

THE POPES OF THE RENAISSANCE.

Geschichte der Päpste. Ludwig Pastor. Vol. II.
History of the Papacy. M. Creighton. Vols. II., III.

THE rare patience, learning, skill, and the rarer honesty, that marked every page of Ludwig Pastor's first volume of the "History of the Popes since the end of the Middle Ages," compelled the respect of students who have long been held as masters, and the admiration of all those who, not being masters, still love truth and justice, and rightly value labor inspired by holy aims. Critics of many countries and of many creeds have been unreserved in their praise of the German historian's thoroughness, in their praise of the science of his method and of the frank simplicity of his presentation. Nor have they been ungenerous in their acknowledgment of the benefit he has conferred, on all students and writers of modern history, by the new material that he has gathered, wisely and freely, from rich mines hitherto unworked. Burckhardt, Ewald, de Rossi, Müntz, Chevalier, Kurth—authors who have gained a deserved reputation as original inquirers, and who are especially informed about the period of the Renaissance, have paid tribute to the Innsbruck Professor. And, though he has deemed it prudent in a *Nachwort*, to answer several carping critics—"Comma critics"—it may be truthfully said that no scholar has ventured to question his facts, or the impartiality of his judgments.

Burckhardt, writing of the first volume of the "Geschichte der Päpste" qualifies it as a "powerful work." The second volume is not less powerful than the first. No published documents have escaped Pastor's watchful eye. From some seven hundred printed works, and from one hundred and twenty collections of archives and manuscripts, he has culled the details so briefly, and yet fully narrated in this volume. In the Appendix, he prints at length, or summarizes, one hundred and forty-eight documents—many of prime importance—that now see the light for the first time. *Vitam impendere vero* is Pastor's chosen motto. With such a device, we are prepared for costly labor; but it is only when we carefully estimate the cost of the amazing labor expended on this volume that we can truly gauge the sincerity, the singleness, of the young historian's purpose.

The first volume dealt with the reign of Martin V., Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and Calixtus III.; and covered a period of about

forty years—from 1417 to 1458. In the second volume we advance at a slower pace. The history of a quarter century fills these seven hundred solid pages. Three Popes, Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV., hold the stage—three great popes, if popes be measured like lesser men. Pastor's method is severe; his judgments also lean to severity. It is true that the popes of the Renaissance, better than any of the rulers of their day, can bear severity in judgment; but they are entitled to a consideration which even Pastor does not always give them. Policies which have been loudly condemned, are defensible when all the circumstances are considered. Many actions which are called imprudent, were in fact, more beneficial than hurtful. Many that were not beneficial, should not on that account, be judged harshly. In the soft light of comparison, when viewed side by side with the tyrants of Italy, Germany, France, or England, there is no pope of the fifteenth century that does not seem to be illuminated with a shining aureole, which even the greedy and godless literati cannot blur with their inky volleys of classical epithets.

The most absolute of monarchies, the Church is at the same time the only democracy. Her monarchs are the monarchs of a lifetime; and they are chosen to rule the Christian world neither because of their family nor because of their wealth. Thus Pius II. was the son of a needy noble, who had been banished from radical Siena for the crime of being noble. The father of Paul II., was a Venetian tradesman whose highest ambition was that his son should be a successful merchant. To an American ear, the family name of Sixtus IV. has an aristocratic sound; and yet the pope's parents were miserably poor folk, who lived in a miserably poor way at Celle, a petty village not far from Savona, on the Riviera. A branch of the della Rovere, had ennobled itself, by the ordinary methods of the time, and their poorer relations of Celle were no doubt proud of the connection, which allowed them to claim a sort of brevet nobility. However these three men reached the Papacy, it is apparent that they did not owe their elevation to family influence.

The story of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini has been often told, but it has been told none too well. Voigt, in his interesting work,¹ with sound learning and an intimate knowledge of the men and the movement of the Renaissance, shows diligent study and the nicest appreciation of the literary productions of the most effective orator, and the readiest, liveliest prose-writer of the fifteenth century. And yet Voigt's "Life of Æneas Sylvius" is

¹ *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter.* 3 vols. Berlin. Georg. Reimer. 1856-63.

just neither to Piccolomini nor to Pius—neither to layman, cleric or Pope. If we turn to the latest English historian of the Papacy, Canon Creighton,¹ we find him easy, agreeable, unconsciously prejudiced, and, as usual, somewhat contradictory. In the second volume of the "History of the Papacy," he gives a lengthy, if incomplete, account of Æneas and of Pius. Indeed, a writer on the Renaissance must be largely occupied with the bright, active, good-natured, strong-willed Sieneſe, who, by the force of natural gifts and of persistent, hard work, rose from poverty and obscurity to the highest honor a man can attain in this world. Mr. Creighton is delicately constituted. His pen records his immediate impressions. To have his opinion of a character, the reader must not be influenced by his running comments. These are merely intended to give life to the page. When he finally reviews himself and sums up a character, he will forget his own mistakes and express a judgment whose fairness cannot be found fault with—provided he has not been misled by unreliable authorities or has not been too hasty in his preparatory studies. Canon Creighton has been more fortunate than Dr. Voigt. Twenty years have passed since the latter published his able and useful work, while the "History of the Papacy" is only eight years old. It cannot but be gratifying to a historian to be set aright, and if it be done quickly, so much the better. From Pastor's first and second volumes, the intelligent reader will find it easy to correct both Voigt and Creighton, and, at the same time, to form a truer judgment of the character and work of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

"The man with a universal taste," as Burckhardt calls Æneas, passed his youth in the neediest circumstances at Corsignano, some fifty miles from Siena. Though there was little respect for law in Siena or in its neighborhood, the study of jurisprudence was held in high esteem ever since Aringhieri had made the old university famous. A jurist Æneas would have been had his father's hopes been fulfilled. To Siena the youth was sent, and there he took a dislike to law and fell in love with Cicero, Livy and Virgil. He would have books. There was only way to have them. He borrowed where he could and copied volume after volume. His appetite for learning was so keen that he barely took time to eat common victuals or to drink—*Monte Pulciano*. Florence was only sixty miles away. Filelfo was the idol of the hour. Famous before he was twenty years of age, young and old crowded his lectures on eloquence. Æneas longed to be eloquent. After two years in Florence he returned to Siena. The family still

¹ *A History of the Papacy During the Reformation.* By M. Creighton, M.A. London. Longmans, Green & Co., 1882.

insisting on his adopting the legal profession, he again followed the wearisome law lectures. He was twenty-six years old when Capranica came to Siena, on his way to the council at Basel. Meeting the quick, versatile, amiable student, the knowing cardinal was so taken with him that he offered Æneas a secretaryship. The unwilling jurist promptly accepted the offer. As we con the faces of the motley crowd that gathered in the Rhenish town in 1432, the mild, far seeing eye, the refined head, the firm mouth, the winning smile of Æneas, attract us as strongly as they attracted the cardinal. Capranica was opposed to Eugenius IV. Influenced by his example and arguments and also by the company he fell in with, Æneas became an outspoken adversary of the lawful Pope. When, two years later, Capranica made his peace with Eugenius, the young secretary left him and entered the service of the Bishop of Freising. Later on he separated from the bishop, and, in time, we find him in the household of Cardinal Albergati, the pious Carthusian, whose coat of arms was the Cross, and who, with piety, combined a deep love for the new learning. This love he showed not only by a diligent cultivation of letters, but also by a generous patronage of men of promise. From Albergati's house the splendid Nicholas V. graduated, and to the training of the ascetic and sagacious Bolognese, the son of the poor physician of Sarzana owed, in good part, his passion for all noble things.

At Basel there were learned men, but none with a more varied learning than Æneas had hived. There were orators of repute in the council and outside of it, but not one with the artful power of Æneas. Stylists there were unnumbered, but Æneas overmastered them all in that spirit which can alone give life to form. He was a poet, too, and dropped graceful verse from his pen-point with an ease that made all men admire. As a canonist his ability was widely acknowledged. Of the art of diplomacy he knew nothing; but Basel was a rare good school, and Æneas was always a student. Each day he learned something of men's hearts and minds, and this learning soon told. He was entrusted with a delicate mission to that *condottiero of condottieri*, Nicolo Piccinino, and with Albergati he attended the Council of Arras (1435), which was convened in the interest of the peace of Christendom. How much credit Æneas had quietly gained was now made evident. He was sent to England and to Scotland on a secret mission, whose purpose he never fully disclosed. The genial humanist, the man of speeches and letters and Virgilian imitations, proved on this mission that he was a man of force as well as a student, a man whose training and disposition had made him fitted to overcome and to bear in the execution of a trust greater

trials and privations than he had borne and conquered during his boyhood. The journey cost him his health. The English court refusing him entrance to Scotland, he returned to the continent and set sail for Scotland direct, was driven on the Norway coast, and only after a fortnight of storms landed on Scottish soil. Forthwith he started, barefoot, for the nearest shrine of the Blessed Virgin. When in danger of shipwreck he had made a vow. The ground was covered with snow and ice, yet Æneas walked ten miles, kept his vow—and took the gout, which made his after life a life of suffering, and which finally carried him off in his prime.

