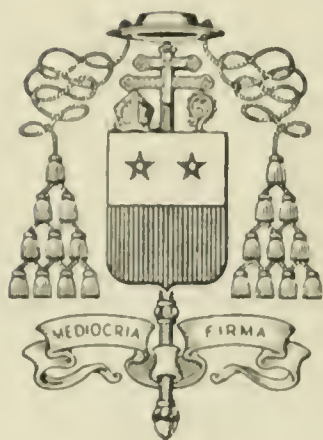


THE DIARY
OF
JOHN BURCHARD



A. H. MATHEW

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THE DIARY OF
JOHN BURCHARD
OF STRASBURG



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THE DIARY
OF
JOHN BURCHARD
OF STRASBURG

BISHOP OF ORTA AND CIVITA CASTELLANA

PONTIFICAL MASTER OF CEREMONIES TO THEIR
HOLINESSES

SIXTUS, P.P. IV.; INNOCENT, P.P. VIII.;
ALEXANDER, P.P. VI.; PIUS, P.P. III.;
AND JULIUS, P.P. II.

A.D. 1483-1506

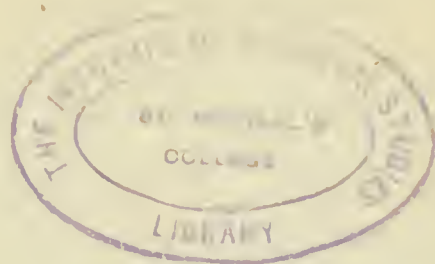
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published in Paris with Notes and Appendices,*

BY THE RIGHT REV.
ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW, D.D.

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INTRODUCTION

THE notoriety of the Borgias is, to some extent, shared by Bishop John Burchard, one of the most trustworthy and the best abused of their chroniclers. Biassed authors have rashly and wantonly accused this exact and methodical *ceremoniaris* of adopting the rôle of Procopius, who, in his *Anecdota*, exposed the gross villainies of the Court of Justinian. So false an estimate of the value of Bishop Burchard's record has necessitated the publication of his Diary in its entirety, in order that its value may be more justly appreciated.

Burchard was a precise, pedantic, automatic and impassive clerk of the Pontifical Court, an irreproachable rubrician and liturgical scholar, who carefully recorded from day to day, with no expression of sentiment, everything that came under his observation.

In him the characteristics of a Macaulay were absent, and in this respect he differed from Infessura, his contemporary and perhaps his friend, with whom he has often been confused. Infessura, the enemy of the popes and of the civil authority, pours forth on every page the burning indignation experienced by an Italian and a patriot; and even when, as in his bitter criticisms, his violent passion defeats its own purpose, one is ready to excuse him and to recognize in him the last survivor of the free republican traditions of Rome. The German, Burchard, is of an altogether different type, and is left undisturbed by any such impulses. The absence of passion from his work, however, need not be regretted, in that it is, in a sense, a guarantee of his absolute impartiality.

John Burchard was born at Haslach, near Strasburg, in the middle of the fifteenth century. Intended for the Church, he was educated, from earliest childhood, amidst ecclesiastical surroundings. But instead of following a course of theology—which then required ten years' close study to obtain the Doctor's degree—Burchard, practical man that he was, chose to follow the path which would lead him to the same goal with a sure hope of honour and fortune, within four years. Having received his Doctor's cap, he purchased, on June 4th, 1477, his rights as a citizen of Strasburg.

He was certainly at this period soliciting Rome for a canonical prebendaryship in the Chapter of St. Thomas at Strasburg, and we know that all foreign students who wished to enjoy the patronage of the mayor of this town were obliged to become citizens. On September 9th, 1479, Johann Adolph Melbrügge, who had been a canon of St. Thomas's, Strasburg, for sixty-two years, died; and Burchard was appointed his successor by Apostolic provision on the 31st of the following October. Burchard was received by his new colleagues without any dissentient voice, which was not often the case. Nevertheless he was obliged to conform to the Statutes of the Chapter, and to go before the episcopal judge, accompanied by witnesses who went as sureties "For all visits and expenses which the Chapter might incur, in case the election were contested." These sureties were Conrad Stenge; John Mouschin the elder, chaplain of

St. Nicholas's Chapel at Strasburg; Nicholas Brun, citizen; and Marcof Heimburge, a draper.

Burchard lived at Strasburg until about the month of October, 1481, at which time he prepared to go to Rome. His friend, Peter Schott, on his return to Strasburg at the end of a two months' sojourn in Italy, where he had spent the Lent of the same year at Rome in order to see, as he himself said, "the Eternal City, before, perchance, it was taken by the 'Turks,'" wrote on the 9th of September to his friend Vitus Moeler, solicitor of the Apostolic Letters at Rome, to beg him to use his influence to obtain a benefice at Strasburg for a poor scholar in whom he was interested.

With this end in view, he forwarded to him sixteen golden florins, which were put down to Burchard's account. This commission, which was renewed in two letters dated respectively October 15th and November 2nd of the same year, places the time of Burchard's arrival in Rome at the beginning of November of the year 1481. In the Eternal City he encountered many of his fellow-countrymen, who, like himself, had come to seek their fortunes. These crafty and servile Teutons gradually obtained positions in the service of great personages, or wormed themselves into the confidence of high dignitaries of the Church: thus established close to the fountain-head of favours, they aimed continuously at the attainment of livings, prebendaryships or some hoped-for favours. Others, like Burchard, bought a position at the Roman Court, or entered the offices of administration in the Curia, and made themselves acquainted with all the Italian and foreign candidates for favour.

In the numberless lawsuits which were incessantly going on in the Ecclesiastical courts, advocates found a lucrative source of income—for this hunt for benefices gave rise to numerous acts of injustice, and owners turned out of their rightful possessions did not give them up without protest. Young Wolf, in age about seven years, a nephew of the famous humanist of that name, came into possession of a canonry at the Church of St. Thomas of Strasburg, through the resignation of its owner, James Hagen. But his ownership of this canonry was contested by Engelhard Funk of Schwabach in Franconia, an advocate at Rome and the substitute of Henry Schönleben. Thomas Wolf took up the cudgels on his nephew's behalf, and entrusted the case to Burchard, the Apostolic protonotary. At the same time, young Wolf's godfather, Peter Schott, canon of St. Pierre-le-Jeune, warmly espoused his ward's cause in his letters to his friend Vitus Moeler. At the end of a trial which lasted no less than five years, Burchard won the case, and young Wolf entered into possession of his canonry. We find that Burchard, in spite of holding a living at Strasburg, and the office of Apostolic protonotary, followed an advocate's profession, and gave it up only when he bought the appointment of Master of the Ceremonies at the Court of Rome, as soon as its vacancy made this possible. He had consequently been able for some time previously to acquire the necessary knowledge; for money was not sufficient for the new position which he aspired to fill; the candidate for this must, perforce, offer all the requisite qualifications. It is probable that he revealed his intention, in part, to his friend Agostino Patrizzi, and that it was with his concurrence, perhaps even at his instigation, that Burchard prepared to enter upon the new career thrown open to him.

Agostino Patrizzi, a priest of the Papal Chapel, and assistant—or "titular" as it is now called—Master of the Ceremonies, wearied with a life of toil, longed to retire. Having first served Pius II. in 1460, he went

later to Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, whom he accompanied in 1471 as secretary on an embassy to Germany, during the papacy of Paul II. Nominated Master of Ceremonies under the pontificate of the said Pope, he filled this office at the time of the Emperor Frederick III.'s second entry into Rome in 1468. He continued to perform the same duties under Sixtus IV., shortly before whose death he resigned, when he found that Burchard was ready to succeed him. The Pope, however, permitted him to retain the honours of his appointment and continued his stipend; and he appears to have acted thereafter—when Bishop of Pienza—as “President of the Office of Ceremonies,” a title Burchard definitely fixes him under date January 6th, 1485.

