to enable one to live in a Christian and Catholic manner in all the Venetian states."[9I]

In I543,the "Beneficio" had been reprinted at Venice, and it was in this year that the refutation of the work was undertaken by the Dominican,Ambrogio Catarino[9I]. This refutation appeared at Rome with the title; "Compendio d'errori et inganni lutherani contenuti in un Libretto senza nome d'autore intitolato Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Cristo crocifisso".Pastor suggests that he might have disclosed the tendency of the

89. Enders-Kawerau. Vol.XV,pg.,I67.

90. Brieger in the "Zeitschrift f.Kirchengeschichte".Vol.V,pg.,606.

9I. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,499.

work he attacked, and says that "he took up arms conspicuously." This latter assertion seems to be none too true. What he did was to follow the text of the "Beneficio" step by step, seeking to smash its whole argument rather by violence than by reasoned analysis and entry into details. He proceeds thus, "It is an error and folly to say with Luther and Melancthon, that after his Fall man became like unto the devil. There is a great difference between the total malice of the devil and that of the sons of Adam of whom it is said only that they are inclined towards evil, but not consumed by it; man's depravity comes less from outside than from his own sensuality." On the subject of salvation he says, "It is an error to say that the only means of saving ourselves is to cast ourselves into Christ's arms. The error consists in saying that it suffices to throw ourselves into Christ's arms. It is true, on the contrary, that by the means of true faith, that is to say by works, we go to Christ: St. Augustine affirms that in many places." On the great theological issue of the age - justification by faith - he proceeds; "It is an error to say that works necessarily follow faith, for Holy Scripture affirms the contrary, as do the Doctors. ...." It is an error to say that, without our intervention, Christ's justification comes to us, for, although Christ's justification comes to us without intervention, nevertheless, eternal life unto heaven will not come to us without our intervention, as the Scriptures disclose." These extracts, inadequate though they be, seem to be typical. However correct in his criticisms, Catarino proceeds too much in the dogmatic fashion.

In the same year he issued his refutation of another work

92. See Pastor, Vol.XII, pp., 500-502. Lauchert, in the "Zeitschrift f. katholische Theologie", Vol.XXXI, pg.40. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII, pp.224, 269.

of equal notoriety and almost equal prestige. This work was the "Sommario della Sacra Scrittura",a translation[93],it would appear,of a Dutch work,publicly advertised for sale in Modena by an Augustinian in I537. The question of the authorship has not,like that of the "Beneficio",been settled[94]. Catarino adopted the same method of attack.

The author set out to present to those unable to read the Scriptures a concise summary of Holy Writ,the basis of faith whence spring hope and charity[95]. In going over the various points he begins with baptism. "The virtue of baptism consists not in ceremonies but in faith.....when we are baptised we must believe that all our sins are remitted. .....the vows of baptism are far stronger (than monks' vows),as they are made not to man but to God,and we have promised to follow not man's law,but that of the Gospel."Again,"One must add faith to the mystery of the Trinity without wishing to sound its depths",reminds us of the Antitrinitarian controversy. We are also taught that salvation is by the merit of Christ's passion,and since Adam no one has

93. "Jahrbuch f.protestantische Theologie",Vols.VII,pp.,I27 et seq.

94. Benrath."Die Somma". I880. (VIII,68I et seq..IX,328 et seq.)

95. Vergerio,in "Il Catalogo de' Libri li quali nuovamente nel mese di Maggio nell'Anno presente MDXLVIIII sono stati condannati e scommunicati per heretica da M.Giovan della Casa legato di Venetia,e d'alcuni frati,e aggiunto sopra il Medesimo Catalogo un indicio e discorso del Vergerio" - a rare work in the British Museum - says that Giberti thought this a very useful little book for those poor creatures who did not understand Latin.

merited eternal life by good works. Deliverance from our sins is by the benefit of Christ's death. The good Christian puts all his hope in God and His justice,who lives according to the rule of love and of the Gospel,who has no confidence in his own virtue,in the world,or in his own works. The monks are criticised for not living according to the Gospel,and acting only under compulsion: those nuns are attacked who rob the poor of their money in order to acquire pompous ornaments for their chapels,and for the erection of stately dwelling places.

In February,I546,Venier wrote again from Rome to the Council of Ten[96]. "The excellent Cardinal Sadoleto has told me that the city of Venice,which was once truly Christian,is now infected with heresy; those who rule are won over by this plague in the same way as those who write: in short,everybody is envelopped in such a way,that the cities of Lombardy where heresy reigns rejoice to have Venice for the example and even for the initiator." One who seemed likely to cross over to the Lutheran party,but who subsequently was restored to favour at Rome and appeared in I547 at the Tridentine Council which then was assembled at Bologna,was Pennarolo,who preached in I546 at Venice[97]. An able man,his success was great as a preacher. He was accused of having upheld the view that "if Christ exerted upon us all His severity,our works would profit us nothing", and others accused him of having said that all our actions serve only for our damnation. He had to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition,but cleared himself by preaching a sermon,in which

96. Brieger,op.,cit.,in "Zeitschrift f.Kirchengeschichte".

97. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pp.,500-501.

he exalted good works. Della Casa expressed annoyance at these unfounded accusations,but Rome reminded him that "in the matter of heresy one must act vigourously,because heretics are accustomed to act prudently." Venier's complaint and Rome's aggression do not,however,indicate heresy's spread as much as the appearance of yet another ~~anonymous~~ work[98]. It appeared first in I546,without the author's name in I547,and again in I550. The title of the last edition was "Della Tragedia di M.Francesco Negro Bassanese Intitolata Libero Arbitrio,M.D.L." The regard of certain Humanists for style was criticised in the preface, in which it was explicitly stated that these trappings were not sought: what was sought was the revelation of the Church's errors and falsehoods. In this edition of I550,a violent attack was launched upon Paul III,the Church,and the Nuncio who had banned the work - della Casa.

This work was dedicated to "the Invincible queen and firm column of Truth,the Church,holy daughter of God and sister of Jesus Christ". Symbolical personages performed the parts in a play fashioned like the old mystery plays of the Middle Ages. Lord Free Will,son of Reason and Desire,is governor over the province of human works. Coming to Rome he receives signal favours from the Pope,who crowns him ruler of the kingdom of good works. He lives long and happily with all the comforts a huge tax on Merit permits him to enjoy,and marries Congrous Grace,

98. Ottaviano della Rovere wrote to Cervini on January 4th,I547, to say the work was just printed. See,Buschbell."Reformation und Inquisition in Italien um die mitte des XVI Jahrhunderts", pg.,24I. Paderborn,I9I0.

by whom he has a daughter,Condign Grace. A part of his subjects I82 having risen in rebellion,he receives the assistance of the Pope, and the allies defeat the revolution. But the triumph is short-lived,for God sends His agent,Justifying Grace,who secretly cuts off the victor's head. The Pope,recognised now as the real Anti-christ,is warned by heaven that little by little shall his anni-halation be achieved by the Divine Word.

It was in I547,five years after his first imprisonment, that Fra Baldo Lupetino was hailed again before the Inquisition. He was now interrogated on various points of the Church's faith. What was the nature of the Mass;was it sacramental or commemora-tive only? - It was the commemoration of a sacrifice. What were his views on Purgatory? - For long,relying on the famous passage in"Maccabees",he believed in it,but his reading of Jerome after his incarceration had caused him first to doubt the Book,and then to reject the doctrine. To the question of the Pope's supremacy, a question put to him in its most Curialistic form,he replied that he denied Papal supremacy,although granting his supremacy in his own church. On the right of the Pope and the Church to im-pose new fasts,Lupetino held that proclamation of the Gospel on-ly,and not the promulgation of new laws,was the mission of Christ's disciples. The adoration of the crucifix as the symbol of Christ's passion and of Him attached thereunto,he also rejected on the ground that to Christ alone is adoration due. Seven days were al-lowed him for reflection and abjuration ~~were~~,but Lupetino did not avail himself of the opportunity . Sentence of degradation

99. His nephew's account of Lupetino,his life and manner of death, is translated and given by M'Crie,pp.,235-236.

in St.Mark's,decapitation,then the burning of his body and the 183
scattering of his ashes in the sea "for the honour of Jesus Christ"
was declared."

It was in the course of that year that Fra Angelico da Crema preached with great success in Venice[100]. Della Casa was provoked to take action against him by reason of his giving expression to heretical opinions with which his discourses were freely interspersed. The authorisation of the Doge and Senate having been obtained,the Nuncio had him imprisoned,and considered that the sentence most suited to the offence was the cutting out of the tongue and lifelong imprisonment. The civil authority advocated the more humane punishment of death for the offender. This desire of the civil authority was by no means actuated by humane considerations,but by the desire to oppose the action of the Church. This was highly offensive to the ecclesiastics,who were allowed only to imprison the victim,and thus could not enjoy the pleasure of mutilating the Augustinian. But da Crema was in captivity for only two months: he then made good his escape in company with six other condemned persons.

The opposition to the desires of ecclesiastics on the matter of the treatment of heretics was not such,however,as to permit the more free expression of heretical ideas in Venice.In apprehending da Crema the civil authorities had been complimented for their promptitude. In 1548,on Rome's suggestion,or rather,complaint,an edict was published demanding the surrender of all heretical works within eight days,and announcing the reward of informers.[101] On the subsequent severity against heretics

100. Rodocanachi.Vol.II,pp.501,506. 101. Thuani Historia ad,an.1548.

Altieri's letter, even if somewhat exaggerating the persecution, throws some light[I02]. He wrote on March 24th, I549, to Bullinger from Venice. "The persecution here increases daily. Many are siezed, some of whom have been committed to the galleys, others condemned to imprisonment for life, and some have, unfortunately, been induced by fear of punishment to abjure. Many too, have been banished with wives and children, and greater numbers have fled for their lives. Things are in such a way that I begin to fear for myself, because notwithstanding that I have been able to shield others in this tempest, there is reason for believing that the same hard terms will be offered to me....." Altieri, whose connection with the German princes was quite close, continued to seek the interest of these and the Swiss in his effort to gain from the Republic more favourable terms for his correligionists in Venice. He refers to a mission to Switzerland he undertook for this purpose in a letter to Bullinger written a little before the one above quoted[I03]. "I have delivered Myconius' and your letters to the ministers of this Church (i.e.of Coire) and have talked with them on my mission. But I find them without enthusiasm..." He wrote again in the same month, January[I04]. "I f the Lord's spirit had not gained my heart long ago, I would, like others, have hidden myself away, and attended to my private business, instead of acting for Christ.....I return to Italy as ready as formerly to meet whatever befall me, and willing to suffer for the name of Christ." News of the increase of persecution in his absence

I02. De Porta. "Historia Ref., Ecclesiarum Rhaeticarum", tom.II, p.32.

I03. De Porta. pg., 34.

I04. De Porta. pg., 34.

had reached him from Venice. "So it is not without danger I return,for you know how much the Papists and the wicked hate me." His last known letter was written "ex agro Brixiano",since he had been expelled from Venice on his refusal to abjure[I05]. "Know that I am in great distress with my life endangered: there is no place in Italy where I can be safe with my wife and son. My fears grow daily,as I know the wicked will never rest until they have swallowed me up alive."

The fate of Galzano,a heretic and disciple of Vergerio, was quite as drastic as we may suppose that of Altieri to have been[I06]. He had expressed the view that the Host was not really Christ's body. He was degraded,put in the pillory for two hours with a paper mitre on his head and attired in yellow. This was to be followed by ten years in the galleys,and afterwards, exile. Far more outrageous was the sentence of the Inquisitorial tribunal at Brescia[I07]. Calcagno had spoken some unguarded words, and was sentenced to have his tongue cut out,to be decapitated and then burnt.

Notwithstanding this unmitigated severity against certain adherents of the Reformation as well as against those whose unorthodoxy could be proved in only the most unsatisfactory way,by such as an unguarded utterance,there is another side of the picture which is most baffling. The case of Chioggia's Bishop,Nacchianti,has been mentioned before,but even more interesting is an event which took place in I550. The widely different types

I06. De Porta. pg.,35.

I06. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,5I5.

I07. Albanese."L'Inquisizione religiosa nella Rep.di Venezia",p.I34.

in pre-Reformation Italian Christianity have already been touched upon: the same variety is to be seen in Venetian Protestantism, or Anti-Romanism. As the German ecclesiastical historian, Moeller, writes [I08], "...by the side of an orthodox Protestantism, for the most part of a Swiss complexion, a sober-minded Anabaptism, but also a radically anti-Trinitarian Anabaptist party which in I550 was secretly organised at a council in Venice" existed. The great council referred to was representative of all the Italian Anabaptist communities, and sixty delegates took part in it. The subject discussed was the true nature of Christ's divinity. Each session began with prayer, and then followed discussions in which the Bible only was used to provide single arguments. It was decided that Christ was man by birth, that angels did not exist, that only the elect were resurrected, and that hell was the tomb. There was considerable difference of opinion among them. They were divided into the "moderates", who did not accept the "humanity only" doctrine; a more radical block, and thirdly, an extreme wing. The ecclesiastical authorities found them an amazingly tough proposition. News of impending arrests reached them well in advance, the Council of Ten's decisions were known before their publication, and they gained an access to prisoners. They were aided by advice and subsidies from their correligionaries in Moravia, and the Anabaptists in Venice were increasing largely on account of this in I550, although the sect declined in later years.

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I08. Moeller. Vol. III, pg., 227. Rodocanachi. Vol. II, pp., 5I5-5I6.

The geographical position of the Venetian territories, and the consequent facility of intercourse between them and the countries beyond the Alps has been commented upon previously. Friuli was a district which was exceedingly well suited to play the part of a communication corridor between Germany and Italy.[109] Moreover, the civil authorities did not permit so much liberty to the Inquisition as elsewhere in Venetian territories, and the severity against offenders was extraordinarily mild. The records show that the number of heretics was considerable, and they also show that the Inquisition was not absolutely idle. Among those it proceeded against were doctors in law, physicians, gentlemen, and artisans, as well as a number of ecclesiastics. In March, 1550, the Communal Council of Udine discussed the punishment of heretics and the extirpation of heresy.

Istria is interesting chiefly by reason of its celebrated Bishop's apostasy.[110] Pierpaolo Vergerio became a doctor in law of Padua in 1518, and eventually lectured there. After his wife's death in 1527, he entered the Church. He was brought into touch with the Germans shortly afterwards, when Burchard von Schenk interested him in the traffic in relics which Frederick, Elector of Saxony carried on. But the Elector's interest in these fell as Luther's influence made itself felt. Vergerio had, however,

109. Battistella. "Il Sant'Ufficio e la Riforma in Friuli". 1891.

110. Benrath on Vergerio in the "Realencyklopädie".

Zanolini. "Appunti e Documenti...dell'Eresia lut...in Trento".

Rodocanachi. Vol. I. pp. 253-274. Tiraboschi. Vol. VII, pp. 298-303.

made preparations to proceed to Germany, and was already in touch with men of letters there. He was by no means lacking in ability, as a letter written in I526 by Bembo to Gabrielli shows[III], and one who was as zealous for the Church as Vergerio was not to be wasted by the Vatican. He went to Rome, and soon was sent as Nuncio to Ferdinand. In I534, he wrote a letter in which he professed his complete obedience to the Roman See. In I535, he conversed with Luther at Wittenberg, and considered, after the Reformer had demonstrated the futility of a general Council "for our sakes, who by the grace of God have no need of a Council", that the German was arrogant. Grisar says, "what his intention was in going to Wittenberg and interviewing Luther is not clear. He had no instructions to do so. If he hoped to win over Luther to work for the Council and reunion, he was sadly deceived."[II2] He was satisfied with Luther's willingness to go to the Council, and remarked that several religious practices among the Protestants were different from what he had been given to understand. What he sought was to gain universal consent in Germany to a general Council meeting in an Italian town.

It was about this time that Vergerio began to betray sentiments which pointed to the unhealthy influence of Germany, Tiraboschi maintains, although he became Bishop of Modrus in Croatia in I537. According to Sleidan, the Pope thought of raising him to the Cardinalate four years later, but suspicions as to his orthodoxy witheld him.[II3]

III. Bembo. "Opere". Tomo III, pg., I07.

II2. Grisar. Vol.IV, pp., 32-34. Vol.III, pp., 426, 425-430.

II3. Sleidan. "Reformation". Bk.XXI, pg., 476. I689.

Concerning a matter which seems to be without signifi- I89
cance in his theological development, but which did not bode well for Vergerio, Badia wrote to Contarini. The question of a pension on Vergerio's bishopric had arisen[II4]. "When I come to speak with your lordship I will explain what matters of importance pass through his hands: in my opinion it would be desirable to remove him from office." Only two days previously Vergerio had written to Cardinal Caetani protesting his attachment to Rome.[II5] Although heresy was making considerable progress in his diocese, Vergerio had been sent to the Colloquy of Worms in I540, officially as the representative of the French king. It was during his absence that Annibale Grisone was sent to make a report on the progress of heresy in the diocese, and, in I54I, Bishop Santi of Aquila reported to Cardinal Farnese the Bishop's too frequent resort to the leading Reformers. Certainly, in the years I540 and I54I suspicion seems to be not without foundation. Vergerio wished for solitude in which to think out his position, and had written to Vittoria Colonna about his quest in I540,[II6] "I live in a delightful isolation, and think only of cultivating my soul." The retirement to his own diocese facilitated his search for quiet, and he set about completing his "Adversus Apostatas Germaniae", a work which necessitated the study of heretical works. The more he read the more engulfed he became, and in a letter to Ottonella Vida we see a very troubled mind reflected [illegible]. He wrote[II7], "I was particularly pleased with

II4. This letter of December 28th, I540, I cannot trace.

II5. Rodocanachi. Vol. I, pg., 26I.

II6. Ferrero & Muller. "Carteggio di V. Colonna", pg., 200.

II7. "Lettere Volgari", Vol. I, pg. I05, in the I543 edition: not in that of I564.

what you wrote to me of that preacher of Lubiano,who is not now in Saxony,and yet he publicly preaches Lutheranism: you do well to be against him. On this I must tell you that wherever I go there is a good deal of this Saxon merchandise,although in many places much severity has been used in trying to consume it,even by fire." He goes on to say that worldliness displeases him. "....when I put in the opposite scale twelve small words written in a certain book not much read nowadays,I immediately see that that scale containing these few words is much heavier than the other...What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul....you will perhaps add that I ought not to think of bemefitting my own diocese,or some few vines,but the whole vineyard of the Lord. .....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."

In his diocese he came down with a heavy hand on superstitious practices,and his example was followed by his brother, who was diocesan of Pola. Highly necessary monastic reform also was carried out,but besides these lawful,if sometimes drastic actions,he proceeded to act in a way that was highly dangerous and,in the eyes of authority,unlawful: he kept up a correspondence with German Reformers and other heretics. The priors of five leading monasteries in Capodistria in 1544 took the opportunity to denounce their Bishop to the Council of Ten - not an unusual course when the diocesan's reforming activities became objectionable - and della Casa cited Vergerio to appear before him. However just the citation,it seems that della Casa exceeded

his lawful authority. But it was not an easy matter to present I9I
the citation,and Vergerio had powerful friends. Once more cited
by the Nuncio to appear,after pursuing his doubtful course more
openly,Vergerio betook himself to the Cardinal of Mantua,and
when presented by the notary with the citation was surrounded
by armed followers. The Bishop,who had for years expected great
things of a Council,went to Trent in the hope of finding some
support. [II8] He was disappointed,and his case was tried,beginning
in June,I546,at Venice, [II9] after Vergerio had succeeded in getting
to Mantua beyond the Nuncio's grasp certain compromising letters.
Among the accusations of twenty four witnesses,whose names as
well as the text of their accusations,were denied him,were those
of being a Lutheran and heretic,of denouncing the Pope's morals,
of advocating the complete sufficiency of Christ's blood for
redemption,and of having circulated the Beneficio. Vergerio de-
fended himself in his reading of heretical works,because he held
that his office imposed upon him the necessity of doing so. He
recognised the truth of the accusations in certain instances,as
in that of discrediting legends like that of St.Christopher.
Finally he declared his antagonism to Lutheranism. In spite of
such a declaration Vergerio was obviously compromised. But there
was clearly considerable support for the Bishop. Marino,one of
the Inquisitors,praised him highly in a letter to Cardinal Gon-
zaga in November,I546. [I20] "I know it will please you to hear that
at the inquisition made concerning my friend,the Bishop of Capo-

II8. Calvini Opera,Vol.XIV,pg.,34.Letter of EdwardVI of England,
(February,I55I.)
II9. Ferrai."Il Processo di Vergerio",Arch.Stor.Ital.Vol.XVI.I885.
I20. Carli.,tom.,XV.

distria,.....no proofs of heresy were found; on the contrary he seems 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 by their misdeeds have been turned out of their several orders;this trial has revealed their ignorance and malevolence. .....I am quite a stranger to the Bishop,but Ithink a great injustice has been done to him. ....."

Meanwhile,heresy was gaining ground in his diocese. Celso, the Inquisitor in Istria,preached at Trieste on three days against Lutheranism in I547. On July 4th,he was pelted with stones and seriously wounded. Annibale Grisone,in I548,gave out that the Bishop must be held responsible if the vines did not flourish and agriculture met with a blight. The readers of heretical books were threatened with the stake.

In the same year,I548,Vergerio's brother,Giovanni Battista,died,M'Crie suggests,[I2I] not without suspicion of having been poisoned. He refused the last rites at his death,and thereby not only gave rise to scandal,but also,doubtless,threw greater suspicion on his brother. But it was the death of another man which affected Pierpaolo most profoundly and decided him to break with the Church.[I22] Francesco Spiera was for several years a man of very loose life. He began to study the Bible,and soon a change

I2I. M'Crie.pg.,226.

I22. C.S.Curione."Francesco Spiera Historia." I550.

resulted,to the enjoyment of which he sought to bring his wife and eleven children. Religious practices and discussions were his occupation,but all this attracted della Casa's attention. His abjuration was called for and Spiera complied with the demands of the Nuncio,but with terrible consequences. The unfortunate man fell into hallucinations characteristic of one in his psychological state,believed himself to be damned for this apostasy,and was a victim of that terrible delusion which haunted him,and profoundly influenced those about him,the despair of eternal life. Vergerio had interviews with the man,and so impressed was he that his last tottering defences collapsed utterly. In I549,Vergerio's excommunication and banishment were pronounced. He fled and ministered to a small church of two hundred Italian émigrés at Poschiavo,but as he did not feel safe,he removed thence,and until his death moved from place to place. His ideas on Church order differed from those of both Curione and Luther. In I565,this "pushful and unrestrained man",as Grisar harshly calls him,[I23] died at Tübingen.

In this highly interesting figure two points call for attention. From a letter he wrote just after his flight to the Grisons,he seems to have felt that in spite of his excommunication,he believed that the gap between his position and that of the Church was bridgeable by the findings of a Council. It was his life's hope and dream,and his disillusionment seems to offer the key to the explanation of much of his conduct. This letter,from which the following extract is taken,is dated April 2Ist,I550,[I24]

I23. Grisar. "Luther". Vol.III,pg.,430.

I24. The original of this letter is in the Guastalla Archives.

from Vicosoprano. ".....I might perhaps be useful in matters pertaining to religion, owing to the friendship there is 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."

The second point is, that the fear among those to whom he had come of his inclinations towards the Anabaptism or Antitrinitarianism of his countrymen caused him to put forth a "Confessio Fidei". This is so interesting a document as to appear to warrant our giving it in full here. It was signed by Vergerio on January I8th, I55I.

"We believe and openly confess our belief in the Athanasian Creed, in the Trinity, in Christ as the Son of God - sinless, crucified, dead, and buried, &c..

"We acknowledge that Christ has gone into heaven, and sits at God's right hand. We acknowledge the corruption of human nature, and that we can do nothing good until we are reclaimed from its natural tendencies. Even after our 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 denounce all errors against the Catholic doctrines, especially those diabolical Anabaptist doctrines which Satan has scattered to ruin the reviving Church and trap the weak.

"We confess according to the Scriptures and the universal Church, that God has given to man two laws. The one the natural law

common to all. This,having been darkened by sin,the written law - the Decalogue - became necessary. But our imperfect natures having failed to observe it,God in his mercy provided another and better way,by which we may be both saved and justified, even Jesus Christ who suffered for us.

"We believe and agree with Scripture and the Church Catholic that God has established ceremonies or signs called Sacraments in addition to those mentioned in the Law - Baptism and the Lord's Supper,not so much for the benefit to be obtained from the giver,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 should be administered with pure water,in the name of the Father,the Son,and the Holy Ghost,and without any of those ugly mixtures of salt...exorcisms....which Papists use.

"We condemn the Anabaptists who hold it necessary to baptise 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,Son,and Holy Spirit. But notwithstanding, we advise 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,since we hold infant baptism a sign of their being received into the visible Church of Christ.

"We acknowledge every assembly where God's word is preached, where the doctrine of justification by faith is held and sacraments properly administered to be a true Church,though it be an

imperfect one;in contradistinction to the Anabaptists who ack- I96
nowledge no Church not claiming a spotless purity;a thing in this life we cannot attain to.

"We acknowledge that magistrates are necessary for the government of the world,and that God has instituted them for the preservation of good men and for humanity's benefit. All Christians are eligible for such offices,but those alone are qualified who know the will of God,and are guided by the spirit to every good work.

"We condemn all who say that a true Christian cannot be a magistrate,and consider such men as the agitators of society.

"Besides this,we believe that the true Christian is a lover of peace and union,and does not affect singularity in matters not divinely forbidden. In that we agree with the ministers of the Synod in the Venetian dominions,the Grisons,and the Swiss Churches at Zurich,Basel,Bern,and Geneva. Not that we wish to insinuate that our faith is founded on these Churches,for we rest only on God's word;but because we hold that so many good men can hardly err,and that in these matters we ought to prize their judgment more than our own,and therefore we are willing to submit ourselves to their advices when we hold ourselves worthy of reproof or advice." I25

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I25. This confession is in the Zurich Library.

Chapter XII.

i.Lucca.

This small Italian republic,according to M'Crie,"had the honour to reckon among its inhabitants a greater number of converts to the reformed faith than perhaps any other city in Italy."[1] A recent writer says of heresy in the place,"the tendency assumed something of the aspect of a popular movement."[2] Often was Rome in touch with the magistrates on the question of suppressing heresy in the city to which in the course of our period came Ochino,Vermigli,Paleario,and Martinengo.[3]

In I525,an edict appeared denouncing the possessors of heretical works. Such works were to be surrendered within eight days,and failure to comply was to be punished with a fine of fifty ducats.[4] But the civil authorities were loath to carry out the edict: they were not in agreement with the Reformers,but they were not disposed to attack them. In June,I539,a member of the Cappuccini was proceeded against for disseminating heresy in the city.[5] In the following year,a remarkable ordinance was issued by the civil authorities,whether influenced by preachers of the type of the Cappuccino it is not possible to say,although there seems to be some ground for suspicion.[6] It was issued to

I. M'Crie.pg.,I23.

(pg.325.)

2.Hulme."Renaissance,Protestant Revolution and Catholic Reformation"

3. Cantù. "Gli Eretici d'Italia",Vol.II,pg.,469.

4. Rodocanachi.Vol.II,pg.,399.

5. Pastor.Vol.XII,pg.,499.

6. Sforza."Costantino da Carrara e la Riforma in Lucca",in the "Giornale Linguistico",an.XXII,Geneva,I897.

help the poor - possibly a disguise of another motive. Sever- I98
al feast days were declared suppressed,regulations with regard to the correct observance of Lent,and the compulsory appearance at certain functions of the Church,were abrogated. These decrees were certainly welcome to those who had embraced the new opinions, the adherents of which seem to have been numerous at the time for the following reasons. First,the commercial relations between Lucca and Germany facilitated the introduction to the Lucchesi of heretical opinions. Secondly,there was the freedom the preachers of heresy enjoyed,the reception accorded to them,and the fertile soil for such seed among the clergy. Moreover,the Archbishop was absent.[7] Curione,when he visited Lucca,found among the Augustinians,and Canons regular of S.Frgionaia and S.Frediano, active propagators of heresy. One who was devoted to Curione was installed Prior of S.Fregionaia; this was a Canon of Lateran,Costantino da Carrara. But more important than he was Vermigli,who,visiting Lucca in the middle of I54I as the visitor of the Augustinian Order in Italy ,soon saw how fruitful the seed of heresy would be in such a soil.

It was not very long before news of the state of affairs in Lucca reached the Holy See. The Vicar General informed the Lucchese Cardinal,Guidiccione,of how matters stood,and in June, I542,[8] the Cardinal wrote fromRome to the civil authorities. He said that information had reached him to the effect that the pestiferous Lutheran heresy was making headway,heresy "which, when one thought it extinguished,is only slumbering,and awakens

7. Pastor. Vol.XII,pg.,499.

8. Arch.Stor.Ital.,Vol.X (I847),Documento I63.

more dangerously than formerly." The negligence of the State I99
was reproved, and some remedy, such as the institution of proceedings against heretics, was advocated. A few days later, on July 8th, Sernini reported that in the last consistory, held on July 4th, the danger of the falling away of the two States, Lucca and Modena, was recognised.[9] "His Holiness said that he understood that in Lucca, in Modena, and in Parma, secret sects of Lutherans had been discovered.....and that it was essential to remedy it. The Cardinal of Ravenna has told me that this charge has been commited to six Cardinals." That of the three places mentioned Lucca was considered to be in the worst plight is quite clear. Serristori wrote on July I0th.. "His Holiness..... has appointed four inquisitors on this heresy recently discovered in Lucca, the which are the Rev^mi Guidiccione, S. Marcello, S. Croce, and another, to rid of such an infection this city, it being a thing of considerable annoyance." Paul III had, several months previously, in January,[10] cancelled all indults withdrawing clergy and laity from the authority of the Inquisition, and on July 2Ist, I542, the Inquisition was reconstituted by the famous Bull, "Licet ab Initio".[11] The energies of this mighty institution were to be directed first to suppressing heresy in Lucca. Cardinal Pole wrote to Contarini on the 28th, of July, "V.S.Rev^ma, I am certain, will have heard of the election of the six Rev^mi Cardinals (to deal) especially with matters in Lucca, and in Modena."[12]

9. Pastor. Vol.XII, pp., 503-504.

I0. Fontana. "Documenti Vaticani", pg., 383 et seq..

II. Kidd. "Documents of the Continental Reformation", pp., 347-350.

I2. Card. Poli Epistolae, Vol.III, pg., 59. Sent from Viterbo.

On the day following the issue of the Bull, on July 22nd, the civil authorities of Lucca were commanded to arrest Curione.[13] The notorious Piemontese had taken refuge with a certain Ardinolfi, and was engaged in propagating heresy. It was, indeed, reported that he had "translated into Italian several of Luther's works in order to give this good nourishment even to women!"