Albergati was the legate of Eugenius. Entering the Cardinal's service Piccolomini had not changed his views as to the rightful authority of the Pope. On his return from Scotland he found himself without a patron. Albergati had gone away from Basel. However, Æneas had no need to seek employment. Princes in Church and State sought him out. Though a layman, the Council appointed him to a bishoprick. On the feast of St. Ambrose the Archbishop of Milan chose him to preach before the Council. He was not the only pagan-humanist layman that aired his graces in a pulpit during the course of the fifteenth century; but the experience was new in a convocation that assumed to be a Council. Honors now rained on the genial Sienese. He was appointed Chief-abbreviator of the Council, a member of the committee controlling its proceedings, and president of the committee on Faith. Meantime his pen was active in opposing the claims of Eugenius. When the council of Basel assumed to depose him and to elect Duke Amadeus of Savoy to the Papal See, Æneas entered the service of the new pretender, who played Pope in a small way under the name of Felix V. But a short experience as secretary to Duke Felix and a keen sense of the unwisdom of the council's action, caused the secretary's mind to waver. In 1442 he was appointed an ambassador from the Council to the Frankfurt Reichstag. Bishop Sylvester of Chiemsee, a close friend of Frederick III., was so taken with Æneas that he begged Frederick to secure him as one of the imperial secretaries, and, furthermore, to honor him with the title of Imperial Poet. To each of these suggestions Frederick lent a willing ear, and the poor boy of Corsignano, crowned with the laurel, saw his name written on the pages of history just beneath Petrarch's.

Separating himself from Felix, not without the Duke's consent, Æneas relieved a troubled conscience. Dissatisfied with the Savoyard and with the Council he remained unsatisfied as to the claims of Eugenius. Under the circumstances he thought it well to take a position like the Emperor's—a position of neutrality.

In 1442 he accompanied Frederick to Austria. Four years earlier he had made a first acquaintance with the country and with the people. Casper Schlick, the Chancellor, like every other considerable man that had to do with Æneas, promptly recognized his extraordinary abilities. The emperor had a scheme for the calling of a new council, a scheme supported by the French king. To present this scheme to Eugenius and to win his assent to it Schlick chose Æneas. There could be no higher proof of his standing as a diplomist and as an honest man. *Persona grata* he could not have been to Eugenius, against whom he had contended for years in speech and in writing. His views as to the legitimacy of the Pope and as to the right method of closing the breach in Christendom had, however, been much modified of late. He saw the harm that had been done to religion by the attack on authority. He was desirous of "rescuing the prey from the wolf's mouth." He was ready to accept Eugenius if Germany accepted him, and he was active in devising means by which Germany might be united with Rome for the sake of religion.

Basel had proved to be a good school for Æneas, in some respects; in other respects it had been a bad training-ground. Light-hearted, joyous, witty, the young Siense spent much of his time with a choice circle of half-pagans, who gave more thought to pleasure than to canon-law or theology. Reformers of the Church, with their tongues, their chiefest efforts were directed to showing that they, above all, needed reform. Bacchus and Venus were their most worshipped divinities. Many an idle hour they passed in trying to be as unclean as the vilest Roman or Greek. Æneas was only too ready to compete for the leadership in these un-Christian sports, as well as in more serious work; and his writings still exist to point a moral, and to warn youth from the foolishness that Cardinal Piccolomini and Pope Pius II. bitterly regretted. Nor was his life a model of chastity. It is he who tells us so in plain words, without apology, but with frequent and touching expression of sorrow and of repentance. Like a true Siense, he was always fondly attached to the Mother of God. We have seen an instance of this affection in the rough pilgrimage that he made. Did he owe his change of life to Her loving intercession? Who shall say that to Her he did not owe still other favors, seemingly greater? However this be, the idea of entering the priesthood began to move him. Well-meaning friends had pressed him to this course from time to time; but his irregular life made him doubt his fitness for the holy office. With time the calling grew stronger, and at length, in 1445, Æneas determined to prepare himself for the priesthood. At Vienna, in March, 1446, he was ordained. From the day of his ordination to his last day on earth,

his bitterest enemy could charge him with no violation of his vow.

God may pardon sin, but it is not the office of men to apologize for it. Still, there is a way of recording a man's sins that, if not sinful, is not altogether fair. Even Canon Creighton's way is not always irreproachable. His fault, we may be certain, is unintentional. Sometimes his wit gets the better of him; sometimes he uses a word carelessly. Writing about Æneas, Mr. Creighton says:¹ "The character of Æneas at this time was not that of a churchman." There could be no truer statement, but it is a misleading statement. Mr. Creighton implies that "at this time" Æneas was bound by an obligation more solemn than that by which laymen are held. Æneas was "at this time" not so bound. Indeed, Mr. Creighton's own text proves the fact. Two pages farther on, at the foot of page 247, he quotes from a letter of Æneas the following words: "As yet I have taken care not to involve myself in holy orders." The letter is dated February, 1444, and the "at this time" of Mr. Creighton refers to 1444, at the latest. Mr. Creighton, perhaps, chose his time well for a review of the private life of Æneas. In 1445 Æneas determined to take holy orders; in 1446 he was ordained. In 1444—"at this time"—there were laymen that lived more exemplary lives. An explanatory note at the foot of the page would have helped Mr. Creighton's reader, though it would, at the same time, have spoiled Mr. Creighton's point. Æneas held benefices, and must, therefore, have been as much of a "churchman" as a man is who has simply taken the tonsure. Emoluments he may have received, jurisdiction he may have exercised, but until he "involved himself in holy orders" he was not obligated by the solemn promise of a priest. When speaking of the Church, or of "churchmen," non-Catholic writers should be careful not to involve their readers in a maze of misconceptions. Canon Creighton's apology for his "churchman" is well-meant, though most unfortunate. Were Æneas alive, we may be certain that he would roundly resent the apology and trust himself to the Lord. Mr. Creighton's words are so original that it would be a pity not to quote them.² "His irregularities were never made a reproach to him later, nor did he take any pains to hide them from posterity. Such as he was he would have himself known—induced, perhaps, by literary vanity, more probably by a feeling that his character would not lose in the eyes of his contemporaries by sincerity on his part. In those days chastity was the mark of a saintly character, and Æneas never professed to be a saint." Alongside of the scientific school of historians to which

¹ *History of the Papacy.* Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1882. Vol. ii., p. 245.

² *History of the Papacy.* Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. ii., p. 246.

Pastor belongs, there is a school which may be entitled the "Perhaps" and the "More Probably" school. This school is not prepared to accept its own statement of facts, unless with a qualifying inuendo. Remove the "perhaps," and the "more probably" from Mr. Creighton's sentence and he would not print it under his name. Cut out the "perhaps" clause, and you have a judgment passed on Æneas which would compel Mr. Creighton to re-write page after page of his book. And what shall we say of the final witticism: "In those days chastity was the mark of a saintly character?" Only this: If chastity were the mark of a historian in these days, there would be more historians who might not be ashamed of their profession.

When Æneas went to Rome, in 1445, on the business of the emperor, he made his peace with Eugenius, and did it in a manly way. "My aim," he said to the Pope, "was not to injure you but to serve the Church. I erred and shall not deny it. I was in good company, however. I erred with Cardinal Capranica, with the Archbishop of Palermo, with Pontano, the notary of your own Holy See. I erred with the universities. When your chances improved, I did not rush to your feet. I cannot jump, as some men can, from one extreme to another. I waited and considered, and the more I considered the more I leaned to your side. Now I stand here before you, and, as I sinned unknowingly, I ask your pardon." To this frank avowal there could be but one answer, and thus Eugenius answered: "Those who acknowledge their error it is our duty to pardon. You have attained the truth, henceforward beware that you lose it not; and, through good works, seek you the grace of God!" Æneas at once began negotiations for the peace of the Church, and to his untiring efforts the recognition of Eugenius by the German electors, on February 7, 1447, just sixteen days before the Pope's death, was largely due.