1483-4.—Backed by Patrizzi's recommendation, it was an easy matter for Burchard to obtain the Pontiff's consent, and, on the 21st of December, 1483, he was admitted as a Clerk of the Ceremonies. The same day his name was inscribed on the rolls of the Palace, by the Superior of the lay-clerks of the Papal Chapel; but although his bull dated as far back as November 29th, 1483, he only entered upon his duties on January 26th of the following year. Burchard was obliged to pay his predecessor the sum of four hundred and fifty golden ducats, to obtain his bull of investiture.

As soon as he entered upon office, Burchard, true to the methodical instincts of his nation, resolved to note down all details relating to his duties, in order the more easily to render an account of his charge. These notes, entered from day to day, were very valuable to him, as he could refer to them in cases of difficulty, and could find precedents of conduct therein. Burchard began his Diary on the fourth Sunday in Advent, December 21st. At first he confined himself to entering notes of little interest. Then, seeing how much benefit he could derive from fuller accounts, he expanded his Diary, and, as he himself says, it really begins in the August of the year 1484. But, before following Burchard in the performance of his new duties, it will be as well to find out what they were.

A work which he produced in common with his predecessor Agostino Patrizzi, recounts the manifold occupations of the Master of the Ceremonies, some of which were so difficult and complex, that Patrizzi declares that he never really learnt them accurately until his career was ended. “The Clerks of the Ceremonies hold themselves in readiness near the altar, close to the credence-table, and are upon the alert as to everything which goes on in the chapel. They ought always to be ready to see and to be able to do what is necessary, to act promptly, swiftly and from memory, and, in short, to fill their office with tact and decorum.” It is no small task for clerks of the ceremonies to be ready for everything which passes in the church, and to be responsible for every mistake,—but such is their business. The duty of the one, during the services, is to wait attentively upon the Pope, to be ready to obey his commands at a moment's notice, and to be, likewise, at the disposal of the other papal assistants, so that the prelates, preachers, orators and all other persons keep their proper places, and only move to give the Clerk of the Ceremonies something to do. He could not address the Pope without very good reason, or unless the latter required him to do so, and in either case he had to show every conventional mark of deference. Moreover, he was required to use similar deference and decorum if he found it necessary to address the cardinals. The duty of the other Clerk of the Ceremonies was to be in readiness at the altar and to attend the celebrant and the other officiating priests. Both of them had to be watchful and alert, ready for

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any emergency, and able to repair promptly any mistake which might be made. Before entering the chapel, particularly before solemnities and exceptional ceremonies, they arranged between themselves what each would have to do, sharing their duties and considering every possible detail, so that there might be no necessity for any discussion afterwards in the chapel. The younger Clerk deferred to the decisions of his older colleague, and yielded to him the first rank: the elder treated his younger colleague, who was still a novice, as a brother and an intimate. If there were a third Clerk, they acted together in the same way. "If they agree among themselves, and show the mutual consideration which they ought, their task will be easier and lighter. If they cannot agree, it would be better that there should be only one Clerk of the Ceremonies. When they are attending prelates or laymen to or from the place assigned to them, or when waiting upon them in the performance of certain acts, they must conduct themselves with humility and deference, never omitting to genuflect and bow to the priests officiating at the altar, and engaged in performing any ceremonial duty. But all, both great and small, are subject to the Master of the Ceremonies; and he must rule them quietly and unostentatiously, and guide and help them without hurrying or pushing or dragging—as I have sometimes seen done." "All ceremonies, particularly those which relate to the pontifical mass and to the person of the Pope, must be performed by each with due solemnity, humility and precision, so that the assistants may be inspired with greater devotion and reverence."

But this was only the secondary and, so to speak, mechanical aspect, of the functions of the Master of the Ceremonies: his duties outside the papal chapel increased in importance and difficulty, and demanded a profound knowledge of diplomatic ceremonial and a swift decisiveness combined with unwavering determination. In a word, the Master of the Ceremonies ruled the ceremonial entry of ambassadors, kings, princes and legates; religious services, the arrangement of conclaves and coronations. In the endless discussions relating to precedence, the Master of the Ceremonies was called upon to exercise his authority. Only mature experience could bestow on him these manifold qualifications, and enable him adequately to fill his office. Burchard, in spite of the criticism of Paris de Grassis, seems to have succeeded in doing so; and his enemy is forced to acknowledge the capability and authority of his rival, though he says of him that he was "the most beastly of all beasts."

As we have seen, Burchard at first confined himself merely to jotting down notes in his *Journal*, which he heads with the list of the cardinals, and the names of his colleague, Antonio Rebioli, and his supernumerary, Giovanni Maria de Podio. This last, according to custom, was at that time accompanying the Cardinal of San Clemente, Domenico della Rovere, nephew to the Pope, on his embassy to Piedmont.

A martyr to gout, and worn out with rage at the news of the Peace which had been made without his consent, between the Duke of Ferrara and the Venetians, Sixtus IV. died on August 12th, 1484, at the age of seventy. Burchard, who was charged with the arrangement of the funeral rites of the deceased, repaired to the Vatican, together with his colleague Giovanni Maria de Podio. He has given us a striking account of this dramatic incident, in which he played the two-fold part of actor and spectator. We see the old man left lying dead and naked upon a table, whilst the officials and servants of his palace are plundering the apartments and carrying off everything upon which they can lay their hands. In vain Burchard appeals to those who are under most obligation to the Pope, and begs them to help him in his

urgent duty; he can barely obtain sufficient water and linen with which to wash and clothe the corpse. After four hours have elapsed, a cook brings some warm water in a large vessel which was used for washing up the dishes, and the barber of the deceased Pontiff sends for a basin from his shop. Burchard was thus enabled to wash the body, and as he had no linen, he was obliged to tear up the shirt for a towel. He then clothed the deceased in his pontifical robes, and put on his finger a ring worth three hundred ducats. As a protection against thieves, guards were stationed near the corpse of Sixtus IV., which was carried the next day to St. Peter's, and buried in the sepulchre which the Pope himself had chosen. Notwithstanding his natural coolness, Burchard owns that, overpowered by emotion at sight of "such greatness destined to undergo all the reverses of fortune," he made a blunder; for Sixtus IV. had formerly belonged to the Franciscan Order, and he ought to have been buried in that habit, as in the case of Alexander V.

When the Pope was dead, every one was eager to know who would be chosen by the Sacred College to succeed him. Burchard, who attended the cardinals to the conclave, mentions amongst minor details the special features of the meetings. On the 29th of August, Cardinal Molfetta, Giovanni-Battista Cibò, a Genoese by birth, was proclaimed Pope, under the name of Innocent VIII.

The new Pontiff was at once bombarded with petitions from the cardinals who had given him their votes. Innocent VIII. signed everything without question—and in this wholesale distribution of grants and favours, Burchard took care that he was not overlooked. He asked and obtained the Provostship of the Church of St. Mary and St. Gangolf at Teuerstatt, then vacant by reason of Berthold, Count of Henneberg's appointment to the Archbishopric of Mayence, he having held the title of Dean since 1479. Burchard also requested the Pope to include him amongst his chamberlains *extra cameram*; but the latter, although he did not give a direct refusal, asked for time to consider; and, as Burchard did not renew his request, there was no further reference to the subject. The less important details of the Coronation festivities which followed the election of Innocent VIII. are noted down in the Diary. Burchard omits none of the details of the ceremony, even dealing at some length with the sanction to the Mosaic Law asked of the new Pope by the Jews during the Procession to the basilica of the Lateran; with the allegory of the stercorary chair; and with the burning of the piece of tow before the Holy Father after his return to the Vatican.