In conventicles held in the Church of S. Agostino, Martinengo, Tremellio, Vermiglia, and Girolamo Zanchi, were present and participated in unlawful ceremonies. Paul III had recourse to threats, promising the Emperor's wrath if the authorities did not take action to improve matters. It was doubtless this rather than loyalty which caused the Lucchesi to seek to appease the Pope's anger. A special embassy was despatched to assure Paul III of their devotion to the Roman See, a devotion which they held to be constant and unwavering.[14] If this was none too heartfelt, the Lucchesi sought to give it the appearance of being so by advising Curione to flee: this the Piemontese did.[15] Things moved rapidly. In this eventful July, measures with regard to forbidden books were adopted, and the Church festivals, abolished by the ordinance of November, 1540, were restored. In August, Vermigli, after refusing to comply with the request that he should appear at Genoa, went to Florence, and eventually crossed the Alps. The Lateran Canon, Costantino da Carrara, also went into exile at about the same time.

The flight of such important adherents of the Reformation

13. Rodocanachi. Vol.II, pg., 400.

14. Pastor. Vol.XII, pp., 499-500.

15. See the Article on Curione in the "Realencyklopädie".

was undoubtedly a heavy blow to the movement's prospects in Lucca,but it did not mean the speedy death of heresy.It was,indeed,in its battle with Rome likely to receive some assistance from the political side,in the shape of the conspiracy of Burlamacchi.[16] This Lucchese was very friendly to the Reformation, and had held the position of Gonfaloniere. It appeared to him possible that the adherents of the new opinions would be exceedingly useful in the struggle with the Papacy he wished to carry on by means of a federation of Tuscan cities. The plan was well received with considerable enthusiasm by several citizens of Lueca in 1544,but this dangerous design fell through when its originator was handed over by the Lucchese government to the Church, and was executed four years later at Milan. The surrender of this conspirator was not done without some external compulsion,and the government were not moving against heresy with the desired alacrity. Such may be gathered from the way heresy was spreading in secret and as widely as ever,to check which on May 12th,1545,a special "Offizio sulla Religione" was appointed at Lucca.[17] The goods of those suspects who were to appear before the Holy Office at Rome were to be confiscated. A few days later,on May 25th,a law was proclaimed "against the new religious opinions". The possession and the reading of heretical books were forbidden: a list of the proscribed writers was given,and included in this list[18] were Ecolampadius,Melancthon,Zwingli,von Hutten,Butzer,Wycliffe, Huss,Bullinger,Luther,Ochino,and Vermigli. The "Sommario della

16. Cantù. "Gli Eretici d'Italia". Vol.II,pg.,468.

17. "Giornale della Letteratura italiana".Vol.XIV,pg.,59 et seq..

18.See Reusch."Indices librorum prohibitorum XVI Jahrhunderts"1886.

Sacra Scrittura" was mentioned by name.

In the September of I545,an ordinance was issued to compel the citizens to participate in the functions of the Church. Those avoiding attendance at Mass were to be fined I00 crowns for the first offence,200 for the second and imprisonment for one year,and for the third offence sentence of death would be passed. Cantù says that even in the face of such a powerful deterrent Protestant books were everywhere in the city.[19] The Holy See appointed as Inquisitor the Prior of the Dominicans of the convent of S.Romano,but such an appointment was not to the city's liking,and there were strong objections to it. Cardinal Guidiccione sided with his fellow-citizens in the matter,and the concession was obtained authorising the participation of municipal judges in the examination of heresy cases alongside the Cardinal's Vicar. But this concession did not indicate a slackening of the Church's vigour. The law of I545 had scarcely been applied: in I549,an edict was passed which set it to operate far more seriously. To it were added regulations regarding the eating of meat in Lent,and the prohibition of the practice of taking unfrocked monks into ones service.[20] Nevertheless,the new regulations would seem to have met with almost the same indifference as were the old ones. There was little love lost between the municipal and ecclesiastical authorities.

Any prolonged resistance to Rome was not to be expected. Lucca was already in bad odour,as may be gathered from a letter written in I548 by Raffaello Agostini from Fivizzano. "Padre

I9. Cantù. Vol.II,pg.,469.

20. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,403.

Landini has been with us for about three weeks. .....He is making great efforts to banish hence the plague of Lutheranism which has found its way from Lucca into the diocese of Luni."[21] So Lucca was regarded as being a centre radiating heresy abroad. It is therefore not surprising that Arnolfini was sent to Rome to reassure the Pope that henceforward more vigourous action against heresy would be taken by the magistrates. It will be recognised as a frequently broken promise. Offenders were allowed three months in which to renounce their errors,and the abjuration was to be followed by a pardon - a very mild demand. And for long afterwards did the drastic policy of the Holy Office fail to commend itself to the citizens. In I562,there were complaints that Lucchesi heretics were corresponding with their fellow-countrymen in exile,and that these messages were being conveyed by merchants carrying on the smuggling of heretical books from beyond the Alps into Italy.[22]

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Pietro Martire Vermigli.

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This illustrious Augustinian was born in Florence in I500,[23] and made his influence most felt in Lucca. As his parents were fairly wealthy,and the boy showed an aptitude for study, he was able to follow his bent,and entered the convent of S.Agostino near Fiesole to which the Medici had presented a classical library. Then he passed on to Padua to the convent of S.Giovanni di Verdara where he spent eight years in preparation for the University. Eventually he went to the University of Bologna to pursue

21. Pastor. Vol.XII,pg.,89.

22. Raynaldi Annales,ad ann.,I562.

23. Benrath on Vermigli in the "Realencyklopädie".

the study of Hebrew with which instrument he might the better understand the Scriptures. From I525 onwards he was a Lenten preacher,and brought to the execution of his duties the talents and eloquence with which he was well endowed. He addressed large congregations in Brescia,Mantua,Bergamo,Pisa,Venice,and Rome, and promotion was not long in coming to him. He became Abbot of the Spoleto monastery,and was entrusted with the task of bringing the monks of this and kindred institutions in the city to the more careful observance of discipline. This task he accomplished within three years,he himself having,as Tiraboschi says, "in his religion.....the reputation of a man well learned,prudent,.....both in teaching,in preaching,and in presiding over houses."[24] The completion of this mission was followed by a similar commission in the still more important position of Prior of S.Pietro ad Aram in Naples,the city which was the centre of the famous Valdesian circle.

Pastor writes,"Vermigli was fated to enter the circle of Valdés,become the friend of Ochino,and make acquaintance with the writings of the Germans. This resulted in the adoption of dangerous opinions which were soon introduced into his sermons."[25] This is very like the opinion of Tiraboschi,who holds that Valdés and his friends influenced a Vermigli until that time not inclined towards the new ideas.[26] Caracciolo calls Valdés,Ochino,and Vermigli,"Illi satanicae reipublicae triumviri"[27] ,and says that

24. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pg.,29I.

25. Pastor. Vol.XII,pg.,498.

26. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pg.,292.

27. Caracciolo. "Collectanea historica",pg.,24I.

Valdés taught Vermigli the Gospel. Giannone says that it was Vermigli who seduced the Spaniard and led him to adopt heretical opinions.[28] The historian of Naples seems to be right in implying Vermigli's acquaintance with the new ideas before he met Valdés: his meeting with the Spaniard was, one is led to believe, nothing more than a highly interesting point in Vermigli's evolution. His father, who lived in the days of the famous Savonarola, was greatly attached to the Florentine reformer, and this attachment was shared by Pietro Martire, who was pleased with the Dominican's bold front and violent denunciations against the Papacy from an early age. Further stimulus was forthcoming when the Italian translation of the I527 edition of the "Ennarationum in Evangeliis...duo libri", Butzer's work under the pseudonym Felino, came into his hands. He also came upon Zwingli's great work which appeared in I525, "True and False Religion", and other works with an equally dangerous tendency. On a mind thus disturbed, and prepared to receive opinions whose orthodoxy was exceedingly doubtful, first Flaminio, and then Valdés, could have a very strong effect. But it was easily the Spaniard who had the stronger influence over him.

The effect of an environment so exceedingly congenial to the Augustinian soon showed itself in his sermons. In one of these he chose for his text I Corinthians, iii, I5: "If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." It was one of the proof-texts for the existence of Purgatory,[29] but Vermigli's interpretation, given in the

28. Giannone. "Histoire du Royaume de Naples ", liv., XXXII, pg., II3.

29. See article on Purgatory in the "Catholic Encyclopedia".

Church of S.Pietro at Naples,was not the traditional one. The exceptionally acute scent for heresy among the Theatines was not likely to fail in this case: the daring preacher was denounced by them to the Viceroy who forbade him to preach. However, when Vermigli appealed to Rome,the liberal minded Contarini,Pole, and Bembo,as well as Giulia Gonzaga,interceded,and so he won his case. While an epidemic of fever was raging in the city,the good offices of Cardinal Gonzaga permitted Vermigli to move from Naples and resume visitation duties on a far larger scale elsewhere. He became Prior of S^Frediano at Lucca,an appointment in which, his enemies hoped,says M'Crie,he,as a Florentine,might be highly unpopular to the anti-Florentine Lucchesi.[30] Be that as it may,he soon won a place in the affections of the people,who came in crowds to hear him preach in S.Frediano. His appeal was wide,his intellectual ability enabling him to command the attention not only of ordinands but also of the teachers of Latin,Greek,and Hebrew. And yet his plea with all was the same: a greater understanding of the Scriptures,and above all,of the Psalms. The inclination towards novelties in religion,strong in Lucca long before Vermigli's arrival,received a great impetus from his encouragement,and ere long,a body of eighteen monks were occupied in scattering heresy abroad. He himself,when preaching on one occasion,exhorted communicants to regard the Sacrament as a memorial only of Christ's passion. The return of Contarini from Regensburg enabled Pietro Martire to question him closely on German matters and especially concerning the Reformation - a highly dangerous subject for discussion.

30. M'Crie. pp.,123-124.

All this could not fail to attract the attention of Rome, and although not mentioned by name in Cardinal Guidiccione's complaint to Lucca in I542 about the propagators of heresy in the Republic,it was fairly obvious to Vermigli that sooner or later his turn would come. This doubtless explains his action in the preceding April,when he asked the Senate to furnish him with a letter of commendation to his superior. But the ecclesiastical authorities could not be put off by such means. He was invited to appear at Genoa before a general Chapter of his Order. Suspicious of the consequences of complying with the request, he took into his confidence Lacize,Terenziano,and Trebellio,then, aided by a Lucchese,Brenta,he made good his escape to Florence. There he met Ochino,and together these famous apostates left Italy. In October,I542,Butzer wrote to Calvin, "A certain man has come from Italy well learned in Greek,Hebrew,and Latin,and happily versed in the Scriptures,forty four years of age,austere in manners and of keen judgment,called Petro Martyri."[3I]

Now in exile,never to return to Italy,Vermigli's part in the Italian Reformation was ended. He soon passed from Zurich to Strassburg,where he remained for five years. Whilst there he composed his Catechism or "Exposition of the Apostles' Creed". His affection for the Reformation party at Lucca never failed, and he continued to correspond with them. In one letter he wrote, "O that I were still in your midst to rejoice with you! If your peril increases,there remains to you the recourse of the weak, as some call it,a recourse which seems to me a sign of prudence - flight. See the example of those among you who have fled;they

3I. "Calvini Opera." Vol.XI,pp.,456-457.

are always Christ's faithful champions,they wish to smooth the way of the Gospel in Italy with their blood." Surely,this is a little incoherent.

Vermigli came to England at Cranmer's invitation in I547, and until Edward's death was Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. He escaped with difficulty back to the Continent when the subsequent Marian reaction set in. His love for controversy manifested itself in his disputation before Edward's delegates with three theologians on the question of the Real Presence and the doctrine of Transubstantiation.[32] On this same subject,the Eucharist,he disputed with Luther and Brenz,whilst he opposed Bibliander on the subject of the freedom of the will,and disagreed with the Antitrinitarians. Summing him up,M'Crie says, "In Italy he gave great offence by deserting the religion of his ancestors and violating the monastic vow;in England he was opposed to the champions of the Catholic faith after the government had declared itself decidedly in their favour;at the conference of Poissi he appeared in support of the Protestant doctrine.... at Strassburg he was involved in a dispute with those who maintained the peculiar sentiments of Luther on the Eucharist..... But in none of these places did prejudice,strong as it was,and loud as it often lifted its voice,whisper anything unfavourable to the personal character of Martyr."[33] He died in I562 at Zurich.

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32. "Calvini Opera." Vol.XVI,pg.,249.Vermigli to Calvin,August 3rd., I556.

33. M'Crie. pg.,384.

To the effect of the Reformation on Florence M'Crie devotes very few words,beyond mentioning the fact that there were disputes on religion in 1525,and that Bruccioli,Teofilo,Carnesecchi, and Vermigli,were all natives of Florence.[34] "Florence had lately seen two of her citizens advanced to the Papal throne;an intimate connection subsisted between her and Rome;and she had yielded up her liberties to Cosmo de'Medici,who exercised the supreme authority,under the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany. On these accounts,the reform doctrine was never permitted to make great progress in Florence." Whist the further researches since that historian's day may not have been sufficient to disprove the view that the effect of the Reformation was not considerable,at least the effect was greater than M'Crie thought. Two things in particular favoured the introduction of the new opinions. First,there was the struggle of Savonarola,and the influence exerted by the Dominican. The extent of this influence has been variously assessed. Von Reumont wrote some fifty years ago,"In the present state of our knowledge this question cannot be with certainty determined,but a careful investigation of the subject would be very valuable."[35] Whether this influence has been exaggerated or not, the fact remains that there are some interesting points to be noticed. Throughout the sixteenth century,Dominican superiors had to carry on a struggle with those who inclined towards a veneration of Savonarola.[36] Then,a few years after his death,a certain

34. M'Crie. pp.,78-79.

35. von Reumont."Beiträge zur Italienischen Geschichte",III,i,154.

36. Pastor. Vol.V.pg.,214 et seq..

Pazzo di Brozzi proclaimed that"God was going to punish Italy, Rome,and Florence,for the death of Savonarola. They would not believe the wise prophet,so God sent them a fool" (i.e."Pazzo") This strange,illiterate,fellow quite fascinated the Florentines. Another similar character was Barnardino,who was to inaugurate a new line of "Popes" to rule over a pure Church distinct from the ancient and corrupt one. He attracted some twenty of Savonarola's disciples. Another such prophet was a Parmpteggiano,who worked in his native Parma for a simple evangelical faith.[37] Again, between I527 and I530,when there was opposition to the Grand Duke,Alessandro de'Medici,there was a revival of Savonarola's aims and methods which was very favourably received by the Florentines.

Secondly,the Florentine Academy pursued speculations which, if not so subversive as some of the tendencies of Savonarola's followers above mentioned,were nevertheless dangerous.[38] For instance,the famous Gemistos Plethon had argued in favour of the absence of free will in man in his "De Fato". The struggle of Platonism against Aristotelianism,a struggle between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages,found Florence a centre of keen Platonists or Neo-Platonists. The Platonist opinions helped to create an atmosphere in which the anti-Aristotelian spirit of the Reformation could make some headway,if only as the ally of the dominant school of philosophical thought.

Moreover,it cannot be said that Florence's two best known historians were any too friendly towards the Roman See.Machiavelli

37. Höfler. "Italienische Zustände."pg.,3I.

38. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pg.,I26.

with his vision of a greater Italy,found the Papacy strong enough to obstruct but powerless to constrct a great nation. But his opposition to the Church was not political only: he did not fail to notice the wickedness of the clergy. He was no model himself.[39] Guicciardini thought of religion as a neccesity in politics,[40] and expressed his views on ecclesiastics in,if possible, stronger terms than did Machiavelli.[4I] "To no one is it more displeasing than to me,to see the ambition ,covetousness,and excesses of priests,not only because all wickedness is hateful in itself,but because,taken generally and individually,such wickedness should find no place in men whose state of life implies a special relation to God. ....At the same time,my relations with several Popes have made me desire their greatness at the expense of my own interest. Had it not been for this consideration,I would have loved Martin Luther as myself;not that I might set myself free from the laws imposed on us by Christianity....but that I might see this crowd of rascals confined within due limits, so that they might be forced to choose a life without crime,or a life without power."

The two translators of the Scriptures to whom M'Crie referred,Brucioli and Teofilo,seem both to have been inclined towards the Reformation,the former certainly so.[42] He took part in the conspiracy against Cardinal Giulio de'Medici,as a consequence of which he had to flee. Brucioli returned to Florence later but

39. "Catholic Encyclopedia",Art.,"Machiavelli".

40. "Catholic Encyclopedia",Art.,"Guicciardini".

4I. Guicciardini."Ricordi",n.28."Opere Inedite",Vol.I,pg.,97 et seq

42. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pp.,320-32I.

had to leave a second time by reason of his "evil speaking", and, adds Tiraboschi, of his being suspected of heresy. The historian of Italian literature says, speaking of his translation of the Scriptures, that his style was bad; that the author brought to his task inadequate knowledge, and that his heretical opinions marred the work: the fruits of his labours "were soon solemnly proscribed". Some time after the appearance of Brucioli's version, in I55I, Teofilo's "New Testament" was printed at Lyons and was included among Protestant versions by le Long.

In I544, Gelido,[43] representative of Cosimo at Venice, wrote to the Duke's secretary to inform him that he was on the point of sending him the works of Melancthon, Sarcirius, and Spangenberg:[44] so far he had been unable to find Luther's "Postillium" - "the first copy that arrives will be for you". He went on to say that he possessed the complete works of Melancthon in five volumes in the Basel edition of I54I, and was about to see two others. This representative eventually apostatised completely.

A letter written by a certain Doni in March, I548, speaks of a Lodovico Domenichi as "one of the greatest traitors that go about in the world...enemy of his imperial Majesty".[45] Domenichi came to Florence to present and dedicate to the Duke his translation of Xenophon. But it came to the knowledge of the Inquisition that he had printed at Florence, in contravention of the

43. Passerini. "Il primo processo per la Riforma in Firenze", in the "Archivio Stor., Ital", Serie IV, Vol.iii, pg., 337.

44. Kawerau on "E.Sarcirius" (d.I559) and "J.Spangenberg" (d.I550), in the "Realencyklopädie".

45. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII, pp., 356-360.

laws,Calvin's "Nicomediana". This work was first printed at Basel in I537 with the title,"Johannis Calvini sacrarum litterarum in Ecclesia Genevensi professoris Epistolae duae de rebus hos seculo cognitu apprime necessariis",and was directed against those 'pseudo-Nicodemuses' who,Protestant at heart at least,through fear of the consequences or desire to suffer no temporal loss, remained in the Roman Church. For printing such a work at Florence,Domenichi was sentenced to make a public abjuration and to ten years imprisonment. Giovio interceded for him,however,and Domenichi escaped the consequences of his bold venture.

An exceedingly rare event in Italy took place in I55I,when an 'auto-da fe' was held in Florence: it was of course modelled on the ghastly Spanish ceremony. This grim pageant provides us with some indication as to the number of people who,though doubtless not the only ones in Florence addicted to religious innovations,had by the profession of them made themselves obnoxious to the Inquisition. The number who,wearing the 'sanbenito',were led to make their abjuration,amounted to twenty two,one of them being a gentleman formerly in Cosimo's service. The proscribed books they possessed were first commited to the flames,and then their owners paid the supreme penalty. Never in the period under our notice did so great a number of heretics suffer at one time as on this occasion in Florence.

It remains now to consider two Florentines,both of high station,who favoured heretical opinions. Vermigli has already been considered: the two who remain to be considered are,Caterina Cibo,and secondly and especially,the favoured protégé of the

46.Rastrelli."Fatti attinenti all'Inquisizione...di Toscana"p.409, Florence,I782.

de'Medici,Pietro Carnesecchi.

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Caterina Cibo.

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Born in I50I,this woman ,the grand-daughter of Innocent VIII, was one of the remarkable women of her age. She pursued the study of Latin,Greek,and Hebrew at an early age,and having acquired a knowledge of the ancient ~~knowledge of the~~ languages,applied herself to the study of the Scriptures in the original tongues. As was the case with Giulia Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna,her husband died when she was quite young,and widowed at the age of twenty six she encountered much misfortune in directing affairs in the Duchy of Camerino. Although this duty occupied her careful attention,she was not prevented from taking an interest in religious contemplation. Reformation of the Church at all costs was her supreme desire,and towards it she directed her every energy.Having been compelled to leave her Duchy she took up her residence in Florence and sought to attract to her 'salon' those who were the keenest friends of Reform of the Church. Among these were Firenzuola,Flaminio,Ochino,and Berni. Ochino's subsequent career is well known;Flaminio was involved in the search for heretics; Firenzuola was a monk whose "Conversazioni sull'Amore" were not without heretical tendencies,and the same could be said of Berni's "De Orlando Innamorato".

Caterina's lively interest in religion and reform impelled her to take as great an interest in the Capuccini as did Vittoria Colonna,and to the efforts on their behalf of these two distinguished ladies the Capuccini owed a great debt. She knew Matteo de'Bassi,but it was her connection with Ochino that is

47.Serdonati."Alcune Vite di Donne celebri",Padua,I872.

best remembered and which made her notorious. Carnesecchi, in the course of his famous trial, said, that in 1556 she remained Ochino's friend; she was so "et ante et post discessum"[48] Her dealings with Pole and Giberti, but especially with the leaders of the movement for reform everywhere, attracted Rome's attention, and she came to be considered as "Haeretica, Sectatrix Haereticorum et Doctrix Monialium Haereticarum".[49] Her death in 1557, together with her lofty social standing, no doubt saved her from falling a victim to persecution for religious opinions.

Pietro Carnesecchi.

Carnessechi was one of the most respected men at the Roman Court, and his attachment to both it and the de'Medici family, guaranteed for him a high position.[50] Cardinal Bembo wrote of him in the highest terms,[51] and Sadoleto in a letter to Bandinello in 1533, described him as "plenus officii atque humanitatis adolescens."[52] Tiraboschi calls him a "man of rare talent, and of very amiable disposition."[53] Clement VII held him in such great esteem as to choose him as his secretary and later as Protonotary, in addition to which latter appointment he conferred upon him two abacies. It is not easy to say how great an effect the death of this de'Medici Pope had upon him, but there can be little doubt that a sort of mysticism analogous to that of the Italian

48. "Estratto del Processo", pg., 59.

49. Corvisieri. "Compendio de'Processi del Sant'Ufficio", 1880.

50. Benrath's Art., "Carnesecchi" in the "Realencyklopädie". Agostini "P. Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdés.."

51. Bembo. "Lettere", tom. III, pp. 437-439. "Lettere Volg.." Vol. III, p. 70

52. Sadoleti Epistolae Familiares. Vol. II, pg., 189.

53. Tiraboschi. Vol. VII, pp., 305-306.

ladies already mentioned took a hold on him. A sign of this ch- 216
ange, Agostini suggests, is to be seen in Paul III's choosing an-
other secretary in place of Carnesecchi.[54] It was only natural
that in the struggle within between the world of sense and the
world of the spirit he should seek the companionship, when des-
pairing of finding an escape, of kindred spirits. Therefore, he
visited Giulia Gonzaga, and it was she who persuaded him to join
Valdés' society at Naples. A temperament such as his, and the ex-
periences he had undergone, prepared him admirably for his intro-
duction to this circle, although it is possible that he knew little
of the ideas of its members. Valdés he had known at Rome,[55] and
so his intimacy with him at Naples was a resumption of the friend-
ship begun in the Eternal City. Ochino also he had known hither-
to; he had heard him preach at Rome in 1534, and was so im-
pressed with that discourse as to hear him at Florence two years
later.[56] But it was Flaminio who most attracted the former Proto-
notary.[57] Him Carnesecchi selected as his guide and master in the
Valdesian circle. There, says Carnesecchi, besides adhering to the
"purely theoretical article of justification by faith", they were
encouraged by the Spaniard to liberate themselves from the ex-
ternal observances which were clogging the religious life, to ap-
proach God more closely and to give a greater importance to li-
ving faith and grace.[58] He himself, says Rodocanachi, was leaning
now towards more radical views; he was beginning to doubt the

54. Agostini. pp., 70-72. 55. "Estratto". pg., 196.

56. "Estratto del Processo". pg., 517.

57. "Estratto del Processo". pg., 196.

58. "Estratto del Processo". pg., 533.

existence of Purgatory and the efficacity of confession. There was also among several of his friends an inclination towards the Lutheran type of Reformation.[59]

In I54I,he left Naples,and stayed for some time in his native Tuscany,where Pole and Giberti lodged with him. Why he left Naples is not exactly clear,unless the reason is to be found in the death of Valdés in the previous year. On his journey north there accompanied him as far as Rome an Abbot who,says Agostini,[60] quoting Tizzano,was one of Valdés' chief disciples. He professed various Lutheran opinionsand expressed the view that "the Roman Pontiff was not the true and legitimate head of the Church".Moreover,the Abbot held that the only Purgatory was Christ's blood, which had already purged us;fasting was not obligatory,and the invocation of saints was not good. Arrived at Florence,Carnesecchi called on Caterina Cibo,[6I] and discussed with her the question of justification "but according to the Valdesian opinion,and without having made other digressions". But he seems already to have come upon some of the work of Luther and Butzer.

It was not long after Valdés' death that several of his adherents joined what was really the resuscitation of the Valdesian circle at Viterbo. Here,Pole could write that he was enjoying the "holy and useful companionship of Sig.,Carnesecchi, and our Mr.,Marco Antonio Flaminio."[62] In the Viterbo society,the questions touching on the central point of justificati on by faith

59. Rodocanachi. Vol.I,pg.,275.

60. Agostini. pg.,I03.

6I. "Estratto del Processo",pg.,202. See also Gothein.pg.,I60.

62. Epistolae Card.Poli,Vol.III,pg.,42. To Contarini;December 9.I542

were as eagerly discussed as they had been in Naples. Carnesecchi's view on justification in this period was given in the course of his trial.[63] "I held that the above mentioned works must be done by the justified Christian, as it is said, more for gratitude at the benefit received and to glorify God, than to acquire, by means of that, eternal life, presupposing according to the above mentioned doctrine that it is already acquired through the merits of Christ, participated in by the Christian through faith; not, however, denying that, by means of the said works, grace and justification is not increased." If the whole of this doctrine is difficult to reconcile with Luther's own, there can be absolutely no doubt that the last few words express a sentiment quite non-Lutheran. One feels that at Viterbo he was feeling his way yet. When he came to Venice and stayed there in 1545, Carnesecchi was able to breathe in a much more free air, and therefore, one in which the development of heretical tendencies was much easier. Whilst there, he influenced Camillo Orsini,[64] and that very greatly, for Orsini put aside fasting and penitence, and set himself to read the Pauline Epistles without any commentaries of the fathers and illuminated solely by the Holy Spirit. Another person, Manna, who had lodged with the Florentine, went as Reader to a Church in Otranto,[65] but accusations of heresy being directed against him, he was removed from that office. He recommended two other heretics as teachers to Caterina Cibo.

In this same year, 1545, the Sacramental controversies, to which attention has already been drawn, were interesting the Florentines. Cantù describes a painter there who depicted in

63. "Estratto", pg., 534. 64. "Estratto", pg., 348. 65. "Estratto", pp., 522-525.

connection with this controversy three loaves: under one stood Calvin,who said,"This is my body's symbol"; under the second was Luther,who said,"This contains my body";under the third was Christ, who said,"This is my body".[66] This controversy had attracted Carnesecchi's attention some time previously.[67] A letter of Flaminio, the genuine nature of which has been doubted,defends the doctrine of the Real Presence and the sacrificial nature of the Mass.The writer speaks of "the abominable Zwinglian sect,"and those followers of Luther who "condemn as idolatry the Mass,and those who listen to it with impiety". Carnesecchi contested this,and in so doing manifested most clearly his heretical inclinations. "The Mass is nothing other than the memorial of a sole and single sacrifice of the spotless Lamb,which is Christ,and the remembrance of this sacrifice." In support of this contention he drew upon Chrysostom,Eusebius,and St.Augustine. He pointed out,however,that he was no Zwinglian; "the Zwinglian heresy concerning the sacrament,from which I have always been alienated",[68] he calls it,and indeed his judges held that from I543 he had been inclined not towards it but towards the Lutheran interpretation.Meanwhile he was keeping up the study of the German writers with a view to coming to a better understanding of their teaching,and especially of justification.

In view of all this,it is impossible to be surprised that in I546 a Papal brief cited him to Rome: he was suspected

66. Cantù. Vol.I,pg.,32I.

67."Lettere di Diversi eccelentissimi huomini".pp.240-247. I554. Schelhorn. Amoenit Eccles.,tom.II,pp.,I46-I49.

68. "Estratto". pg.,23I.

of holding the same opinions as did Vergerio. But Carnesecchi had strong friends,for Cosimo and Queen Catherine de'Medici were favourable to him. Moreover,his prompt compliance with the demand in the brief disarmed suspicion. Even the well known della Casa wrote of him,[69] "I believe him quite free from every evil opinion." Yet two things must be borne in mind: first,for some unknown reason the caseseemed likely to end not happily for the defendant,[70] and letters of Cosimo and Pole cut the case short,leaving it in a state of suspension. Secondly,there was his eventual withdrawal to his French possessions as the Italian heresy hunt grew hotter. Before departing for France,he called on Vittoria Colonna,[71] who was then in Rome,and together they rejoiced at Cardinal Pole's departure from the Council before the conclusion of the last debates on the subject of justification.

Whilst resident in France,he maintained his correspondence with both Flaminio and Giulia Gonzaga,[72] and found an excellent opportunity to associate with friends of the new opinions in both Paris and Lyons. After the narrow failure of Cardinal Pole to be elected to the Papacy,Carnesecchi's mind turned once more to his native land;in the June of I553 he arrived at Venice. It was scarcely possible that during the time he had spent in France he should have failed to be influenced by the Reformation. He had approximated to Luther on several points previously,and,like Flaminio and Morone,he considered that the Swiss Reformers only emphasised certain points in the German's teaching.[73] Now,however,

69. Della Casa."Opere",Vol.IV,pg.,22I.Letter of March 4th,I546.

70. Agostini. pp.,I80-I8I. 7I. "Estratto",pp.,348,549-550.

72. "Estratto",pp.,5I4,554. 73. "Estratto",pp.,326,306,308,556.

the inclination towrads Geneva was growing. Several things,no doubt,contributed to this: death had stalked abroad in the Valdesian circle in his absence;he was disappointed at the failure of the Ratisbon Colloquy,and much more recently,at the failure of the Tridentinum to provide anything but a dogmatic straitjacket suited to the Roman Church only;and then he had met Galeazzo Caracciolo. Carnesecchi maintained that "the Roman Pontiffs have arrogated more authority to themselves than they had from God in some things,and especially in indulgences and the superiority over other Churches"[74] - language which is very reminiscent of that of the "De Emendanda Ecclesia" of a few years previously. This kind of language was,however,not palatable now: the days of Paul III's Commission were past. Nevertheless,whilst Julius III lived,in spite of the fact that Carnesecchi maintained a close connection at Venice with an avowed Protestant,Rangoni,he was not molested. But this state of affairs could not continue: a different type of Pope succeeded Julius,and,moreover,Carnesecchi's evolution was complete. It remains briefly to outline the course of events until his death.