Nicholas V., following out the intention of Eugenius, appointed Æneas to a bishopric, that of Trieste. Three years later, in 1450, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Siena, the city that had driven his parents out of its precincts, the city he had left nineteen years before as a simple secretary. Meantime he had been to Cologne, where he completed the negotiations looking to the obedience of Germany, and thus hastened the abdication of Felix V. When Frederick thought of marrying, Æneas was chosen to manage the affair, and to make the settlements with Alfonso of Naples, uncle of Leonora of Portugal, who was not unwilling at fourteen to be the bride of an emperor. To Æneas the emperor also entrusted the negotiations with the Pope for his coronation at Rome. In

¹ L. Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*. Herder, Freiburg. Vol. i., p. 259.

the same year that the new Bishop of Siena successfully carried out these two important missions—the year of the Jubilee, 1450—he pressed upon Nicholas V. the advisability of canonizing St. Bernardine of Siena. Hardly six years had passed since Bernardine's death; but the Pope canonized the holy Franciscan, whose idea of sanctity was so vastly superior to Canon Creighton's, and whose miracles attested not his chastity alone, but also his poverty, obedience and good works. It was owing to the advice of Æneas that another great and good man, John Capistran, the disciple of Bernardine, was appointed to a fruitful field of labor, as a reformer of his Order in Austria, a missionary among the people, "who had grown cold," and a crusader against the Turk. "The Papacy was wise enough to countenance every religious movement that was not hostile to itself," as Mr. Creighton says, with a beautiful spirit of truth and generosity; and the spread of the gospel has, in the Papacy's estimation, never been hostile to the Church of Christ. In 1451, we find Æneas in Bohemia, seeking to pacify the country and to bring the Hussite king back to his allegiance to the Church. The next year he is in Italy, escorting the youthful Leonora, who is on her way to meet Frederick at Siena. At the emperor's coronation in Rome, Æneas was a prominent figure. By the end of 1452, he is in Vienna, an ambassador seeking to compromise the differences between the emperor and Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia. In 1453 came the news of the fall of Constantinople. Æneas saw the mighty danger that threatened Christendom. Earnestly did he beseech the Pope, and ably did he assist him, to arouse Europe, and to organize a crusade against the Turk. At the Diet of Regensburg and at the Diet of Frankfurt, he made the most eloquent appeals to the assembled princes and ambassadors. If the movement failed he was not to blame. When Calixtus III. assumed the tiara, the good offices of Æneas again served Church and State. The emperor and the German princes had their grievances, real or imaginary. They were slow in acknowledging the new Pope. The Sieneſe bishop won them over, and, at the head of a German embassy, returned to Rome, and, in Germany's name, subscribed obedience to Calixtus. In the following year Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was nominated to a cardinalate.

Assuming the purple, Cardinal Piccolomini was called to defend the Papacy against the bitter attacks of some German churchmen, who, under the leadership of Mayr, Chancellor of the Archbishop of Mainz, sought to force from Calixtus concessions quite as unreasonable as those claimed by the council of Basel. In a correspondence which he carried on with Mayr, in letters which he composed for the Pope, and in a famous tractate, Piccolomini discussed and answered the complaints of the German anti-Papal party most

conclusively and most happily. Thanks to him, and to the firmness of Calixtus, the threats of Mayr and of his master came to naught.

Thirteen days after the death of Calixtus, this Æneas Sylvius was, by a practically unanimous vote of the Conclave, elected to the Papal See. If as Voigt, and as Mr. Creighton—a mild echo of the harsh and prejudiced German—so uncritically assume, a selfish ambition was the one great motive that controlled the life of Æneas Sylvius would you, gentle reader, say that he gained the office of ruler of the Church, undeservedly? Can you recall, within these nineteen centuries, a king, president, emperor, who won his honors more fairly than Æneas? What estimate would you form of a historian who sought to lessen the credit of Æneas by a studied selection of such choice epithets as “renegade,” “shifty,”—a “shifty Italian adventurer,” a “shifty diplomat”? You would hesitate about calling such an historian reliable, and indeed so must any one who counts the cost of Piccolomini's work at the desk; the cost of that wide information which he has so agreeably and modestly displayed in a line of letters and of books that are still the delight of all men of taste; the cost of that intimate knowledge of mankind, of every European nationality, of every European ruler, that he gained in such quick time, and used always in the interest of peace and of truth, the cost of that art and power of speech which a contemporary makes present to us in one short sentence: *Nihil enim Pii concionantis majestate sublimius.*¹ As reading the words, you feel your soul moved as though it would break its bonds, and see Æneas, slight and unimposing, convince, arouse, calm, win over councils, senators, kings, popes, with the majesty, the sublimity, of his thought and language, you are like to have a proper contempt for those who belittle him because his well-used talents earned him the recognition they deserved.

The energy and ability of Æneas Sylvius become all the more evident when we compare his life with that of Pietro Barbo, who as Paul II., succeeded him on the Papal throne. Barbo, as already related, was the son of a Venetian tradesman who had marked out a business career for his son. However, when Pietro's uncle, his mother's brother, took the name of Eugenius IV., the young Venetian found a better calling. He was pious from his youth, and the Pope thought it desirable that he should study for the priesthood. Eugenius directed his education. He was a brave looking fellow, easy and gracious in manner, with a tender and generous heart, somewhat given to show, fond of parade, a lover of beauti-

¹ *Die Cultur der Renaissance.* Jacob Burckhart Leipzig, Seeman, 1869, p. 182.

ful things, a collector of jewels, cameos, intaglios, ivories, bronzes, coins, paintings, indeed of all sorts of choice handiwork; better still he was a man of piety and of most simple habits. In history and in canon law, he was well versed. Eugenius appointed him a cardinal in 1440, the same year in which Frederick III. was elected emperor. His careful life, and his generosity, made Barbo beloved by Nicholas and by Calixtus, as well as by his fellow-cardinals and the Roman people. He played no great part in affairs, devoting himself to his art collections, to the care of churches, the building of a spacious, imposing palace, and the most considerate, most charitable, care of the poor and the sick. Always ready to help a friend forward, he was ever able to help. Genial, witty, he loved to gather at his table a bright company. His agreeable character is disclosed by a single saying, which we may be certain truly expressed Barbo's generous feelings and his delight in contributing to the happiness of others: "Should I ever be Pope, I will present each one of the cardinals with a beautiful castle, wherein he may pass the summer comfortably,"² Once Pope, Barbo forgot his promise. He found better things to do. Paul II. was a greater man than Cardinal Barbo; but with all his charming qualities, the Cardinal of San Marco was not Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Paul's successor, Francesco della Rovere, was made of sterner stuff. His mother, as pious as she was poor, dedicated her son, a child, to dear St. Francis. At nine years of age she placed him in the care of Giovanni Pinarolo, the Minorite, a man of holy life. Francesco learned to cherish the quiet of the cloister, and chose to be a disciple of his blessed namesake. Showing rare powers of mind he received every encouragement and made a thorough course of study. At the Universities of Pavia and of Bologna his acquirements and talents won the respect of both professors and students. When, before the General Chapter of the Franciscans at Genoa, the young student—he was just twenty—disputed publicly, so skilful a dialectician did he prove himself and such was the ease and finish of his language that the General of the Order, Guglielmo Casale, affectionately embraced him. Completing his philosophical and theological studies Francesco perfected himself in literature. From the pupil's bench he was lifted to the professor's chair. At Padua, Bologna, Pavia, Siena, Perugia and Florence, he won applause. Argyropulos is an authority for the statement that in the whole of Italy there was not a scholar who had not sat at the feet of della Rovere. The erudite Cardinal Bessarion, a zealous forwarder of the new learning, trained writer

¹ *Geschichte der Päpste*, Ludwig Pastor, vol. ii., p. 274.

and diplomat, and founder of the Academy, would not print a page until he had submitted it to the young monk. Della Rovere's abilities were by none more fully recognized than by his fellow Franciscans. Appointed procurator at Rome, he soon rose to be vicar. On the death of Jacopo de Sarzuela (1464) della Rovere was elected to the generalship. Immediately he began a reformation of the order. Paul II called him to the Sacred College in 1467, naming him patron of the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, where, close by Pollajuolo's screen, the monuments of the great Cusa, and of the greater Julius, rise, and where the horned Moses of Michel Angelo rules over the living and the dead with majesty and with awe. The Cardinal's residence near the Eudoxian Basilica was in a ruinous state, and della Rovere was too poor to make it habitable. When he could boast of a dwelling he was indebted to the charity of his colleagues. In the purple he was the Franciscan of old and the scholar. All his leisure hours were devoted to study. His modest residence was the resort of spiritually-minded and inquiring men. During his cardinalate he published a number of works that largely increased his reputation as a writer.¹ A man of greater intellectual power, of a more active temperament and more ascetic than Barbo, Francesco della Rovere was not the equal of Æneas Sylvius. His experience of the world was comparatively narrow. In the circle that gathered in his house political subjects were barred. Physically stronger than Æneas, he was full of virile energy, and yet his work is small when measured with that of the untiring, ever moving, ever doing Sienese. As a preacher della Rovere had gained a reputation, but he was not, like Æneas, the orator of all times and all places. When, as Sixtus IV., Francesco comes out of the conclave on August 9, 1471, congratulating him, we still feel that the "renegade" earned his high dignity better than had the Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli.