1484-5.—The arrival at Rome of numerous embassies to take the oath of fealty to the sovereign Pontiff, and notably the embassy of Charles VIII., King of France, at the head of which was the Count of Dauphiné, Gilber de Montpensier, gave rise to endless discussions as to precedence, which Burchard settled by reference to diplomatic precedents.

The appointment of Robert of San Severino to the post of standard-bearer of the Holy Roman Church, gives Burchard an opportunity to describe the order of the ceremony, and also the substance of the oath, which the gonfaloniere repeated word for word after the Cardinal of Milan, who read it, in a loud voice, from the *Pontificale Romanum*. This work had been corrected and revised in part, at the Pope's command, by Agostino Patrizzi in collaboration with Burchard, whose name figures on the title-page. Burchard is there described as holding the double title of provost and canon of the collegiate church of St. Florence of Haslach.

We see that if he did not despise temporal power, and thus justified

the criticisms of Wimpheling against the devourers of the Church's wealth, he at least gave himself up wholly to discharging the duties of his office, which he held with favour during the reigns of five Popes. Patrizzi presented the *Pontificale Romanum* to Innocent VIII. on December 20th, 1485. Four days later, Giovanni Maria de Podio received the Pope's command to acknowledge Burchard as chief Master of the Ceremonies.

Innocent VIII.'s peace-loving disposition, his aversion to wars and political responsibility, led him to devote himself almost wholly to the details of administration and the interests of the Curia. Burchard's Diary, which depicts this bias of character in the Pontiff, is a kind of ceremonial-book, here and there enlivened by notice of political events of interest. There are, however, details which, although of little importance in themselves, are worthy of note, as they provide a welcome insight into the history of the time.

If Burchard dismisses in a few sentences the conclusion of the Peace between the Holy See and the King of Naples, an event which is described at length by contemporary historians, he describes minutely its attendant circumstances. This wealth of detail concerning acts and customs, founded on personal observation, and omitted by the historians of the time, completes the accounts they have given of this period, and leads us to appreciate more fully the Diary itself.

1486-8.—Burchard, who had co-operated with Patrizzi in revising the *Pontificale Romanum*, continued working with the latter in reforming the ceremonial. On March 4th, 1486, the Pope placed in the hands of the two collaborators eight books of ancient ceremony, which they were to study and use in the production of the new work which he had entrusted to Patrizzi. Burchard undertook the more difficult and more thankless part of the task. He collected all the various readings, compared and annotated them, and did his work so well that Patrizzi had then only to write the book, and give it the finishing touches. In dedicating it to Innocent VIII. Patrizzi pays due honour to the valuable help which Burchard had rendered. The manuscript was handed to the Pope on February 29th, 1488, but it was not until after the death of its compilers that it was published, at Venice, in 1516, by Christopher Marcello, Archbishop of Corfu. Its publication gave rise to trouble instigated by Paris de Grassis, Burchard's former colleague; but it was soon disposed of, thanks to the good sense of Pope Leo X. Upon the appearance of the book, Paris de Grassis at once denounced to the sovereign Pontiff the "infamous sacrilege" committed by Marcello, and implored the former not to allow the ceremonies of the Holy Apostolic See, which, until then, had been kept from the world in the Vatican Library, to be "polluted" by publication; and he asked nothing less than the burning of the book. Leo X., before giving his decision, formed a commission of three cardinals, one of whom was Achille de Grassis, a brother of the prosecutor, to make inquiries concerning the accused work. Their verdict decided that it was entirely blameless. And its sale, which had been suspended during the inquiry, was then resumed in the presence of the enraged Paris de Grassis.

Three months after the MS. of the "Ceremonial" had been submitted to Innocent VIII., Burchard asked the Pope for leave to visit Strasburg; and, leaving Rome on June 30th, he did not resume his duties until October 23rd. A few notes relating to occurrences during his absence, which are included in his Diary, were furnished on his return by one of his colleagues. They comprise little else than dates, and seem only to have been inserted in order to avoid difficulties in understanding matters to which he refers later.

A sceptic with regard to everything outside his own office, Burchard showed, in his observance of the Ceremonial for which he was responsible, all the passion of an artist. Lapses in etiquette caused him acute annoyance, and he seldom failed to repair his own mistakes or those committed without his consent or knowledge. When the Pope married his grand-daughter Peretta to Alphonso of Curretto on November 16th, 1488, ladies were admitted to the Pope's presence at the entertainment which followed the nuptial ceremonies. "I was not present myself," says Burchard, "but when Guglielmo, the private chamberlain, reported it to me, I made a note of it, because it was contrary to the prescribed rules of our ceremonies, which expressly forbid women to sit at table with the Pope." And Burchard—though never a Boswell because never a sufficiently ardent hero-worshipper and never sufficiently loquacious—has ever the note-book at hand.

1489.—The following year was remarkable for an extraordinary event, viz. the entrance into Rome of Djem, brother to Sultan Bajazet. This unhappy prince, after spending seven years in France as a prisoner in the commanderies of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, had been brought to Rome at the request of the Pope, and with the sanction of Charles VIII. D'Aubusson, who arranged this affair, was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. The entrance of the prince into Rome, and his reception by the sovereign Pontiff, form one of the most curious and vivid pictures that Burchard has drawn.

A vacancy having occurred in the Haslach Chantry, and a chaplaincy being also vacant at the same time—through the death of the incumbent—Burchard promptly took the opportunity to solicit the Pope for these benefices. Innocent VIII. had already disposed of them elsewhere, but, expressing regret that it was not in his power to comply with the request, which had been supported by four cardinals, he promised to compensate Burchard by bestowing upon him some far more valuable benefices. The Pope had doubtless in his mind the deanery of St. Thomas of Strasburg, which the incumbent, John Simler, had just voluntarily resigned. The trickery which Burchard practised upon Simler may have had something to do with this resignation, if we are to believe Wimpfeling. However that may be, Burchard succeeded Simler, as we learn from the register of the chapter-house. It is curious that the Master of the Ceremonies says not a word on the subject of the new benefice, which surpassed in value and importance all others he had hitherto acquired.

1490-3.—A few months later, he bought the office of Master of Petitions from L. Bertino. The Pope graciously undertook to defray the expenses of the bull. Very soon after, he obtained four months' leave, and returned to Germany to collect the revenues of his numerous benefices.

The Pope had, moreover, commissioned him to settle certain difficulties relating to a loan made by the monastery of Hohenburg, in the diocese of Strasburg, to a layman, without the sanction of the Roman Court, to whose jurisdiction the monastery belonged. Part of the monastery had been destroyed by fire, and in order to restore it, the monks had been obliged to borrow large sums of money, and to give successively as security their goods, furniture, fixtures, rents and tithes.

The knight, John of Sichenzen, of the diocese of Worms, undertook to pay the debts of the community, amounting to 6,300 Rhenish florins, receiving a mortgage on the revenues of the monastery: the amount borrowed to be returned at the rate of 315 florins per annum. This contract, which had been approved by Albert, Bishop of Strasburg, was

now condemned as invalid. As the monastery was directly subject to the Holy See, no contract could be made between the monks and a layman without the sanction of the Apostolic Council. Burchard authorized the monks to borrow the 6,300 florins from the Strasburg Chapter, with which to repay the Knight of Sickingen; and to repay the Chapter at the rate of 315 florins annually, giving a mortgage on the possessions of the monastery. This transaction was signed on September 13th, 1490, between the monks of Hohenburg and the Chapter of St. Thomas of Strasburg, represented by John Burchard, its Dean.