In I557,the Holy Office demanded his appearance at Rome: this the Venetian Senate opposed,a manifestation of resolution, and yet,the former Protonotary feared,an attitude the permanence of which was very doubtful. In June,I556,when the fanatic,Ghislieri,ruled in Rome as Pius V,Cosimo was entertaining Carnesecchi as his guest at Florence.[75] A message reached the Duke demanding the surrender of his guest,a request with which the perfidious

74. "Estratto",pg.,565.

75. Laderchii Annales,ad ann.,I567.

and trembling de'Medici complied. The trial began at Rome on July 4th,I566. Thirty four heads under which he stood condemned were drawn up,and the charges against him from I540,on which Pius IV had previously absolved him,were taken as established. The result was a foregone conclusion: ambiguous replies to the questions put to him just before his death in the effort to secure his abjuration gained for him the more merciful execution of his sentence - decapitation before burning - whilst contrary to custom,his ashes were borne into a church by monks instead of being scattered. He died on Sunday,September 2Ist,I567.

iii.Siena.

As was the case in Modena,Siena also contained Academies which played almost as notable a part in the dissemination of heresy as did those of Grillenzone and Castelvetro. The oldest of these,says Tiraboschi,was that of the Pozzi,which was said to have been in process of formation towards the close of the fifteenth century.[76] An Academy of later date was that of the "Intronati",founded in I525,in which the then Archbishop,Piccolomini,took a great interest. Both societies were concerned with the cultivation of the study of letters,but later began to interest themselves so much in the Reformation as to cause the Grand Duke of Tuscany to suppress both.[77] Siena had also its University,which enjoyed de'Medici protection. Hence there was present an atmosphere in which it was possible somewhat freely to give vent to curiosity not only about philosophical matters,but

76. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pp.,I28-I29.

77. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,pg.,94.

also those of religion. It was about I534 that Paleario was appointed to teach Greek and Latin by the Senate: during his tenure of that office his liberalism in theology became more pronounced.

Towards the close of I54I, an ordinance was published by the civil authorities which prohibited "anyone dwelling in the city or in the state from affirming or upholding an opinion reproved by the Church as heretical."[78] At the same time, the possession of heretical works was prohibited under penalty of death and the confiscation of the goods of the accused. Like several other ordinances put forth in Italian cities, this one probably remained a dead letter, for some few years later rumour of heretical tendencies in Siena reached Trent. The Archbishop of Siena, Bandini, was in that northern city in I545, and wrote thence to Siena in June on the matter. He advised the Signoria to promulgate an edict against those who were interesting themselves in heresy. The civil authorities promised to execute Bandini's wish, but beyond this promise took few steps in the direction desired by the Archbishop. Such seems to be evident from the fact that in the following June, not only heresy but also some frightful blasphemies were reported in the city: action was voted against the blasphemers. Like other civil authorities, however, those of Siena hesitated about proceeding in an extreme fashion, and recommended clemency in the treatment even of ecclesiastics. Four of those suspected, Buzio, Francesco, Primaticci, and Sisto, were so recommended.

To deal with the problem presented by the sale of heretical

78. For these details, see Piccolomini's work.

works a council was set up especially ~~to deal~~, and in April, 224
I548, in checking the dissemination of heresy by means of the press, this council issued an order for a search to be made among booksellers. Prohibited works were to be burnt in the public square. Moreover, a list of suspected persons was drawn up, and this included a good number of names of persons in several walks of life, of high as well as of low station. A certain Bentivoglianti, after twenty four hours detention, was examined in I569, and in the course of his interrogations he said that at Grosetto in I544, it was thought possible for anyone to discuss religious matters freely. The conduct of some of these people in church services revealed their antagonism to the Church, and ecclesiastical judges held that these actions were sufficient ground for conviction. These people would attack the doctrine of Purgatory, criticise the rites of the Church, but gave probably greater offence by refusing to listen to the sermon, and by turning their backs on the altar.

That among these people who so offended were several foreigners seems to be quite certain. There were several French merchants in the city who were Huguenots, and the German Lutheran students, who could rally round men like Paleario, were given to the most open profession of their religious views. In a "rag" in I559, students burned the door of the church of S. Agostino, and fired an arquebus at the windows of a convent. Notwithstanding all this, the German students who had participated in this affair were unpunished by the civil authorities: the threatened departure of the German community was sufficient to stay their hand. In I575, when the students threatened migration to Perugia,

the governor himself took the trouble to negotiate with a body of early not small in numbers, and terms were eventually agreed upon.[79]

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Bernardino Ochino

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Ochino is such a highly important figure in the history of the Reformation largely by reason of the fact that his flight and apostasy "formed the critical turning point in the movement of Catholic reform in Italy at which the minds of men decided finally for one side or the other."[80] He was born at Siena in I487, and like an illustrious saint of Siena of an earlier day, was called Bernardino.[81] Early in life he manifested a religious fervour which led him at a youthful age into the Minors Conventual where, however, he did not stay for long, and whence he passed to Perugia to study medicine. Tiraboschi, quoting Fontanini, asserts that Ochino was both inconstant and restless from early youth:[82] this may explain Ochino's departure for Perugia. At any rate, having met the future Clement VII, who came to have an affection for him, in the Umbrian city, he returned to the cloister. But the rigour there was not sufficiently intense. As he wrote to Muzio later in life,[83] "Impelled by the desire to save my soul, I went about pondering what path I should choose. The religious Orders appealed to me,.....But among them all, the rule of....the Obser-

79. Piccolomini. "Documenti del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena sull'eresia...durante il Sec.XVI", in Bol.Sen.di Sto.Pat, an.XV(I908) & an.XVII(I9I0).

80. Pastor.Vol.XII, pg., 497. c.f.Gothein, pg., I58.

8I. Benrath's Article "Ochino" in the "Realencyklopädie", and his "Ochino", London, I876.

82. Tiraboschi.Vol.VII.pg., 294.

83. Quoted by Benrath, "Bernardino Ochino", pp., 9-I0.

vants,seemed to me the strictest.....Hence I concluded that it must best represent the teachings of Christ,and I entered this Order. But I did not find what I expected.....When I beheld the severity of their (i.e.the Capuccini's) life,I put on their garb. .....I now deemed to have found what I sought;and I well remember that I turned to Christ with,'Lord,if I do not now save my soul,I know not what more I can do'..." He did not,in the days when he was a member of the Roman communion no longer,spurn the hand that fed him in his childhood. When seventy years of age,he could write,"To this day I do not regret having spent a part of my life in a monastery,for there I was preserved from sins into which I should have fallen as a layman. Besides,granting that errors are prevalent in the Scholastic theology.....yet many seeds of truth are planted which may serve to open their (the pupils') minds to the right understanding of Holy Scripture. .....I should scarcely have been initiated into contemplative theology, had I not in the convent been forced to occupy myself with this study."[84]

It is clear from this that Ochino possessed a deeply religious nature. Moreover,his eloquence,backed by such a character as his,made a remarkable appeal to those who heard him preach. Muzio says that he had preached at Rome with remarkable effect, an admission on the part of "Malleus Haereticorum" which testifies to the measure of success Ochino enjoyed.[85] Promotion could not be far distant,and in I538,he attained the rank of General of the Capuccini. It was in I536 that Charles V heard the inspired

84. "30 Dialoghi",ii,27,pg.,376.

85. Muzio. "Le Mentite Ochiniane",fol.,I2,6.

preacher at Naples, and the Emperor was profoundly impressed. But it was here also that he fell under the spell of Juan Valdés. The Spaniard gained such an influence over Ochino that, according to Carnesecchi, he provided Ochino with texts for his sermons.[86] Subsequently, says Pastor, Valdés introduced him to the works of Luther, Butzer, and Calvin.[87] "The results soon showed themselves, and voices arose accusing the Capuchin monk of heresy." The viceroy was prepared to listen to such charges, but most people were of the opinion of Vittoria Colonna who attributed them to the envy of other preachers. The storm died down, and when the Theatines accused him again, their accusations were disregarded. He preached in his native Siena in I539, and here, as in other places, he was looked upon as a prophet of his age. Wherever he went his sermons aroused discussions on the Scriptures and on religion. Pastor, with his accustomed venom, says that he "set about the disseminations of his views with great artfulness" - as though the Capuccino were beginning a premeditated and insidious attack on the Church. When one considers his life from his youth upwards, the influence for good he had been on so many of the Church's adherents, the spiritual crisis in Italy round about I540 in which both they and Ochino were struggling towards they may not have known what, one cannot but feel how unfortunate it is that even this historian cannot avoid being governed by ~~apriorics~~ presuppositions. Ochino's evolution was slow: in I540, Carnesecchi, who was himself going through a similar crisis at that time and was a Valdesian, noticed in him a tentative and cautious groping after justification

86. "Estratto", pg., I96.

87. Pastor. Vol.XI, pg., 488.

by faith. Few noticed that he was going in a dangerous direction. In the September of I540,he wrote to the Council of Siena;[88] "I am sure that you will readily believe I would gladly preach in my own Siena during the coming Lent .....There is only one hindrance in the way,namely,that he (i.e.the Pope) who disposes of me must agree to it." In I54I,he was reelected General of the Cappuccini: he had evidently not fallen out of favour. On this,Benrath,quoting Boverio,writes,[89] "Many contend that Ochino had already swerved in his heart from the doctrines of the Church. However that may be,so much is certain,that he had not shown the slightest token of heresy either by word of mouth or writing." Moreover,even if he had been absent from various ceremonies of the Church,this was no indication of a change of allegiance: Paul III had given him,by reason of his several duties as General,leave of absence. For Ochino,"laborare est orare."

What of his sermons round about this period?[90] Like the early Luther,he emphasised the need for a reformation of conduct. In the first of his sermons of the course he delivered in the early part of I539,he showed opposition,just as Erasmus had done previously, to the ecclesiastical institution of confession,because of its abuse. He drew from his own experience in emphasising the need for introspection. It was his regard for the practical,his anthropology rather than his theology,which prompted him to say in the second part of this sermon,"Thy works will not make thee proud,for thou wilt acknowledge that if God's grace did not sustain us,we should

88. ~~Beaber. Vedrin, pp., 488.~~ Piccolomini."Bollet.Sen."I908,I9I0.

89. Benrath,pp.,29-30.

90. Benrath,pp.,3I-55,for Ochino's sermons.

do that which is evil by our own strength." One can hardly deny that here there seems to be a marked Lutheran tendency. He continues,"...a little penny which thou givest for thy soul is more efficient than if thou wert to leave all thou hast for that purpose after thy death. And for this reason. If thou wert in Paradise,thou dost not need it; if thou wert in Hell,no alms would redeem thee from thence. Thou wilt say,but they will avail in Purgatory. Be it so; but if thou bestowest them during thy lifetime in love and with a living faith,they will even efface thy deadly sins and restore to thee the lost grace of God,and that is the greatest good and the greatest benefit which thou canst attain." There was undoubtedly something of the Humanist in Ochino. In his second sermon of I539,preached on the festival of the Annunciation,he discussed the meaning and necessity of the Incarnation. Christ fulfilled the ancient covenant and came not to save eight souls in the Ark but to redeem mankind,not to build a Jerusalem for us,but to make us heirs of heavenly glory. Yet,as though to check any uprising within the members of his audience of the spirit of pride on that account,in his fourth sermon,on the meaning of Christ's death,he reminded them of Him in his sufferings as an example and that humanity's sins make us partakers in the guilt. In the fifth sermon,as in his first,he returned to the question of conduct. Attendance at Mass was dangerous if such attendance was only a habit,and belief in transubstantiation was desired and not the proof of it. This last suggestion he probably made because of a dislike for the Scholastic subtleties which prompted the ridicule of the Christian Humanists especially in the early days of the sixteenth century. His sixth

and seventh sermons are highly interesting. The blind belief 230
he had advocated in treating the doctrine of transubstantiation seems to give way a little to the spirit of Bishop Butler's "probability is the guide of life", and also to personal expediency. "They are so many heretics who say we need not obey the commandments of the Church. Very well . They say we need not confess. But I ask them, does that person do ill, who, filled with sorrow for his sin.....confesses to another; they are forced to reply, No. It is, therefore, safer to confess than not to confess, even if it were not an imposed duty.....Then they say, it is not needful to obey the Pope. Even were this not the case we should have to follow him when he pronounces Christian, wholesome, and good laws, as we should every government, so long as their ordinances are not contrary to God and our salvation. In the same manner we obey the Pope, whom Christ has instituted His vicar on earth, only not when in sin. Others say we need do no good works, because faith alone and not works brings us to salvation. In any case it is safer to do good works..... They say a thousand other follies that only proceed from their pride, arrogance, and selfishness of their hearts!" In his eigth sermon, on St. Mary Magdalene Day, he spoke on true contentment, which, he said, did not spring from the gratification of sensual desires, nor from abundance of knowledge, nor religious revival nor emotion, but from grateful, unconditional, surrender to God's pardoning mercy. In the last sermon of the series, the ninth, he addressed students on St. Nicholas' Day. He showed his humanism in sketching the doctrine of perception of Aristotle and the idealism of Plato, from which he concluded that human wisdom without Christ was nothing. Scholasticsm he attacked in declaring that

the theology of Christ had been abandoned, as well as by declaring that "human theology" darkened truth: this is a view not unlike Luther's own on the Scholastics,[91] and bears a resemblance if pressed only a little further to the German's "Reason speaks nothing but madness and foolishness especially concerning holy things" in the "De Servo Arbitrio". He said very much the same sort of thing in the same year, 1539, in the first of his "Seven Dialogues"[92] between chiefly, Caterina Cibo and himself. "Our blindness is so great, that we do not love God, although all things which inspire love are possessed by him in the highest degree." There are several traces of humanism in the Dialogues, deviations from and attacks on Scholasticism, but just as in the nine sermons, the same insistence upon inner reformation and the resting of all hopes on God.

By the end of 1539, it is clear that Ochino had struggled to a position which was dangerously near the borders of heresy, the evolution towards which is to be seen especially in the nine sermons. And yet, up to the very last moment he faithfully believed that he was serving the Church.

In 1541, Ochino printed some of his sermons, and these were read at Venice. He was authorised by Paul III to preach there in 1542, but the Nuncio, Mignanelli, suspected some of his expressions and demanded an explanation of them. Mignanelli also set himself to keep the Lenten preacher under observation. The feeling that he was being watched must have set a man in Ochino's frame of mind on edge, but the greater circumspection with which he sought

91. Vd. Mackinnon. Vol. III, pg., 222.

92. "Dialoghi Sette". Venezia, 1542.

now to preach was shattered by the news of Terenziano's incarceration for heresy: now the Cappuccino,like a hunted animal,flew at his pursuers."....O noble Venice...if those who preach to you the truth are to be thrown into prisons....What place will be left to us?" The Nuncio at once suspended him from preaching, but the prohibition lasted for only three days,so great was the protest of the Venetians against the suppression of their popular preacher. The conclusion of Lent enabled Ochino to go to Verona, where he assembled a number of the Cappuccini of the province and delivered lectures on the then highly fascinating and equally dangerous Pauline Epistles. His greater inclination towards heretical doctrines,and eventually,the recognition that the logical conclusion of his teaching was the suppression of the will's freedom,were contemporaneous with this course of instruction.

Notwithstanding all this,the Council of Siena sought in April their distinguished countryman,and invited him to preach for them. In the following month he replied to their request,"I have received,at the instigation of the Venetian Dominion,a brief from His Holiness which commands me to return to Venice and remain there until further orders." He promised,however,to come to Siena as soon as possible,and significantly,never mentioned Rome: his summons to that city he seems not to have expected. On the 4th. of July,Paul had nominated the Inquisitors General; on the I5th. he invited Ochino to Rome,"to discuss certain matters relative to the monks of his Order,and the remedies to apply to religion."[93] This was very vague. If Ochinodid not expect the invitation,neither did others guess the Pope's intention. It was,indeed,rumoured that

93. These letters are in Piccolomini,pg.,299 et seq..

the Cardinal's hat was going to be bestowed upon him.[94] A few days later a second letter reached him from the Pope repeating the invitation. Ochino hesitated and consulted Giberti, who was obviously ignorant of the purpose of the summons, for he supported the Cappuccino in delaying his compliance with the request, although emphasising the necessity of obeying the Pope's orders and trusting in the clemency of Paul III.[95] But between the two invitations to Ochino, the Bull, "Licet ab Initio", had been issued, and this showed that the rigid party headed by Carafa was gaining the ascendancy in the Pope's counsels. Is it quite without significance that in all the thirteen articles of this Bull there is no mention of forbidden books but of heretics only, and that one of the first to be called to Rome was Ochino? It is, however, not improbable that either the Pope had not fully decided in his own mind what course to adopt, or, had Ochino obeyed, that he would have been able to clear himself before the Pope. But Ochino hesitated, and doubtless, fear made some gain upon him when he set out. He had a letter from Giberti to Beccadelli, Contarini's secretary, so to the famous Venetian then lying on his deathbed at Bologna the General of the Cappuccini went.[96] What actually happened at this meeting we shall probably never know. He went on to Florence, and there met Vermigli, whose own plight was so like his, although the Augustinian was further advanced into Protestantism than the Cappuccino. Ochino was now won over to the idea of flight from Italy, and therefore, he went over to Siena to see his friends for the

94. Boverii Annales, ad., ann., 1542.

95. Pastor. Vol.XI. pg., 491.

96. For a more detailed discussion of this see pg., 311, infra.

last time,and after his return to Florence wrote on August 22nd,234
to Vittoria Colonna.[97] In this letter he told her that he had come to
Florence to pass thence to obey the Pope's summons,but he had been
dissuaded by several. "Christ has taught me to flee. What more shoud
I do in Italy?preach Christ surrounded by suspicionand with ambig-
uous words?" He asked her opinion and that of Cardinal Pole. Cater-
ina Cibo furnished him with the necessary means to cross the Appe-
nines,which he did with three other former monks. The Duchess,Re-
née,[98] received the party at Ferrara. Instead of passing over the
nearby German frontier,beyond which Lutheranism prevailed,they left
René~~Renee~~,whose connection with Geneva was well known,and proceed-
ed to that city by way of Mantua,the Po valley,and Aosta. In Sept-
ember,Calvin wrote to Viret,[99] "We have here a Senese of venerable
appearance who will be very useful if he comes to learn our lan-
guage: his departure has moved Italy considerably." In December,
Bullinger describes in a letter to Vadian the arrival of Bernardino
"in Augusto ex Italia Capucini ordinis." From Geneva Ochino wrote
to the Communal Council of his native town where he had several
disciples. In this letter he expressed his views on the consequen-
ces of the Fall,and justification by faith alone in no certain terms.

Calvin was quite right when he said that Ochino's flight
had moved Italy considerably,for the enemies of the Cappuccini,who
had not been silent in former years,now pointed out the need for
the suppression of the whole Order - a view which Paul himself now
inclined to favour.[100] In I544,the famous Ambrogio Catarino undertook

97."Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna",pg.,247.

98.Solmi."La Fuga di B.Ochino",in the Boll.Sen.,Vol.XV.Siena,I908.

99."Calvini Opera",Vol.XI.pp.447,479. I00. Pastor.Vol.XI,pg.,539.

the refutation of Ochino's doctrinesin the work entitled,"Rime- di alla pestilente doctrina di Frate Bernardino Ochino",and in I55I, a second attack was delivered in his pamphlet by Muzio,"LeMentite Ochiniane".Such as Tolomei were not disposed to bludgeon the offender,as may be seen from this correspondent's deploring the step Ochino had taken. Ochino's reply of November is interesting,[IOI] "In Geneva,where I am now residing,excellent Christians are daily preaching the pure word of God." He had now begun violent attacks on the Roman Church. This pleased Calvin greatly,as a letter of his to Viret in October shows,but only a few months later he wrote to Pellican in terms which show that he was none too sure of Ochino,who, rumour said,was defective on Christ and the Trinity.[IO2] In the conversations he had with the Italian,however,Calvin says that he had been quite satisfied,even though he had in this interview adopted the greatest care so as not to divulge his reasons for pursuing such an enquiry. There is little to alarm one of Calvin's susceptibility in the little volumes of "Prediche" he produced between I542 and I544. Justification of the sinner through Christ,he said in his preface,is the beginning of the Christian life,and relying on St.Paul and St.Augustine,he would not allow to works even a part in justification. Nevertheless,there is a sunnier atmosphere than Calvin's,reflecting the blue Italian skies,as well as some of that mysticism brought by Valdés from Spanish contemplatives. Like Denck, he appealed to God's boundless love rather than the appeasing of His wrath.[IO3] It seems to be not so much his ideas,tending to become

I0I. "Calvini Opera",Vol.XI,pg.,458.

I02."Calvini Opera",Vol.XI,pg.528. Letter of May,I4th.,I543.

I03. Coutts."Hans Denck",1927. pp.,I42,I59.

more and more heterodox and thus necessitating his restless life until death relieved him,that cause him to appear quite different from Calvin and other Reformers,as this fundamental difference of nature and temperament. His departure from Geneva is not therefore surprising,although the city seems not to have expected it,as a house had been obtained for him. On October I5th, I545,Calvin wrote a short letter to Myconius at Basel,Ochino himself being the bearer: in it the Swiss Reformer spoke of him as "a man lately of great reputation in Italy,who is certainly worthy the highest esteem everywhere."[I04] The ex-Cappuccino did not remain long at Basel,for he was teaching in Augsburg before the end of the year,and during the reign of Edward VI was in England,from which he had to depart on Mary's accession. The expression of heterodox views became more pronounced. He used his pen to attack Zwinglian opinions in Zurich,and was,chiefly for this reason,compelled to set out in the winter of I563. He eventually reached Cracow,and after more wanderings died at Schlakkan in Silesia in the winter of I564.

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I04. "Calvini Opera". Vol.XII,pp.,I36-I37. With regard to the purchase of the house,see footnote of the letter on pg.,I36.

Chapter XIII.

i.Bologna.

Since Bologna was in the States of the Church and a city to which the Popes loved to resort it would hardly appear that heresy could make much headway there. Moreover,the peculiar craze for relics,which was by no means confined to any one country in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had not left Bologna unaffected,and hence,when it was noised abroad that Campeggio had procured the transference of the relics of St.Ursula's companions,the city was thrilled with joy at this religious treat.[1] It was a pleasant change from the extreme horror all the faithful had experienced when a sacrilege had been committed a short time previously. And yet conditions were favourable for the inroads of heresy. First,the morals of several ecclesiastics were in a terrible state. In November,1534,the Pope wrote to Campeggio,about the scandalous life which the nuns of S.Caterina,who had already attracted the attention of Clement VII,were still leading. He wrote again in the following January advocating the adoption of drastic measures.[2] Second,there was the University. This centre,with the greatest tradition of all the Italian Universities,was under Papal protection and the recipient of numerous favours and priveleges.[3] During the sixteenth century it shared with Padua the distinction of being a base of the Aristotelian philosophers who were waging their war with the Platonists and

I. Battistella. "Il Sant'Ufficio in Bologna".Bologna,1905,pg.,16.

2. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pp.,39-40.

3. Tiraboschi. Vol.VII,Bk.I,pp.,87-88,also pg.,331 and 343.

Neoplatonists,and Aristotelianism,even if so largely used by Aquinas,contained elements which were decidedly non-Christian. Its exponents claimed the equality of philosophy with theology, and went so far as to deny the existence of the Deity as conceived by Christian Theists,and the immortality of the soul. Not that this indicated the possibility of Bologna's University leading a religious revolt: such an event was,as we sought to demonstrate from Rashdall,quite unlikely to happen in an Italian University. And this in spite of the fact that,as at Padua,several German students came to study there. These,however,along with the many German merchants and soldiers in the city,against whom neither Contarini nor Morone were inclined to be severe,occasioned no little anxiety.

We find,therefore,three factors facilitating the introduction of heresy into the city: first,dissatisfaction aroused by the sight of so much ecclesiastical corruption; second,the atmosphere of speculation and dangerous inquiry on non-Catholic lines; the presence of a non-Italian,non-Catholic,body of people in the city.[4]

About the year I533,there came to Bologna a Senese,Mollio, who entered the Minorites and was a great student. He gradually deviated from orthodoxy the more he occupied himself with the study of the writings of the Reformers and the Scriptures themselves. Before coming to Bologna he had taught at Brescia,Milan, and Pavia,and arrived at Bologna he gave vent to opinions on justification and other religious topics such as aroused considerable interest and a public disputation with the Professor of Metaphysics,Cornelio. As was the case at Modena,this academic

4. "Histoire des Martyrs",fol.,264,edition of I597.

quarrel was made into a larger issue and brought to the notice of Rome by Cornelio,who charged his opponent with heresy. The Minorite,however,escaped condemnation,but returning to Bologna he continued to draw inferences from the Pauline Epistles upon which Rome had forbidden him to lecture. This defiance of authority could have only one result: the increasing success of the lecturer again attracted attention,and on Campeggio's instigation the Pope issued an order for his removal from the University.

That interest ran high in religious matters in certain circles in Bologna is testified by letters written towards and after I540. One of these was addressed to Planitz,ambassador of the Elector of Saxony to Charles V. The writer expressed the opinion that the prospect of a Council to take in hand the greatly-to-be-desired reform of the Church had stimulated the greatest expectations.[5] In the course of this letter he said: "We are quite aware that it is an affair of little consequence to you whether a Council is or is not assembled,as you already have,as is fitting to strong and faithful Christians,rejected Antichrist's tyrannical yoke,and asserted your right to the sacred privileges of Jesus Christ's free kingdom, in such a way that in all parts you read,write,and preach publicly as you please.....We also know,that it gives you no uneasiness to hear that in foreign countries you are heavily charged with heresy, but that on the contrary,you hold it a matter of joy and satisfaction to undergo persecution,imprisonment,and fire and sword. Thus it is obvious to us that,in insisting on the meeting of such an assembly,you do not consider the German's' advantage,but that,obeying the apostolic command,you seek the advantage and the salvation of

5. Seckendorf."Historie des Luthertums und der Reformation",lib.iii, pp.68-69.

others. For this reason all Christians hold themselves particularly indebted to you,and do so we Italians,who,in proportion to our proximity to the tyrannical court (unfortunately we cherish in our bosom the tyrant) are compelled to acknowledge the divine blessing of your liberation. We exhort you by Christ's faith.... to use every means possible....to obtain this highly desirable and needed assembly.....desired,demanded,expected,and loudly called for,by the most pious,learned and honourable men in the most famous Italian cities,and even in Rome itself; many of whom will flock to you,we do not doubt,as soon as they learn that this is your embassy's object. And finally,we hope that this will be willingly permitted,.....that Christians shall have the liberty of examining each the other's confessions,as the just live not by other's works, but by their own faith.....But,if Satan's malice continues raging to such an extent that this boon cannot be at once procured, freedom will be granted in the meantime surely to both clergy and laity.to purchase Bibles without incurring the charge of heresy, and to quote Christ's or Paul's sayings without being indicted as Lutherans. For,unfortunately,instances of this frightful practice occur; and if this is not a sign of Antichrist's reign,what is it, when the Law,grace,doctrine,peace and liberty of Christ are so plainly opposed,trampled and rejected?"

Heretical books were regarded as being one of the chief means of spreading heresy. After Vespers on Sunday,March 3Ist., I538,a great number of copies of the Sommario were burnt in the public square,and not long afterwards numerous copies of the Beneficio shared the same fate.[6] In I543,these heretical books had

6.Rainieri."Diario di cose seguite in Bologna",edited by Guerini and Ricci,Bologna,I887,pg.,35.

become such a menace that the Inquisitors General on the I2th., 24I of July issued a very severe edict against the diffusion of such heretical publications in Bologna,as well as in Rome itself and Ferrara.[7] In the meantime the Lutherans had been increasing in numbers,and were interesting themselves,as were many other Italians in I54I,in the bitter Eucharistic controversy between Luther and the Zwinglians. Butzer wrote three letters on this matter to Italian adherents of the Reformation;the first on August 8th.,the second on September I0th.,and the third on December 23rd.,the second of these letters being addressed by Butzer under his own name (the othertwo were signed "Aretius Felinus")to the Protestants of Bologna and Modena. He said that he had learnt that controversy was agitatingpeople on the subject of the Eucharist. Towards the end of this letter he writes; "The too sharp contentions that have taken place amongst us in Germany was a work of the flesh. It seemed to us that Lutherfixed Christ glorified to earthly signs by his too strong language;and on the other hand,he and his friends thought that we gave nothing in the Eucharist but bread and wine. The Lord at last,however,has brought us to a happy agreement both on the wording and on the matter itself;so that both parties should speak honourably of these mysteries,and that the one should not seem to ascribe unto Christ what is unworthy Him,nor the other to celebrate the Lord's supper without the Lord. I beseech you,keep this understanding with us;and if it has on any occasion been injured,imitating our conduct in what is of Christ,and not in what is of flesh; this should be the only contest and dispute among saints."[8] Although the converts were numerous,it was probably an exaggeration on

7.Pastor.Vol.XII,pg.508. See also Reusch."Indices"pg.,I70 et seq..
8. Buceri Scripta Anglicana. Basel,I577,pp.,685-69I.

Altieri's part when he wrote to Germany that a Bolognese noble-
man was,if a war against the Pope were deemed necessary by the
Protestants,prepared to lead six thousand men into the field.[9]
This is interesting,however,not only because it suggests no little
enthusiasm on the part of many in the cause,but also because a
person of high social standing could be attracted towards it.

Several persons were sent to Rome in I549,and were impri-
soned there as suspects,the imprisonment lasting for several months
until Paul III's death,when the Roman mob exercised their accus-
tomed privilegeof raiding and opening the prisons.[IO] The demand of
several of these persons for a fair trial after the accession of
Julius III,and their acquittal seem to suggest less the unfounded
suspicion against them than the mildness of the new régime now
inaugurated at the Vatican. Two people who had to undergo penance
were Brascaglia and Ribaldi. The former at a later date having
fallen into the old errors he had publicly renounced in I550 was
held to be a relapsed heretic and was handed over to the secular
arm in I562. Ribaldi was a noble.

The mild treatment of the heretics meted out by Contarini
at Bologna,according to Pastor,was evidently wasted,as was clear
from the increase of heresy after the Cardinal's death.[II] In I550,
therefore,the opposite method was tried in an attempt to arrest
the rising tide. A tribunal of the Inquisition was established,
and it is highly significant that the authority of judges,which
hitherto had been deemed sufficient to cope with the problems

9. Seckendorf. lib.,iii,pg.,579.

IO. Battistella."Processi d'Eresia.....in Bologna",pg.,I46.