Of the men whose lives we have sketched, Canon Creighton has chosen Paul for his hero—a very respectable hero without doubt, but not so heroic as to serve as a foil either to Pius or to Sixtus. A quotation from the "History of the Papacy" will help us to understand even better how the smooth school of historians effects a purpose by means of the clever construction of a sentence. "It was a testimony to the influence of Paul II.," Mr. Creighton says in the "History of Sixtus," "that the cardinals did not venture to choose an entirely obscure and weak man." Here we seem to have a tribute to Paul II. The reader need not be surprised when a couple of pages further on he finds a statement to

Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*, vol. ii., pp. 406-409.

the effect that della Rovere, not directly, not with money, but with promise of place, bought his office. Is this, perhaps, a testimony to the influence of Paul II.? But we are not concerned with this part of Mr. Creighton's sentence. Della Rovere was, as we have seen, and as Mr. Creighton apparently concedes, not "entirely obscure." He was, in fact, so unentirely obscure that there was not a learned man in Italy who had not attended his lectures. Preacher, lecturer, writer, theologian, philosopher, General of the Franciscans,—perhaps these are signs of "weakness" rather than of "obscurity." Re-writing Mr. Creighton's sentence according to the facts we shall see how differently it will affect the reader: It was a testimony to the influence of Paul II. that the cardinals chose a learned man of extended reputation, of high character, and of remarkable strength of purpose. In these two sentences we compare the methods of two schools of historians. Ludwig Pastor represents the one, Canon Creighton the other. From the one we acquire right knowledge promptly. The other can serve only those weak men who desire that the history of the Papacy may be entirely obscured. By the way, Barbo and della Rovere cultivated the virtue of chastity "at this time." Neither one nor the other has been canonized by the Church up to the date of this writing. We have searched Mr. Creighton's pleasing pages as with a glass, and we regret to say that we do not find either one of these popes on his list. "Very probably" this oversight will be corrected in a later edition.

There is a science of good government, but its application is often difficult. The word Church is a short word; so short that many closet-students are tricked into the notion, that, with a small *ex post facto* library, they could govern the Church as easily as they write the word. Were the Church not the world, the Church could certainly be regulated with no more disorder than is common in a classis. But the Church is the world, in a sense, and therefore the government of the Church depends not a little on the world. In a truly good world, all the popes would be supremely good in every respect. During the quarter century that Pius, Paul and Sixtus ruled the Church, the world was no better than usual, and the kings and princes of the world were an ordinary lot of ignoble, vicious men. Mr. Creighton writes the "History of the Papacy," in order to assist the uninformed to a proper understanding of the "Reformation." We should recommend a beginner desirous of comprehending the Anglican "Reformation" to turn first of all, to a good history of England. The story of that unfortunate country, during the twenty-five years which Dr. Pastor studies in his second volume, presents a long and crowded record of revolution, treachery, violated oaths and most foul mur-

der; of weak-minded or debauched kings and usurpers, beginning with mad Henry VI., and ending with that fiend, hump-backed Richard—a record of crimes so heartless, so inhuman, that the recital of them freezes the blood, and forces wide open the tear-springs of the stoniest soul. The cruel, lascivious, greedy, murderous Edward IV.—set him beside a Pius II., a Paul II., a Sixtus IV., that you may learn at which end the Church most needed reform! France, fighting to be free from the English yoke, had won not only her freedom but likewise a commanding position in Europe, thanks to the chaste Joan; but Charles the VII., the unworthy recipient of the favor of the Almighty, died like a sultan—the voluptuous victim of a seraglio. Louis XI., perjurer, coward, hangman, king of liars, whose character is photographed in his shameful device: Where profit is, there is glory—set him, or his royal father, over against Piccolomini, Barbo, della Rovere! Or take Bold Charles of Burgundy—with a hard hand raised against all men who stood in the way of his scheme to found a great kingdom; shedding human blood as though it were blood of reptiles, and wasting magnificently, in an hour, the rich fruit of the sweat of the poor—compare him, compare the crowned Emperor, Frederick III., with Mr. Creighton's 'renegade,' or with the beloved, the tender-hearted Paul, or with that Sixtus, who was neither 'entirely obscure,' nor altogether 'weak!' Pusillanimous and lazy, says Cantu of Frederick, 'he reigned longer than any one of his predecessors, and his reign was more abject!' Shifty was he, indeed; with so little spirit that his torpid soul was not moved even when the Turk bombarded the gates of his territory; a man of convenience, dodging Diets; fond of a beating; greedy, robbing the Church insidiously, and with as little conscience as the highwayman who robs a patron; as false in word as Louis of France, and with more stomach for good victuals than for true glory. Podiebrad of Bohemia loved the Turk and schism better than he loved Christ, or common honor. Out of Hungary shone the one bright light among the princes and pretenders of "Christian" Europe—Corvinus. His splendid courage, amid a world of cowards, made amends for all his faults.

Turning to fair Italy we find her a prey to a crowd of adventurers—brigands all—bastards, bastards of bastards—illegitimate in every sense of the word. The personality and methods of these terrible tyrants, no one has described more accurately and in fewer words than Jacob Burckhardt.¹ When bravi and banditti tried to found dynasties, they could not be too choice about the means. Success meant greater danger. Friends became foes; brothers and children grew into rivals. The prison, the dagger, poison, am-

¹ In the not unprejudiced but yet most valuable, "*Cultur der Renaissance in Italien.*"

bush, were the instruments by which power was gained and held. Francesco Sforza, a bastard, and a most fortunate one, forced himself on the Milanese at the point of the sword and fixed his power by the most conscienceless, and certainly, by the boldest and most astute methods. His son, Galeazzo Maria, combined refinement with savagery and debauchery to a degree that has rarely been surpassed. Having ruined one woman too many, he died under the dagger of the brother of her whom he had dishonored. Piccinino feared of all men, and most feared by the new lords, fought for booty and the best pay until Alfonso of Naples treacherously assassinated him. The bastard of this Alfonso, Ferrante, who succeeded his father on the throne of Naples, was counted the worst of the abnormally bad men that made of Italy a slaughter-pen. He stopped at no means to effect his ambitions or his revenge. Of him it is told that he enjoyed three pleasures especially; hunting; the sight of the enemies whom he had jailed alive; and the company of the mummified corpses of the enemies whom he had put an end to—mummies carefully dressed in the c'lothes they wore when living. His son, Alfonso of Calabria, surpassed his father in madness, if not in wickedness. Ferrara and Modena were in the hands of the Este family; first Nicolo; then the bastard Lionello; after him the bastard Borso, and following Borso, the bastard Ercole. From one, Borso, we shall know the character and the lives of the other lords of Ferrara. Borso had every vice that it was possible to have, but his greatest vice was an impassioned hate of liberty—hate of liberty of speech, of liberty of commerce, of liberty of conscience, of personal liberty—for he made a slave-mart of Ferrara, and compelled his subjects to dress as pleased him. And the liberty which Borso hated above all liberties, was the liberty of the Church. Rio, whose truthful portrait of Borso we have faithfully copied,¹ adds a detail in his own original way—a detail that gives life to the picture. This first Duke of Ferrara, according to report, refrained from lawful marriage lest he should interrupt the “right of bastardy,” time-honored in the house of Este—an evidence of a delicacy of conscience and of honor rarely met with, Heaven be praised! We do not hear that Borso protected the dynasty as loyally as his ancestor Nicolo, who left twenty-two illegitimate children. The lords of Rimini were no less cultured monsters than the rulers of Ferrara. “Seldom have malice, godlessness, military talent, and high cultivation, been so united in one man as in Sigismondo Malatesta.”² “It is not alone the Roman Curia ”

¹ A. F. Rio, quoting Frizzi; p. 342, vol. iii. *L'Art Chrétien*. Bray et Retaux, Paris, 1874.

² Burckhardt, *loc. cit.* p. 26.

says Burckhardt, "that charges him with murder, rape, adultery, incest, church-robbing, perjury and perfidy; but it is also the judgment of history that he was frequently guilty of these crimes."¹ What a relief it is to associate for a half minute with the Gonzagas of Mantua! They dare expose their dead to the public. And with what delight we recall the memory of a Pius, victorious over himself, moved by high enthusiasm, and sacrificing his life to an ideal which he hoped would lift these slaves of world, flesh and devil, to nobler things! With what a feeling of respect and affection we look on the handsome face of Paul, who, when the bell of the Capitol tolled for an execution "clutched his breast to check the beating of his heart;"² whose chief pleasure was to make the the Romans happy; and who pacified the States of the Church by "wise statesmanship!" How great Sixtus appears, as we see him fighting both the Mohammedan Turks that threatened Europe on every hand, and those other worse than Turks that would have gladly sold themselves to the infidel to assure their own power, to line their own pockets, and to destroy the ark of liberty—the Papacy!