After the expiration of his holiday at All Saints, at which time he was just returning to Rome, Burchard does not resume his Diary until August 8th, 1491, thus leaving a gap of fourteen months. No document states whether he obtained an extension of his holiday, or whether, if he returned to Italy at the appointed time, he resumed his duties at the Court of Innocent VIII. The latter, who had been ailing in health for more than two years, grew weaker every day. He sustained a severe shock at the news of the death—on April 8th, 1492—of his friend, Lorenzo de' Medici, whose youngest son, Giovanni, nominated a cardinal on March 9th, 1489, at the age of thirteen, had just previously taken his seat amongst his colleagues. Burchard had been charged by the Pope to instruct the boy in all that he had to say and do on this solemn occasion; and he dwells with evident pleasure on all the ceremonial details, not omitting the smallest particular. On April 14th, 1492, a mass was celebrated at Sta. Maria-sopra-Minerva for the intentions of Lorenzo de' Medici. The following day Giovanni returned to Florence. A short time after his departure, Ferdinand, the son of Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, having been reconciled to the Holy See, to which he had bound himself to pay an annual quit-rent, came to Rome to render homage to the sovereign Pontiff. During his sojourn in the City he assisted at the Ceremony of the Reception of the Sacred Spear-head, which the Sultan, Bajazet II., offered to the Pope to propitiate him. Doubts were raised as to the authenticity of the Relic, and opinion was divided as to whether or not it should be received with due ceremony, as in the event of its being proved not to be genuine, the Papal court would be held up to ridicule. It was even suggested that it was merely an ordinary spear-head, deliberately sent by Bajazet in order to bring Christianity into disrepute. Finally, however, it was decided that the Relic should be received with honour, and some of the cardinals wished to proclaim a public fast on the day of its arrival. But Burchard, true German that he was, made a totally different proposal. He felt that a fast would anger the public, who would "blaspheme God's holy name instead of hallowing it," and that some would "blaspheme . . . instead of showing devotion." He therefore suggested that, in order to add to the popular rejoicing, fountains of wine should be placed along the route to be taken by the procession. His proposal was submitted to the Holy Father, and received his sanction; and the Ceremony was conducted according to Burchard's arrangement.

This was the last event of importance towards the close of the pontificate of Innocent VIII. Two months later he died of decline. His death is not entered in the Diary, which stops short at June 14th, 1492.

Whatever interest and value it may possess for the historian, that part of the Diary which deals with the rule of Innocent VIII. would scarcely have rescued the name of its author from obscurity if he had not also recorded the pontificate of Alexander VI., who was elected Pope on August 11th, 1492. Alexander's character and his knowledge of the world, no

less than the simoniacal methods which he employed, commended him to the choice of the Sacred College. Essentially a political Pope, religion was for him only a means of increasing his influence and strengthening his authority.

The pontificate of Alexander VI. surpassed that of Innocent VIII. in length. A corresponding change takes place in Burchard's Diary, which faithfully reflects the course of events from day to day. Under the rule of Innocent VIII., Burchard interests himself in thoroughly restoring the ceremonial, noting political facts only when they serve to throw light on matters which he wishes to make clear. Under the pontificate of Alexander VI., he devotes some attention to political and anecdotal accounts of the time: in this way vastly adding to the interest of his Diary. Hence historians have repeatedly caused only the latter part of his work to be published, and have ignored the first part which deals with the preceding Pope's reign. By reason of a fresh gap in the MS., for which no documents of which we have any knowledge could possibly account, that part of the Diary which was written during the pontificate of Alexander does not commence until December 2nd, 1492, on the first Sunday in Advent. The account of the Conclave, the practices of the cardinals, the first acts of the new Pope, and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere's retreat from the Vatican, are thus all missing. In order to repair this *lacuna*, copyists have inserted the corresponding part of Infessura's Diary, the entries in which stop at the April of 1494. They have been at some pains, moreover, to note in the margin the name of the author to whom they have had recourse. The passages introduced by copyists into Burchard's text are recorded, and are treated of in notes. Some of the later copyists have republished them, others have omitted them, according as they have endeavoured to give a complete picture of the reign of Alexander VI., or only Burchard's account.

Continuing the method he employed at the beginning of his Diary, of noting down every detail of his functions, Burchard devotes a great part of Vols. II. and III. to relating anecdotes and historical events of the time—not at all, as some one has said, in a bitter or envious spirit, but simply to give a trustworthy description of his hero, the Pope, who was much more the temporal prince than the spiritual head and ruler of the Church; and it is a matter of astonishment to the reader to find Alexander VI., who was involved in every State intrigue, and played the chief part in European politics of the fifteenth century, at the same time taking the keenest interest in every detail of worship, settling a point of law, and discussing the position of a prelate in chapel, or the colour of a stole. It is by the help of Burchard's minute descriptions that we are able to reconcile all the contradictory elements in this many-sided character, in its relations with politics, war, government, love and religion, never losing its vigour throughout the whole pontificate of eleven years, begun at the age of sixty-six.

1494.—The House of Aragon had been reconciled to the Holy See. The Pope appointed his nephew, the Cardinal of Monreale, as his legate at the coronation of the King of Naples, Alphonso II., to invest the latter with royal authority. Burchard, attended by seven servants, was chosen by the Pope to accompany the legate, Juan Borgia; and the embassy set out from Rome on April 20th, 1494, on its journey to Naples.

His account, which is of the utmost interest to the historian, the archæologist and the student of ceremonial, contains a description of an excursion which the Master of the Ceremonies made in the neighbourhood

of Naples. Burchard visited in succession Agnano, Lamera, La Solfatara, Pozzuoli, Baia, and more especially the Palace of Tripegoli, one of the favourite residences of the Neapolitan kings, which, forty-four years later, was completely destroyed in the general ruin of the district caused by the sudden upheaval of the Monte-Nuovo in the centre of the Lago Lucrino.

On his return to Rome in the following May, Burchard wrote a short summary, by the aid of one of his colleague's notes, of the events which had taken place during his absence. He found every one preoccupied by rumours of a French invasion, and six weeks later he himself attended at the interview between the Pope and Alphonso II., at Vicovaró, for the purpose of discussing the best measures to be taken in defence of the kingdom of Naples against the French King's attacks.

Charles VIII., unabashed by the Pope's threats, and the hostile preparations of Alphonso, advanced triumphantly without impediment across Italy. He took Florence on November 17th, and issued a manifesto in which he gave his reasons for attacking the House of Aragon, and at the same time avowed his loyalty to the Holy See. But this explanation did not allay the Pope's keen anxiety, which was beginning to give place to despair when his hopes were revived by the Duke of Calabria's arrival at Rome. His confidence thus restored, he informed the ambassadors of his refusal to grant the King either a right of way through ecclesiastical territory, or permission to purchase supplies therein for his troops.

At the same time he called upon Burchard, with many of his countrymen, to take up arms in defence of the Holy See. The foreigners' reply to this call, albeit couched in terms of respect, betrays no great loyalty to the person of the Pope. At this date a letter arrived from Raymond Perrault, a Frenchman by birth, who had been made Cardinal of Gurk "at the recommendation of the King of Rome, his son, and the electors of the Empire," addressed "To his well-beloved brothers and friends and the other members of the Curia, of German nationality, who dwell at Rome—the subjects of his illustrious highness the Archduke Philip."

The cardinal therein stated that if a good understanding between the Pope and the King of France were lacking, it was through no fault of the latter. He added further that "the king had given stringent orders that the Germans living in Rome were not to be looked upon as enemies." And he threw open his palace to them in the event of their being forced to seek for safety.

The Cardinal of Gurk offered to grant Burchard his own church, with certain restrictions. It is probable that Burchard found these somewhat burdensome, as he decided not to accept the offer—"from pecuniary considerations" and not, as he remarks, because of his own "incompetence."