II. Pastor. Vol.XII,pg.,503.

presented by the whole of north Italy was brought to bear especially on Bologna. Fra Leandro Alberti was the first "Inquisitor of Bologna", and this capable man was thus able to direct all his attention to matters in the city. And yet, often enough, heretics escaped the toils even after their incarceration. One such was Fra Girolamo,[12] who preached at Chioggia about the beginning of I549, and, having been arrested, was imprisoned for a night at Bologna to give him an opportunity to prepare a reply to his interrogators. On the following morning it was discovered that the victim had broken down the door and made good his escape. A much higher standard of efficiency was subsequently gained, and the progress of heresy was arrested so much that heresy almost if not entirely disappeared.

ii. Faenza and Ravenna

The activities of the Reformers in the north of Europe aroused, as we have in the instance of the Eucharistic controversy, considerable interest in various Italian Protestant circles. One who was profoundly affected by Luther was a certain Gabriele Valliculi, who modelled his "Deliberali Dei Gratia et Servo hominis Arbitrio", which appeared between I530 and I536, on the famous "De Servo Arbitrio". This book was printed, apparently, at Nürnberg in I536,[13] but this was probably not its first publication, as it bears the distinct impress of an early enthusiasm for Luther's treatise which circulated in Italy very soon after the Reformer had written it. It was dedicated to Silvestro Benetto, nephew of and eventually successor to the then Bishop of Sarsina in the province of Forlì.[14]

I2. Buschbell. pg., I70. I3. Riederer. "Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelehrten und Bücher-Geschichte", tom. iv, pg., II2 et seq..
I4. "Corpus Reformatorum", Vol. II, pg., I42. Melancthon to Veit on the Sunday after the feast of St. John, I530. Is the "novus Lutherus" he mentions there Valliculi?

The following are extracts. "To the very reverend father in Christ and worthy Bishop of Luna,Dr.Benedetto Silvestro da Sarsina.....

"I am placed in a strait between two alternatives,being doubtful whether I should keep silence with regard to the free grace of God and the enslaved will of man,in which case death awaits me;or whether I should treat of them,and run the risk of falling into the hands of the impious. But the Holy Spirit teaches me that I should choose to fall into the hands of the impious than to sin in God's sight. ....In Thee alone,O God,have I hoped,and therefore shall never be moved. But why am I not confounded when the Holy Spirit speaks in my ear,What fruit of these things of which thou art now ashamed hast thou? It is because I come to Thee,O Christ, (and not to man's enslaved will) and my countenance is enlightened and not covered with shame. When I am not perplexed by the enslaved will of sin in Adam,I will by the free grace of God fly from it to my Saviour,Jesus Christ,and then I shall not be confounded. .....Free and deliver me for Thy righteousness sake,not for mine but for Thine: if I were to say for mine,then should I be of the number of those concerning whom the Holy Spirit said,'Being ignorant of God's righteousness they go about to set up a righteousness of their own.' Being totally depraved,I am justified not by my own,but by Thy righteousness,and if not by mine but by Thine, then is righteousness imputed to me by sovereign grace. .....In the first place,then,we hold that the human understanding,from its very nature,is incapable of comprehending anything but what is carnal,or of distinguishing between good and evil save by discernment according to the flesh. Poverty,want,ignominy,temporal losses,disease,death,and worldly misfortunes,it deems to be evil;but riches,

glory,reputation,health,long life,and all worldly blessings it holds good. It knows nothing of a God merciful,angry,avenging, prescient,predestinating,and producing all things,and this the Apostle testifies when he says,'For we have not received the spirit of this world',nor of reason,intellect,and will,but of the free grace of God,that we may know the things which are given us by God,and not by the understanding and the will - given,said the Apostle,not on account of any preceding merit. If they be given then they must be free,if free,then what merit is there in them? These things I have said,not in the learned words of human wisdom,nor in the sophists' dreams,but by the Spirit's teaching,comparing spiritual things with spiritual. .....Note to what length this blindness of heart and foolishness have gone. Men have adulterated God's immortal majesty,by shadowing out the image of perishing man,and not of man only,but also of the brute creation; they have become corrupt in their own enslaved will and stupidity of heart,and abominable in their pursuits,because human reason is quite ignorant of God,and neither comprehends nor seeks Him out; and accordingly they have turned aside to unprofitable things,not perceiving the things of God. But as,by man's enslaved will,sin abounded,so God's free grace has much more abounded;and as by man's enslaved will,sin reigned to eternal punishment,so by God's free grace the King of Zion reigns unto everlasting life. And who is it then who reigns? Not the understanding or will of man,but our Saviour,the Lord Jesus Christ,who has given us grace without any merit on our part. The plain truth is,that in respect of spiritual judgment the human understanding is entirely unacquainted with God, and though it were day and night incessantly employed in perusing,

scrutinizing,and ruminating on the whole Talmud,Holy Writ,and the works of philosophers and divines ancient and modern,it could never without the assistance of the Spirit truly understand His omnipotence,prescience,providence,mercy,or anger. It listens to discourses,professes to believe them,and hypocritically pretends to believe and imitate them,although in reality it is quite ignorant of God,and views heavenly things as fabulous. O the profound blindness of man! as Jeremiah testifies,saying,The human heart is depraved and unsearchable,who can understand it? The Lord searches the heart and innermost parts,but man's reason is incapable of discerning the things of heaven."

That there were in these parts of the Papal States many who were friendly to the new opinions seems to be indicated by the fact that when Paleario was in no little danger of capture on leaving Milan,he made for Faenza,and there found safety in congenial surroundings.[I5] Heretics had made themselves objectionable there before Paleario's appearance in the district. In July,I547,the vice-Legate of the Romagna received an order to crush the Lutheran heresy which had made its way into Faenza. Two preachers,charged with instructions to attack from the pulpit the innovation,were to aid in the work.[I6] But not withstanding all this,success was not considerable,and Protestantism continued to flourish. A preacher at Ravenna in the following year was interrupted in the course of his sermon by a man of some standing in the city.[I7] This person called the preacher a liar,but extricated himself from a difficult position

I5. Benrath on "Paleario",in the "Realencyklopädie".

I6. Fontana."Documenti Vaticani",pg.,397.

I7. Buschbell. pg.,302.

by asserting that the ecclesiastic had rendered falsely the text of Scripture; the doctrineshe had not sought to attack.Schel-
describes a youth who paid much more dearly for his temerity.[18] It was at Imola about 1544,that an Observantine preached on the necessity of obtaining heaven by the merit of good works. This discourse was interrupted by a youth who attacked such opinions as blasphemous,and drew the preacher into argument by using Scriptural quotations,the crowd all the while growing more interested and more favourable towards the interrupter. This temerity provoked the Observantine to wrath. The boy was eventually imprisoned,where,the writer of a letter said at the end of 1544,"he still lies".

How serious the ecclesiastics regarded the situation was shown by Sarpi,who wrote,"in several cities,and especially at Faenza,which was situated within the Pope's territories,sermons were preached in private houses against the Roman Church;and the number of those called Lutherans,or as they called themselves,Evangelicals, increased every day."[19] With this opinion Giannone is in agreement. Cervini and del Monte were both alarmed,and wrote to Cardinal Farnese to say that the evil was far greater than was thought to be the case with Faenza.[20] Loyola sent a Jesuit,and this man declared that men and women were alike involved: preachers must be sent without delay. When the day for more active opposition to the progress of heresy came Faenza was severely dealt with.[21] Rumour had it that at least sixty persons were going to be called upon to retract in 1568,

18. Schelhorn. "Amoenit.Hist.Eccles."tom.ii,pg.,54.

19. Sarpi."Histoire du Concile du Trente",pg.,87,Courayer's edition, c.f.Giannone,tom.iv,pg.,110.

20. Rodocanachi.Vol.II,pg.,300.

21. Cod.Vat.Urb.,1040,fol.,472 et seq..

and,indeed,fourteen were sent to Rome,three of whom were decapitated and then burnt in the Eternal City.

iii,Rome.

When Luther,in his address to the Nobility,said,"The nearer to Rome the worse the Christians"he was not at all incorrect in attributing this low moral standard to the chief city of Christendom at the beginning of our period. The Augean stables,for which successive Popes must be held chiefly responsible,were so frightful that Aleandro described several things in Babylon - as he called it - in Greek.[22]

It was not surprising that the level to which things had fallen should arouse the voices of "Prophets" who,in such circumstances, should call the people to repentance,and forecast the direst consequences for those who did not heed the exhortations of the instruments of God. This was received with considerable attention by many who felt themselves surrounded by an atmosphere of awful expectancy,and so encouraged the prophets became bolder and more denunciatory. After reading the Bull,"In Coena Domini",and bestowing his blessing upon a crowd of ten thousand people,Clement was greeted by a madman with - "Thou bastard of Sodom,for thy sins shall Rome be destroyed. Repent,and turn thee. If thou wilt not believe it,in fourteen days thou shalt see it." A famous prophet was Brandano,a hermit,who went about with a crucifix in one hand and a skull in the other and prophesied frightful calamities.

This long looked for event took shape in the Sack of Rome in I527,the reverberations of which rang throughout Western Christendom. Erasmus,writing to Sadoleto in October,I528,bewailed this

22. Pastor. Vol.XI,pg.,324 et seq..

tremendous misfortune loudly as the fall of "Ark of the Christ-
ian religion".[23] Creighton,in closing his "History of the Papacy"
with the event,implies truly that it was the end of an age: the
Italian Renaissance had ended and the age of the Counter-Reforma-
tion was about to be begin;a more and more serious and religious
view was thrust upon the attention of men. On hearing of the Sack
Sadoleto[27] wrote in June of I527 to Bina,"the corrupt age and the
customs of the court have drawn down the so great wrath of God",
and Villa says,"what has come to pass has not been by chance,but
by the judgment of God."[24] Gattinara wrote on June 8th,asking whe-
ther Rome "is to be some sort of Apostolic Seat or no".[25]

The attack itself was made on May 6th.,by an army composed
of Spaniards,Italians,and German landsknechts,the latter including
several Lutherans. Among these was one Grunwald who,when the loot-
ing was in progress,attiring himself as Pope,and surrounded by sol-
diers in the regalia of ecclesiastics of various ranks,went through
the city blessing the crowds and reciting the crimes of the clergy
which God had raised up Charles to punish.[26] All the catalogue of
offences against God and man were recited before Castel S.Angelo
where Clement was virtually a prisoner,and at the end of this dis-
course he probably heard Grunwald greeted with the loud cries of
the soldiery,"Long live Pope Luther!"

The low level both moral and spiritual,and finally this
visitation of God's wrath - as it was viewed - certainly were

23. Sadoleti Epistolae. Vol.I. written from Basel.

24. Villa."Asalto",pg.,I39 et seq..

25. Creighton. Vol.VI,pp.,299-300,I894.

26. M'Crie. pp.,60-6I.

factors in bringing about a revival of interest in religion. The presence of heretic soldiery in the city, and the demonstrations they made, probably did not effect many conversions among the Romans, although it is equally probable that innate Italian curiosity was considerably excited.

But at least one German Lutheran had been in Rome before the Sack.[27] This was Anghelart who had attached himself to the Order of Preachers and had celebrated Mass more than once. In I525 he became a Lutheran and returned to the status of a layman. Instead of concealing his opnions this man went about Rome proclaiming his views, neither would he celebrate Mass again nor return to his monastery.

A few years after the Sack, in I530, when Clement was taking steps against heresy, the Venetian envoy wrote to the Pope, "There are many heretics at Rome and you do nothing against them."[28] That there was considerable mildness in the treatment of heresy seems to be quite evident when we recall the case of Anghelart.

It was in I534 that another German of the Order of Preachers was interrogated in the office of a notary. This man, Pachart, was questioned about Anghelart, and gave the description the substance of which is given above. More serious was the case of five monks who, in I549, preached at Rome without impediment in favour of the Reformation, and that with some success.[29] One of these was Pallavicino, whose enthusiasm as greatly interested his hearers as it had in Piemonte. Another who had preached with him in that country was Mainardo. He had been the recipient of a brief in I535 testifying

27. "Investigationes", vol. VIII, fol., 258.

28. Sanuto. "Diarii", Vol. LIV, col., 284.

29. Rodocanachi. Vol. II, pp., 42-43.

his orthodoxy which had been impugned, and in I538 had preached 25I
at Rome where Loyola had suspected his propositions.

The great influx of heretical books into Italy was felt in
Rome as well as in other parts of the country.[30] As elsewhere, the
Roman booksellers complained that the imposition of a check on the
trade in Reformation writings would spell ruin for them. This is
eloquent testimony to the interest aroused in the very heart of
Romanism. It was, however, quite impossible for the influence of the
Reformation ever to be so great as to be productive of a lasting
alienation from Romanism even on the part of a minority.

Paleario.

In the south of the States of the Church is the small episcopal
city of Veroli.[31] There, in I503, was born Aonio Paleario. The
Bishop, Filonardi, regarded him as a promising student and directed
his studies until I52I, when Aonio went to Rome, and became there
librarian to a nobleman. He was thus able to come into the closest
touch with the world of letters. The Sack, and a quarrel with the
nobleman, caused him to leave Rome and begin a sort of wandering
scholar's existence, in the course of which he went to Perugia, then
to Siena, and in I53I to Padua, where Lampridio was commenting on
Aristotle and had formed a kind of Academy. Here he studied law
and became a very able jurisconsult. He also interested himself
in philosophy, and composed a poem, "De Animarum Immortalitate", in
which the unmistakeable impress of the age is to be seen; it is
a medley of pagan references and Christian sentiments.[32] He was again
in Rome for a time, and there participated whole-heartedly in the

30. Cantù. Vol.II, pg.,36I. 3I. Benrath in the "Realencyklopädie".
32. See the letter of Sadoleto to Gryphius; "Epistolae", tom.ii: I536.

literary life of the city. A little later,whilst residing at 252
Val d'Elsa,Paleario was drawn into religious controversy. There
arrived a monk named Cotta,who preached in such a way that the
scholar could not refrain from arguing with him and thus attract-
ing attention. He addressed a letter to the Cardinals on the matter.
"About this time there came to the city (Colle) to preach a man of
bold and subtle nature. To excite interest,he began by boasting
that he was writing against Tommaso Vio da Gaeta,as he had found
several errors in his books. But finding this was little believed,
he declared that he was going to publish a work against the opin-
ions of the Germans.....I found him.....eager for wordy war about
new things.....for more than two years I had no dealings with him
.....then Ireceived letters from my friends,informing me that my
opponent's wrath was again rising....What I request....is briefly
this: if an unjust report is made about me to you,I beg you not
only to reprove the impudence of the falsifier,but also to repress
by the weight of your character the audacity of his followers...."[33]

If there was a struggle in Paleario round about this time be-
tween the desire to continue in the safe course of a Humanist and
that which impelled him towards the highly dangerous one of an ar-
dent seeker after ecclesiastical reform,one can see the two ten-
dencies reflected in a letter written by Maffei to Paleario some
time after the incident at Colle."You often sprinkle your letters
with Greek quotations: this is excusable in you because of your
erudition: but if I were to do it it would not be well received. ..
There are great reports about the Council. We do not know how it
will turn out. Pole is to be Legate at Trent;Flaminio goes with him,

33. Palearii Opera. lib.,iii,ep.,IO.

also Priuli,and perhaps,Carnesecchi; more upright men are not to be found in the earth...."[34] Palearío also showed the Humanist he was in his own letters,such as in the one to Paolo Sadoleto on the occasion of the elevation of Paolo's uncle to the purple."Your uncle was among the first to oppose himself to this system (of obscuring divine wisdom) and the first who sought to interpret sacred subjects in Latin with clarity and lucidity. He being at the helm of the Christian Republic,good men fear that he will lay aside these studies. ...."[35]

The expression of an interest in religion to which he thus gave vent from time to time gradually became more vehement. After the affair at Colle,instead of withdrawing into the scholar's calm, he inclined more towards religious controversy,even if,as we have suggested,he was none too desirous of facing the consequences of his temerity. When at Siena he had been influenced by Ochino,and this in the same direction as many others who had come into contact with the Cappuccino. Almost inevitably,the Inquisitorial Tribunals of Rome and Florence sought him out. His evolution was,however,not yet by any means complete,and if he could not be checked, his avoidance of the storm and safety were sought by his friend Sadoleto. In a letter he wrote,on receiving Palearío's work on Immortality,Sadoleto said,"In my own name and Bembo's,I do not ask but beg you,to heed those who love you;as we are in times when it is necessary to consecrate oneself to the studies one is desired to devote oneself to,not to those from which one is to be turned away."[36]

34. Palearii Opera. lib.i,ep.,I8. 35. Palearii Opera.lib.ii,ep.,6.
36. Epistolae Sadoleti. Vol.II,pg.,369.

The tempest having been stilled for a short period Pale- ario removed to Siena but was unfortunate enough again to be involved in a struggle with those who sought his undoing. These banded themselves together,and led by the monks,requested the Bishop, Bandini,either to exile or to condemn him. Bandini was,however,in nothing like the same hurry as the zealots,and warded off their attacks. Eventually,even he had to give way so far as to permit the trial of Palearic. Of the heresy-hunt Palearic spoke bitterly, whilst expressing his views of our Lord in terms which show how intense his religious fervour had become.[37] In a letter to Bellanti, he says,"Cotta (a person present at the meeting of the Senators when Palearic's case was raised) asserted that,if I continued to live,there would not remain a vestige of religion in the state,because,when one day I was asked what was the chief thing given to mankind by God in which they might place their salvation,I replied, Christ. What the second? - Christ: and the third? - Christ. See then,onwhat times we are fallen. .....The conspirators flock in crowds,and the more bitterly a person speaks of me,the more religion he is thought to have. .....But,however miserable my condition may be,Christ will always be for me the only object of hope and veneration." A letter he wrote to Gallo from Rome in I542 seems to suggest that misrepresentation,as well as the importunity of his enemies and fear,were responsible for Palearic's trial being supported by Bandini.[38] ".....The dregs of the population of Siena have brought an accusation against me.....I might avoid the danger but do not choose to do so,so that I might not appear to be in the

37. Palearii Opera. lib.,iii,ep.,6.

38. Palearii Opera. lib.,iii,ep.,8.

wrong. Innocent as I am, I do not fear the result, nor am I so 255
fond of life as to seek to preserve it spotted by a taint of in-
famy. ....The archbishop, Francesco Bandini, will be my judge.....
though once very friendly to me by reason of our studies, he is now,
on account of these hotheads, greatly alienated." In this same let-
ter he spoke of Sadoleto, then setting out as Legate to France, in
such a way as to show how great was the trust he reposed in his
great friend. Exactly what part Sadoleto played at this juncture
it is not easy to say, although the letter Paleario wrote to Ban-
dini seems to indicate that it was not inconsiderable.[39] "A few days
ago, that very holy man Sadoleto, ...paid you a visit. I came to
salute him. He warmly recomended me to you, and bore witness to the
nature of my studies, You seemed to be prejudiced against me.....
I verily believe that these wretches are now sorry and ashamed at having
raised such a storm against one who does not acknowledge anything
to be holy or right in my words unless it be approved by the ἐκκλ-
ησία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ....."[40] According to Young, there is no
trace of this trial in the Archives of Siena, and therefore, we may
conclude that, probably with no little effort on Sadoleto's part,
the accusation was quashed.

The adherence to the "Catholic and Apostolic Church" he ex-
pressed in the letter may be that on one trying to defend himself
in the Archbishop's eyes, or it may be that Paleario was absolutely
sincere. This latter alternative, when we remember the course he
had pursued thus far, and especially when we recall that (as we hope
to treat hereafter at greater length) the mediatizing Cardinals

39. Palearii Opera. lib., iii, ep., I2.

40. Young. "Life and Times of Paleario", Vol.I, pg., 306.

had a conception of ἐκκλησία καθολική καὶ ἀποστολική and very much unlike that of several of the heretics, seems to be more probable. And so his favourable view of the Germans and this profession of loyalty to the Church are not incompatible. In the course of this Ciceronian oration[41] he says, "You added most impudently that I had adopted the opinions of the Germans, and offered to bring ample proofs of the assertion. .....Good Heavens! .....do you think the Germans are tied up in a bundle, and that they are all bad? .... If you intend to say that I am of the same mind as the German theologians, then that is a difficult question. There are indeed in Germany many great theologians, nor is there any other nation in which opinions are so various or so much diffused. Do you call Ecolampadius, Erasmus, Melancthon, Luther, Pomeranus, Butzer, and others who have been suspected, Germans? Verily, I do not think any of our theologians are so stupid as not to understand and to acknowledge that in their writings there are many things highly worthy of praise; written with gravity, accuracy, and truth....partly from the early Fathers who have left us salutary precepts, and partly from Greek and Latin commentators.....As regards commentators, whoever accuses the Germans also accuses Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Irenaeus, Hilary, and Jerome. .....If they are followers of holy men, why may I not follow them? ....Do you wish me to imitate the folly of some, who oppose everything the Germans say, whether good or bad, in order to please those from whom they expect great rewards?" This last question, suggests Young, was put in order to win the good will of the Imperial party. Paleario then attacks the accusers of Sadoleto and Ochino. "They have attacked that venerable and upright man,

41. Young. Vol.I, pp., 307-321.

my friend,Sadoleto.....Bernardino Ochino has been recently ac- 257
cused,a man whose hard and abstemious life was worthy the highest admiration: he,seing you were not disposed to exert yourselves in his defence or protection,has thought it wisest to fly. ....I meditate within myself how much eloquence Italy has lost; what consolation is the whole country deprived of! ....." Even if Paleario escaped censure,"nec absolutus nec damnatus", no one could fail to see how dangerous was the path he was treading. The appeal to the early Church,his refusal to attack the Germans whose greatness he boldly recognised,and especially his onslaught upon those responsible for Ochino's flight,could only postpone unwelcome attention at most,but not throw it off.

One thing Paleario had shared with several of the 'Germans' for some time was the desire for a general Council. No doubt he came more and more to feel that the attacks on himself were attacks on the cause in which he was so ardent,and this would appear to be tantamount to the Church's renouncing the general Council along with the reunion of Christendom which such a Council alone could secure. Such a failure as that at Regensburg could hardly fail to move Paleario profoundly;and moreover,circumstances were becoming much more unfriendly. Nevertheless,the rivalry between Siena and and Lucca enabled Paleario to rise to a high rank in the latter Republic. Lucca engaged him as its "orator" and teacher of eloquence in the University which rivalled that of Siena. Unfortunately for Paleario,in that year which saw his removal to Lucca,1547,his great friends,Sadoleto and Bembo,both of whom had advised him to accept this office and to be prudent,died.[42] But Paleario ignored

42. See Palearii Opera,lib.,iv,ep.,2.

the advice to be prudent,for in the very next year we find him 258
attacking clerical vices in the "Twenty Witnesses"where also he
turned on Papal policy with regard to the Council of Trent,and gave
an exposition of Protestant doctrines. This work was not printed
until fifty years afterwards. Moreover,he kept up a correspondence
with hardened heretics. As the attack in the "Twenty Witnesses"
shows,the Council was still of paramount importance with him. He
addressed a letter on this subject to Luther,Melancthon,and Butzer.
He expresses his complete distrust of Paul III's intentions,and is
very pessimistic about the Bishops.[43] "There are in Germany four,or
at most,five,Bishops,good and upright men,,skilled in divine things;
in Switzerland,there are three,and in Italy perhaps two,from whom
we can hope for anything good." The immorality of several attend-
ing the Council Paleario deplores."The Emperor,kings,and chiefs of
States in England,France,Germany,Italy,Spain.....should choose men skilled
in divine things,and entirely free from suspicion of Papal corrup-
tion. The first choice of the States should rest on the holy people
of God.....The Pope should then elect twelve out of the whole num-
ber of Bishops,men of unblemished life and holiness."He then speaks
further about the procedure. It is highly interesting that,like
Altieri at Venice,Paleario writes to the effect that he speaks for
a whole community inclined towards the Reformation."This counsel
and scheme,such as it is,the brethren have commanded me to write
to you. If it meet with your approbation it is desirable that you
should take the lead and direction of it. It is the dismal and un-
fortunate lot of the Italians that they have no one from whom to
find assistance when they seek it,nor if they had,would they be

43. Schelhorn."Amoenitates",tom.,i,pg.,448.

allowed to do so. .....The pious Germans will without difficulty obtain this from the Emperor. ....I commend to you our fellow-servant,Bernardino Ochino. In whatever way you aid him you aid Christ!" It may be assumed that now his evolution was complete and that he had passed over to Protestantism. It remains therefore but to sketch briefly the remaining years of his life.

In I555,he removed to Milan,and in the post of teacher of eloquence remained there for ten years. In this period he was not seriously troubled,although his fellow-Protestants were,as Paleario himself says,subjected to the greatest rigours.[44] He himself scarcely disguised his opinions. Yet,that he recognised that the storm was approaching seems to be quite clearfrom his action in sending the manuscript of his most recent work to a safe place,and in his withdrawing to Faenza. His destruction,as the reaction progressed,was only a matter of time: two cases against him had previously made out,and in a third he was interrogated closely. On Pius V's request,Paleario was sent to Rome,after evasion and delaying on the part of the victim,who can have had no doubt about the fate in store for him. In spite of the fact that the severity of the Inquisition was terrible and often swift,its mills ground slowly enough in several instances. It frequently sought,by means of a protracted imprisonment,to bring back the offender into the fold of the Church. Two years after the receipt of Pius V's letter by Angelo da Cremona,head of the Inquisition in Lombardy,requesting Paleario's apprehension,Paleario was allowed ten days in which to retract. On August 20th.,I569,a month later,he repeated his refusal to retract. On October 4th,being interrogated by two theo-

44. See Rodocanachi. Vol.I,pg.,307.

logians on a number of theological points,Paleario professed 260
agreement with them on several as well as disagreement on several matters. Time dragged on for another six months,and on April I0th., I570,a Jesuit was sent and obtained from him some concession,even if it could scarcely be called a retraction. Then matters were speeded up somewhat,and notwithstanding Paleario's latest statements to the Jesuit,the victim was declared impenitent and handed over to the secular arm: he had denied Purgatory,had attacked the practice of burial in churches,had ridiculed the monastic life, and had upheld the doctrine of justification by faith only. On July 2nd.,I570,he was hanged and then burnt on Ponte S.Angelo.

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Naples.

Chapter XIV.

In the two Sicilies Spanish influence was so strong, and had been so for such a considerable time, that not only politically but also to a large extent culturally, Naples was a part of the Iberian Peninsula. That Peninsula had been for centuries the battleground of Christian and Moslem, and if devotion to the Roman faith produced by such a conflict in the Christians was not quite so intense in southern Italy as in Spain, it was nevertheless considerable. Moreover, Naples came to owe in our period a great religious debt to Spain, for Valdés transplanted much of that mysticism for which Spain has been so greatly famed. But the Valdesian Reformation - if such it can be called, was not the only or by any means the earliest one, nor was it very like that movement which had persisted in Calabria from the preceding centuries. Therefore, the more radical nature of this latter form of reformation attracts our attention first. It is our introduction to the question of the influence of heresy in Naples in our period.

The first Italian home of the Vaudois was, as we have already observed, Piemonte, and it was from this northern province that the emigration of a number of these heretics took place for the south.[1] There are various opinions as to precisely when the first of the Vaudois immigrations into Calabria took place. That there were several immigrations seems to be quite clear, the last of which, the most trustworthy historians would hold, taking place towards 1500. And so it was, that for two centuries, quite differently from their

1. For these details on the Vaudois, see Jahier, "Le Colonie Valdesi in Calabria nel Secolo XVI" (Soc. di Sto. Valdese, February 17th., 1929)

brethren of Piemonte, this colony enjoyed peace and prosperity. 262 Their meetings were held in secret and every two years "Barbes" from far-away Piemonte and Savoy visited them for the purposes of encouragement and exhortation. "Occasional conformity", that is to say, a formal recognition of the dominant faith seems to have been practised, and if their shortcomings in this matter were offensive to the zealous, their industry in secular matters commended them to the landlords and the majority. When the Reformation movement started, the number of Vaudois in Calabria is said to have been in the region of ten thousand.

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century in all its vast and rapidly increasing extent aroused the maximum of interest in these colonies in southern Italy. In the extraordinary Vaudois Synod of a hundred and forty Barbes in Valle Pragelato in 1526 - to which reference has been made in the chapter on Piemonte - convened to discuss the transalpine Reformation and their own points of contact with it, both Calabria and Apulia were represented, as they were afterwards at the general Synod of Angrogna. Here "the spiritual union of the Vaudois faith with the Reformation is sealed". The secret profession of their faith on the part of the Vaudois must now be exchanged for an open and bold profession of it. This was an opportune time for such a decision. In the luxurious tropical undergrowth of a thousand varieties of Neapolitan religion the Vaudois had flourished in a quite friendly environment.[2] Their emergence at this time into the open coincided with the loud and almost universal protest against the corruptions in the Church. For a short time, at any rate, the atmosphere was good for

2. On Neapolitan sentiment, see Gothein, pg., 80.

heresy. In northern Italy their brethren were enjoying preachers from Geneva, and capable ministers presided over their churches: the movement for similar provision in all the Vaudois colonies was being carried on throughout our period. Giglio dei Gili in I555 counselled prudence, but the Vaudois were not disposed to follow his advice, and negotiations were set up with Geneva. The chief figure in this deputation was a certain Uscegli, a young man who later suffered martyrdom. Calvin interested himself in the matter, and two young ministers were dispatched to Calabria, one of whom, Pascale da Cuneo considerably affected the Calabresi by his eloquent preaching. He was eventually apprehended, but the Marchese Spinelli proceeded mildly against him at first. In a dispute he had whilst in captivity he said, "we do not deny that in the Holy Supper we eat the true flesh and blood of Christ, wherefore with regard to this point we are in agreement; but the difference consists solely in the manner, for you say corporally and carnally, and we say spiritually through faith."

To proceed step by step through the horrible tragedy of the Neapolitan Vaudois is outside our province, and therefore let the following brief summary suffice. Pascale was one more martyr to be burnt for his opinions: he perished joyfully on the Piazza di Castel S. Angelo in I560. During his imprisonment his flock in S. Sisto and la Guardia enjoyed a little peace. But a terrible fate was not far off. One of the Inquisition's hell-hounds, Cardinal Alessandrino, was planning the extermination of Piemontese and Calabrese heresy with one blow. Once more, there was to be a crusade, or rather, two, the one against Calabria and the other against Piemonte. These two took place, the one against Calabria in I56I, and ~~it~~ this

achieved its object,for the most prosperous Vaudois colonies in Calabria were wiped out. Probably no more diabolical and bloody record can be found in the modern history of the Church. Some who escaped this storm and smaller squalls left the land,and it is of some Sicilians who had so fled that Ochino wrote in a letter to a pastor of Aarau;"The faithful pastor of Chiavenna has earnestly recommended to us these poor sheep,rescued from the jaws of wolves. They come from Messina,and have fled hither for the sake of the Gospel."