The word republic was still current in Italy, but it was a word used by another class of scheming tyrants to mislead the people, who, blinded by the show, the luxury and the commercial activity of the times, were only too ready to be deceived. Of Florence, in the close grasp of the Medici banking-house; of Venice, slave of a remorseless oligarchy; of Genoa, ruled by the winds, we may form a just opinion, if we apply to all three the words which Pius II. addressed to the Venetians in the month of August, 1459. They were "more exercised about trade than about faith or religion."³ The proscription and the execution of rivals were as common in the so-called republics as in England. A tyranny of wealth ruled masterfully, under the guise of popular government. When the Pitti family outgeneraled the Medici, names were changed, not policies. Conspiracies led only to hangings. Peace at home was purchased by the encouragement of licentiousness, of gambling, of bribery, of public show, of pagan rotteness. Bologna was in the hands of the Bentivogli; Perugia had its tyrant, in Baglione—a man with a most romantic history—and the Patrimony of Saint Peter was the fighting-ground of all the ducal, royal and noble rascals in Italy, as well as of the cities, whose ideas of liberty were limited by their own walls and gates. To have the courage to deal decisively with these robbers was to submit the Papacy to the most shameful threats and abuse. To refuse their ungodly demands

¹ Burckhardt, p. 363.

² Creighton, *History of the Papacy*; vol. iii., p. 52.

³ Pastor: *Geschichte der Päpste*. Vol. ii., p. 54.

was to insure obloquy, cries for reform, a refusal to obey sworn treaties, the seizure of church property and funds, or the murder of monks, bishops, legates. To enter into a solemn league, offensive or defensive, was to make one's self the sure victim of calculated treachery. To enforce the teachings of the Church by speech and writing, was to invite insult to Christ, scorn of things holy, schism and heresy. It was that arch-Machiavellian, Cosmo di Medici, who, laughing at the manly enthusiasm of Pius II., said that States could not be ruled by men with rosaries in their hands. He was right. And if the Popes of the fifteenth century had not known when to lay down their rosaries, the "Reformation" is not the worst evil that would have befallen mankind.

No one who has read the life of Calixtus III. can ever forget his apostolic sacrifices and appeals in behalf of Christian Europe menaced by the Tartar Turk, whose past and present barbarism the illustrious Newman has so simply and broadly sketched out in his lectures on the History of the Turks.¹ Almost forty years have run by since these lectures were delivered, on the eve of a war costly to England as well as to Russia. There are Christians who still dread Russia more than the Turk; but apologists for Islam should learn from the present bloody work in Armenia, if they did not learn from the cruelties in Bulgaria, that the Turk of to-day is, as he was in the beginning and ever shall be, "the inveterate and hateful enemy of the Cross;" the enemy whose creed excites, and, we may almost say, whose nature excites him to "trample on Christianity and to beat out its sacred impression from the breasts" of all believers.² Pius II. knew the Turk, and what the Christian world had to fear. From the day on which Constantinople fell, Piccolomini was restless in his endeavors to arouse the so-called Christian powers. On the very day of his election, August 19, 1458, Pius II. addressed the Milanese ambassadors, impressing upon them the need of immediate action on the part of all the princes, in order that Europe might be freed from the Mohammedan. And day upon day thereafter, as embassy succeeded embassy, offering obedience, his one subject of discourse was: War against the Turks. On the 12th of October, he gathered together in the Papal chapel all the cardinals and the bishops and ambassadors that were in Rome, and before this imposing assembly declared his decision to call a Congress of the Christian princes at Mantua in the following June. At Mantua he would be to open the Congress, and to assist in devising ways and means to drive back the barbarous enemy of Christendom. On the 13th

¹ *Historical Sketches*, John Henry Newman: vol. ii., London. Pickering, 1872.

² *Historical Sketches*, Newman: vol. ii., p. 106.

of the month he published the Bull, *Vocavit nos pius*, proclaiming a crusade against the bloodthirsty hosts of the "poisonous dragon." To save the world from a punishment that, for its sins, the world fairly deserved, God had lifted him into the Papal chair. The task was a heavy one, but from its fulfilment he would not shrink.¹ This public promise he kept most faithfully—even unto death. His first care was to bring peace to Italy. Letters of encouragement and of moving appeal he sent to every State. In the hope of protecting the Greeks from the powerful Turkish fleet, he established a new military order, called after the Virgin Mary of Bethlehem. On January 22, 1459, Pius set out for Mantua; a suffering man, racked by wearing pains, for he was a victim not only to the gout, but also to the stone. Day by day, as he journeyed, he was active in the good work; writing to the princes, to bishops, to legates, spurring them on to aid the Congress by word and by example. No opposition discouraged him, though he met with opposition from all sides—and more especially from a party in the Sacred College itself.² On the first of June Pius opened the Congress at Mantua. Not a single one of the kings or princes of Europe was present, personally or by representative. But the "shifty Italian adventurer" did not shift his ground. The love of God, the love of Christendom, these held him fast and made him courageous and hopeful under every difficulty. At length Naples sent an embassy; then Burgundy appeared. Sforza came. The other tyrants took fright lest he should gain some petty advantage over them. They flocked in. The emperor sent a representative. Four months after the pope's arrival there was a Congress at Mantua. Pastor's study of manuscripts hitherto unused has enabled him to give a full and interesting account of the debates and negotiations that continued until January 14, 1460.³ The strength of the pope's will and the intensity and honesty of his purpose are proven by the patience with which he bore the demands, counter-demands—insults—of the designing and selfish men on whom the people of Europe tamely depended for protection. "Oh! for a Godfrey, a Baldwin, a Eustace, a Hugo, Bohemund, Tancred, who, with other brave men, pushed their way through the infidel hosts and recovered Jerusalem with their arms! In their presence, before we had spoken all these words, rising up, they would have cried out, impetuously, as of old they did before our predecessor, Urban II.: God wills it! God wills it! But you silently await the end of our speech; our exhortations leave you unmoved." Thus Pius spoke to the Congress on the opening day, in the eloquent address he delivered from his throne in the Cathedral of Mantua. The

¹ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 15, 19.

² Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 34-44.

³ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 44-68.

Godfreys, the Baldwins, the Tancreds, were indeed gone. No successor to them appeared during the Congress. Not a man in Mantua cried: God wills it!—not a man but the pope. And when the Congress dissolved, Pius could say as he said on the first day: Our exhortations leave you unmoved. There were vain promises from many, and the Germans would have a Diet or two; the French could make no promises until the war with England was settled. "The Congress of Mantua could not be called a success, yet Pius II. could urge, with some show of truth, that it could not be called an entire failure." Thus Canon Creighton.¹ If the Congress was not a success, the English historian is positive that the fault was largely the pope's. "He had been too closely connected with the questionable intrigues which brought about the Papal restoration to stand high in the estimation of Europe. The shifty diplomat was not likely to be trusted however cleverly he talked about common interests." The reader will see once more that Canon Creighton is analyzing character with a view to the next century. How "cleverly" he uses that impressive word "Europe," and how aptly "the shifty diplomat" is brought in! Mr. Creighton is too closely connected with the questionable intrigues which brought on the English "reformation" to be fully trusted when he talks "cleverly" about Pius II. Just here it seems fitting to bring out more fully the character of Pius as developed at the Congress of Mantua. Let us take up again his opening speech. There is a famous passage which Voigt² and Pastor³ quote. Their text is word for word the same. Mr. Creighton translates parts of this passage and paraphrases other parts. As he gives Mansi as his authority, a seeming interpolation may be owing to Mansi's text. Mr. Creighton's paraphrase being imperfect, we shall translate the passage as given by Voigt and Pastor, italicizing the parts which Mr. Creighton slurs. "And perhaps there are among you some who say: This pope says much to send us to battle and to encourage us to throw ourselves in front of the enemy's swords. This is the way of priests. They burden others with the heaviest loads, which they will not lay a finger to. My sons, do not believe this. No one, *as far back as your fathers remember, has sat in this seat, who did more for the faith of Christ than we will do with your help and with the grace of God.* Here have we come, quite weak, as you see, not without danger to our life, *not without injury to the states of the Church. We have prized the defense of the Faith more highly than the heritage of St. Peter, more highly than our health and comfort.* Oh! would that we had the

¹ *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii., p. 398. Longmans, Green & Co.

² Voigt: *Aenea Silvio*, vol. iii., pp. 71-72.