Affairs were hastening to a crisis. King Charles marched on Rome. Burchard was commanded by the Pope to interview His Majesty in order to make arrangements for the entry of the French troops into the Eternal City. "On Wednesday, Dec. 31st," he writes, "in compliance with the commands of our Holy Father, the Pope, I rode into the camp of the King of France, in order to acquaint him with the ceremonial of his reception; and at the same time to receive and carry out his instructions. I was accompanied by the Rev. Father in God, Bartholomew, Bishop of Nepi, the Pope's secretary; Jerome Porcari, Auditor of the Court of Rome; Dean Coronato de Planca; Mario Mellini; Christopher Bufalo, Chancellor of the City; and James Sinibaldi—all Roman citizens. Two miles from Rome, near Galera, we met the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli and the Cardinal of Seville, both of

whom I acknowledged without dismounting. Soon after the King himself came to meet us, whom we all deferentially saluted, likewise without dismounting, on account of the mud and the rain, and His Majesty's rapid progress. The Bishop of Nepi imparted to the King the message of our Holy Father concerning His Majesty's reception. I likewise discharged my mission. The King made answer that he wished to enter Rome at once without ceremony. I humbly expressed assent; and Lord Jerome Porcari then swore absolute allegiance on behalf of himself and every Roman. The monarch said a few words in reply, without referring to the offer which had been made him. The deputation withdrew—and the King, summoning me to his presence, conferred with me for the space of about four hours—questioning me concerning the Ceremonies, the character of the Pope, the matter in hand, the character of the Cardinal of Valentia, and many other details which I had some difficulty in answering satisfactorily."

1495.—Continuing his account in minute detail, Burchard betrays his dislike of French supremacy; and his attitude is in strong contrast to the extravagant praise voiced by Jaligny, Andrew della Vigna, Peter Defrey, John Bouchet, and others. From the official notices glorifying the French King's success, it is refreshing to turn to an enemy's account, even though the bitterness is carefully veiled.

Burchard's high position at the Roman Court did not altogether shelter him from the drawbacks of the invasion. For example, one day, on his return from the Sistine Chapel, he found his house filled with French messengers sent by the governor of the district, and saw his horses and mules driven out of their stalls, and the steeds of the new-comers put in their place. He hastened to the King to protest against this treatment, and the monarch referred him to the Marshal of Gié. The latter favourably received his petition, which was backed by three cardinals, among whom was the Cardinal of St. Denis, and assigned another dwelling-place to the intruders.

In spite of the King's express command, his men-at-arms—and more especially the Swiss—acted as though they were in an actively hostile land. Houses were sacked, citizens slain, and Jews massacred; even the house of Vanozza, the Pope's mistress, was not spared. In consequence of this treatment, the attitude of the people, which had been favourable to the French cause, changed to discontent.

Official notices then, as at the present time, gave no details; but we find these in various letters, as in that written by the Bishop of St. Malo, William Briçonnet, to Queen Anne of Brittany.

Charles VIII., having gained the Pope's submission, agreed to render him filial obedience. This he formally expressed on January 19th, but without paying any attention to Burchard's instructions.

On the following day the Pope celebrated a solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, in honour of the King. Burchard tells us of his inability to satisfy the King's curiosity concerning the ceremonial used at the mass. The King's constant query was "Why? Why?" to every explanation the Master of the Ceremonies attempted to make.

Charles VIII. quitted Rome a month after he had entered it, and continued his march towards Naples, which he took on February 22nd. Soon afterwards he returned to France, after completely routing the Italian rebels. Hearing that Ferdinand II. had returned to Spain, Charles determined to make another onslaught on Italy. But the Peninsular States and the other European powers were resolved to frustrate another attempt. They were strengthened in their determination by the hopeless position of

the French garrison at Naples, which had been left unsupported through Charles's culpable neglect.

1496.—On July 16th, an alliance was formed between the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, the Pope, and the States of Venice and Milan, of which the object was to expel the French from Naples, to oppose the invasions of Charles VIII., and to prevent Pisa from falling again under the yoke of Florence, an ally of France. On the 29th day of the same month the Spanish Cardinal of Saint-Croix, Bernard of Carvajal, “an ambassador of the Holy See to the Court of Italy, Germany, and any other Court to which it might be necessary to send him,” left Rome on an embassy to the German Emperor. The following day Burchard joined him at Otricoli. Two months later he returned to Rome, after a violent dispute with the cardinal, occasioned by the latter's refusal to defray the expenses of his journey. Burchard resumed his Diary with his customary regard to detail, after a general summary of the events which had taken place at Rome during his absence. He continued his entries to the end of the year 1496—which completes the second volume of the original MS., as indicated by the signature reproduced on several of the copies.

1497.—*A note-book is begun.* This note-book, as Burchard calls it, is the kind of daily record to which we apply the general term “Diary.” He begins by enumerating his qualifications and the dignities which he had acquired during his term of office. They reveal the ardour with which he sought worldly wealth. Besides his early benefices, he afterwards acquired the deanery of St. Florence of Haslach, his native town; the provostships of St. Martin of Colmar, St. Mary, St. Germain, and St. Ramdoald of Granval; as well as the dioceses of Strasburg and Basle.

His wealth was great, for although the benefices were not all of equal importance, together they formed a very considerable source of income. Moreover, Burchard belonged to that type of mercenary German which Wimpheling condemns:—“However well off they might be with regard to pensions and allowances, they would nevertheless covet the smallest benefice, even if it produced only an income of a few ducats, and they would cheerfully reply to any who reproved their greed: *This or that benefice will pay for mustard, or saucepans, or brooms!*”

Like the majority of the German functionaries at the Roman Court, Burchard lived at the Borgo. His house was situated near the Church of St. Mary-Transpontina, not far from the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Sassia, which latter was restored by Sixtus IV. His retinue was that of a high dignitary of the Church, and of one who appreciated comfort and luxury. Burchard shared with his countrymen their proverbial weakness for good living, and especially for good wine. Paris de Grassis has not concealed this very decided weakness of Burchard's, which produced the gout that eventually caused his death. But, on the other hand, Grassis is unable to assail Burchard's morality, which so bitter an enemy would certainly have done had there been the slightest justification.

As in the Diary of the preceding years, the details of the ceremonial give place to the notes on political events. Among the latter, the account of the second Duke of Gandia's assassination is decidedly the most important. Burchard himself seems to have been inspired by the horror of this occurrence, which he describes with a simplicity amounting to eloquence. There is in the Diary another gap of about two months; and the entries recommence on Monday, August 7th, with a note on the funeral of Cardinal de Luna. This gap may be due, as Gregorovius seems to think, to Burchard's having intentionally interrupted his Diary after his

account of the terrible deed perpetrated on the night of June 14th; or perhaps the *lacuna* which appears in all the MSS. does not exist at all in the original. Moreover, it was at that date that Burchard was putting the finishing touches to the *Liber Pontificalis*, which he had revised with the help of Jacob de Lutiis.

His new work was no other than the *Pontificale Romanum*, which he and Patrizzi had already compiled. It now appeared, with certain alterations judged necessary by the authors, who inserted at the beginning of this second version, Patrizzi's dedication to Innocent VIII. Patrizzi had died in the preceding January.

1498.—The year 1498 was made memorable by the death of Charles VIII., followed by the execution of Savonarola. This latter event furnished Burchard with an excuse for restating the reasons for the trial of Savonarola, and for reproducing conversations which he had overheard. It is strange that no historian who has studied Savonarola's character has ever deemed it worth while to consult Burchard's disinterested opinion, which fully agrees with that of the Roman prelates and the Pope in condemning the Dominican.

In the narrative of the Master of the Ceremonies we find the same calumnies which the Augustinian friar and the partisans of the Medici had circulated throughout Rome; also the same absurd suspicions raised by the preacher Mariano de Genazzano, whose outrageous exaggerations had estranged several members of the Sacred College who had been most favourably disposed towards Alexander VI. Here, as elsewhere, Burchard avoids any discussion or any expression of private opinion.

Business affairs requiring his presence in Germany, he obtained leave, and set out from Rome on June 31st, not returning until October 30th.