The Vaudois,if the oldest and most widespread heresy in the Sicilies was,however,in our period not the only one. M'Crie speaks of Anabaptists and notorious Valdesians.[3] There is abundant testimony of long-standing religious indifference in the land which even the Crusades could not move,although this state of affairs is by no means peculiar in Italy. Even between I56I and I570, the Jesuit missionaries referred to Calabria,Apulia,and the Abruzzi,as the"Italian Indies".[4] Those who were inclined towards the Vaudois opinions or Lutheranism no doubt received considerable help,and some proselytes,through the presence of German Soldiers and their chaplains in Naples after their departure from Rome in I527.[5] Then there was the inevitable Academy which,if not going beyond speculation,nevertheless sometimes pursued a dangerous course. The Valdesians must be considered later,although we may point out that Caracciolo says that there were some three thousand of them. When such subjects as justification were broached,interest was

3. M'Crie. pg.,I50.

4. Pastor. Vol.XIII,pp.,I92-I93.

5. Rodocanachi. Vol.II,pg.,I3.

general,and when such as Vermigli lectured on Corinthians,the crowds which assembled to hear these discourses were of great size.[6]

In view of all this one cannot be surprised that efforts were made to introduce the Spanish form of Inquisition very early,and also that such efforts should meet with the maximum of resistance. The Neapolitans early expected the introduction by Spain of this characteristic engine into their lands,and in I503,an undertaking was secured from the famous Spanish general,Gonsalvo de Córdoba, with a view to excluding any form of Spanish Inquisition.[7] In the very next year,the Grand Inquisitor,Deza,instructed the Archbishop of Messina,Belorado,the Sicilian Inquisitor,to exercise his Inquisitorial office in Naples also. Probably the influx of Spanish heretics was responsible to a large extent for this move. In I509, when there were already three Inquisitions in Naples (the Archepiscopal,the Roman entrusted to the Dominicans,and the State) the Spanish monarch again sought to introduce his own variety. Both to him and the Pope,heresy,political and otherwise,was highly repugnant. Julius II appointed Inquisitors for Naples in I5I0,and impressed upon them the need for acting with decision.[8] In this same year the natives were profoundly disturbed by all these devices to subordinate them,although it were well to remember that the detestation for the Inquisition was accompanied by an equally great

6. Giannone,lib.,XI,pg.,I82. On the doctrine of justification by faith in Italy,see Walker,"The Reformation",pg.,293.

7. See especially,L.Amabile, "Il Sant'Officio dell'Inquisizione in Napoli." pg.,84 et seq..

8. Pastor. Vol.VI,pg.,449.

affection for the Spanish crown. Popular clamour became so great and the situation so difficult that the attempt at introducing such offensive modifications in the older and already existing Inquisitions was temporarily abandoned. This course was the more easy at the time as the Lutheran heresy had not yet begun to filter through.

The infiltration probably began when the Neapolitan Vaudois delegates to Piemonte returned thence with strength rekindled. And yet, as is not at all surprising, the influence of the German Reformation made itself felt but slowly and to a small extent outside the Vaudois and Valdesian circles. The soil was fertile, however, as we saw. Buzio and Ochino enjoyed considerable success when they preached in 1540 - a memorable period in Italy - and in the following year there were twelve condemnations. Valdés died in that same year, 1541, and his friends were now in an increasingly difficult position. In Sicily also, where the Inquisition had met with a bitter resistance and where a Jew was burnt in 1487, twenty two people - nineteen Jews and three Lutherans - were the victims in an auto-da-fe in 1541. Religious controversies and the publication of writings on contentious religious points were prohibited there at about the same time.[9]

The war against heretical works in Naples was ably carried on by the viceroy, Pedro de Toledo, who received an edict from the Emperor on the subject of heresy in 1536.[10] An Academy, the Pontaniana was dissolved, preachers were charged to warn their flocks of the dangerous spirit of inovation stalking abroad, and the destruc-

9. La Mantia. "Origine e Vicende dell'Inquisizione in Sicilia", 1886.

10. Giannone. "Histoire Civile de Naples", liv., xxxii, ch., 5.

tion of such works as the Beneficio and the Sommario was commanded. According to Giannone, "This severity had such an effect that no more was heard about these books, and if any ventured to speak of the Scriptures, it was with more reserve and respect than before"[11]. Toledo's ordinance of I544 even overruled authorisations granted by the ecclesiastical authorities to read theological works. The authorisation of at least the royal chaplain was required by those desirous of reading any theological work printed in the course of the twenty five years immediately preceding the issue of this ordinance by the Viceroy.

A sufficiently powerful executive was necessary to carry out Toledo's drastic plans, and this need enabled the Viceroy to press once more, in I546, for the Spanish form of Inquisition. Insurrection resulted in the following year. This, however, was checked, and eventually the Diocesan, Roman, and Spanish Inquisitions came to rival one another in heresy hunting, and under the savage Carafa, who became Archbishop in I549, condemnations were frequent. In that same year two heretics were put to death in Sicily, and in I55I, a "Lutheran priest" and a Franciscan were burnt for heresy. Other executions followed in the Island.

Toledo seems to have been none too certain of heresy in at least one instance - that of the Florentine, Antonio. According to Carcereri[12], this friar preached during Lent in I547 with such considerable effect that the Viceroy received Papal authorisation for Antonio to preach in the following Lent. But in February, I548, he was arrested at Rome on the charge of heresy. Could the opinions

II. Giannone. op.cit., pg., I85.

I2. Carcereri. "L'Eretico fra Paolo Antonio", Firenze, I9II.

of a man who in I542 was instrumental in procuring the condemnation of the heretic,Giulio da Milano have undergone such a great change? Even if we allow for the peculiar flux of opinion in this period,we cannot ignore the fact that Antonio was imprisoned for some time in Torre di Nona and afterwards compelled to make a solemn abjuration.

But a far more notorious heretic was a person who has the distinction of being one of the few converts to Protestantism of high birth. This was Galeazzo Carracciolo.

Galeazzo Caracciolo. I3

The son of the Marchese Colantonio was born in I5I7,and soon fell under the spell of Juan Valdés. The popular sermons of Pietro Martire Vermigli,which he came to follow with the greatest zeal, combined with Valdés' instruction,led Caracciolo further into religious contemplation. And,moreover,the position he held at the Neapolitan court necessitated frequent journeys beyond the Alps,in the course of which he came to Regensburg in I542. Discussions on such subjects as the supremacy of the Pope and clerical celibacy at the Diet held there at that time quickened his already great interest,and even moreso did the contact with those who professed the new ideas openly in Germany. Eventually he visited Vermigli at Strassburg,and this marks the completion of his theological development,or rather,his conversion to Protestantism. It is interesting to record that another member of the family,Giovanni Antonio Caracciolo,who was Bishop of Troyes,also apostatised. Galeazzo made his

I3. Benrath's article on Caracciolo in the "Realencyklopädie".

Cantù. "Gli Eretici d'Italia", Vol.II,pg.,8I.

Rodocanachi, Vol.I,pp.,284-292.

great decision in I551,when,turning his back on the sure and 269
safe way that lay before him,he deserted both homeland and family.
He was accompanied for part of his journey by some who had intended
to flee with him,but these wavered in their intention,and Galeazzo
went into an uncertain and stormy exile alone. It was a stirring
event. Calvin commemted on this meritorious action in his "Commen-
taries on the Epistle to the Corinthians"[I4]. Galeazzo went first to
Augsburg,and then for more security,to Geneva,where Rangone,another
Italian exile whose arrival at this haven was quite recent,brought
him into contact with the great French Reformer.

A man's decision can scarcely be put to a greater test than
that to which Caracciolo's was subjected. His lofty social standing
obtained for him concessions from the Holy See,concessions which
his father,Colantonio,had striven continuously to obtain. But,in
spite of the persuasions of his father and family and the good will
of the ecclesiastical authorities,Caracciolo was not to be turned
from his recently adopted faith. Hence his interview with his fa-
ther at Verona was fruitless. On returning from Venetian territ-
ories he passed through Ferrara and was there introduced to Renée.
In October,I555,he was once more in Geneva,and Calvin,rejoicing
at such stedfastness,dedicated to him his "Commentaries on the
Psalms" in the following year. Further efforts were made by his
family,and Calvin was exceedingly anxious during the absence of
Caracciolo in Italy,not only on Galeazzo's account,but also because
trouble had arisen in the Italian colony in Geneva. Nor was Calvin
less troubled when Caracciolo returned and expressed a desire to
marry. After several difficult negotiations he was able to do this

I4. "Commentaires sur l'Epître aux Corintheins",Strassburg,I546.

in I560, and, notwithstanding another effort, this time by a Theatine, to bring him back to his old Italian home and status, he continued to reside in Geneva until his death in I586.

Twenty years previously, one of his sons had shown an inclination to follow inthe same path as his father's. He was guilty of corresponding with Galeazzo and of sheltering heretics, an offence which was punished with a heavy fine.

ii. The Valdesian Movement

To some of those who participated in the Valdesian Movement our attention has already been directed: it is our duty here to concern ourselves with the central figure, and with at least two of his circle who, whilst never leaving the bosom of the Church, nevertheless followed a dangerous course and were often suspected. Valdés himself never left the Church, but his influence was so potent for evil, his enemies would say, that we have no alternative but to place him among those who were the protagonists of the Reformation.

Juan de Valdés, and his twin brother Alfonso, with whom he has frequently been confused, was born in Spain, probably about I500, the son of the Regidor of Cuenca whose family was of very high standing in Castile. He studied at Alcalá de Henares, and having studied the

I5. On this difficulty, see "Calvini Opera", Vol. XVII, col, 509, May, I559.

I6. See, Agostini. "P. Carnesecchi e il Movimento Valdesiano".

I7. Carrasco. "A. et J. Valdés", says well, "il n'était ni si hérétique que le voulaient bien les calvinistes, ni si calviniste que disaient les catholiques."

I8. Walker, in the "History of the Christian Church" (see index) calls the founder of the Vaudois "Valdez", using, one supposes, the Provençal spelling. Since he uses also, when speaking of the Spaniard, the word "Valdés", confusion is quite easy. Therefore, the followers of the two I have called respectively "Vaudois" and "Valdesians".

I9. See articles on Valdés in "Encyc Britt" and "Realencyklopädie".

ancient tongues and being fortunate in having his brother Alfonso in the Imperial service, he entered upon a correspondence with the leading Humanist of the age, Erasmus.[20] The ideals Erasmus cherished of a Catholic reform of the Church were also shared by the two brothers. Both Juan and Alfonso wrote somewhere about the same time, 1528, two dialogues, the one, "Lactancio y el Arcediano", by Alfonso,[21] exalting the Imperial party in connection with the Sack of Rome, the other, "Mercurio y Carón", by Juan, exalting Erasmianism, and both attacking the Church's representatives sharply. The dialogue, "Mercurio y Carón" is worth some description. It took the same form as Erasmus' "Colloquies", and Gothein suggests that there are "colours" common to both works.[22] Valdés himself also says, "If the invention is good and the doctrine, may thanks be given to Lucian, Pontanus, and him whose works we have here imitated - Erasmus."

Mercury has traversed the earth and found a Germany torn by sects and divisions, discord and war. Charon is not at all disturbed by this and expresses the desire that the chance should come his way of catching the preacher of peace, Erasmus, who is also the disturber of the monks. The cure of the disease is far off, for, says Mercury, nowhere in the earth are any to be found manifesting the signs by which Jesus could separate the sheep from the goats. Here we find a passage especially reminiscent of Dean Colet, in which he says,[23] "Christ commanded that in him alone should they put their trust; I found that some put it in clothes, others....in beads, others in pilgrimages, others in golden candlesticks ....and in all of them

20. See letter of Erasmus from Basel, March, 1528, Lugd. Opera, ep. Io30.

21. "Obras antiguas de los Españoles reformados", Vol. IV, 1850.

22. Gothein. pg., 55. 23. "El Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón", pp., 8-10.

in I560, and, notwithstanding another effort, this time by a Theatine, to bring him back to his old Italian home and status, he continued to reside in Geneva until his death in I586.

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soul before saintly clothes is what is required. Still another 273
soul comes along to meet with a similar greeting: the repetition of a special prayer, and the possession of so many Papal bulls, do not guarantee entrance into heaven.

Valdés goes on to declare that the great calamity of the age, the Sack, was a divine judgment upon a city "tan cargada de vicios!" This turn in the narrative gives him an opportunity of directing attention to the short-comings in the higher clergy. Thus, he introduces first a bishop, and then a Cardinal. The former was very fond of his prerogative, and held that certain activities and the wearing of a special dress constituted a bishop - in other words, the very things that would exclude the Apostles from the episcopate. The Cardinal threatens with excommunication the one who even broaches the question of whether he sold benefices. Such a man was he that Mercury suggests that, "If you had guided this boat as you guided the Church of Jesus Christ, I should give it up for lost."

Between the appearences of the bishop and the Cardinal Valdés appeals to the primitive Church: using St. Peter as his mouthpiece he says, "If she (the Holy See) had continued in the state in which I left it, she would be very far from suffering what she is suffering now." The Apostle goes on to emphasize the vital importance of personal religion, of being "God's real temples" A monarch with high absolutist theories then appears on the scene, and he and his secretary profess their observance of all the externals of religion. These are again exposed as means and not ends in themselves. Then a theologian appears: he is "able to dispute for and against". Once more we are reminded of the criticisms of the Eras-

27. "Mercurio y Carón", pg., 71 et seq..

mian school. This fellow had heard St.Paul mentioned in the Mass, and was so obsessed with Scotus,and especially with Aristotle,that he had never read a line of the Pauline Epistles.

Valdés now leaves the ecclesiastics and their friends for a space,and turns to consider a married man who neither went on pilgrimages nor built churches. This devout person attended Mass regularly besides praying continuously. Here was the perfect combination of outward observance and personal religion."In Christ alone have I my confidence",says he,and on his way rejoicing to heaven he goes. He has one more attack on the friars and their bickerings, and then devotes his attention entirely to the very few who are treading the heavenly way. Not only is the humble man of that number,but also those in the higher social strata and in the ranks of the higher ecclesiastics are not without their representatives.One of these latter is a bishop,who recognises the urgency of self-reformation first,and then proceeds to enlighten the minds of his flock on Christian doctrine "pure and clear,without admixture of vanities and superstitions".[28] In furtherance of this and kindred objects,he permitted the translation of the New Testament,confession to mendicants,he checked the tendency towards the superfluity of church ornaments,and (here is a Coletine trait) taught a hundred children to live like Christians and learn well. Another such noble soul was a preacher who came easily and perfectly to understand the Scriptures by "not trusting in my own genius,or in my own strength".[29] He called sometimes on the Virgin,but chiefly petitioned God. Sincerity he sought to make the key-note in his sermons. He

28. "Mercurio y Carón",pg.,256.

29. "Mercurio y Carón",pg.,275.

suffered persecution before departing this life. The last person Valdés introduces in his pageant is a Cardinal,who,having purchased his high dignity,repented after entering the Consistory,and entered an abbey. His great labours there obtained for him eternal life.

In this work Valdés was not concerned with his own particular doctrines. His criticisms of the Church were exactly like those of Tizio,Egidio Canisio da Viterbo,and the Erasmians generally. The Lutherans and heresy were referred to in connection with the discord obtaining in the Emperor's dominions and in the Sack.There is no attack on sectaries. No one can fail to see that there are ideas expressed in the work capable of a dangerous development:criticism of institutions rarely,if ever,makes no advance from a destructive to a constructive position quite opposed to that which it has attacked.

It was about this time that Valdés came to Naples with the Emperor: he arrived in I529,and was already such a personality as to be able to command the attention of many. Apparently,the notoriety he had obtained for himself by the publication of the "Diálogo" in no way prejudiced him when he arrived in Italy,for in I533 he was at the Papal court. Here he resumed his study of the Classics under the distinguished Spanish scholar,Sepúlveda. At the death of the Pope he came to Naples where he was definitely established in I534.

He soon began the famous work in Naples which has merited the title of a reformation. The Italian genius for societies manifested itself here and a circle not unlike the "Oratori del Divino Amore" was formed. It included Galeazzo Caracciolo,Benedetto Cusano,Flaminio,Ochino and Vermigli,and females of the highest standing both

socially and intellectually. There were Isabella da Brisegna, Maria di Aragona, Roberta Carafa, Caterina Cibo, Vittoria Colonna, Giulia Gonzaga, as well as others.[30] All these illustrious ladies were greatly enamoured of any and every plan of ecclesiastical reform. Both these and the male members of the circle, in order that that reform should be facilitated, were imbued with the desire for self-reformation first and found in Valdés the spiritual director required by their souls.

As we have already noticed in the section dealing with Giulia Gonzaga, Valdés wrote and dedicated to this lady his "Alfabeto Cristiano".[31] He desired that his reader should disregard his words if they were not based on the Scriptures and were not agreeable to Christian charity; and secondly, that it should be understood that the book was to be used as a child uses a grammar. He goes on to minimise his own importance: "I count not upon my ability or sufficiency, but upon your good sense, and especially on God's grace." He writes at the beginning, "All the struggles in your experience and the contradictions spring from your spirit's desire to recover the image in whose likeness you were created, and of which you are now deprived." She must strive to acquire the saving knowledge of God by the three ways.[32] Various devotional books like the "Imitation" of à Kempis are recommended. Fasting is not to be regarded primarily as an ecclesiastical ordinance but rather as a disciplinary act regulated by the individual conscience, although conformity to a general custom is not to be condemned. The highly important medi-

30. Agostini, pg. 29, gives a list. Böhmer found a letter in the Archives of Simancas which mentioned eleven archbishops and bishops as Valdesians. See, Carrasco, pg., 61.

31. Written about 1537. See Gothein, pg., 64.

32. See our discussion of Giulia Gonzaga.

tation on Holy Writ is to be supplemented by various spiritual 277
exercises of which Valdés prescribes twelve. These are;I,To recognise that a false way has been followed;2,To set oneself to find the way of perfection,led by a divine grace; 3,To follow this way; 4,To avoid sin by contemplation; 5,To recognise the vanity of the world; 6,To flee the world; 7,To know oneself,to examine ones passions; 8,To escape from oneself; 9,To know God through Christ; I0, To lose oneself in God; II,To examine ones personal faith; I2,To meditate upon eternal life,faith,hope,and love.

After this follows the second step,where the will is to be killed and also the five senses. The crucifixion must be ever before our eyes if this is to be effected. What is gained at the end is "the liberty of the Christian man" in the fullest spiritual sense.

The teaching here is continued from the Diálogo[33]: in Valdés'own words, "The reform is to be made in you;to obtain what you desire consists in the spirit's strivings and affections,which,once changed,it is easy to reform the exterior". He expresses in this work an opinion on the very absorbing theological topic of the day - justification - which merits quotation.[34] "For good works follow justification,but do not precede it in him who must be justified"Here is the same lesson,if expressed in other words: inner sanctification is the first essential;faith is the tree and love is the fruit; "it little matters that he pronounces or not his vows,provided he keeps his vow of baptism by which he became Christian."[35] Nevertheless,he does not,as one who has the early Christian heresies in

33. "Alfabeto Cristiano",pg.,35.

34. "Alfabeto Cristiano",pg.,40-4I.

35. "Alfabeto Cristiano",pg.,39.

mind would probably imagine, advocate a rigorous asceticism. Care- 278
ful attention to the sacrifice of the Mass, the Epistle and the Gospel, are necessary, as is humble attention to the preacher's message.

Carrasco says that shortly afterwards Valdés wrote a tract to answer a question on the study of the Christian and the way in which the Scriptures serve as interpreter or commentator.[36]

Among other tracts was one possibly meant for schoolmasters. This was the "Sul principio della Dottrina Cristiana Cinque Trattati evangelici di G.Valdesso", ristampati dall'edizione Romana del I545". In the first of these "Five evangelical Tracts", he points out that the medicine to effect the cure of the diseased soul is the preaching of repentance. In the second, he speaks of Adam's sin and the consequent damnation of man. In the third, he develops the theme that human right is of itself abominable before God. In the fourth, he teaches that knowledge of the spiritual malady is insufficient and that medicine must be taken, that is, the Gospel must be read. In the last tract he says that justification by faith must be preached, and the justified must bear witness of this faith. In these tracts Valdés shows unmistakably that he was affected by the teachings of the Reformation, and here he makes his closest contact with it. Other writings of his include several letters on religious and theological subjects; for instance, "Why did Christ sometimes reveal His divinity so much, and at other times conceal it?" The eminent German scholar, Dr. Böhmer, found the "Lac Spirituale", and a part of his "Institutio puerorum Christianorum".[37] A work entitled, "Alcune

36. Carrasco, pg., 84.

37. See also an article on Valdés' work in the "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte", I930.

domande e risposte",mentioned in "Il Catalogo" by Vergerio,is 279
believed to be lost. He wrote Commentaries also:dedicated like the
more famous "Alfabeto" to Giulia Gonzaga was that on the Psalms.
He begins on certain philological points in the text but soon pass-
es on to the more congenial ground of general principles. He insists
that the Scriptures are comprehended only by those who possess the
Spirit,and distorts his texts somewhat in order to teach a sort of
spiritual evolution from human depravity consequent on Adam's sin,
by way of certain of the Psalms,the Epistles,and finally,the Gospel.

In his Commentary on St.Matthew,he gives expression to some
interesting ideas on the subject of Christ's crucifixion which lead
one to think that he was being influenced somewhat by opinions on
predestination especially current north of the Alps. Christ's cru-
cifixion avails only for those who believe. Hearts submitted to God
feel the existence of predestination and recognise God's justice:
the failure to recognise this is the indication that the soul is
not of the elect. God acts directly on the spirit,and free will
does not exist for His direct will. Judas was compelled to be a
betrayer,as was St.Paul to be a saint. The liberty of finding in-
terior peace and the Holy Spirit's favour belongs only to the el-
ect. The lack of attention to his own way of renewal is the abuse
of free will in the elect.

Valdés' chief work,"the résumé of his thought on the most im-
portant points of Christian doctrine"[38], is the "Cien i Diez Consi-
deraciones";all the original copies were suppressed by the Spanish
Inquisition.[39] In the preface the author counselled the abandonment

38. Carrasco. pg.,88.

39. Ferrer at the instance of George Herbert translated it into
English in I638.

of the study of Boccaccio's "Decameron" for the new "Novelle", 280 even numerically superior to the great Italian work. Curione,who published it at Basel in I550,said in his preface,"He shows us the origin,the occasion,the progress and end of every movement....and of every event which,under heaven,is accomplished by God or the devil." The first "Consideration"is in its language so very similar to the"Beneficio" - the notorious Italian work - that the annalist, Laderchius,ascribed the latter work to the Spaniard. The Considerations are meditations upon God,Christ,and Man. Christ's great work is the repair of human nature,a work he has so well effected as to include both body and soul. Man has been deceived by his reason, and since he fears the divine wrath - or love - he seeks reconciliation by various devices. God does reveal himself Himself in His severe aspect in His Son's fate,but,being in the Son,He also shows the extent of His love and grace. God can reach us through the Bible when we put aside our curiosity,and are prepared to make sacrifices,as,we might say,the man who sold all for the pearl of great price. Only thus is piety born. Then the divine spirit takes charge of us and incorporates us with Christ. Of this mystical incorporation man has certitude,acquires peace of conscience,and feels that he is a child of God. The reconciliation cannot be achieved by man in his own strength,but only by the aid of divine grace. His advice on moral and spiritual disciplineseems to us to be closer to Loyola than to Luther and the Reformers.

What was Valdés' relation to the Church of his time,and more important for us,to the Reformation?

The brief and inadequate outlines we have presented of his principal works enable us to see with how much of the teaching of

the Christian Humanists,and especially his esteemed Erasmus,he was in cordial agreement. He appealed,as not only these scholars but also the Reformers did,to the early Church. Again,as everyone who had the Church's wellbeing at heart,he drew attention to ecclesiastical abuses and attacked the intellectual gymnastics of theologians just as Erasmus had done in the "Enconium Moriae". At the same time,he had shown,in his beautiful picture of the married man, the value of a careful observance of the Church's discipline combined with genuine individual piety: this idea he expressed again if in different terms in the Alfabeto.

And yet he uses expressions which suggest that he was not a real Christian Humanist.There is the call to renounce the guide of reason which has led man astray: his language onthis subject is quite as strong as that of the Reformers. There is the warning that the Bible is food for souls and not for speculation. "The craving in man after knowledge is an imperfection,though in the judgment of human wisdom it be the reverse."[40] Man,aspiring to acquire that part of the "Imago Dei" which did not belong to him,lost what he already had.[41] In the same way he discourages speculations on the "natures" in Christ,and condemns it as"curiosity"

His approach to the Reformers on the subject of predestination has already been indicated,and his opinions are thrown into greater relief by reason of the prevalence of semi-Pelagian views at that particular time. To glorify Christ he heightened the Fall and inherited sin. Pardon for sin is the hardest thing for the reader of the Gospel to believe,and a complete trust in God is required

40. "Consideraciones",LV and LXVIII.

41. "Consideraciones",LXXII.

in order to obtain it.[42] He does not appear to have accepted the 282 Protestant view of justification, although there is a close approximation in the third of the "Trattati" where he asserts that those who pretend to justify themselves by works do evil.[43] Indeed, he is not unlike Melancthon in allowing something to the "facultas se applicandi ad gratiam".

It is a far call from Valdés to the "Shepherd of Hermas", and yet there is some similarity between the Spaniard and Hermas.

Both men were profoundly dissatisfied with the religious condition of professing Christians. The insistence upon personal conviction as being superior to inherited Christianity is the central theme of both. No religion can be without a theology, and the systems of both, being based primarily on personal experience, contain an element capable of dangerous development. In the instance of Hermas we have in his parable of the vineyard the Master's son, who is the Holy Spirit, and the servant, who is Jesus. Thus we have a doctrine of the Trinity in which Jesus is subordinate to the Holy Spirit. Duchesne was astounded that the prophet shpuld ramble so far away from orthodox ecclesiastical opnion as to adumbrate such an idea of the Trinity.[44] And yet this work enjoyed great success in its age and was included in the "Codex Sinaiticus".

It is interesting to note that Valdés himself has been considered wanting on the doctrine of the Trinity, and also that one of his chief converts, Ochino, eventually became an Antitrinitarian. Although the accusation is unfounded, the Transylvanian bishop, Dávid,

42. "Consideraciones", VIII, XXIV, LXXVI.

43. "Cinque Trattati Evangelici", pg., 28.

44. Duchesne, "Early History of the Church", Vol.I, pg., I7I.

suggested that Valdés was unsound on the question. Probably,his 283
knowledge of Ochino prompted the Bishop. At any rate,Antitrinitarian writers like Sand and Wallace have repeated the charge first made by David in I567.[45]

After what has been said in this discussion with regard to the opinions of Pourrat and especially Heiler,which seem to be reinforced by our short sketch of the Valdesian Reformation,it would appear that the pre-Tridentine Church of Valdés had not that exclusiveness which eventually triumphed. According tothe partizan historian of Paul IV,Caracciolo,the damage the Spaniard wrought was colossal,and indeed,when we run through the names of the prominent members of his circle and think of the heretics so many became,we cannot be surprised at the animosity either of Caracciolo or of the Church. Yet,"These Neapolitan innovators had no plan of breaking with the Church,but they welcomed many of the ideas of the Protestant Reformation. The lines had not yet been sharply drawn. They felt its religious power rather than sympathised with its doctrinal or ecclesiastical criticisms."[46]

Valdés' own idea of the Church is,indeed,not unlike that of Luther. Like the great German,he saw it not so much in its visible as in its invisible aspect. So,in his Commentary on the Epistle of St.Paul to the Corinthians,he says,"The Church is not limited to this or that religious communion;it is wherever Christ is. It has always been since Christ sent his spirit among men,because there always has been faith in the earth,and it consists of those Christians who have sufficient faith to be sanctified." To such a Church

45. See the article on Valdés in the "Encyclopedia Britt",XIV edit..
46. Walker. "The Reformation",pg.,297.

both Valdés and Luther belong,and the following can equally well apply to Valdés as to Luther,to whom it refers. "Justification by faith,at least in its earliest,its deepest,its most spiritual form, is really a mystical doctrine;that is to say,it brings the soul into immediate contact with the Divine Object,and from that contact expects all the fruits of the religious life. But it does not furnish any basis on which an organised Church can be built up. It is a matter for the individual soul."[47] And as Beard reminds us elsewhere,"all true mystics are a church apart,who cannot be prevented by distance or sharp distinctions of sect and creed,from holding out to one another hands of genuine brotherhood."[48]

Valdés must be seen against the background of Spanish mysticism - that highly interesting Iberian development of the age - in order to be understood.[49]

Some of his disciples we have already noticed in their divergence from the Church their master never left: it remains now to look at two who were as suspected as he was,and yet who,like him,remained inside the fold.

ii.Vittoria Colonna.[50]

Vittoria Colonna,who was a close friend of the great Italian painter and sculptor,Michelangelo,went through an experience similar to that of other noble ladies of the time to whom we have already drawn attention. Widowed at thirty three years of age in I525,she

47. Beard."The Reformation",pp.,I87-I88.

48. Beard,pg.,23.

49. See Baruzie in the "Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses",Vol.7 (I927),pg.,543.

50. Benrath in the "Revista Cristiana",Vol.VI,I876,pg.,49.

was,like Giulia Gonzaga,attracted towards the close study and practice of piety. This instinct for religious things was inherited from her mother who was a model pilgrim and subjected herself to the strictest austerities. These practices Vittoria imitated with such fervour as to cause the intervention of her trusted adviser, Cardinal Pole,who urged moderation. She decided to visit the Holy Land,and secured a brief,dated March 3rd.,I537,authorising her to undertake a journey of whose hazardous nature she was reminded in the brief itself. If the project did not materialise,it must not be assumed that a change in her religious inclinations had taken place. She continued to avow her sincere attachment to the Holy See,[51] although she now claimed in the face of Pole's opposition the right to examine the teaching of the Church. It was all in vain that her spiritual adviser requested her to "confine herself within the limits which were imposed on her sex."[52]

Hence,we find her pursuing the path trodden by Luther and Valdés; moving from an intense personal conviction outwards to the conception of a purified Church. She shared with others,fervent ecclesiastics and laymen,the ardent desire for the abolition of abuses, the Catholic reform of the Church. This made her seek those whose ideals were similar to her own,and whilst not in any way severing herself from Pole,she found other friends in Morone,Flaminio,Ochino, Priuli,and Vermigli. Two of these became distinguished apostates, and all alike were viewed with suspicion at Rome. Vittoria had dealings with the most heterodox and the most orthodox. She was,besides

51. B.Fontana."Nuovi Documenti sulla Fede di V.Colonna",in the "Bollettino della R.Società di Storia Patria",Roma,I888.

52. Ferrero and Muller. "Carteggio di V.Colonna",pg.,340.

being greatly interested in the Cappuccini, greatly fascinated by the Order's famous General, Ochino, whom she evidently gave some grounds for hoping that she would not be unfriendly to him when his defection took place. She was also on the most intimate terms with Carnesecchi, Marguerite of Navarre, Giulia Gonzaga, and Caterina Cibo. It is therefore small wonder that the Holy See not only considered her as a heretic towards the end of her life but also as a propagator of the seeds of heresy.