³ Pastor: *Geschichte*, vol. ii., pp. 57-58.

strength of the youth that has fled! Then should you not go into the battle without us, *nor into danger without us*. We ourselves would march before the standard; *we ourselves would carry the Master's Cross*; we ourselves would *oppose the banner of Christ to the infidel foe*, and would count ourselves fortunate were it given unto us to die for Jesus. And even now, if you think well of it, we shall not refuse to dedicate our sickly body and our weary soul *to Christ the Lord* for this happy expedition. Through camps, through lines of soldiers, into the very midst of the enemy, if you so advise, will we be carried—joyfully, on a litter, *and will not, with coward soul, hunt after pompous words*. Consider what will be of most avail to *Christian interests*. We shall object to nothing that taxes our body, our person, or our property." These are the words of a courageous believer, or of a hypocrite. Time will tell whether Pius was a hero, with the soul of a martyr, or a coward, whose mouth was full of pompous words. And Europe—even Mr. Creighton's Europe—shall be the judge, for all time.

On January 14, 1460, the Pope published the Bull, *Ecclesiam Christi*, declaring a three year's war against the Turk, offering spiritual benefits to those who enlisted for eight months, and taxing the curia, the clergy, the papal treasury, to the extent of a tenth of their income, and the Italian laity to the extent of a thirtieth, in order to meet the expenses of the undertaking. The last words of Pius at the Congress are not to be passed over. "Almighty, eternal God, Thou who hast vouchsafed, through the most precious blood of Thy beloved Son, to redeem the human race, and to lift up the world, sunken in darkness, into the light of the Gospel, we beseech Thee, so effect that the Christian princes and people may wield their weapons with such force against the infidel race of the Turks, and against the other barbarous enemies of the Cross, that those who contend for the glory of Thy name may gain the victory."¹ Hoping to shame the emperor into action, Pius issued a special Bull, in which he called upon Frederick to lead the German contingent; or, in case he found it impossible to take the field, to appoint as his representative a prince of his nation. Then Pius took the road to Rome.

The Turk had not been as idle as the Christian. He hated the Cross more than the Christian loved that glorious emblem of civilization. Constantinople had not satisfied the Moslem. Day by day he rounded off the territory of his growing empire. Servia was now in his devilish grip. Lemnos was his through a new treachery of the lily-livered Greek. The Morea was his. Mahomet and his lecherous god had driven the chastest of Virgins

¹ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 67-70.

from the Parthenon. What were the princes doing? Arming? No!—dodging their plighted word; scheming to undo the Pope who loved the Cross too well to win their corrupt hearts; openly refusing to provide men or money; trying to confirm heresy in return for saving gold. Pius alone was true to his word. Even as he journeyed to the Holy City he was occupied with the details of the Crusade. The dethroned Princes of the East flocked to Rome, where they were sure of a hospitable reception from the Pope, and of financial support.¹

As the Turk advanced, as the Christian rulers grew more and more cold, the great-hearted Pope made a new appeal—not to Christendom but to the Turk himself. "It is strong testimony to the *tolerant* spirit of the Turks that stories were rife of the Sultan's willingness to listen to Christian teaching."² We quote another of the thoughtless suggestions which Mr. Creighton so frequently puts forth. A logical reader is tempted to lose confidence in a historian who finds "strong testimony" in "stories that are rife?" What sort of law must Anglican canon-law be? What stories were rife, and when did they become rife? Are we to infer that Mr. Creighton has secret documents in his collection? And why may not we have a look at them? The Pope's letter to the Sultan was in fact a two-edged weapon. From any point of view it was a piece of most unshifty diplomacy. Pius bearded the lion. He proclaimed himself a lover of peace, and called on Mahomet to lay down his arms and to accept the religion of Christ. The truth of this religion he proved, and proved it, all the more strongly, by a comparison of its teachings with those of the Koran.³ This letter "produced a great effect on the imagination of Europe," Mr. Creighton assures us. And who will wonder if it were so? The letter was worthy of a Vicar of Christ. The appeal to the Turk to become a Christian, was at the same time an appeal to the Christians no longer to act as though they were Turks. It was a novel apology for the Christian religion—the ablest, if not the first, of its kind. The "tolerant" Turk was careful not to deny "the stories that were rife," and continued to hide his tolerance from the eyes of Europe with the glamour of his scimitar. Princedom after princedom was forced to acknowledge the awful rule of the foe of the true God.

Pius passed sleepless nights thinking of the woes of Christendom. The cowardice of the powers "made his bosom swell, made his blood boil." He must speak. He must act. To six trusted

¹ Pastor: vol. ii, pp. 174-178.

² Creighton: *History of the Papacy*, vol. ii., p. 459. The italics are ours; the grim humor is Canon Creighton's.

³ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 179-180.

Cardinals he discloses the plan he has determined to follow. He had tired of sending embassies to kings, only that he might be laughed at. When he laid a tax on the clergy, they appealed to a future council. When he proffered indulgences and spiritual gifts to those who would contribute to the expenditures of the war, he was charged with greed. Now Philip of Burgundy, in the very year in which Byzantium fell, had made a vow that he would enter the field against the Turk, if a greater prince would lead the way. To this day no one had come forward to test Burgundy's sincerity. Pius, the suffering, feeble Pius, would take upon himself the war of Christendom, and call Philip to follow, for the honor of the Catholic faith. The Duke dare not repudiate his vow, when the Vicar of Christ, a greater than king or kaiser, took the field. Let Philip set sail from Venice. Pius will await him at Ancona, with every galley and every man he can command. France will be compelled to follow Burgundy. Volunteers will rush from every land. If Venice, France and Burgundy obey his call, he will proclaim a truce among all Christians for five years, and excommunicate the clergy who refuse to contribute to the war. "We hope that our decision, coming like a thunder-clap, may awaken the people from their sleep, and arouse the spirit of the faithful to preserve their religion."¹ The good shepherd is ready to give up his life for his flock. The "Italian adventurer" will make a final effort to lift the imagination of Europe up to the heights of Christian heroism. The near-sighted men who have been trying to measure the character of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini with a foot rule, should be as amazed at this decision of the Pope, as were some of the listening cardinals, but no unprejudiced student, who, with open eyes, follows Æneas from Siena to Rome, will be in the least surprised. Pius had the soul of a poet, even more than the tongue. Add to this the heart of a lover of God and of God's people—and what shall not a man do!

Venice would be at peace with the Turk. The infidel had a purse. Only as her Eastern possessions fell into fighting Islam's hands did she feel her love for the Cross revive. Not until July, 1463, would she agree to declare war. Louis XI. saw no profit ahead, and therefore had no interest. Burgundy was ready to keep his vow—when the fever threatened his life. At length Hungary was pacified, Burgundy promised anew, Venice made peace with her Christian enemies, and brave Scanderbeg took the field against the Moslem, without the formality of a declaration of war. And the Italian princes and cities! They stood idle, hoping that Venice, exhausted by war, might fall into their greedy hands.

¹ Pastor: vol. ii., pp. 186-187.

After months of entreaty and of tedious negotiation, Burgundy and Venice entered into a league with the Pope (October 1463). During three years, with all the forces they could maintain, they were to fight the Turk. Pius published a Bull declaring a crusade. Nuncios, preachers, collectors were sent over Europe, but the spirit of chivalry was long since dead. The Pope's grand effort to revive it was fruitless. The poor and the middle class responded to the Papal call—the Godfreys, Bohemunds, Hugos, were mute and motionless. Still, there was cause for rejoicing. Corvinus drove back the enemy and recovered a portion of Bosnia; and Venice seemed to be really in earnest. Bad news followed good. Perhaps Philip had been consulting Europe, and Europe had advised him, guileless and simple, to beware of the shifty diplomatist, who was moving heaven and earth in behalf of the suffering East and the threatened West. However we try to palliate, the fact is that Burgundy, for reasons of state, violated the solemn treaty and more solemn vow.

Fainting with pain, oppressed by weighty cares, disappointed on account of the treachery and the neglect of those who were bound by their true interest, as well as by their faith, Pius did not falter. Timid cardinals, insidious diplomats, selfish kings, could not alter his decision. Cardinal Forteguerra was appointed legate of a crusading fleet. To Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, the Pope committed the charge of Rome and of the Papal States.

From France, the Netherlands, Germany; from England and Scotland, crusaders flocked into Italy in answer to the call of Pius. They were mostly poor men, unarmed and without means. From the opposing tyrants they suffered wrongs innumerable. The Pope appointed an official to care for them, and determined to hasten his own departure. His health was miserable. The physicians forbade him to move. He was not to be stopped by man. His word he would keep if he died on the way.