1499–1500.—The last months of the year 1499 were occupied with preparations for the Jubilee celebration, which was to commence in the following year; and for which the Pope partly revised the ceremonial. According to Burchard, this revision is very valuable, and has been placed in Du Cange's *Glossary* by the new editors. The Jubilee filled the coffers of the Holy See to overflowing, and was an immense success, as it furthered the political schemes of the Pope and his son in the war which the latter was waging against the petty potentates of Romagna. The taking of Forli and the defeat of Catherine Sforza overwhelmed the Pope with joy; and he prepared for Cæsar a triumphal entry into Rome. He also rewarded him by making him gonfaloniere of the Holy Roman Church and captain of the army of the Holy See, and bestowed upon him the Golden Rose. The bacchanalian festivities celebrated at Rome in his honour aroused little wonder in the minds of the foreigners gathered together from every part of Europe to gain the Jubilee Indulgences. But surprises awaited them.

The Pope had commanded the cardinals not to absent themselves from Rome during the Jubilee year. This he had done for various reasons, one of which was that the critical situation of Italy—torn by internal strife, and threatened by invasion from Turkey and France—had made it necessary for the Pope to seek the counsel of the Sacred College. Another reason was that the immense number of pilgrims—which caused a poet to write that “the great world was contained in a single city”—urgently necessitated the presence of the cardinals at Rome, where they would, by their co-operation, increase the dignity of the religious ceremonies which took place each day. It was also necessary for all functionaries and officials of the Curia to be present. Burchard's position as Master of the Ceremonies made it of the

utmost importance for him to be in Rome this particular year. His Diary reveals how incessant his duties were.

On August 23rd, he accompanied the households of the Pope and the cardinals to meet the French ambassador, Louis de Villeneuve, Baron of Trans. The Spanish and Neapolitan ambassadors accompanied the Master of the Ceremonies. When they had come into the presence of the French ambassador, they saluted him with these words only: "Siate il ben venuto!" Burchard inquired whether they had anything further to say, and they replied in the negative. Upon which the French ambassador made answer: *Qui non vult aliud dicere, non vult responsum*; and he rode on his way, accompanied by his escort, to his residence at the Santi Apostoli.

Burchard's name figures in an Act which was passed three days after, on August 26th, at the Chapter of St. Thomas of Strasburg, which had met to arrange the order of nomination to vacant cures. The seal of the Master of the Ceremonies, who was Dean of the Chapter, is affixed with that of the witnesses of the Act. This leads us to think that in certain cases of importance, where opinion was divided amongst the members of the Chapter with regard to what measures are to be taken, the absent members were allowed to send their vote in writing.

1501-2.—The large number of pilgrims decided the Pope to prolong the Jubilee, and to postpone the closing of the golden doors of the four ancient basilicas, until the Eve of the Epiphany. The ritual which accompanied this ceremony at St. Peter's is carefully recorded by Burchard, and his account is of interest, as he has assigned the preceding year for the closing of the doors. In his account, Burchard repeats a conversation which he had had with one of the penitentiaries of the Basilica of St. Peter regarding certain confessions which the latter had received in his official capacity. They are far from edifying—but the stolid Master of the Ceremonies repeats the facts with a complacency that cannot be disturbed.

In the same manner, he relates the story of the supper which Cæsar Borgia gave to fifty courtesans in his apartments at the Vatican, in the presence of the Pope himself and his sister Lucrezia. It is this last narrative which has aroused the ire of the apologists of Alexander VI. against Burchard, and has caused him to be accused of immorality—an accusation which he merits far less than most of his contemporaries, Paris de Grassis among them. The dissolute life led by the Pope and his son was, however, no secret, for neither of them troubled to hide his vices. It is astonishing, however, that Lucrezia should have been present at this orgy, for after her engagement two months previously to Alphonso d'Este, she had behaved with great caution. There is, however, no doubt that an orgy did take place at the Vatican on Sunday evening, October 31st. The Florentine orator, Capello, bore witness to the fact in a letter addressed to the Signory a few days afterwards, as follows:—"The Pope has not been to St. Peter's of late, for the feast of All Saints, nor for All Souls, nor to the chapel. They say that he has taken cold,—but that fact did not hinder him on Sunday evening, All Saints' Eve, from sitting up until midnight with the Duke, who had invited courtesans and public women to the Vatican. They spent the night in dancing and rioting." There is no mention of Lucrezia in this letter. As Burchard has not stated that he himself was present at this debauch, nor that he himself saw Lucrezia in the company of her father and brother, we may give her the benefit of the doubt in the absence of more trustworthy information from unassailable witnesses. Apart from the description of the scene in which stallions were let loose upon mares, this passage is the only one in the Diary in which

Lucrezia is represented in an unfavourable light. In every other instance Burchard refers to her with respect and even with sympathy. As Gregorovius has remarked: "Burchard has so little malignity of character that he is almost silent with regard to Alexander's private affairs. He practically never refers to them, except in the case of well-known offences, which he is careful to palliate, and quickly dismiss." Paolo Capello, the Venetian ambassador, relates how Cæsar Borgia stabbed the young chamberlain, Perotto, who was hiding under the Pope's mantle; but Burchard does not even mention the incident.

The same ambassador—one of Ferrara's agents—stated openly that Cæsar had assassinated his brother Juan, the second Duke of Gandia, but Burchard does not utter a word on the subject. He tells nothing further than that Cæsar was the cause of his half-brother's death. The relations of the members of the Borgia family with one another, or with foreigners such as the Farnese, the Pucci and the Orsini; the intrigues at the Papal Court; the many crimes perpetrated therein; the tyranny; the corruption, and many other evils which are mentioned in political despatches, Burchard wholly ignores. He refers only once to Vanozza, and then indirectly. There are in all only two statements in his Diary which have been seriously challenged: one is the account of the orgy of the fifty courtesans at the Vatican, and the other is the accusation made against the Borgias in the anonymous letter addressed to Silvio Savelli.

These passages are found in all the extant copies of the Diary, and are doubtless taken without alteration from the original MS.

A proof of the authenticity of the charge contained in the letter to Savelli is found in the fact that Marino Sanudo also corroborates the circumstances in his Diary. A proof, moreover, of the veracity of the story of the orgy at the Vatican is contained in the fact that the author of this same letter refers to it as of common knowledge. Matarazzo of Perugia also bears independent testimony, for he can have been acquainted with Burchard's MS. only by hearsay. He protests his belief in the truth of the story, "as the facts are well known and are attested by witnesses throughout Italy as well as in Rome itself."

Far from slandering his masters, Burchard goes out of his way to present them in as favourable a light as possible. For example, in relating Alexander VI.'s journey to Piombino, in the February of the same year, he praises the courage exhibited by the Holy Father. The galleys which bore the Pope and Cæsar were turned towards Corneto, on account of the rough weather and the rolling sea. Cæsar Borgia, fearing that the tempest would increase in violence, left his galley, embarked in a boat and landed. Sending to Corneto for horses, he hastened thither as soon as they had arrived:—

"The Pope was unable to land; the passengers and crew were mad with fear—and, unable to keep their footing on account of the big seas, were flung headlong about the deck. The Pope alone, seated on a chair in the stern of the vessel, maintained his presence of mind; and when the waves broke over the galley, he uttered the name of 'Jesus,' and made the sign of the Cross. He frequently summoned the sailors to prepare the meal, but they excused themselves, saying that they could not light a fire on account of the violence of the sea and wind. When the sea was a little calmer, they were able to fry a few fish for the Pope. In the evening of that same day, he landed with his retinue at Port Hercules, and sent to Corneto for carriages, which arrived the next morning."

Burchard's sympathies were wide, and his charity of heart great. When

Bartholomew Florido, having been found guilty of forgery, was thrown into a dungeon of the Castle of St. Angelo, there to end his days *in pane doloris et aqua tristitie*, Burchard addresses this prayer to God:—"May the Almighty in His infinite pity, love and mercy, deign to endue this unhappy wretch with resignation and gratitude, for that he may now save his soul!"