It is unfortunate that such writers as M'Crie were unable to gain access to the documents which since his time have come to light In one of the most famous of these, the "Estratto del Processo" of Carnesecchi, there is some light thrown upon Vittoria's position. No one knew her better than the Protonotary, who says of her, "the marchessa attributed justification in great part to grace and to faith. In her acts and in all her conduct she made a great deal of works, distributed alms according to the advice given her by the Cardinal (Pole) in whom she trusted as in an oracle; she acted on the one hand as though faith alone could save her, on the other hand as though her salvation depended solely on works One day, she told me that, having asked the Cardinal his opinion on justification, she could obtain no light upon it."[53] Carnesecchi went on to point out that one of her sonnets suggested that strangely enough, she believed absolutely in predestination. But on the other hand, she could produce a sonnet in which the founder of the Jesuit Order is extolled. Is Doumergue really correct when he describes Vittoria on her visit to Renée in I537 as a "disciple of Valdés, one of the most discreet and most convinced partisans of the Luther-

53. See Salvatorelli in the "Revista Storica Ital.." Vol.4I, I924, pp., 54-57.

an doctrines"[54]? There can be little doubt that these two distinguished ladies discussed religious topics together, but it hardly seems likely that Vittoria would espouse Lutheranism in quite the same way as Doumergue suggests. To oppose any Calvinism Renée at that time might have had was not to evangelise on behalf of Lutheranism, even though she agreed with its protest against ecclesiastical abuses and had imbibed some dangerous doctrines which were Lutheran. Her visit to Ferrara was chiefly prompted by her great affection for the Cappuccini, in whose austerities she saw the realization of her hopes: such men were the divine instruments for the purification of the Church. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Duke she was able to procure for Ochino and some others of his Order a suitable house in Ferrara. She passed thence to Florence, and then to Rome, visiting Carnesecchi, Morone, Bembo, and Michelangelo. When Ochino apostatised, "without the slightest she at once took up the Catholic standpoint," says Pastor,[55] and followed Pole's advice with the greatest care. She wrote to Cervini from the convent of S. Caterina at Viterbo, where she had taken up her residence,[56] "The more I have had an opportunity of watching the actions of the Rev., Monsignor of England, the more I have perceived what a 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 in following his advice. He told me that if I received a letter or any other communication from fra Bernardino I ought to send it to V.S.Rev^mo without answering it, unless I was permitted....." Although she may

54. Doumergue. "Jean Calvin", Vol.II, pg., 30.

55. Pastor. Vol.XI, pg., 493.

56. Tiraboschi. Vol.VIII, pg., 43.

have resisted Pole's wish in taking more than a legitimate interest in theology, she held him very obviously in the highest esteem. In a letter of this same year, 1542, to Marguerite of Navarre, she wrote,[57] "I often speak with Cardinal Pole, whosr conversation is always on heavenly things, and who regards earthly concerns only in so far as he can be useful to others."

Of Pole's own theological position we must speak more fully in another chapter. There is no doubt that he pursued a course which could only bring down ecclesiastical disapproval the more the Church inclined to theological exclusiveness.[58] He was in disgrace when Vittoria was in residence in the convent, and his visits to her at this time facilitated the exchange of opinions. His famous withdrawal from the famous Council when the Protestant doctrine of justification was condemned was regarded by Vittoria as a Divine intervention[59] and was heartily approved by her. But she had not long to live: she died on February 25th., 1547.

She was fortunate in quitting the scene before the reaction had reached its height, for others like Pole and Giulia Gonzaga lived to suffer considerably. There can be little doubt that had she lived longer, ecclesiastical authority would have treated her severely. Those who had been on the most intimate terms with her were hunted down, and Carnesecchi later perished. She died suspected, but one can hardly believe that she was a heretic although she was prepared to start from some of Luther's own premises.[60]

57. "Lettere Volgari", Vol.I, pg., 213.

58. See Gothein, pg., 150.

59. "Estratto del Processo", pg., 348.

60. See, Young, Vol.I, pg., 207. On Ochino's friendship see "Estratto",

pg. 59.

Probably even more compromised than Vittoria in the eyes of the Church was the lay theologian and humanist, Marc Antonio Flaminio, who was born in the province of Treviso in I485. He was early in favour at the court of Leo X, and on making a second visit to the Eternal City a few years afterwards was received with even more éclat than on the occasion of his first appearance there. Kraus regrets that Leo did not retain him, this being one more instance of that Pope's failure to recognise who should be in his court and who should not.[62] In the course of his wanderings through the country he visited Castiglione and Sadoleto, and doubtless those who were on the watch for heresy very soon found additional proof of the adage, "a rolling stone gathers no moss". His introduction to heretical opinions must be attributed to the intercourse he enjoyed not only with well known liberals of the type of Sadoleto but also with others of more doubtful reputation. Young may be somewhat incorrect in asserting that, "Ever since he began in earnest to study the Scriptures he had doubts on some points of faith inculcated by the Roman Church,"[63] but Gregorio Cortese, himself a liberal, certainly came to fear that Flaminio was treading a dangerous path about the years I537-I540. In a letter he wrote to Contarini on March 8th., I536, he says,[64] "M. Marc Antonio has arrived unexpectedly from Verona.." Whilst at Verona, although he had been working on Aristotle, as Cortese says in this letter, he had been in Giberti's household. Pro-

61. Rodocanachi. Vol.I, pp., 292-300.

62. C.M.H. Vol.II, pg., I7.

63. Young. "Life and Times of Paleario", Vol.II, pg., 222.

64. See Tiraboschi. Vol.VII, pg., 235.

bably whilst there he was influenced by some of Giberti's own liberalism,as well as by the none too orthodox theological atmosphere pervading Verona in those days. After his departure the sacred became a more favourite theme for his pen,and we find him passing from Aristotle to render the Psalms in Latin ode form - a work which in the later age of bigotry won a place on the Index. On September I2th,I537,Cortese wrote again to 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.....will,I think be very useful. ...." It was in the course of this same year that Flaminio wrote to Pamfilio,announcing his dedication to religious studies and meditation on the Christian faith:"when the hot season is over,I will read again with you,if it please God,the New Testament and the works of St.Augustine."[65] Thus we learn that he had begun the study of St.Augustine and therefore a theological exercise which might be dangerous. When it is recalled that he had in his youth been stirred by Savonarola's invectives,we cannot but think that here is a potential Vermigli. He moved to Naples towards the close of I538,perhaps only partly for reasons of ill health. There he fell under the spell of Valdés and had dealings with the two prominent Valdesians who later became apostates - Ochino and Vermigli.[66] Evidently his activities had attracted some attention,for the mild and saintly scholar,Cortese,wrote to Contarini when seeking the Papal permission for himself to read heretical books;"I

65. Atanagi."De le lettere di XIII huomini illustri",Roma,I554. Granvella came to set great value on Flaminio's ~~theological~~ theological knowledge. See the footnote;"Morones Nuntiaturberichte",pg.,I49.

66. Schelhorn "Amoenit.Eccles.." tom.,ii,pg.,3-I79.

should not like to be exposed to what happened to M.Marc Antonio in Holy Week;particularly if Monsignor di Chieti (Carafa) should know it."[67] His sins of ommision were attracting attention also. Hence we find that his failure to thank the saints in addition to God was regarded by some,whose zeal and sense were not in equal quantities,as amounting to the denial of the efficacity of the invocation of saints. He exalted Christ too much,and the Virgin,to whom he addressed no sonnets,too little. In short,he was being seduced by heresy. Yet some of the sonnets he wrote do seem to breathe the air of the Reformation. To quote only one of several stanzas of one of them:-

"Ah me,wicked and vile creature,
Vessel full of shame and dishonour;
How could I hope for the good fortune
Which he hath promised in His heavenly glory?"

A letter which may very probably be one of a series written to a lady,Teodorina Sauli of Genoa,the head of whose family was a philosopher and humanist at one time Flaminio's host,shows something of Flaminio's opinions.[68] "Christian faith consists in giving credit to the whole word of God,and particularly to the Gospel of Christ. The Gospel is nothing other 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

67. This letter I have been unable to trace.

68. See "Alcune Lettere",Torino,1852,and "Lettere Volgari",Vol.II, 1567.

of God,and partakes of the general pardon.....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,that they may be daily increased.

"Christian hope consists in waiting with patience and continual desire and joy till God fulfils in us those promises which He has made to all 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.....Love consists in loving God for Himself,and all things for God,directing all our thoughts,morals,and actions,to the glory of His divine majesty,the which cannot possibly be done by those who do not believe the Gospel,who are not animated by the hope of eternal life."

One cannot fail to see here dangerous tendencies,and yet at the same time where he was not in agreement with Luther. He presents us,on the one hand,a body of 'elect' composed of those who believe the Gospel;the idea of Christ's full satisfaction for all our sins - an opinion which reminds us of the connection of the notorious Beneficio[69] with his name - and the greatness of individual faith. But on the other hand,he seems to be closer to others of his fellow-countrymen than to the evangelical Reformers,when he says,"Christian faith consists in giving credit to.... ." It was a vastly different thing for Luther: to him it was no <u>assensus</u>,but,according to Harnack,[70] the certainty of sins forgiven,and therefore the personal and

69. "Estratto",pg.,202.Carnesecchi says Flaminio polished it up.

70. Harnack."History of Dogma",Vol.,VII,pg.,180 &ff.

continuous surrender to God as the Father of Jesus Christ.

Not only,however,is he seen to be not of the Reformers' school by the teaching implicit in such a theory of faith as this,but also, he was prepared to oppose the Reformers' doctrines explicitly. Hence,we find that in a controversy with Carnesecchi on the "Sacrament of the Altar and the practice of the Mass",he rejected philosophical arguments on the matter,and declared the necessity of adhering to the teaching of the Church. He could recommend Pighi's work on the "Hierarchia Ecclesiastica" and Fisher of Rochester's pamphlet against Ecolampadius. The subject of the Mass was highly interesting to him,and he defended the Real Presence with enthusiasm In the course of his controversy on the matter with Carnesecchi,he referred to Butzer with no little wrath. Carnesecchi replied in one letter in defence of that Reformer;[71] "I am led to mention this from your naming Butzer,of whom you seem to speak from the report of some malevolent person,and not from your own knowledge...." Was Carnesecchi referring to Cardinal Pole? One can hardly say,although the strongest influence with Flaminio at that time was the English Cardinal. The ideas of both were in the process of evolution. The most interesting account of their relationships is furnished by Pole's biographer,Beccadelli,whose description runs as follows:- "When Cardinal Pole,the old and dear friend of M.Marc Antonio,returned to 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 complications,he invited him to stay at leisure with him at Viterbo,where he then resided. By conversing sometimes on

71. Schelhorn. Amoenit.,Eccles.." tom.,II,pp.,I55-I70.

classical studies,in which Marc Antonio was an adept,sometimes 294 on sacred subjects,he managed,without entering into controversy, dexterously to bring him round to the Catholic doctrines;thus he persisted sound in the faith. He occupied himself a great 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 tothe soul of his friend,he had done no small good to the Catholic Church in retaining Flaminio within the fold,and preventing him from falling away like other heretics,as he might have done a great deal of damage by his easy and elegant manner of writing in both Latin and Italian."

Beccadelli was evidently quite sure that Flaminio had been in parlous plight but for Pole's intervention. If such expressions as this, - "For if I believe in very truth that Christ has satisfied for all our sins,past,present,and future"[72] - had been the whole of Flaminio,he would certainly have left the Roman communion. But such is not the case. He was undoubtedly affected by the Reformation, and his death in I550 relieved him from attention which would almost certainly have been paid to him by the Inquisition had he lived longer. His friend and adviser,Pole,like others of the mediatising party - to which we must now turn - came to suffer severely for giving expression to some of the views held by Flaminio.

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72."Lettere Volgari",Vol.II,pg.,I24.Letter to Guatterazzi;Feb.28/42. See the Inquisition's case against Flaminio in"Arch.S.R.di S.P."Vol.4,274

Chapter, XV.

In the course of his interesting remarks on that interesting society, the "Oratory of Divine Love", Pastor says,[1] "...The Church, in accordance with the will of her Founder, has always considered and set forth inward sanctification as the essential thing. All the members of the Oratory were....united by a strong Catholic feeling. Not one of these men thought even remotely of abandoning the foundations of Church doctrine....or of seeking reform in unlawful ways."

It would be incorrect to assume that all those desirous of moral reform first and foremost were included in the various Oratories. Nevertheless, the majority of the leading mediatizing theologians were included in the Oratory, as may be seen from a glance at the following names. There were Sadoleto, Giberti, the two Lippomani; after the Sack and the dispersion consequent thereon several came to Venice where the eminent Contarini joined, and eventually, Cortese, Bembo, Priuli, Flaminio, and Pole.[2] Both Contarini (at that time) and Flaminio were laymen.

Others equally desirous of reform were, like Carafa, members of the Oratory at a very early date, although in the course of time these went over to the reactionary party, or rather, formed it. But this was not until later, when the refutation of Luther and Calvin was held to be possible by Carafan methods alone.[3] Hence, we find that in the early 20's, when the Theatine Order was formed, all alike could take a deep interest in it.[4]

1. Pastor. Vol. X, pg., 391. 2. C.M.H., Vol. II, pp., 378-379.

3. See, Hausser et Renaudet, "Les débûts de l'Age Moderne", pg., 479.

4. Pastor. Vol. X, pg., 418.

It was but natural that the great Lutheran revolt should affect such men profoundly. The vast amount of corruption round about them from the beginning of the century had caused them to seek a reform,and it could not escape their notice,that this same corruption was chiefly the cause of the vast revolt in northern Europe. If there was any fear of these Italians' forgetting the awful reality of the abuses against which Luther had raised his voice,then the unfortunate pontificate of Adrian VI would serve to remind them. That Pope was,as Burckhardt called him most aptly,"the burnt offering of Roman scorn". Benrath says of him that he was,"one of the noblest occupants of the chair of Peter", and goes on,"who wished only to promote the welfare of the Church, and,in the selection of means to serve that sacred end,conscientiously chose those that he believed truly to be the most fitting. He will have claims on our pity as a victim sacrificed to men around him immeasurably inferior to himself....."[5]

The opportunity presented by the presence of this seriously minded Dutch Pope in Rome was not lost by those as seriously desirous of reform as he. The saintly Egidio da Viterbo presented to Adrian his famous "Memorial",which,says Höfler,"shows how profoundly the German revolt had influenced the opinions of thoughtful and sincere observers"[6]. Papal authority was of little repute,and something must be done about it. Egidio proposed a commission to determine the power of the keys and its limitation,and then he fearlessly tackled the abuses of Papal power. When speaking on the thorny

5. Benrath on Adrian VI in the "Realencyklopädie".

6. Höfler."Analekten zur Geschichte Deutschlands und Italiens",in "Abhandlungen der Historischen Classe der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften",Bd.,iv,pg.,2 et seq..

subject of Indulgences his violence is certainly comparable with that of Luther.[7] Creighton even goes so far as to say,"Had Luther been met in the spirit shown by the memorial of Egidius there would have been no German revolt. If the admissions now made by Egidius had been made by Prierias,Luther would have been satisfied."

A more pronounced liberalism was that of Erasmus and Vives, who advocated a trust in reasonableness,freedom of discussion,the minimizing of differences and agreement on the few fundamentals only. But Adrian could not do that,even had he wished it,for he met with obstacles at every turn. In his instructions to Chierigato he refused surrender on the smallest point in his ecclesiastical principles.[8] This is particularly interesting. It seems to prove one thing. Even in the early days of the Lutheran revolt,which affected the conservative and liberal alike,the mediatizing school,whose spirit was that of Erasmus and the Memorial of Egidio,could not claim even Adrian as the head of their movement. Between Erasmian and Carafan,"a stronger line of division appeared as time went on".[9] How was it then that the mediatizers were able to remain a force to be reckoned with for so long? There were various reasons,and these,we trust,will become apparent as we narrate the activities of these men. Not least was the remarkable personality of the Venetian,Contarini.

It was he who became the leader of the Oratory when the Sack had scattered it,and his influence was fast growing in its counsels in Venice. Now,such words as those of Aleandro's "Consilium

7. Creighton. Vol.,VI,pp.,240-242.

8. Pastor. Vol.,IX,pp.,215-216.

9. C.M.H.,Vol.,II,pg.,397.

de re Luterana" were reinforced by the great calamity which had ended the Italian Renaissance. "The time is past when God will connive at our faults. The age is changed,and popular opinion no longer thinks that the charges brought against us are partly false and partly capable of a better interpretation. The axe is laid to the root of the tree,unless we choose to return to wisdom. There is no need to issue new laws,to fulminate Bulls;we have the canons and institutes of the Fathers,and if only they were observed,the evil may be arrested. Let the Pope and the Curia do away with their errors by which God and man are justly offended;let them bring the clergy once more under discipline. If the Germans see this done, there will be no further talk of Luther. The root and the cure of the evils are alike in ourselves."[10]

The distinguished man who penned these words was Aleandro, a member of the famous commission probably foreshadowed by Egidio in his Memorial. Paul III,who became Pope in 1534,early showed his desire for reform,[11] and in preparing the ground for a Council had elevated Contarini,Sadoleto,Carafa,and Pole to the purple. These,together with Fregoso,Aleandro,Giberti,Cortese,and Badia,were appointed in 1537 to form the "Consilium delectorum Cardinalium de emendanda Ecclesia". It is,as it was meant to be,one of the most searching analyses of ecclesiastical abuses ever published officially by ecclesiastics.[12]

10. See Maurenbrecher."Geschichte der Katholische Reformation",pg.210.

11. Froude ("Lectures on the Council of Trent",pg.,286) says,unfairly,that Paul had no wish for reform as he feared an alliance between the reforming Bishops and rebellious Protestants.

12. Given in Kidd,"Documents of the Continental Reformation",pp.307-318.

This lengthy document, to which only a brief reference can be given here, begins with a eulogy of the Pope through whom God is working to repair "the tottering Church of Christ, almost fallen head long into the depth". It recognises the great failure of preceding Pontiffs in permitting corruption to rule in the highest places, especially in the Curia. No fewer than nineteen abuses, together with a further six heads under which opportunities for the more ardent practice of piety are suggested, are catalogued. In one of these, the first, the ordination of clergy, "and especially presbyters" without a cure is regarded as productive of numerous evils. An echo of this is to be found ten years later in England during Somerset's protectorate, when only those clergy who had been specially licensed were allowed to wander from diocese to diocese.[13] It was only natural that, since out of the nine Commissioners two thirds were in close touch with diocesan work and were leaders of reform in their dioceses, the question of pluralities and non-residence should be viewed very seriously. This was the second "abusus", and others bearing on these and like questions were carefully set down. The Pope was to be aided by Cardinals freed from episcopal duties and thus able to govern the Church, and in the highest circles it must be remembered that "Christ our Lord began to do and afterwards to teach". The creation of new Orders was not viewed with favour, and here the spirit seems to be that of Aleandro when he advocated the enforcement of the old laws which were themselves adequate enough. So great was the desire to promote good morals that not only the professors of philosophy but also such works as Erasmus' Colloquies were accused of fostering impiety.

13. See Pollard, "The Reformation under Edward VI", C.M.H., Vol.II, 483.

Like Colet in his famous Convocation sermon, the members of 300
the Commission made no reference to heretics' vices. Only in one
place are the Lutherans mentioned, and in that instance very temper-
ately indeed: clerical marriage, "in these times in which The Luth-
erans urge this thing greatly", is to be permitted only in very ex-
ceptional cases.

According to Caracciolo, Carafa drew up this document, and this
is not impossible. The division between Carafan and Erasmian was
still not yet, but it was not far away. It became much clearer in
the next few years and especially so when considerations on doctrine
gave place to those of discipline. The Commission was the last occa-
sion on which mediatizers and Carafans worked together in harmony. Is it impossible to
connect this fact with the appearance in the preceding year of the
"Institutes" of Calvin? We must turn now, therefore, to the negotia-
tions centring in Regensburg in 1541, when the "Book" took the place
of the "De emendanda".[14]

In 1520, there had begun the tremendous European upheaval. To
remedy the trouble caused by the Reformation force had been unsuc-
cessfully tried at Worms in 1521. In 1530, conviction as well as
force was attempted at Augsburg. In the course of the next few years
Protestantism had been firmly establishing its theology and making
itself a force to be reckoned with. The Emperor could not but be
impressed, and the Pope himself gave the impression that he was not
unfavourable to the plan of seeking some measure of agreement or
compromise. He had in 1536 accepted the dedication of a new and re-
formed Breviary by the Emperor's confessor, Quiñones, which anticipa-

14. Pastor. Vol. XI, pg., 430 & ff.. Also his "Die kirchlichen Reunions-
bestrebungen", 1879. Eells, in "Princeton Theolog. Review", 1928.

ted some of Cranmer's own changes in the old Use in England.[15] Paul was affected by the spirit of the time. The mediatizers initiated the movement for compromise, and if little was achieved in the preliminary colloquies at Frankfort, Hagenau, and Worms, at least an opportunity had been provided for the meeting of both sides. At Regensburg, Butzer, Melancthon, and Pistorius, faced Eck, Pflug, and Groupper, and the latter's famous "Book" was adopted as the basis for the subsequent discussions. First made public at Regensburg in 1541, the Book was, says Eells, "one of the most important compromises in the history of the Christian Church". Little difficulty seems to have been experienced in discussing the four articles on man's original state, sin, and free will, but agreement on the following nineteen articles was not so easy to attain. It is not surprising, for in the fifth the thorny subject of justification was introduced, and both Eck and Melancthon had objections. It was maintained that there were two forms of justice, the one inherent partaken of through Christ's grace, and the other and higher, Christ's own, the "imputation" of which was secured by faith. With this theory of "double justice" Contarini was in egreement as it did not conflict with the theories of certain orthodox theologians. Pflug, Morone, and Badia, agreed with Contarini. The latter, wrote too optimistically in view of subsequent events, "God be praised! Yesterday the Catholic and Protestant theologians came to an egreement on the doctrine of justification."[16] The question of the authority of the Church presented great difficulties. No real settlement was reached on the subject of

I5. See, Rodocanachi, Vol.II, pg., 47, and C.M.H., Vol.II, pg., 484.

I6. In a letter written on May 3rd., 1541. See also, Whitney on "Continuity through the Reformation", pg.192 in "London Theol.Stud."

Councils,and Contarini shelved the discussion on Papal primacy. 302 On the Sacraments in general,holy orders,baptism,and confirmation, there was little discussion,but the descent from generalities was followed by disagreement. This was particularly the case with Transubstantiation,and Contarini himself came to see it,as is evident from another letter of his on May I3th. The debates on the Mass were not alone in provoking dispute,and those on the invocation of saints,celibacy,and the monastic life,served to reveal that the desired end of the Colloquies was not being reached. When the agreement on justification was revealed to be a makeshift instead of a permanent settlement,"there was no longer any doubt that the conference was a complete failure".[I7] And there is little doubt that in Rome the sorrow was not great on that account,for,as Pastor himself admits,efforts on reunion were frowned on at Rome. Leathes shows too much bias when he says that the Conference only showed "that the Lutherans would not accept even the decisions of a General Council"[I8] Rather does the opinion of Richard,although somewhat partisan in the opposite direction,seem better to assess the Colloquy. "The Regensburg Diet marks the climax in the reformatory movement. Neither before nor after was the Emperor,or Curia through its legates,so conciliatory. ..... The fact is,the Reformation had gained such a distinct dogmatic consciousness that it could not recede from its position."[I9]

Now,"it was clear that the Catholic Reformers were no longer as united as they had been".[20]

I7. Pastor.Vol.XI,pg.,45I. I8. C.M.H.,Vol.II,pg.,75.

I9. Richard. "Melancthon",pp.,294-295.

20. C.M.H.,Vol.II,pg.,646,Laurence on "The Church and Reform."

Such as Carafa had taken no part in furthering Contarini's efforts to come to a doctrinal agreement with the Lutherans. The mediatizers henceforward were to plough their furrow alone, death and the progress of the reaction in the and effectively stifling the efforts they had put forward during the thirty years under review. In order better to understand the doctrinal approximations of German Reformers and Italian mediatizers it would appear that closer attention to these distinguished men individually should now be paid. Only a brief description is here possible, but it is nevertheless highly necessary, and it is only fitting that it should begin with Contarini.

ii. Gasparo Contarini.[21]

This great Venetian was born in 1483, and received a training in philosophy, in the course of which studies he wrote against Pomponazzi. His services for the state were considerable, and in 1521, he was Ambassador to Charles V. He met Luther at Worms but was not impressed by the Reformer. Notwithstanding his political activities he took a deep interest in theological matters from an early age, as we would gather from the part he played in the Oratory after the Sack. There was his opportunity to exert his commanding influence upon a circle larger than that to which he had been hitherto accustomed. In former days he had presided over somewhat academic discussions on philosophy and theology in the gardens of S.Gregorio Magno, although his great interest in practical religion had shown itself when, in 1517, on the occasion of Lippomano's consecration as Bishop of Bergamo, he published his tract, "De Officio Episcopi".

21. Article by Weizäcker on Contarini in the "Realencyklopädie".
Monographs by Dittrich and Braun.

The spirit of that tract appeared again in I529 when he addressed himself to the Pope as an "Italian and not as a Venetian, as a private personage and as a Christian desiring him to pursue the general welfare of Christendom and not particular interests - as secular princes did."[22] He went on to say, "Let not your Holiness suppose that the welfare of the Church of Christ stands or falls with these morsels of worldly dominion. Before their acquisition the Church existed, and indeed, existed at her best. She is the common possession of all Christians."

This appeal to the early Church is particularly interesting: it was the same as that of the Vaudois and of the Reformation, although unlike these latter, Contarini coupled with it an appeal to the medieval Church at its best in Aquinas. But let us turn to his theological productions.[23] According to Rückert -who finds in him three periods, the first of which closely approximates to the date at which he was elevated to the purple - the "Confutatio articulorum", a polemical examination of the "Confessio Augustana", is so greatly dependent upon Aquinas as to be almost a series of Thomist extracts.[24] Gothein has pointed this out also in suggesting the preponderance of the Scholastic over the Humanist in Contarini.[25]

To follow closely his theological development would be to cover ground which, unfortunately, the limits of this thesis could only with difficulty include. Therefore, we have ventured to select various points only from his work. We ~~shall~~ quote the following.

22. Pastor. Vol.X, pg., 33 et seq..

23. These works are in, "Corpus Catholicorum", Vol., VII, I923.

24. Rückert. "Die Theologische Entwicklung G.Contarinis", in Holl and Lietzmann's "Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte", Bonn, I926.
Seeberg. "Dogmengeschichte". Vol., IV, pg., 747.

25. Gothein. pg., I34.

"We can hence through ourselves sin and perish:we cannot,however be saved but by the grace of God." To support this,in his fourth article on the freedom of the will,he quotes St.John,xv,5 - 'I am the vine,ye are the branches',and says that in emphasising the action of the Divine,"Luther spoke on this matter beautifully and excellently in my judgment." In support of his arguments he follows the humanist line,drawing upon authorities other than Christian. For instance,in support of celibacy,which,he holds,frees from distraction,he draws upon Averroes' Commentary on the "Physics",and Book VII,Chapter 12 of Aristotle's "Ethics". Besides such texts,appealing primarily to the reason,he opposes certain Biblical texts to those drawn upon by Luther. For instance,Christ's high priesthood and sacrifice (Hebrews,viii,4.) is confronted with,"This do in remembrance of me"(Luke xxii,19 & ff..) The appeal to tradition is highly interesting: the complaint of the Reformers that certain practices were not explicitly sanctioned by Scripture he allows. The excellence of such practices is,however,maintained,for not only are they the work of holy men,but also they have stood the test of experience. In defending the Papal primacy,as elsewhere,the appeal is to its reasonability: he is certainly no advocate of the absolutism of certain Curialists.[26]

At about the close of this first period Contarini was concerned with the "De emendanda",in which document there is a good deal on the subject of the Papal primacy reminiscent of Contarini's "Confutatio".[27] He closes this work with an insistence upon the con-

26.See his "De Potestate Pontificis",a work in which,Döllinger said, (Reunion of the Churches",1872,pg.,65) Contarini defended Luther's "Babylonish Captivity".

27. Weizäcker says the proposal was a hundred years too late.

summate importance of good living in the faithful as the surest refutation of heretics.

The second of Rückert's three periods,for us the most important,is that which extends roughly from I535 to I540. His theology was,says the German scholar,in great part the same. The influence of the new ideas,not absent in the earlier stage,now becomes more pronounced. It was in this period that Calvin was beginning to rise. Not that Contarini was favourably disposed towards him,for,as one writer says,"Calvin's Institutio filled him with mingled admiration and dread".[28] But the great Frenchman had attracted attention towards the question of predestination,and Contarini,introduced by Vittoria Colonna to the Valdesians,[29] found himself interested with the new problem just as he was with justification in the famous Neapolitan circle. Contarini's position was,one need hardly say,certainly not that of Calvin or of any of the German Reformers. But he could not escape their influence in his "De Praedestinatione". The position there is intermediate between the Pelagianizing tendencies of Scotist nominalistic philosophy and that of the Augustinianism of the Italian'evangelicals'. He Holds a theory of a single predestination - to salvation only. For the damned simply a prescience takes the place of predestination.

The third period is of much shorter duration: it is that

28. Lindsay. "History of the Reformation",Vol.II,pg.,5II & ff..

29. Dittrich. "Gasparo Contarini",pg.,450 & ff..

At about the time of the appearance of the "De Praedestinatione" he wrote (January,I9th.,I538) to Cardinal Gonzaga on heretical preaching in Siena. Solmi."Lettere inedite del G.Contarini", pg.,256,Nuovo Archivio Veneto,I904.

of especially the "Epistola de Justificatione",which he sent from Regensburg to Cardinal Gonzaga in I54I.

Morone had been heartily in favour of Contarini's proceeding to Germany to take part in the religious colloquies; - "it being necessary to have there a person of authority,doctrine,and modesty, it appears to me that the Rev^mo. Contareno is that person,who not only has the necessary parts in truth,but also is reputed such among men of judgment."[30] He wrote later to Farnese to the effect that Contarini's appointment as legate had given the greatest satisfaction,although it were well that those accompanying him to the colloquy should be wise (dotte).[3I]

According to Rückert,towards the close of the second period Contarini was oscillating between a greater and a lesser Augustinianism.He now puts forward in the"Epistola" his interesting theory of "double justice",to which we have hitherto drawn attention in our reference to Gropper. The authority of Aquinas is to be clearly seen after the short etymological discussion of the word "justification". If his accentuation of justification is not so great as Luther's,he certainly approaches the German's view. The springs of it are indeed identical: there is the same feeling for human misery and the same conception of Divine grandeur,and in practice at least,the "imputed" justice was that upon which most emphasis was laid. He differs from Luther in putting a sort of period of purgation and a turning of the mind towards God before and preparatory to justification. Not so emphatically as Luther,but nevertheless animated by a similar idea,he says this justice of ours (inherentem) "is inchoate

30. Dittrich. "Morones Nuntiaturberichte",pg.,II8.Letter to PaulIII.
3I. Dittrich. ibid.,pg.,I66 & ff..

and imperfect,which cannot save us....." In order to reinforce 308 his theory of "double justice" he draws upon two texts,both from the Old Testament - Psalm xvii,2I &ff., and Deuteronomy vi,25.Justification by works follows justification by faith: his own words are;"This justification can be said to be by works (ex operibus) and can be called justification by works. ....from works,however,which follow,is shown this justification and this faith perfected or formed and efficacious for charity,as said James in his Epistle (ii,I4-26). For if good works do not follow,imperfect and infertile was that faith." Contarini 's concern was preeminently with the practical,and this he declares explicitly. "We may add that there is a double righteousness or justice,the one inherent by which we begin to be righteous and are made partakers of the Divine nature and His love is spread abroad in our hearts: the other not inherent,but given to us with Christ and His merits and righteousness. We receive both of these by faith;which of them first is rather a scholastic question and not of our question, which is faith."