On June 18, 1464, Pius was carried into St. Peter's, was invested with the Cross, and committed himself and his cause to the holy Apostles. As he went out of the city gates, on the road to Ancona, he turned, saying: "Farewell, Rome! you will not again see me alive." Fever and the gout had rendered him so weak that the first part of the journey was made by water. The Pope could not bear to be moved, so intense were his pains. At night he remained on the vessel. The heat was stifling, the progress slow. The plague was abroad. Pius turned aside to Loreto to present a golden chalice at the Virgin's shrine, and to beg of the Mother of God that she would intercede with her divine Son to relieve him from "the burning fever and the racking cough, and to give health to his failing limbs," so that he might be enabled to serve Christen-

dom. On July 19th, he reached Ancona, sick unto death, and took up his residence in the bishop's palace. Once more cardinals, ambassadors, physicians, tried to dissuade the Pope from proceeding further. Threats, reproofs, petitions, were unavailing. His terrible bodily sufferings were complicated by pain more excruciating—pain of the heart. The princes had wholly failed him. Venice alone pretended to be true. The volunteers were unruly, many unfitted for the work, all exacting and dissatisfied. To add to his troubles, the plague entered Ancona. The promises of Venice proved to be as uncertain as ever. Her alliance with the Pope was not serious. The Venetians counted on diplomacy to dissuade him from taking part in the crusade. They feared that a combined fleet would weaken their power at sea, and deprive them of trade they monopolized or hoped to monopolize. Not until August 12th did the Venetian flagship appear in the harbor of Ancona. Pius was lifted from his bed and carried to a window that he might look upon the fleet he had so long expected. At three o'clock, on the morning of the 15th, the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, whose devout and humble servant he was, Pius breathed out his heroic soul. The day previous, he received the sacraments, with edification to all around him; professed his Catholic faith; acknowledged his sins with the most touching frankness and humility; asked pardon of God; expressed his deepest love for the flock committed to him; commended flock and faith and the crusade to the cardinals; warned them to protect the Patrimony of the Church, and reminded them of their duties to that Saviour who sees all things and renders to every man according to his works.

The moment the soul of Pius left his body, the crusade was as lifeless as his corpse. Within a few days the Venetian fleet had sailed for home, and the cardinals were hurrying to the conclave. The crusaders, inglorious, speedily sought their native land. Europe was not wholly amazed, even now. Over the bier of the great-souled Pope, the agents of the bastards, and the hireling humanists, charged him with mean motives. But men of spirit, then and since, have united in honoring Pius as a martyr. The Cardinal of Pavia expressed the judgment of civilized Europe: 'He died for truth's sake and for the salvation of the oppressed. Sacrificing himself to God, he left to the priesthood an example of what they should be to those in their charge.'

We challenged Canon Creighton's insidious attack on the memory of the great Pius. Let us again test the English historian's consistency.¹ "Pius II. was lucky in the moment of his death. He left behind him the touching memory of an old man who died in the attempt to do his duty." Then, perhaps, he did

¹ *The History of the Papacy.* Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. ii., p. 476.

not leave behind him the memory of a noble man, or of an apostolic Pope, who died in the attempt to do his duty. The Pope was grayhaired and aged beyond his years by hard work and disease. He was, however, only fifty-nine, and, if we are touched by a great man's death at this age, it is because we count him still in his prime. Mr. Creighton's tribute is studiously niggardly. "When the princes of Europe were heedless of the welfare of Christendom, the dying Pope painfully dragged his feeble body to martyrdom for the common weal." This sentence succeeds in Mr. Creighton's book the sentence quoted above, and in this sentence the learned historian states a fact. "It is the fate of a character like Pius II. to lend itself to different interpretations, and to remain enigmatical." We quote from page 477 of the same vol. ii., and we continue quoting: "One who has changed his opinions is always liable to the charge of insincerity, which comes with double force when a policy of easy pliancy raises him to a lofty position." The inuendo again! A policy of "easy pliancy"—we saw how pliant he was—has raised Pius to a lofty position. The charge of insincerity comes with double force against him—because, when "the princes of Europe were heedless of the welfare of Christendom, he, the dying Pope, dragged his feeble body to martyrdom for the common weal!" Does Mr. Creighton say this? No! No! "Such a judgment is generally crude and misses the real elements of character!" We are quoting the sentence on p. 477, immediately following the last quotation. "Crude" is sometimes a good word.

When Paul II., who "loved the splendors of peace," assumed the Apostolic power he took up the Turkish question just where Pius had left it. Paul declared his zeal for "the protection of the Christian faith against the fury of the Turks." Within three months after ascending the throne, he appointed a committee of three cardinals—Bessarion, Estouteville, Carvajal—charged especially with providing ways and means for the continuation of the war against Islam. He appealed to the Powers again and again and sought to induce them to agree to tax themselves yearly for fixed sums in order to assist the Hungarians. But the Italian governments were too busy with their own schemes—too busy planning how to rob the Church of its patrimony, too busy negotiating with the Turks treaties that might serve Italian pockets or malice. Paul poured money out of the Papal into the Hungarian treasury, but Europe held its money-bags tight.

During two years Scanderbeg had been constant in opposing and attacking the Turkish hordes. Again and again had he defeated them, pursued them, driven them back. At last the Sultan gathered a mighty host and Albania's doom was apparently sealed.

Scanderbeg began to have his bad days. Croja was besieged, Piero de Medici shed tears. Paul was sensitive, as we know, but he contented himself with the shedding of cash. To Scanderbeg he gave the most loyal and helpful support. But Scanderbeg's need was pressing. He determined to seek help abroad. He left his own country and journeyed to Rome. There he was received with open arms and furnished liberally with money. Ferrante of Naples, who had been threatening Paul with an alliance with the Turks if the Pope combated his plans to undo the Papal authority, now gave arms, money and provisions to the cause of the "Athlete of Christ." Returning home, Scanderbeg gained new victories. Croja was saved. Unfortunately, at the height of his success "the sword and shield of Christendom" was overcome, not by the Turk, but by a fatal fever (Jan. 17, 1468). The hero was dead, but the spirit of heroism that he had nurtured was not to be quenched in a day. The Turks rushed in; shifty Europe looked on; Paul besought, appealed, prayed and paid, and the Albanians, God bless them! fought on.

In the spring of 1470 the Turks filled Italy with terror. It was the Venetian's turn to weep. With a hundred thousand men and a fleet of three hundred sail, Mahomet threatened Eubœa, "the pearl" of the Venetian possessions. Venice had been everybody's enemy, a most bitter enemy of the Papacy, but Paul was the first to rush to her aid. Other aid there was none. Negroponte fell, and Naples took fright. To Italy, to France, to Germany Paul sent letters and legates begging for peace, for unity, for action. Finally, in December, 1470, the Italian states united in a league against the Moslem. It was a paper league, torn up as soon as signed. Germany was deaf to every appeal. The selfish interests of the princes made agreement impossible. Let us have church reform, was the historic answer to the call for men and means to drive out the Turks. Europe failing him, Paul, following the example of Calixtus and of Pius, turned to the East. Uzun Hasan, ruler of the Turcomans, was ever ready to strike a blow at the common enemy. Paul determined to make a treaty with him. Providence ordains all well. On the night of July 26, 1471, Paul was in seeming good health. It was his last night on earth.

Mr. Creighton admires the lovable Paul. He tells much of Paul and the Bohemians, Paul and literature, and something of Paul and art. Concerning Paul and the Turk, he has written a single paragraph. Here it is: "Paul II. was not a practised politician like Pius II.; he was averse from war, as was natural in one who loved the splendors of peace. He had no desire to meddle unnecessarily with the affairs of Europe, and the results of the journey to Ancona were not encouraging for a continuance

of crusading schemes. Still Paul II. sent subsidies to Mathias of Hungary, and declared himself ready to contribute one hundred thousand ducats for the purpose of a crusade if other powers would contribute in proportion. But Europe was apathetic. North Italy was disturbed by the death of Cosmo de Medici, and the Venetians hung back. Nothing was done, and the Turks continued to advance steadily, checked only by the brave resistance of Scanderbeg in Albania."¹ Only this, and nothing more! Perhaps Cosmo's death made Mr. Creighton apathetic. He hangs back for some reason. We have only skimmed over Pastor's pages in our account of Paul's uninterrupted activity against the Turk, and of his necessary meddling with the affairs of Europe. We heartily commend the reader who would know the history of the Eastern question, the number of ducats that Paul actually contributed to the Christian cause, and the persistency with which he labored to preserve Europe from the accursed rule of Mahomet, to go to the German historian's admirable second volume. There the reader will learn once more how to write history.