And in relating the death of the Cardinal of Modena, Giovanni Battista Ferrari, the object of universal detestation, he ends a very pathetic account with these words:—"It grieves me sorely to think of his cruelty towards the poor, and his indifference concerning his own salvation. For he always treated me with generosity and kindness. May the Almighty have pity on his soul."

Burchard showed the same indulgence when he was himself the victim of another's ill-doing. Three weeks before his death, a thief was brought to him who had been caught in the act of robbery by a servant, as he was about to decamp with a rich booty of money, jewels and clothes. Instead of handing him over to justice, Burchard merely reappropriated his possessions, and drove the thief away, "sending him to the Devil to be rewarded as he deserves."

A few days after the Cardinal of Modena's death, which event caused the utmost satisfaction, Burchard took horse *in nomine Domini*, to go to Strasburg. He returned to Rome on November 12th. Relying on the notes of his colleague Gutteri for the principal events which had occurred during his absence—as was his custom when he had been away from Rome—he wrote a few sentences which show the care with which he reported every circumstance which related to the ceremonial, and the importance he attached to every detail of his office. On August 26th, the Cardinal of Agrigentum celebrated a solemn mass in the Sistine Chapel in honour of the Pope's anniversary. He was assisted by the Bishop-elect of Belluna, Bartholomew Trevisan (nephew to the Cardinal of St. Angelo), whom Gutteri, the Master of the Ceremonies, placed after the Bishop of Hereford, Adriano de Castello, although the Bishop of Belluna was of older standing than his colleague:—

"Upon my return to Rome," says Burchard, "I drew Gutteri's attention to the mistake which he had made. He replied that he had in his mind the order of assistant promotion, and not of episcopal promotion; that if he had listened to the advice of the Bishop of Belluna, he would have been obliged, to his shame, to acknowledge his error. He had therefore persisted in it. I was unwilling to show severity on this occasion, as I knew that Adriano was not long to continue a bishop, but was shortly to be made a cardinal."

1503.—The following year, which was the last of Alexander VI.'s pontificate, was remarkable for the extinction of the petty potentates of Romagna. The Pope warmly supported his son, and outdid him in assassination. The same blind confidence which had caused the allies to place themselves in the hands of the Pope, took possession of Cardinal Orsini. Although he had been warned by many people, and even by some children, not to rely on the Pope's word, and to distrust his wiles, he would pay no attention to these friendly counsels, but merely boasted that his quarrels with the Pope had always turned to his own advantage.

This confidence was his ruin. On January 3rd he was arrested at the Vatican, whither he had repaired to congratulate Alexander VI. on the victory gained by Cæsar, and was imprisoned in Torre di Nona. At that time, Rinaldo Orsini, Archbishop of Florence, the secretary Orsini,

Jacopo da Santa-Croce and Bernard d'Alviano, were all immured in the same citadel. On February 22nd, Cardinal Orsini died in the Castle of St. Angelo. Burchard cautiously announces this event without further comment or detail:—"Our Holy Father commanded Bernard Gutteri, my colleague, to arrange the funeral of the deceased. I myself will not attend the ceremony nor have anything to do with it, as I have no wish to learn aught that does not concern me."

The Diary here ends, for the time being, and is not resumed until August 12th, thus leaving a gap of five and a half months.

At the time of Orsini's funeral, the Pope was at the point of death. On August 18th he expired, after having received extreme unction at the hands of Pietro Gamboa, Bishop of Carignola. Throughout his illness, Alexander never once uttered the names of his daughter Lucrezia and his son Caesar, both of whom he had dearly loved. Burchard superintended the funeral rites of the deceased Pope, who was first attired in his pontifical robes and laid in state at St. Peter's in the Chapel of Fevers. A month later, the Cardinal of Siena was elected Pope, in place of Alexander VI., under the title of Pius III. Shortly afterwards he promised Burchard the Bishopric of Orta. Cardinal Ascanio, who was very friendly to the Master of the Ceremonies, would have liked him to have had the richer bishopric of Nepi, and spoke to the Pope to that effect; but the Pontiff replied that he had appointed Antonio Alberici to be Bishop of Nepi. Two days later Pius III. favoured Burchard with an interview, and nominated him to the See of Orta, authorizing him to continue, if he wished to do so, in his office of Master of the Ceremonies, or to exchange it for some benefices, but forbidding him to sell it. A few days later, Pius III. died, and on October 31st, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was elected his successor, under the title of Julius II. This Pope ratified Burchard's nomination to the Bishopric of Orta, promising him a harnessed mule, a cope, and a rochet. In the secret council of November 29th, Julius created four new cardinals, appointed Burchard Bishop of Orta and Civita Castellana, and sanctioned his continuance in his benefices and in his office of Master of the Ceremonies.

After the council, Burchard repaired to the Vatican. The Pope presented him with a magnificent cope of purple camlet and a rochet. He commanded, moreover, that the caparisoned mule should be led to Burchard's house, and enjoined the Bishop to come to the Vatican in his robes the next day, to acknowledge his appointment at the hands of His Holiness. On returning to his own home, Burchard was tonsured. The following day he rode to the palace, accompanied by Lucas Rinaldi, the Emperor's ambassador, and the Bishop of Castro; the former riding on his right, the latter on his left. He was also attended by prelates, by orators from Bamberg and by many of his friends. A few days after he was again the recipient of the Pope's bounty. At Burchard's request, the Pope graciously allowed him to wear his surplice over the rochet before he was ordained; commanded the major-domo to include him amongst the prelates of the palace; and also generously paid the expenses of his bulls, besides granting him other favours.

1504.—Such was the esteem in which Burchard was held as Master of the Ceremonies to Julius II., that he was emboldened to break his promise to make James Wimpheling summisariat at St. Thomas's Church at Strasburg. Although two Popes in their turn had promised this little benefice to Wimpheling, and although Wimpheling had friends in the Roman Court itself, he had perforce to withdraw his claims in favour of a certain Leonard

Bellendin, a protégé of Burchard's. This Bellendin was a natural son of a priest, the Canon of St. Pierre-le-Vieux at Strasburg, and was disqualified by the stigma on his name from holding any benefice. Burchard had no scruples, however, in furthering the interests of this "benefice-hunter" at the expense of the upright and learned Wimpheling and in direct opposition to the wishes of the Chapter of St. Thomas. In spite of the Chapter's support, the gentle scholar was ousted, and withdrew from further conflict, leaving the matter, so he said, "in the just hands of God."

Burchard was not content with this flagrant act of injustice, but obtained sentence of excommunication against those members of the Chapter who had opposed Leonard Bellendin's election. This sentence was not withdrawn until eight years after, in 1512. We cannot excuse Burchard's conduct in this case, for he only consulted his own interests; and, in order to conciliate the Pope, with whom Bellendin was a favourite, he did not shrink from committing a twofold injustice—even when about to enter upon the sacred office of a bishop. He was consecrated in the following April, together with five other prelates, in the Sistine Chapel, by the Cardinal of Beneventum.

He dwells with evident pleasure on the ceremony, at the end of which the Pope entertained at dinner several cardinals, a few members of the diplomatic corps, and the newly consecrated bishops. The Holy Father sat at a table by himself, the cardinals and orators sat at another, and the new bishops dined in a saloon in the Borgian Tower. After the meal was ended, Raphael Riario, Galeotto della Rovere and Vice-Chancellor Ascanio, begged the Pope to nominate Burchard Referendary of Favours. Julius II. graciously acquiesced; and Burchard, conducted by the camerlengo, advanced to kiss the feet of His Holiness. If we can believe Paris de Grassis, there is another version of this story, which represents Burchard as being nominated to the said post merely for reasons of policy. But we cannot rely on the testimony of so jealous a witness. Grassis, we know, had asked the Pope, on December 24th of the previous year, to grant him the post of Supernumerary Clerk. Burchard objected, as Grassis would likewise have done in his place, to having him as one of his colleagues. Nevertheless, at Julius II.'s request, he was allowed to fill Bernard Gutteri's place in the following May, subject to certain conditions. On the 25th of the same month he commenced discharging his functions at St. Peter's, and on the 28th the Pope confirmed his nomination.