Only four days after the composition of the "Epistola",on May 29th.,I54I,a letter was addressed to Contarini by Ardinghello in the name of Cardinal Farnese. No matter whether or no he showed due respect in his theology to Thomist thought,his efforts at Regensburg were not being favourably received at Rome. This letter,as representing an official view of the negotiations in Germany,is of such interest as to appear to warrant the reproduction of the greater part of it here.

"Up to the I2th.,of the present month I wrote to V.S.Reverend saying how much up to that moment it occurred to me to tell you in

32."Epistolae Card.,Poli",tom.,iii,pg.,23I.

reply to much in your letters on the religious question. I re- 309
ceived then the others at various times, such being those of the 3rd, 4th, 9th, I1th, I2th, I3th, I5th, I6th. The contents of these, both on account of the importance of what is treated there, and because of the small hope V.S.Rev^mo says he has of the attainment of Christian unity, have made, and continue to make, His Holiness suspicious and full of uneasiness..... The conclusion arrived at among the six Deputies on the article of Justification, which V.S., had sent with the letters of the 3rd., and 4th, has not been read in Consistory, nor has it been seen by many.....since V.S.Rev^mo gives among other reasons for keeping it secret....that some wish to disturb peace. ....I warn you well that by all those who have seen it, it has been declared that , granted the sense be Catholic, the words could be more clear, and consequently, that in this first article is not entirely avoided that ambiguity and palliated concord which V.S., has wisely blamed and expressed abhorrence at in the two following on the Eucharist and Confession. .....the firm intention of His Holiness is that V.S. Rev^mo neither in the public name nor in private should approve any conclusions which have not, not only the Catholic sense expressly determined by the Church, but also such phraseology as is in no danger of ambiguity, and that V.S., should seek that the articles are good in sense, and clear in phraseology, and not to approve anything without referring to the Apostolic See.....every time that it can be alleged by the Protestants that apparently the opinion of V.S. Rev^mo is favourable to some of their dogmas, it would not pass without grave scandal, as well as being prejudicial, to V.S.Rev^mo and to the truth, the which could not be achieved by disputations and declarations to the people of Germany.

"And therefore, may V.S.Rev^mo follow and observe this caution 310
entirely in whatsoever type of article....in the explication of
words flee every doubtful expression."

After taking into consideration such an expression of the view at Rome, we cannot but agree with Weizsäcker that the Papal policy was, to arrogate to itself the final decision. It seems to be quite clear that Contarini's theological position was indirectly attacked by his more zealous contemporaries. On May 30th., Contarini wrote from Regensburg to the effect that he was surprised to see the attachment shown by the Protestants to their doctrines, and at the same time he reveals the troubles besetting him.[33] His further disappointment he expressed in another letter to Gonzaga on June 9th: the aim of the Colloquies remained unrealized.[34] Another letter he wrote from Regensburg on July 19th., shows how the clouds had thickened about him. Letters had not arrived: he suggested that Gonzaga himself was alienated. However, in spite of the rebuff, Contarini worked hard for the Council, where something if not all might yet be achieved. This is revealed in his letter of January 7th. 1542, when the place for the proposed Council's sessions was under discussion.[35]

Before the storm came which involved some of his most intimate friends and silenced effectively the mediatizing theologians for ever, Contarini had departed this life. The assiduous work he put in for the Council, which condemned by implication his doctrine of justification, could not remove the stigma which his transactions

33. "Nuovo Archivio Veneto", No., 54 (1904), pg., 273, "Lettere Inedite".
34. "Lettere Inedite", pp., 273-274.
35. "Briefwechsel", in "Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven", published by the Kgl., preuss., Inst., in Rom, 1899, 59-60.

with the German Reformers had brought him. Certainly his contemporaries would have been in no hurry to acclaim him "one of the outstanding defenders of Catholic teaching against the Reformers"[36] And is it not possible that they may have been rightly suspicious if the whole truth could ever be known? Just before Ochino left Italy he received a letter from Giberti to Beccadelli, Contarini's secretary.[37] The latter, in his account of his master's life, tells us that Contarini's condition just before his death grew suddenly worse so that he could attend to no business neither could he see Ochino on the morrow. The Cappuccino, however, was not to be put off, and he practically forced himself into the presence of the dying Cardinal, who turned to the intruder with, "Father, you see the state I am in; excuse me, and pray to God for me. Buon viaggio!" Della Casa reproduces Beccadelli word for word in his account of Contarini.[38]

Ochino's narrative is quite different. "When I lately passed through Bologna and visited the Cardinal Contarini, who was already suffering from the illness of which he afterwards died, he said to me, 'Although at the Diet I decidedly opposed the Protestant doctrines yet since my return to Italy, I have been accused concerning twelve articles among which one is so worded that it assumed in a secret manner veiled under generalizations the doctrine of justification through Christ!'"[39] The unsupported word of Ochino would scarcely suffice, especially in the face of Beccadelli's and della Casa's accounts, to satisfy us that Contarini had something to say about his

36. Krösz, in "Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie", pg. I37, Jahrg. 5I, I927.
37. "Epistolae Card. Poli", Vol. III. Beccadelli, pp., cxxxvi-cxxxvii.
38. Della Casa. "Opera", Vol. IV, pg., I23.
39. Ochino. "Prediche", Vol. I, I0th., treatise.

position at Regensburg to Ochino. Yet the narrative of Muzio, 312 that staunch defender of orthodoxy and violent opponent of Ochino, if not like Ochino's,is certainly not like that of Beccadelli,for he says,"The Cardinal received him and told him to go to rest until the following morning."[40]

We are thus in ignorance as to what exactly happened on this interesting occasion. One thing we do know is that,even after the fiercely reactionary days of Paul IV and Pius V,Contarini's works are to be found on the Index of Parma of 1580.[41]

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iii.Jacopo Sadoleto.

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Of the other mediatizers we cannot speak at such great length, partly because of their lesser importance when compared with Contarini,and partly because of the space at our disposal. One of the most illustrious,who died not many years after Contarini,and who, like him,was one of Paul's famous Commission,was Sadoleto.

40. Muzio. "Le Mentite Ochiniane",f.22.b.,Venezia.1552.

41. Reusch."Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des XVI Jahrhunderts", Tübingen,1886,pg.,584.
There are roughly three views of Contarini's works on Justification. I. He would hide himself under Catholic utterances, although his work is Protestant in tendency. The advocates of this are:- von Seelen,Kiesling,von Ranke,Gieseler,Weizsäcker,and Brieger.

2. His work is a compromise between the Catholic and Protestant outlook. The advocates of this view are:-

Lämmer,Ritschl,Döllinger,Pastor,Dittrich,Lauchert,and Hefner.

3. His work is genuinely Catholic,with a near approach to the Thomistic. Its advocates are Seeberg and Braun;the latter brings out more than Seeberg the 'Compromise' character.

The amount of work in English on this subject is almost negligible. See,for occasional references,Mackinnon."Luther and the Ref.."Vol.IV.

[42] He received an excellent education and became deeply imbued with the highest Humanistic culture of the day at Ferrara and in the court of Alexander VI. It was whilst under the protection of Carafa that he came into contact with Fregoso, another of the mediatizers who became Archbishop of Salerno, and with the famous Bembo, both of whom remained his lifelong friends. Sadoleto was more of a humanist than Contarini, but was not without considerable religious feeling. It was his intention at one time to go on a pilgrimage to Loretto, and in spite of the fact that he followed the customary practice of ruling his diocese of Carpentras by means of a vicar, and was removed from Adrian's service by reason of his too ornate Renaissance productions, there can be no doubt about the beauty of his character. It is not surprising that Erasmus should find in such a man as this, sometime Secretary to Leo X, and a member of the "Oratory", one of his ideal ecclesiastics. His interpretation of the Psalm, "Misere mei Deus" dedicated to Giberti,[43] was highly praised by the great Dutchman ~~highly~~:-"If Rome sends us such treatises then I trust the future." To attribute to the Sack his 'conversion' is quite erroneous, although we gather from his writings and letters of the time that he was profoundly influenced by it. As he wrote to Bini, "the corrupt age and the customs of the Court have brought down upon themselves the so great wrath of God", and he goes on to say, "My mind is resolved in life and indeath to serve God in my Church, though I be an unworthy servant."[44] To Clement's person he was completely devoted.[45] Residence now at Carpentras enabled him to devote

42. Benrath's article on Sadoleto in the "Realencyklopädie".

43. "Epistolae Sadoleti Familiares", Vol.I, Letter to Giberti, I525.

44. "Epistolae", Vol.I. Dated June 28/27. 45. To Salviati; May, I528.

himself to the closer study of ecclesiastical and religious questions. Like his friends he placed great faith in a Council for the healing of Christendom's misfortunes:"in whatever place the Council is convened let us flee neither work nor care".[46] Thus he wrote to Fregoso.At the same time he besought Erasmus to exert himself on behalf of the Church:"may it go well in the German nation; for I love all people..... ." He wrote again to Erasmus some two years later,and was full of news with regard to a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans at which he had recently been working.[47]

This is interesting. The Reformers had rediscovered St.Paul, and their influence had been contagious. Sadoleto had,if we may judge from such letters as that to Erasmus,undertaken researches into the subject with the greatest zeal. But there seems to be no indication of the possibility of Sadoleto's slipping into a Lutheran exegesis,although he tells Erasmus that certain malevolent people had taken objection to the Commentary.In this same period Accolti had written to him describing Zwingli as"he who first brought to the Swiss the pestiferous doctrines of the Lutherans".[48] It is,indeed, quite possible that the approximation of Sadoleto's accusers to the Reformation on the Epistle was far closer than the Commentator's. Fiordebello said the work was intended to protect Catholicism from Protestant attacks.[49] His wandering too far from Augustine caused the attack,and this being so,it is at once clear how very far he was removed not only from the Lutherans but also from Contarini.

46."Epistolae Sadoleti Familiares",Vol.I,Letter dated February,I530.

47."Epistolae",Vol.II,Letter dated May,I532.

48."Epistolae",Vol.II,Letter dated December,I53I.

49. Quoted by Benrath in his article on Sadoleto.

Sadoleto was at this time concerned not solely with theology, notwithstanding his great interest in his Commentary. A work produced during his retirement at Carpentras on the education of children produced a letter from Pole, who expressed his surprise at finding no mention of theology in the work. And yet his interest in the Commentary drew him back again to theology: he evidently felt that he had found something and was prepared to defend his possession. Besides seeking to defend himself at Rome, he wrote to his friends, especially Fregoso, outlining his theological position.[50] He says: "For God, the fountain of good works, is accustomed...to see... not human merit in man so much as a mixture of divine liberality and grace. ....Briefly, I consider it thus, that faith must be distinguished and set apart from justifying works, which are taught by the Law: but without a particular justice more divine and excelling, no faith can by us be attained. ....Concerning free will and grace, which two are seen to be opposite to one another, so that they were at one time agitated with the most serious controversies in the Church of God and now are repeated by these most recent heretics: I both oppose Pelagius emphatically, who wished to give us reward for our merits without grace, when absolutely no merit is by us if it does not spring forth from the gift of grace; and I do not agree exactly with Augustine....." He closes this highly interesting letter with an expression at his greater pleasure in Greek than in Hebrew, and declares that, "First of all, our salvation is in the Gospel."

This last declaration he repeats in a letter to Pole about a year later.[51] In spite of the semi-Pelagian tendency manifested in the

50. "Epistolae Sadoleti Familiares", Vol.II, Letter dated April, 1533.

51. "Epistolae", Vol.II, Letter of December, 1534.

above letter to Fregoso, one cannot fail to see the unmistakeable influence of the advocates of "double justification", and through them, of the Reformers. As time passes one can see his interest in Contarini, the early Church, and heresy, growing. In ~~this~~ another letter he says, "Although I have not studied Durandi, Capriolo, Ockham, I have studied the Bible, St. Paul, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and those worthy doctors who are the pillars of the Church. ..." If this is the path of the Christian Humanists it is none the less that of the Reformers. It was about this time that he came into closer contact with the heretics, and in the frame of mind in which he then was, it is not unlikely that he came to appreciate them more highly the more he recognised that their appeal to primitive Christianity was not unlike his own. He was besides too much of an Erasmian not to recognise some virtues in the opposite camp, members of which were to be found in his own diocese of Carpentras in the shape of the Vaudois of Cabrières. His participation in the "De emendanda" shows that he also believed as wholeheartedly as the heretics in the reality of the abuses against which the Reformers had insistently protested. For the remedying of these abuses the projected Council was an abiding hope as his letters of 1538 to Pflug and Cochlaeus show. Anything likely to widen existing gulfs or create new ones he deplores, as is clear from his letter to Contarini in February, 1539, in which he mentions the breaking away of Henry VIII of England.

In the same year we find him in correspondence with the heretics. The geographical position of Carpentras made it quite easy for him to obtain some idea of the religious activities at Geneva. Two years previously he had been in touch with Melancthon with a

52. "Epistolae", Vol. II, Letter of August, 1535, to Fregoso.

view to reconciling him with the Church: it was an attempt at approximation by one humanist with another.[53] The German, about 1531, was seeking a place for Lutheranism in the larger Church, and had negotiated with Campeggio for at least a temporary toleration of Protestantism until a Council should be convened. In describing this, Grisar says that Sadoleto was one dignitary willing to be cajoled by Melancthon in the matter.[54]

The effort to come to an agreement with Melancthon met with no success, as indeed, such as Fabri among Sadoleto's correspondents thought was bound to happen. But this failure did not prevent the elegant Cardinal from seeking some agreement with one who was less likely to bend than Melancthon. In April, 1539, he wrote to the Senate of Geneva a long letter in which he addressed them as "fratres charissimi", and called upon them to return to the bosom of the Church, for which he gives his reasons. "For truth is always one, but different and multiform is error." Unfortunately, he is sometimes very unfair. His appeal is, like Contarini's, to the human reason, and to the religious needs of the individual. Hence for him the Real Presence is demonstrable by the reason; and , "the Catholic has a certain rule by which he distinguishes the false from the true". Confession is good primarily for the inculcation of humility.

Calvin's reply to this letter is dated September Ist., 1539, and is surprisingly moderate and fair.[55]

In the course of this same year in correspondence with Contarini he was discussing points in theology. We have two letters of

53. See Benrath on Sadoleto.

54. Grisar. "Luther", Vol. III, pg., 335 et seq.. and pg., 443.

55. Kidd. "Documents of the Continental Reformation", pp., 584-586.

his to the Venetian,and one in reply. In one place he says,"When I say by faith only,I do not understand it in the same way as the discoverers of new things."Not only does he show in this correspondence a view different from Contarini's,but he appears to recede considerably from the position he took up in his letter to Fregoso in I533. "When we say by faith only,therefore,in God and Jesus Christ can we be saved,in this same faith we set charity or the obligation to those things nearest to hand,which is the head and chief reason for our salvation." Nor was there any change in this attitude in I54I when he wrote to Catarino;"For never could I be persuaded that faith without good works must be held efficacious for the building of the kingdom of God."[57]

If this type of theology were to be taken alone,there can be no doubt that not only would the Cardinal be absent from the band of mediatizers but also he would show hardly any direct influence of the Reformation's thought. And yet his theology was by no means the whole of Sadoleto. Paul III called upon him in I539 to proceed against Lutheranism in Avignon.[58] At about the same time we find him corresponding with the Vaudois.[59]

To these unfortunate people Francis I had promised an amnesty in I535,and this that monarch renewed in I54I,although abjuration was required. But instead of abjuring the Vaudois published a confession of faith,and this they sent to the Bishop of the diocese in which Cabrières lay. Sadoleto acknowledged that they had been the

56. "Monumenti di varia letteratura....di Beccadelli",I799,pg.68. Contarini to Sadoleto. Dittrich."Regesten",Inedita,No.39,pg.,302
57. Rückert."Die Theologische Entwicklung des Contarinis",pp.,70-72.
58."Epistolae Sadoleti Familiares",Vol.III,Letter dated June,I539.
59. Muston. "History of the Waldenses",Vol.I,pg.,59.

victims of "meras calumnias et falsas criminationes", and convinced of their purity of life, invited them to meet him. All that was necessary was not a change in the purport of their confession, but simply a mitigation of the severity of various expressions. After all, he was as keenly desirous of a reformation in the Church as they. Even if his language to Farnese, and particularly, his letters of 1544, show an attitude towards the Vaudois not at all consistent with his views in 1541, there seems to be little doubt that his bark was often far worse than his bite. The dealings with the famous Academicians of Modena cannot be overlooked in such an enquiry, nor can his efforts on behalf of Paleario.[60]

In 1543, he had been called to Rome to assist in the preparations for a Council, but he died soon after it began its sessions, in 1547. We venture to quote the opinion of a Scottish historian with whom we are substantially in agreement.[61]

This writer says that he disliked Luther, but was not unfavourable to Melancthon and Butzer. "Indeed, the Italian Cardinal may be called the Melancthon of Romanism" who, "rooted in Romanism, was impelled to some sympathy with the Protestant theology." Lindsay finds that he lacked precision of thought; "one doctrine tended to slide insensibly into another, into its opposite even, under the touch of his analysis". He could defend auricular confession as an example of Christian humility, and saint invocation because it was a testimony to the soul's immortality. Thus he ran the risk of being regarded as a trifler by the Protestants and a traitor by the Romanists."

But surely, as the Jesuit tide rose, that became the Roman view

60. He was one of the signatories of the famous confession of Modena.

61. Lindsay. "History of the Reformation", Vol. II, pg., 508.

of all Erasmians and not of Sadoleto only. When he expressed agreement with the severities against the Vaudois in his letters we would suggest that,not being of the stuff of martyrs,it was easier for him to sing in unison with zealous orthodoxy than to pursue the lonely way. His death in I547 no doubt saved him from inconveniences Contarini also escaped,but which others like Morone and Pole could not avoid.[62]

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iv. Morone

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Among those Modenesi whose praises Muratori sings in his "Vita di Lodovico Castelvetro" is Giovanni Morone,who was born in I509 at Milan. Nominated Bishop of Modena by Clement VII in I527,it was only after the lapse of some years that he was consecrated. He was often absent from his diocese,particularly after I535,when he was entrusted by Paul III,who was always kindly disposed towards him, with diplomatic missions. This not only facilitated the spread of heresy in his diocese,but also brought the Bishop into such close connection with the Reformers as to cause him to hold views which were highly dangerous. Like Contarini,himself well acquainted with Germany,he came to know,"that only a profound reform of the Catholic Church could arrest the progress of heresy",and also like the great Venetian"he did not believe that the Lutheran interpretation of dogma was absolutely inexact,and would willingly have rejected as a superstition contrary to the Gospel salvation by works".[64]

His appreciation of Contarini has already been pointed out.

62. Lindsay. Vol.II,pg.,524.

63. Articles in "Encyclopedia Britt.."and the"Realencyklopädie". Bernabei."Vita del card.Morone",I895,and Constant."La Légation du card.Morone."I922.

64. Hausser et Renaudet.pg.,2II.

In I541 he submitted his Recommendations on the reform of the Church.[65] He began by outlining the difficulties in the way of amendment, and throughout the document we find the spirit of the "De emendanda". The Commission's attack on vice in high places is repeated. He mentions the place of the Theatines in his reform plans, using them "in order to kindle good spiritual desire with charity" and to supply the great deficiency in the numbers of clergy. Again we find demonstrated the same care for souls as in the other mediatizers. To facilitate instruction, and in order to cut out the extravagances which entered so much into popular preaching he advocated the adoption of a sort of Creed after the form of that of the "Concilio Coloniense", which itself might be suitably revised for the purpose.. In spite of the fact that Morone was in a heresy-infected land, the subject of heresy occupies very little space in these Recommendations, and his mildness is striking. "There are many excommunicated for apostasy and irregularity and heresy: on this account it would be necessary not only to have authority to absolve all who come to repent, but also to be able to delegate the same power to ordinaries, or to others deputed in the name of the Holy See, or at least, provinces, according to requirements".

Such sentiments as these are as devotedly Catholic as the spirit of some of the reconciliations in the early centuries of the Church. But such expressions as the following would not have been so construed in his day; he would give away too much. "There are among the Lutherans in several places many learned such as could

65. "Bibliothek des kgl., Preussischen Historischen Instituts in Rom", Bd., 5, I9I0. pp., 205-209. L. Cardauns. "Zur Geschichte der Kirchlichen Unions und Reformsbestrebungen", I538-I542.

...be gained for the Holy See and for our true religion,but it 322
cannot be done without expense.....There will be some Lutherans,
at one time priests or monks,of whom Butzer is an example,such that
finding themselves married will not wish to put aside their wives,
and none the less in every thing else would perhaps be not intract-
able." [66] At the same time,he expresses little liking for Vergerio. [67]
He seemed to suspect the possibility of something occuring which
would be disastrous. On the other hand this may be no more than a
mere personal aversion. In stemming the tide of heresy Morone him-
self had done little when the opportunity presented itself at Milan
in I536,and for a long time he was the friend of Carnesecchi.

So serious did things become in his own diocese of Modena that
he was absolutely compelled to act,and that with more vigour than
in Milan.He had to invoke the aid of the new Jesuit Order,and so
Salmerón came to Modena in I543 to stem the fast rising tide of
heresy but pulpit eloquence and fervour. The preacher was not pop-
ular,and even the Governor of the city complained of the too great
zeal manifested by the man whom the Bishop had chosen. Morone him-
self furnishes us with a description of his meeting with Salmerón
subsequently. [68] "I returned to Modena,the suspension of the Council
having intervened;and having been to his sermon,I believed he att-
ributed too much to exalted human merit,so much so that it appeared
to me to contribute to make men most arrogant and proud towards God.

66. See also,"Revista Storica Italiana",I924,Vol.4I,pp.,296-297.

67."Morones Nuntiaturberichte",Letter to Santa Croce from Worms,
December I2th.I540

68."Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu". "Epistolae Salmeronis",
Vol.I,(I536-I565),Madrid,I906,pp.,52-53.

Cantù."Gli Eretici d'Italia",Vol.II,pg.,I82.

Wherefore,I invited him to my room and we began to reason to- 323
gether privately. ....He,who was an ardent and learned youth,spoke to me very boldly,as I thought,and with great zeal. I,not having patience....said many foolish things,none of which I remember save this,that I did not know so many merits,and that also I committed sin by saying that the Mass is the holiest work that can be done. He replied that this was an erroneous opinion,as indeed it is.... but I held that nothing can be more pleasing to God than to celebrate it devoutly. However,he interrupted me,saying that,either because of little devotion or reverence,or mental distraction,it was incumbent upon me to admit my fault for the wrongs committed with regard to such a mystery." Morone goes on to say that he confessed that he was in the wrong,and in order to make amends for his conduct in the past he was willing to pay an annual sum to the Jesuits.

This confession was gained,it would appear,not without the application of some form of compulsion. From it we can gain some idea of his beliefs in the year I543. At about this same time we find him encouraging the printing and circulation of the "Beneficio". Between I544 and I547 he was Legate at Bologna,and during his tenure of that office incurred grave suspicion by honouring the memory of Valdés,and more especially,by offering no resistance to the public profession of their faith by German Lutheran students.

It was in these years then,that Morone drew closest to the Lutherans,whose influences never again were to be so great. There is no doubt that the death of Contarini and the failure of the Regensburg Colloquy played a large part in causing him to falter eventually. What dictated a change of front,however,more than all else, seems to have been something akin to fear of the fast rising Jesuit

Order. At any rate, on September, 24th., I547, Salmerón wrote to Loyola to say that the Society had been authorized by Morone (though not with any great show of enthusiasm on the part of the Bishop) to seek a suitable place in Modena for a "College for our students".[69] Matters did not improve for Morone when Paul III died and the thinned ranks of the mediatizers found themselves face to face with a growing opposition. He was suspected of being too mild towards the Lutherans in his diocese, and so he resigned his Bishopric. Julius III was, however, favourably disposed towards him, and in I553, at the instance of the Duke of Milan, gave him the rich See of Novara. In I555, he was nuncio to Augsburg. With Julius' death, the suspicions that had been long held of Morone among the rigorists were not likely to escape the vigilance of the new Pope. The accusation drawn up against the Bishop is particularly interesting and warrants some attention.[70] A preface to the articles of accusation has been added, probably by Vergerio, when they were published elsewhere and addressed to Sigismund of Poland. The first article introduces those that follow and are "partly heretical", and it closes with:-"He (the Attorney-general) 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, hath both publicly and openly deviated from the Catholic faith, taught, held, and preached by her, and this we aver to be true". Then come the above mentioned comments The following articles then enter into details.

Art. II, Inasmuch as he holds, and asserts that he believes, that the article of justification by faith was to be remodelled both be-

69. "Epistolae P. Salmeronis", Vol. I, pp., 52-53.

70. They formed a book, now very rare, published anonymously.

Art.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 should do so.

Art.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.

Art.V. Inasmuch as he holds and believes,and 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.

Art.VI. Inasmuch as he wrote letters from Trent to the aforesaid vicar,desiring him to assemble in his name all the priests who were accustomed to hear confessions,and explain absolution to them, and state that it was Christ who absolved them.

This latter was matter of great rejoicing to the Lutherans of Modena

Art.VII. Inasmuch as he holds and believes,or professes to hold and believe,that the Pope is not to be obeyed as the 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 a temporal prince

Art.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 owns himself that for any good work,such as celebrating the Mass ,he deserves Hell.

Art.IX. Inasmuch as in holding this opinion in view he reproved 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

not only prohibited him from preaching,but also sent him away 326
from the city.

Art.X. Inasmuch as he holds and believes,and professes to hold and believe,that we ought not to pray to the saints.

Art.XI. Inasmuch as he reproved a certain preacher because he preached upon the merits and invocations of saints,and enjoined him to preach Christ and the Gospel,and not so much merits and not so much saints.

Art.XII. Inasmuch as he reproved certain friars who in a loud voice sang these words,"Arise our Advocate (in Antiphony); God save the Queen."

Art.XIII. Inasmuch as while conversing with a certain learned monk about the adoration of the Holy Cross he gave an heretical opinion against such adoration.

Art.XIV. Inasmuch as when informed that some persons were shocked because proper reverence had not been shown to the relics of a saint he reproved those monks,saying that he wondered how they could hold those relics in reverence.

Art.XV. Inasmuch as he interpreted these words,"do not rouse one nation against another by the sword",to mean it is not lawful to go to war.

Art.XVI. Inasmuch as to a certain preacher,whom he thought a Lutheran,he said that he ought to preach upon justification,the invocation of saints,predestination,and similar topics,according to Luther's opinions,except on the subject of the sacrament.

Art.XVII. Inasmuch as he keeps by him and reads the writings of the heretics,and gives them to others to read.

Art.XVIII. Inasmuch as he took great pains to distribute a little

book,entitled the "Beneficio di Cristo",and gave orders to a heretical bookseller,or one 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.

Art.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.

Art.XX. Inasmuch as he favoured heretics or persons suspected of heresy,more particularly at Bologna;for he promised them that if anything were decreed against them,or if they were arrested,if they let him know,he would declare that those heretics were not to be persecuted,since God himself tolerated them.

Art.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."

Whilst there may be some exaggeration on the part of his accusers,it is impossible to deny that several incidents referred to in these charges were based on fact. His commerce with heretics,such as Giulia Gonzaga whodied in I559,and his encouragement of the reading of works like the "Beneficio" were certainly only too well founded. So thought Paul IV who imprisoned him along with his successor at Modena,Foscherari, and Pole,[7I] in Castel S.Angelo. There,refusing to be set at liberty until the Pope pronounced publicly his innocence,Morone remained until Paul's death in I559. He took part in Pius IV's election,and was fully restored

7I. Bernabei. "Vita del Cardenale Morone",pg.,7I. The exoneration of Foscherari is on his epitaph;Muratori."Vita del Castelvetro".

to favour,playing the part of Legate in the closing stages of 328
the Council of Trent. "In choosing Morone,"writes Phillippson,"the Pope wished to satisfy the party of moderate reform who,by mistake, counted him still among its members."[72]

There is little doubt that,as Phillippson implies,Morone had changed somewhat;otherwise,how can one very well account for his reconciliation? Salmerón had sought in I558 the Archbishop of Toledo's intervention in favour of the then imprisoned Cardinal who had opposed the Jesuit in earlier days,[73] and Laynez later described the Bishop's liberation in the following terms;"Neither after he came out of the Conclave,nor when I entered,did he show a bad spirit towards the Company such as we have had and have (tenemos) withhim."

It is difficult to believe that"he offended the Society from ignorance of the truth",although all hinges on what we mean by "truth". There can be no doubt that,"however,henceforward he served it with zeal."[74] The day of the mediatizers,then very far spent,was quite ended when Morone died in I580. Can we really blame him for choosing the dawn,if of a less pleasant day,before the twilight; a poorer but more practical Catholicism before a dying and ever more impractible ideal?

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v.Pole.

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The connection subsisting between England and Italy for centuries was rendered all the more close about the beginning of the sixteenth century by the numerous visits to Italy of several English

72. Phillippson."La Contre-Révolution réligieuse."I884,pg.,540.

73."Epistolae Salmeronis".Vol.I,pp.,235,354-355.Letters of February 20th.,I558,and January,7th.,I560.

74. Editor's comment at the foot of the above-mentioned letter of Laynez.

75.Gasquet."Cardinal Pole and his early friends",I927. This work goes no further than I53I. See the article in "Realencyklopädie."

scholars who were keen admirers of the Renaissance. Linacre met 329
Poliziano,and Linacre in his turn introduced Grocyn to Italy. In
the wake of these distinguished Oxonians followed Reginald Pole,se-
cond cousin of Henry VIII,in I52I,at the age of twenty one,with the
recommendations to the Venetian Signory befitting one of his social
rank. Nor does he appear to have impressed unfavourably those who
had an eye for something more than social eminence. Bembo wrote of
him in I522,he "is perhaps the most virtuous,erudite,and grave young
person in Italy at the present time." His residence in Italy came
to assume almost a permanent character,and especially so when,in
I530,he refused both the Archbishopric of York and the Bishopric of
Winchester and consequently roused the ire of Henry VIII.

Yet there was work to be done in southern Europe. His refusal
to accept a high position in the English episcopate enabled him to
play a part as a member of the famous Commission "de emendanda". He
had already expressed his views on the Church in a tract on its un-
ity in answer to a letter which Henry had written to justify his
second marriage,and he had been raised to the Cardinalate shortly
before the Commission produced its famous advice.