It was on August 9, 1471, that the not entirely weak Francesco della Rovere succeeded Paul II. At once the new Pope moved against the Turk, and in behalf of Christendom. He purposed calling a Congress of all the European rulers, to arrange a fighting league which should overwhelm the enemy. To the cardinals he submitted his plan. They favored it, but were not agreed as to the place in which the Congress should be held. The princes were consulted with the usual result. Meantime Uzun Hasan had taken the field. Sixtus would await the princes no longer. He appointed five legates from among the Cardinals, whose office was to visit every European potentate and to endeavor to form an army and a fleet with which to attack the Turk by sea and by land. The cardinals performed their trying duties faithfully, but unsuccessfully. Sixtus, whom the polite Voigt qualifies with the pretty epithet "*schrecklich*," was meantime building a fleet. Venice agreed to support him. He constructed twenty-four galleys and gathered an army of 4700 men. As legate of the fleet he appointed Cardinal Carafa. On Corpus Christi, 1472, the Pope, accompanied by the cardinals, went down to the Tiber, boarded the legate's vessel, blessed it and the ensign that floated aloft; and forthwith Carafa set sail for Rhodes. With the contingents of Naples and Venice the fleet numbered eighty-seven galleys. A plan of action had hardly been agreed upon when the Neapolitan vessels withdrew, out of jealousy of the Venetians. Satalia and Smyrna were, however, attacked and captured. The Venetians plundered and burned Smyrna. Carafa protested against these

¹ *The History of the Papacy*, vol. iii., p. 8.

un-Christian doings, whereupon the Venetians withdrew. The Cardinal, unsupported, deemed it prudent to return to Italy. Three months later, Lorenzo Zane, archbishop of Spalatro, was sent out with ten galleys. Mocenigo, the Venetian commander, refused to co-operate with him, and so the legate could do nothing. The tolerant Turk might freely rove upon the deep, blue sea. The Giaour had jealousies to avenge, greeds to gratify, schisms to foster.

In 1473, the Pope's Eastern ally, Uzun Hasan, from whom much was expected, suffered a defeat so considerable that there could be no hope of speedy recovery from the blow. By the end of 1475, the Turk was in Albania. His fleets swept the Adriatic and both shores of the Black Sea. From the Crimea he drove the Genoese, who had so long controlled that rich mart. Calixtus, Pius, Paul had seen its danger and had tried to secure it against the inevitable attack. If, as Pius said, Europe was paying the price of its sins, those sins must have well nigh exhausted God's mercy; for the Turk was a terrible avenger, as inexorable as he is to-day. Then, as now, was the soil of many a beauteous land 'carpeted with the corpses' of brave defenders, and "its plains inundated with blood." Many "a paradise did the vile Turk render as uninhabitable as hell itself." "Massacre followed quick on massacre, houses and property were usurped or burned, sisters were torn from their homes for the gratification of a barbarous lust."

Once more Sixtus turned to the princes, seeking to move their human affections, begging them to try to realize the situation, the perils, the sufferings, of Christians and of Christendom; inviting them to send ambassadors to Rome, and to combine against the Moslem oppressor. But the princes, were, as Ammannati said truly, "blind and hard-hearted." The Pope alone was zealous; and he had only money to give, and of money far from enough. Against the possessions and the faith of the Church, the powers were ready to conspire, and now were conspiring. The Turk was not yet at the door. He came. Having mastered Albania—Croja had at last been captured—Eubœa, Lemnos; having raided Wallachia and Moldavia; having besieged Rhodes, and failed there, thanks to Pierre d'Aubusson's bravery, and to the Pope's generous assistance, the Moslem pushed on by double-dealing Venice, seized Otranto, August, 1480. "Of the 22,000 inhabitants 12,000 were brutally tortured to death; the rest were condemned to slavery. The gray-haired Archbishop was dragged from the altar and his body sawed in two. Churches were razed, priests horribly maimed, a crowd of the people who refused to accept the Koran

¹ See the *Address of the Armenian Revolutionists*, in *The Sun*, N. Y., September 5, 1890.

were slaughtered together—their corpses thrown to the dogs.”¹ In the Chapel of the Cathedral, where the Moslems stabled their horses, the bones of these canonized² martyrs witness to-day, to the reckless and remorseless cruelty of the Tartar Turk, and to the dastardly conduct of the “Bride of the Adriatic.” Can we wonder when we see her once mighty power decline, disappear, and her once proud people subjected to a foreign yoke! With Achmet in Otranto, it was Ferrante’s turn to tremble, to cry for help to the princes, and to the Pope he had so persecuted. Again did he threaten to treat with the Turk. Venice had done so, to save her trade. The Pope, who had suffered so much at the hands of Ferrante, listened to his coward cry; summoned all Christians to his aid; dedicated a tenth to his support, and offered indulgence to those who took up arms in his defence. A new Congress was called at Rome, and fresh attempts were made to pacify Italy. To build a new fleet special taxes were laid. All the churches and convents were taxed a tenth, for two years. Edward IV., of England could not help. We know why. Germany was never to be counted on. Louis XI. would contribute money, if the Pope would allow the King to tax the clergy a little more, and would grant the king additional ecclesiastical authority. With might and main Sixtus worked, to bring the Italian States to commit themselves to the war. At length they did agree to give money, men and vessels. The Pope published an Encyclical, and promised spiritual favors to contributors to the expenses of the campaign. To the mint he sent the sacred vessels. The fleet he would have, at any cost. News, welcome news came. Mahomet, the scourge, was no more. (May 1481). The Pope, in a brief, announcing the happy event, called on Europe to seize the occasion, in order to give a killing blow to Islam.

Ten months had passed. From Europe there was no answer. The Pope’s fleet of 34 vessels lay in the Tiber. They must sail; they must free Italy. Once more Sixtus marched from the Vatican; once more blessed a legate, Cardinal Fregoso; once more blessed banner and ensign and sword. The cannon shouted; the crowd shouted and over all resounded the cry: Long live Sixtus! On July 4th, auspicious day, the fleet lifted anchor. Ferrante’s vessels joined the Pope’s. Otranto was besieged. On September 10, 1481, the Turks capitulated. The Pope ordered the legate to follow up his victory, and to seek and attack the Turkish fleet. The mean-souled Ferrante had gained all he wished, and withdrew. The Turk might be inflamed by a call to a ‘holy war,’ but Ferrante’s enthusiasm was not for holy things. The Pope’s legate returned, disobeying his orders. Sixtus hastened to Civita

¹ Pastor, vol. ii., p. 496.

² They were canonized by Clement XIV. See Pastor, note.

Vecchia, and called Fregoso to account. He pleaded want of money. "Money!" exclaimed the Pope; "I would sell my plate and pawn my mitre for the cause."—*Schrecklich!*

"Had the advice of the Holy See been followed, there would have been no Turks in Europe for the Russians to turn out of it. For five centuries the voice of the Church has been unheeded by the powers of Europe. As they have sown, so must they reap." Thus wrote the clear-sighted, clear-spoken, Newman, nigh forty years ago.¹ The powers sowed—the people, alas! reaped. And still they reap, and still shall they reap, Heaven only knows how long, while the powers shiftily diplomatize.

Writing the history of the "wildly energetic" Sixtus, Mr. Creighton gives more space to the story of the Papacy's efforts to drive the Turk out of Europe. To this important subject, the English historian devotes five paragraphs—almost two pages. Would a more careful and useful—shall we say truthful?—account of the exhortations, entreaties, sacrifices of Sixtus IV., have interfered with a right "judgment of the change which came over Europe in the 16th century, to which the name of 'The Reformation' is loosely given?"² Perhaps so. And yet we cannot forget Lord Acton's tribute to Mr. Creighton's "economy of evidence." If he were only as economical of judgment, all would be well. Every reader of Canon Creighton's book will regret that he has not made a closer study of the history of the Popes. He writes so agreeably that he need have no fear of tiring his readers by a more complete record of facts. Until the promised translation of Dr. Pastor's work appears, many of Canon Creighton's readers will be quite in the dark as to what was done for mankind by several Popes who lived before the change in Europe, 'to which the name of 'Reformation' is so loosely given.' Perhaps though, we should not regret Canon Creighton's deficiencies as deeply as we do. Far from great libraries, and without any opportunity to use the many rare manuscript collections which Dr. Pastor has so conscientiously consulted, the English historian might have led some readers even farther astray than he has done. To Pastor's History of Pius, of Paul, and of Sixtus, all students can and will turn for exact information concerning three Popes who were not among the least able of the many able men that ruled the Church during the Renaissance. Confining ourselves to a sketch of their activity in one sphere alone, we could not do full justice to them, or to the eminent German historian. On another occasion we hope to prove how splendidly these Popes fought on other fields, and how, in statesmanship, love of religion, love of learning, love of art, they led the Christian world.

¹ Lectures on the *History of the Turks*, p. xii.

² Preface to vol. i. of *The History of the Papacy*, M. Creighton.