Just about the time of his admission to the Cardinalate,the
Venetian,Alvise Priuli,became his secretary and familiar in I536,[76]
and remained so until his master's death in I558. A secondary figure,
he was devoted to the Church,but was greatly inclined towards con-
ciliation on the question of justification by faith. Pole himself
was highly interested in that particular question,and when,in I54I,
he was appointed Legate at Viterbo,he came into a very congenial at-

76. Paschini."Un Amico di Cardenale Polo:Alvise Priuli". See also,
Salvatorelli's review in "Rev.,Stor.,Ital.."Vol.4I,I924.pp.54-57.

mosphere,where,for a few years he was able to discuss this and other matters raised by the Reformation with a number of people as greatly interested as himself.[77]

Shortly before his appointment at Viterbo he had been deeply involved in the great Colloquy of Regensburg. The prospect of reunion thrilled him,as can easily be seen from his letter of May I7th I54I: "I certainly felt myself in such great rejoicing when I saw this unanimity of opinions....."[78] He sent Priuli to Rome to commend the formula agreed upon to the Cardinals. There is insufficient evidence as to what Priuli did when at Rome,although we may believe that neither the formula nor the bearer would be received any too well in certain circles. Vittoria Colonna was inclined to joke about it,and said that he would be"obliged to reason in a Pelagian manner," although she said that for her part she was "moved by the words of our great friend beloved in Christ,Signore Priuli."[79]

Vittoria herself,with Contarini,now returned from Regensburg; Sadoleto,with whom Pole had spent happy days at Carpentras;Morone, Bembo and Flaminio,formed with others the revived Valdesian circle and centre of mediatizing theology. Pole was the leader of this select body. He told Vittoria Colonna,with whom he was on the most intimate terms,to believe as though salvation was possible by faith only,and to act as though salvation was possible by works only.This was not Lutheran but its influence is unmistakable. The rigorists viewed it as distinctly heretical,and Pole with his whole circle suffered denunciation to the Inquisition.[80] No stepe were taken,how-

77. See "Epistolae Poli".Vol.III;especially Contarini's letters.

78. Kidd."Documents of the Continental Reformation",pp.,344-345.

79. Paschini."Alvise Priuli",pg.,97.

ever,until the pontificate of Paul IV,but there is now no doubt 331
that he was regarded within the Inquisition as a heretic and misleader of others. The latter accusation was unjust,as may be inferred from the way in which he kept such as Flaminio within the Roman Church.

In I542,he was appointed one of the presiding Legates to the Council,but as the preparations were delayed,he did not take his place there until I545. As to why he left the Council in I546,there is still controversy,but with reference to existing evidence we cannot agree that,"His suggestions and amendments (of the decree of justification) were accepted,and the decree embodies the doctrines that Pole had always held of justification by a living faith which showed itself in good works." Nor can we believe that "This effectually disproves the story that he left the council so as to avoid taking part in an adverse decree."[81] Such intimate friends as Vittoria Colonna rejoiced at Pole's departure from Trent:[82] when Carafa became Paul IV,the English Cardinal,once almost elected Pope,[83] was hunted down along with Morone on account of his errors. That last blow was probably so great as to hasten his death,which occurred in I558. A short time previously he had protested the innocence both of himself and of Priuli.

It is quite possible that the death of Contarini and the blows levelled at both himself and his Viterbo friends caused him to di-

80. See,for a great mass of evidence,"Compendium inquisitorum",in the "Archivio della Società di Storia Patria",Roma,I880.

8I. Article on Pole in the "Encycl.,Britt.."xiv edition.

82. "Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna",pg.,342.

83. Pastor. Vol.XIII,pp.,I5-I7.

verge more and more from the position at Regensburg on justifi- 332
cation, just as, we believe, was the case with Morone.

Condemnation of the work of the mediatizers followed condemnation. The Acts of the Regensburg Colloquy were placed on the Index in I554, and worse still, as we saw, the works of Contarini achieved the same distinction in I580. The others who suffered were Sadoleto (although his case is not quite analagous) and Fregoso. The latter's work on prayer is to be found in the same Index as that which contains the Acts of Regensburg.[84]

Works like the "Sommario della Scrittura" and the "Beneficio" were on the Index from the first,[85] and yet the mediatizers had even encouraged their circulation. Cortese had early sought permission to read Lutheran books: "You know, so I think, that it is forbidden with all terrible execrations, so that nobody can come by Lutheran books".[86] The permission was readily accorded, and Sadoleto evidently assumed that the faculty would be used to enable Cortese the better to refute heretical writings. But such permission was by no means so easy to obtain in later times, for the mediatizers went, if not so far as Vergerio, further than the rigorists desired, and sometimes highly appreciated the heretical doctrines themselves. Hence, we find that Morone encouraged the reading of the "Beneficio", and if the evidence is not so good, yet it is not improbable that Giberti encouraged the reading of the "Sommario".[87]

The discussion as to precisely what view triumphed in the

84. Reusch. "Indices". Milan and Venice, I554, pp. I48, I57. Parma, pg. 584.
85. Reusch. Indices" of Lucca, I545, and della Casa"s, I549, pp. I36, I40.
86. "Epistolae Sadoleti Familiares", letters of I524, Vol. I, pg. II2 &ff.
87. Hausser et Renaudet, pg. 479, ff: and Vergerio, in the "Catalogo".

debates at Trent on justification will probably continue for a long time to come. It was certainly no triumph for the mediatizers, but probably the heaviest blow that fell on their ideals. Rückert maintains,with success,we would think,that Contarini di Belluno and Sanfelice were alone in developing truly "evangelical" ideas: both were suspected of heresy and left the Council,and for Contarini's departure we have no exact information.[88] Says the German scholar; "with the elimination of Sanfelice and Contarini one can say that the Council had ceased to occupy itself with Luther;the latter is refused all along the line." And yet,says this same writer elsewhere,in the disputations on "double grace",there was established the closest contact with the Reformers' ideas.[89] It was now late in the day,but Seripando once more took up Gasparo Contarini and Groper;in him the eliminated Luther returned. Once again we find the distrust in human strength,the exaltation of divine grace,and the aspiration after the certainty of salvation founded on Christ's mercy.[90] For this,as is indeed not surprising,he was attacked.

The direct contribution of the mediatizers to the Council of Trent was therefore exceedingly small;how small may be gathered also from Loofs' indication of the following tendencies in the Roman Church in the sixteenth century accounting for the decisions at Trent.[91] There were,the reorganization of the Spanish Church under the crown in a strictly medieval spirit;the revival of Thomism and that especially in the Dominican Order;the fostering of mystical piety,to

88.Rückert."Die Rechtfertigungslehre auf den tridentischen Konzil", I925,pg.,I68.

89.Rückert."Die Rechtfertigungslehre",pg.,259,pp.227-228.

90."Concilium Tridentinum",Societas Gorresiana,Vol.V,pp.,666,672,674, See Balcastro's letter.

9I.Loofs."Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte",pp.333-334.

be seen especially in the creation of the new Orders;Humanism's 334
ennobling of theology,and its direct or indirect influence on the
recall of St.,Augustine;the strengthening of the Papacy in Curial-
ism's rise,and the ecclesiastical interests of temporal sovereigns
opposed to this Curialism.

The mediatizers,as well as the northern religious Reformation,
were rejected,and yet even in Loofs' summary we can see that the in-
fluence of the Reformation could not be eliminated. Indeed,to exclude
Protestant theology's influence was impossible,and probably moreso
than Rückert thinks. Thomism was common to Trent,to the greatest
mediatizer,Contarini,and there is some of it even in Luther,whose
theology has relations with Scholasticism and some continuity. 92

A Benedictine scholar has recently written to the effect that,
"...by the time of the Council of Trent,the new conditions which
were settling upon Europe slowly but surely began to produce their
effect and to stimulate theology anew. ....Externally,the spectacle
of a Christendom no longer at one with itself,but fiercely divided,
was bound to bring into the full glare of controversy aspects of
Christian teaching which in former times had stirred the interests
of a few specialists. But,internally,an impulse,no less powerful,
drove it forward. Catholic theologians were children of their own
age as truly as were their opponents,and that wider intellectual
outlook which the Renaissance was opening could not fail to affect
them too.....The first landmark may be seen in Suarez,the great

92. On the relations of the Reformers with Scholastic theology,and
especially between Luther and Aquinas,see;Denifle,"Luther und
Luthertum",Vol.II,pp.I35-I44;(a RomanCatholic view): Holl,"Ge-
sammelte Aufsätzen",Vol.I,pp.2-I4. Mackinnon,Vol.I,pp.,63-79.

Spanish divine of the sixteenth century, who throughout his treatise on faith impresses the reader with a consciousness of fresh aspects of the subject, which the medieval theologians hardly touched upon and which Suarez himself realizes but dimly...."[93]

Whilst admitting with this writer the great part played by the Renaissance, we should be inclined to place far greater emphasis on the part played by the Reformation in this matter. Both through the mediatizers and independently of them the theology of the Reformation affected theologians like Suarez in their individual work as well as the Tridentine Council, if not directly none the less considerably.

But beyond the fortifications of Trent other Protestant forces have failed to penetrate. The glorious conception of a Church far transcending institutionalism which the northern Reformation fostered, influenced the mediatizers profoundly, but was lost to sight in Romanism, as it was frequently to the Protestants themselves.

Luther's great insistence upon the consummate importance of the direct access of the believer to his God profoundly affected men everywhere. It was more than institutions and modes of ecclesiastical government, good and necessary though they be. It is this spirit which breathes in Valdés: "The Church is not limited to such or such Christian communion; it is wherever Christ is. It has always been since Christ sent His spirit among men, because there has always been faith in the earth, and it consists of those Christians who have sufficient faith to be sanctified."[94] Ochino, at the time of his defection, wrote to Tolomei; "I also believe with the apostolic creed

93. Pontifex. "Religious Assent", pp., 8-9.

94. Valdés' "Commentary on I. Corinthians".

in a Holy Catholic Church,which is the community of God's children." [95] Carnesecchi,in his trial,said,"neither Flaminio nor Priuli quite approximated to the doctrine of Luther,saying that 'extra Ecclesiam,one was consequently 'extra charitatem'". This,says Paschini, "gives a more precise judgment on the Catholic sentiments of the two friends."Salvatorelli,in his review of Paschini's work,holds that in the first place this is a reflection on their partial acceptance of Lutheranism,and in the second place,and what is more important for us here,it suggests that they had a theory of the nature of the Church which is directly traceable to the influence of the Reformation. Both Priuli and Flaminio saw not so much a hierarchical Church as a community of the faithful. [96] If it was in their profound interest in such a doctrine as that of justification by faith that the mediatizers show most clearly the influence of the religious reformation,none the less,if not so obviously,did they show that they had learnt largely from the Reformers to conceive an "Ecclesia invisibilis".

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95. Schelhorn."Ergözlichkeiten",Vol.XI,pg.,II43 et seq..

96.Salvatorelli,in the "Revista Stor.Ital.." Vol.4I,I924,pp.,54-57.

Chapter XVII.

1. Socinianism.

Like all the great movements in the history of the Christian Church, the Reformation is very many sided. It stirred up extravagant heresies, which, as in the instance of Münster Anabaptism, it did not hesitate to destroy with fire and sword. Among the heresies of the period, undoubtedly the greatest of them all intellectually was Antitrinitarianism, or, as it is also known, Socinianism.

According to Bonet-Maury, there were three different varieties of Protestantism, the first of which was Saxo-Scandinavian, the second was Franco-Helvetian, and the third was Hispano-Italian.[I] This same scholar cites as representatives of the first, Luther, Melancthon, Butzer, Bugenhagen, and Cranmer; of the second, Zwingli, and Calvin; and of the third, Servetus, Ochino, and the two Sozzini. These three types of Protestantism may be said roughly to succeed one another, and there is implied in the three varieties mentioned by Bonet-Maury a number of differences. The great German revolt was primarily in its earlier stages an attack on ecclesiastical abuses, which only gradually became more radical and never dictated a peculiar form of Church government to be applied universally. The Swiss, and particularly the Genevan, was much more radical from the outset, and set up a particular form of Church government. It was profoundly affected by the German revolt. Now, what of the third type?

Its succession to the others in time cannot be doubted, but how much was it influenced by the two transalpine varieties? In or-

I. Bonet-Maury, "Early sources of English Unitarianism"; translated by Hall, 1884, pp., 3-4.

der to answer the question,it appears necessary to look for a space at the theology of the Reformation. Thus we can decide how the"intellectual" Reformation was produced.

As we have suggested hitherto,the great revolt drew the attention of friend and foe alike to the terrible state of the Church of the time. The appeal of the Reformers was that of the Vaudois and the Christian Humanists;it was primarily an appeal to the early Church. But it did not stop there. The chief reason for the Italian mediatizers being placed by some nearer to the theology of the Roman Church,and by others to the Protestant side, is that Thomist theology was not the private property of the Romanist. The Reformers had something of it also. Hence,if the Reformation returned to the early Church,and,with the Christian Humanists of the early sixteenth century,did not hesitate to ridicule the later absurdities of Scholasticism,the greatest Scholastics were not repudiated. Not that either Luther or Melancthon spoke highly of Scholasticism: far from it.[2] Luther aimed at reducing theology to a minimum,and Melancthon had no desire for a philosophical prolegomena in his efforts to foster practical piety. Nevertheless,to try to make a Scholastic theologian like Aquinas appear completely apart from the position of Luther is well nigh impossible.

If the German Reformation took over,almost in spite of itself at times,something from the Schoolmen,it took over without question that which had been common to the Catholic Church's theology for fifteen centuries. The Trinity,the Incarnation,the Fall,Heaven and Hell;in short,the Credal basis,neither Luther nor Calvin nor any of their lieutenants,ever called into question,and he who expects that

2."Dogma in History and Thought",pg.128. Kidd."Documents",the "Loci Communes",pg.,91.

it could have been otherwise surely ignores the whole purpose of the northern Reformation. Here again we find Romanism and the Reformation on common ground.

Thus, the northern Reformation's theology cannot have influenced that of Antitrinitarianism. And yet the germs are certainly present.

The Reformation not only separated itself from the age-old Roman communion, but also it threw infinitely less emphasis on the Ecclesia visibilis than did that communion. 'Extra Ecclesiam salus nulla' was for it an impossible conception. To establish a contact with God through Christ, that is to say, to experience justification by faith, needed no intermediary, neither the Church nor its appointed representative, the priest. The two realities, as Newman felt in his 'conversion', were God and himself, man. An enlarged conception of God the Father and of the individual was the logical result, and it was just this which influenced the Italian Antitrinitarians.

The development of Antitrinitarianism up to the adoption of its peculiar theological tenet differentiating it from other Protestant streams is not that of the Reformation: it is the peculiar flower of Italian soil. We noticed the side of Scholasticism adopted by the Reformers as being rather the Thomistic, although we cannot lose sight of the fact that, particularly in its Occamist form, Scotism was not rejected by Luther. The Italian Antitrinitarians' chief debt was to Scotus, however, and hence, as has been aptly said of Ochino, he "threw off his Capuchin's garb, but never doffed the Scotist vesture of his thought"[3]. Although Scotus' positive teaching had some influence upon them, it was his negative side which these Italians found so congenial. They took over, "his hesitation in accepting what others re-

3. Gordon, in the "Theological Review", July, 1879, pg., 293.

garded as proof."[4] This faculty, as one hardly needs to be reminded, was the possession of numerous Italian sceptics of the Renaissance period. Thus, later, "The union of Humanism with the Nominalistic Pelagian tradition in theology gave a place in Italy to Antitrinitarianism as an actual factor in the historic movement."[5] Of Humanism, with its great insistence upon man in this world, something has already been said, as also has something on the extraordinary liberty with which he often attacked the most venerable institutions. When a certain type of Humanist became religious, his Humanism, if he were very hostile to the Church, was reinforced by the idea of his responsibility to God alone. The elevation of the individual above the Church thus follows naturally and easily. Now it will readily be noticed that Italy never produced a Luther to lead a religious revolt: our belief is that the combustible material was present in large quantity, but a great enough spark was not. Indeed, could it be otherwise? One of the letters of Altieri, which we have noticed hitherto, speaks of the keen desire to lead on the part of almost all and the absence of any desire to follow. This disunion characterized the whole of Italian Protestantism which, with all its varied forms, was very unlike the northern Reformation of, say, Calvin.

Although the attainment of union with the Divine was the point at which the Reformation's influence was greatest, the Lutheran idea of faith was not adopted. Faith was not "fiducia" but "assensus". Right reason took the place also of any ecclesiastical authority.

This idea of the isolation and exaltation of man was continued upon ground the Reformers had never trodden: the terrestrial unity was projected. God was conceived as "Dominium Absolutum", never a mo-

4. Article on Duns Scotus in the "Encycl.Britt.." xiv edition.
5. Harnack. "History of Dogma". Vol.VII, pg., 132 & ff..

ral ruler in a moral commonwealth,but only a private Individual 341
face to face with other individuals. This was a development of Scotism. Humanism also brought something on this side. Before the Reformation the Renaissance had taught Italy that not only ecclesiastics but also laymen and Jews had a right to speculate on theological questions. The Jewish doctors taught more than Hebrew in some instances,and then their monotheism was eagerly imbibed by those who dabbled in philosophy and theology. This was what happened in the instance of Stancaro da Mantova,[6] and the better known Pico della Mirandola,whose orthodoxy on the subject of the Trinity has been, with good reason,called into doubt.[7]

It was suggested many years ago by a leading German scholar of the "Tübingen School" that,"Melancthon,Servetus,and F.Sozzini,notwithstanding their divergent tendencies,resembled each other in the attitude they took up towards the traditional dogma of the Trinity."[8] But surely,remembering Melancthon's own words,apart from his explicit denunciation[9] of the Antitrinitarians to the Venetian Senate,on the subject of the Trinity,it is as difficult to connect Melancthon with the attitude of Servede as it is to connect Valdés with it.The German in his "Loci" said;"In the mystery of the Divinity we shall better have adored than investigated": like Valdés he shrank from the pursuit of such speculations.

If the Reformation felt its way to a dogmatic consciousness but slowly,the Italian Antitrinitarians trod their path with extreme

6.Trechsel."Die Protestantischen Antitrinitarier vor F.Socin."I839, "L.Socin",Book ii,pg.76.

7. See,Mackinnon,Vol.I. pg.,239.

8.Baur."Die Christliche Lehre der Dreieinigkeit",Vol.II,pg.,33,note.

9."Corpus Reformatorum".Vol.III,pg.,745.

caution. Of the leading figures Servede alone departed from the orthodox Christology in our period,as may be gathered from letters and especially,the appearance in I53I of Servede's "De Trinitate Erroribus". Zanchi's famous expression has often been quoted;"Spain produced the hen,Italy hatched the eggs,and we in the Grisons hear now the chickens chirp".[IO]

The Spaniard had corresponded with Calvin between I539 and I54I,and between I546 and I547,proposing to him various questions, such as;"Is it so that the man Jesus is the Son of God crucified, and what is the reason for his sonship?" On February I3th.,I547, Calvin wrote to Farel;"Servetus lately wrote to me,and added to his letter a long volume of his ravings... ."What he threatened in this same letter was,to the indelible disgrace of Calvin and of Melancthon who heartily approved of it,carried out,and Servede perished at the stake in I553.[II] It was not,however,the philosopher of the movement who gave his name to it.

In I525,Lelio Sozzini was born at Siena,and about the year I540 heard his famous fellow-townsman,Ochino,preach.[I2] The Cappuccino was then at the height of his fame,and had fallen under the influence of Valdés. The "evangelicalism" of the Cappuccino had deeply affected Lelio,although it seems possible to push too far Ochino's preaching of Christ's perfection as man into the position assigned to him in Antitrinitarianism.[I3] The germs of the Antitrinitarian Ochino were

IO.Bock. "Historia Antitrinitariorum". Vol.II,pg.,4I5.

II."Calvini Opera". Vol.VIII,pg.,482,and Vol.XII,pg.,283.

Kidd."Documents of the Continental Reformation",pg.,646.

I2. Article on Socinianism in the "Realencyklopadie",Herzog-Zöckler.

I3. Bonet-Maury.Hall's translation.pg.,I37 & ff..

doubtless present,but we must not anticipate. Nor can we agree 343
with Bonet-Maury's view that,"But for the Inquisition of I542,he might have become the Luther of Italy." Neither such keen Romanists as the Theatines,nor later,in I543,did Calvin suspect Ochino on the Trinity. In April,I543,Calvin wrote to Pellican;[I4] "As I have not great confidence in the genius of the Italians,when he (Ochino) first informed me of his intention of taking up residence here,I conferred with him on several articles of faith in such a manner that if he had differed from us in anything he could hardly have concealed it....If I have any judgment,I can safely declare that he agreed with us fully on the article referred to,as well as on other points...." If Ochino was sincerely feeling his way,certainly Lelio Sozzini was. He travelled through Italy,calling at Venice,and Vicenza,which latter place was the real cradle of Antitrinitarianism in Italy,and doubtless participated in the discussions of the circles there.[I5]

His nephew,Fausto Sozzini,who developed his uncle's work,and went far beyond him both in importance and heterodoxy,has left us a delightful picture of Lelio.[I6] "Far from lacking in religious certitude no man ever entertained or expressed (when he held it opportune) more earnest views on all the dogmas of religion. But as he saw that,after so long and so great a darkness,scarcely anything, save the few essentials of salvation was restored to pristine purity in the Church which rejected the Roman antichrist,he would not reveal his mind to everyone,save in some disputations of minor im-

I4."Calvini Opera",Vol.XII,pg.,462. And see Viret's letter;pg.,508.
I5. Trechsel. Vol.II,Appendix i.
I6."Socinii Opera",Vol.I,pg.,782: see Hall's translation,pg.,I84.

portance. This he did,fearing to afflict the Churches,and lest 344
the weak,for whom he had the greatest consideration,should be offended,and perhaps drawn back from the worship of the true God to idols,and lest the divine Truth,proclaimed by a layman,should,to the great detriment of the Christian world,be rejected and contemned,on account of the lack of authority in its publisher."

This caution of Lelio enabled him more than either Servede or Ochino to avoid the misfortunes which befell both,and until his death he usually enjoyed the closest friendship of the Reformers, and especially of Bullinger.[17] He went to Basel in I549,and was corresponding with Bullinger in the course of that year. Myconius had a high regard for him,and said;"Lelio seems to be good,youthful, pious,learned,and intelligent about Christ". In I552,Lelio wrote to Bullinger on various questions of doctrine,and received a ready answer. Vergerio mentions Sozzini's absence in Italy in I553,and Lelio on returning resumed his intercourse with Bullinger in I554. It was in that same year that a rift seemed likely to appear,for,as Vergerio wrote from Tübingen;"The brethren wrote to me from Geneva to say that our Lelio Sozzini could not contain himself,but that he had broken out and said many things against our dogmas. Would that it were not so! I hear that he has gone to Basel." Curione interested himself in the matter in I555,and we gather from the letters of this and the following two years that no little interest was aroused On May 8th.,I558,however,Bullinger wrote to Calvin;"I know.....the devices of Lelio and his disputations were somewhat distasteful to you",and he goes on to say that now he is quite free from Servede's

I7. Illgen."Symbolarum ad vitam et doctrinam L.Socini illustrandam particula".I844. This gives the substance of 59 letters dealing with Lelio.

stain. There were apparently no more deviations from orthodoxy. 345 Gesner thanked Lelio and the Italian party for their work for the word of God, and at his death in I562, Lelio was mentioned by Bullinger to Fabricius in a letter of May I5th., without any aspersion being thrown upon his beliefs.

Besides his letters to friends and some annotations on the Bible, Lelio Sozzini has left little literary store behind.

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ii. The influence of the religious Reformation on Italy.

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No one today doubts that the great northern Reformation affected Italy: but there have been and will continue to be differences of opinion as to how great that effect was.

Among those who have been inclined to the view that the effect was not considerable was Voltaire, who said; "Few people took Luther's side in Italy. This ingenious race, occupied with intrigues and pleasures, had no part in its troubles."[I8] A similar view of recent years is that of Hausser and Renaudet. "The Reformation in southern countries only obtained a little success and lived without great originality or hardihood with foreign instruction. On the other hand, Catholicism, less attacked, less battered, found itself more at ease there to prepare its defence against the mortal danger which threatened it."[I9]

Yet there are voices on the other side. A hundred years ago, fired by a desire to investigate this particular subject, M'Crie says in his history of the Reformation in Italy that the effect was much greater than had been suspected.[20]

I8. Voltaire. "Essai sur les Moeurs", chap., cxxviii.

I9. Hausser et Renaudet. pg., 250. 20. M'Crie; the Preface, pg., i.

Pastor gives us several reasons for the limited success of Protestantism in Italy, each and all of which deserve careful attention.[21] As we have sought to argue in the introductory chapters, there was, to use the Romanist historian's expression, "a great body of traditional religious feeling of a genuinely Catholic character." On the other hand, however, we cannot fully agree with his statement that there was a genuine Catholic instinct, "resident in all classes of the Italian people", which, "taught them to distinguish with precision between persons and things", onwhich account the dangerous feeling of hostility towards the secularized Papacy was kept within strict limits and in all matters of importance limited to the middle and higher ranks of society. Pastor quite rightly points out the numerous material advantages. Even the least enquiry into the Italy of the Renaissance and Reformation seems to warrant the view that it is hardly possible to exaggerate their importance. It is rather these advantages than an acuteness of theological perception peculiar to Italians which enabled the Papacy to triumph, we believe, although we are willing to concede to Italians an amount of such perception comparable with that of other nations. Dean Inge is very blunt: he talks about "the popular syncretistic religion of the Mediterranean peoples."[22] The soundest view seems to be that of Dill: "The lands around the Mediterranean were not merely full of superstition, they were intensely sophisticated, so that it is impossible to draw a sharp line between their superstition and their sophistry, between tradition and artifice, sincere piety and exotic faith."[23]

21. Pastor. Vol.X, pg.305 & ff.. C.f., Vol.V, pg.10 & ff..

22. Inge. "Protestantism". pg., II.

23. Dill. "Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius", Bk.IV, c.i, pg. 443 & ff..

We believe that these words of Dill are equally applicable to the Italy of our period. 347

In any case the advance of the Reformation in Italy was viewed with great alarm and it rallied all the forces of opposition. Those who were completely won over to the Reformation were, as we have seen, not the only ones attacked. The great gift of the Reformation, justification by faith, produced possibly a greater effect in Italy than elsewhere. Not only the mediatizers but also later Romanist theologians were, as we have tried to show, influenced by it. And that interesting development, Socinianism, not only gained sufficient strength to exist, if only in a small way and that outside Italy, but also in its turn to affect directly later theology, and especially later conceptions of the atonement.

A simple chemical experiment might illustrate our view of the more lasting effects of the religious Reformation. When sulphuric acid acts on common salt under certain conditions, sodium sulphate and hydrochloric acid are produced. The identities of the original components are lost and new factors have emerged. And so the Reformation largely loses its identity in the contact, but that upon which it has worked has also profoundly changed, and even Romanism itself was different on account of the contact.

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APPENDIX.

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In order to illustrate a little the state of affairs in Italy between the years I544 and I550,when the Reformation was at the height of its influence,I have translated from Spanish and Italian certain of the letters of the Jesuits. All these are to be found in the excellent "Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu",published at Madrid.

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Brescia;May I3th.,I544. Laynez to Loyola.

He writes that the energetic preaching there had been eminently successful. People were willingly burning heretical books and coming to be officially reconciled.

Padua;September I9th.,I544. Laynez to Loyola.

He reports that one of the most learned of the religious of a congregation has gone into error. The vigorous work there was being greatly rewarded.

(These two letters are given in"Lainii Monumenta",I9I2,I536-I556,pp.,35 & 37.)

Bologna;December I7th.,I547. Salmerón to Loyola.

"We are all well,thanks be to the Lord.....I have undertaken the absolution of some 'occasional conformists'(personas occultas) who were involved in heresy or read Lutheran books,and this next Eastertide I think others will come; it is very well known here that there are going to Rome some suspected for heresy who had in this place many companions,and these fear to be betrayed by those at Rome, and in this way their absolution is in time proceeded with...."

(This letter is given in "Epistolae Salmeronis",Tom.I,I906. I536-I565,pg.,63.)

Florence;I548. S.Landini to John of Poland.

".....Here were denied good works,the invocation of saints,

fasts,and alms,Purgatory,Limbo,free will,and (one teaches) that we are predestined,that the Pope can be only as others,and several other things which it would be superfluous to speak about....." Then follows Landini's report. "I have already written to v.r.,on how God works greatly in his souls,freeing them from the errors of modern heretics,of whom the earth is full because all the books which were condemned at Lucca some Lutherans brought to these parts. These heretics have found a soil ready to receive such errors conforming to the concupiscence of the flesh and the pride of spirit of the sons of Adam;and this harvest has grown much and continues to grow more in deeds than in words." Then follows the list of what the "modern heretics"deny: actually it is in many places the exaggeration of Lutheranism in Anabaptism; e.g.,"they deny prayer in church....they dare to say.....that all things are common.....".The account continues; "(The heretics) write on paper and on the marbles on the thresholds of doors in public with great letters,"omnia gratiae et fidei";they have summaries of Scripture and benefits of Christ,Faber, Butzer,Martin Luther,Ecolampadius and similar heretical books...."

(This letter is in "Litterae Quadrimestres",Tom.I,1894,1546-1552,pp.,132-134.)

Florence;April 25th.,1550. de Rosi to John of Poland.

"....So I call your attention to M.Giuliano da Colle,an heretical preacher,that one should not cease to pursue him even unto death. I know that don Baptista da Parma has spoken to you about him....."

Florence;April 25th.,1550. L.Davidico to Loyola.

"Every day new things are found against M.Zuliano,especially by means of a ....brother of his Order,whom,I think,the lord vicar will

hold for some days in prison. One of the brethren said to another in whom he had some confidence: were there not the deterrent of fire all would live according to Luther. Another of these brethren said to a gentleman here,worthy of trust,in mutual conversation: To tell you the truth,we all consider Martin Luther to be a great saint. I can tell you that'in angulis et conventiculis' it has produced great harm. Wherefore I beg you to disclose to the world for the glory of God the love which shines forth in you,and to exert yourself zealous for the honour of Christ and of so many of his poor flocks. It is necessary to move here at once,and not to lose time in this matter.

I commend myself to the pure and fervent prayers of you all...."

(These two letters are given in "Epistolae Mixtae",Tom.II,I899, I549-I552,pp.,38I-382.)

Although the two following letters were penned ten years after the period which has claimed our attention had elapsed,they have been included because the first shows the interest of Geneva in Italy, and the second,something of the extent of heresy in Calabria at a time when the reaction was steadily advancing.

John of Poland from Rome "Universitae Societati.November 27th.,I560. "An heretic who had been sent from Geneva to sow the seed of his pestilent errors in this city being condemned,the fiscal and governor requested our father that he should dispute with him on one night and try to convince him. ....." The victim persisted in his heresy.

Ibid. ad eundem from Rome. May 2Ist.,I56I.

"In these days a great number of heretics has been discovered in Calabria,so many that they came out into the open and put the Viceroy (de Ribera) to some trouble. However,with the good provision

that was made,and with the hope of pardon which was given,they have been reduced....to quietness,and wish to accept the Catholic doctrine. The viceroy has tried to get two of the Company to preach to and teach that people;and the Bishop of Counza (de'Gaddi) has secured our father with the same object;and so they have sent two priests I .....in order to undertake the reduction of this people,especially by the usual methods of the Company.

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("Polanci Complementa",Tom.I,1916. pp.,235,273-274.)

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I.The two men who were sent were Cruccio and J.Javier. (footnote).