Burchard, having spent more than two weeks at his bishopric of Orta and Civita Castellana, returned to Rome on June 27th, to attend the funeral of Cardinal Casanova. He set out again on July 4th for his episcopal church, whence he again returned to Rome on August 15th to be present at the annual mass for the repose of the soul of Alexander VI. Eight days after, we find him again at Civita Castellana, where he remained over a month. He reappeared at Rome on Tuesday, October 8th. Julius had been ailing for some time, but his strong constitution had prevailed against the disease; and on the following Thursday Burchard visited the Pope, who received him favourably and instructed him to prepare a thanksgiving mass in acknowledgment of his recovery. Burchard immediately set to work. He added to the Missal the mass which His Holiness had commanded; and it was celebrated by the Holy Father, after it had been submitted for his approval.

1505.—An attack of gout obliged Burchard to keep to his room. From this time forth, his failing health forces him to transfer the cares of his office to his colleagues. His Diary becomes more condensed; there are

few of the digressions into history and anecdote, with which it had abounded. He again visited his church at Civita Castellana, where he stayed for two months, and was honoured by a visit from the Pope, who remained for eight days in the old city. Burchard could never rest idle for any length of time, and although so crippled by gout that he could not leave his chair, on Sunday, September 14th, he insisted, after high mass, on being carried to the citadel where the Pope and his retinue resided; and there solicited the Holy Father for the vacant post of writer. But the Pope refused to grant his request on this occasion, in spite of the two thousand ducats which Burchard offered. Julius II. continued his journey, and did not return to Rome until October 19th. Burchard soon followed him thither.

On November 16th he witnessed the marriage of Laura Orsini, the daughter of Julia Farnese and Pope Alexander, with Nicholas della Rovere, nephew to the Holy Father. This union did not fail to surprise Rome, and Italy as a whole, for the Pope's hatred of the Borgias was well known; and people had not yet forgotten that in the previous year His Holiness had insulted the memory of Alexander VI., by issuing a bull which re-established Guglielmo Gaetani as ruler of Sermoneta, a former dependency of Lucrezia Borgia and her eldest son Rodrigo.

"The adulterous wife," says Paris de Grassis, "the mistress of Pope Alexander VI., the butt of all the satirists of Rome and Italy, now entered the Vatican as the most distinguished woman in the Roman aristocracy, for the purpose of uniting her daughter with the Pope's nephew. The late Pope seemed thereby absolved from all his former crimes." Burchard describes in full the union, which had taken place at the Vatican. The notary, Camillo Beneimbene, an old friend of the Borgias, had drawn up the settlement. Among the various gifts made to the young bride, was the Castle of Basanello, situated within the diocese of Orta. This may account for Burchard's signature appearing in the marriage contract. On December 30th, the Vice-Chancellor invited to dinner the young married couple, four cardinals, and five ladies, amongst whom were the beautiful Julia, and Felicia della Rovere, a natural daughter of Pope Julius II. The following year Felicia married Giovanni Orsini.

Julius II. continued friendly to Burchard, and soon gave him further tokens of his confidence and friendship. In December, he entrusted him with his seal, and sent him to the Castle of St. Angelo to sign documents in his name. A few days later Burchard dined with the Pope, but at a separate table—which fact he was careful to state—and Julius assured him of his affection, and promised to grant him other favours.

1506.—On March 23rd, Burchard went to Viterbo to take the waters, probably at the famous spring of Bulicame mentioned by Dante in his *Inferno*:

*Quale del Bulicame esce 'l ruscello
Che parton poi tra lor le peccatrici.*

The waters of "il Bulicame" were extremely popular even in Burchard's time, and each year attracted the fashionable society of the neighbourhood and the great prelates of the Roman Court. It was, moreover, the resort of pretty sinners—"honest courtesans," as Burchard terms them in his Diary. Burchard was soon forced to quit this attractive place, in order to superintend the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Basilica of St. Peter. After Julius II. had blessed the stone, masons

placed beneath it a vase containing two gold and several bronze medals, with a representation of the Pope on one side, and on the other a plan of the building.

Burchard received one of these medals. Possessed by envious hatred against his colleague, Paris de Grassis declared that he had stolen it. In spite of this unfounded accusation, Burchard continued in the Pope's favour, of which he was soon to receive a fresh token. A post as abbreviator had become vacant, and the Holy Father was so anxious that Burchard should fill it that he affixed his signature to the deed of gift without payment and defrayed the expenses of the bull and further signature besides.

But the newly-appointed incumbent did not long enjoy the benefits of his new office, as, in less than a month after his nomination, he died on Saturday, May 16th, 1506. "His end was melancholy"—is the comment of the friend who added a few lines to the Diary, which was left unfinished at an entry made on April 27th of that year.

On May 17th, Burchard's body was removed to the Monastery of Sta. Maria del Popolo, where it was buried in the Cardinal of Salerno's chapel. Raphael Lippi Brandolini, who was one of the numerous company of prelates, and a friend of the deceased, preached the funeral oration in memory of that Master of the Ceremonies, of whose death and burial we know nothing further.

His Diary, however, remains, and is the most valuable record we possess of the history of the Popes from the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth. Rinaldi constantly quotes from it, and considers it "a history of undoubted merit and value." Moreover, the ecclesiastical writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries use it as the basis of their information.

Burchard's detractors, following the opinion expressed in an ambiguous document by Leibnitz, persist in ranking him as a mere scandalmonger wishing to wreak vengeance on his masters by secret calumny. It is easy to see the absurdity of these accusations. Burchard's Diary will always remain the authority for all serious research into the history of the Papacy at the dawn of the Renaissance.

A Life of Alexander VI. has yet to be written, for the absurd sketches of his character which have been published can hardly be regarded as serious works.

As to the literary style of the Journal, it is written in barbarous Latin; but the rugged simplicity of the language lends to it a certain charm, which occasionally amounts to eloquence; as, for example, in the passages describing the murder of the Duke of Gandia, the illness of Cardinal Ferrari, and the grief and the death of Alexander VI.

Besides the Diary and some published works written in collaboration, which have already been mentioned, Burchard is the author of a Book of Ceremonies, to which he constantly refers in his Diary. At the present time, it may be found amongst the records kept in the Vatican; and there, as Eccard states when writing in 1743, it will probably always remain.

If we are to believe Father Leonetti, Burchard's original MS. is not in the Vatican at all, and, he adds further, "it would be unfair to accuse the clergy of having destroyed it." The copies which were made of Burchard's Diary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were prepared rather for the purpose of studying the ceremonial, according to Roman rule, than for serving as additional witness to the history of the Papacy during the years

The first page is blank. On the second page is written in a back-hand:—

<i>Annus</i>	1484	<i>usque ad fol.</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	60
"	1485	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	83
"	1486	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	106
"	1487	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	123
"	1488	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	141
"	1489	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	165
"	1490	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	203
"	1491	<i>usque ad finem libri, videlicet</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	230

Pontificatus Sixti quarti in fine vite sue usque ad fol. 4.

Sedes vacans per obitum Sixti quarti usque ad fol. 28.

Innocentii VIII. Pontificatus usque ad fol. 230 videlicet finem libri.

Liber incipit die 21^{is} aembris 1484 usque ad diem 14^{am} junii 1491.

(Pauli Aluleonis Magistri Ceremoniarum S. D. N.)

It must be mentioned that the above numbers, attached to the folios, are not accurate. They run correctly from folio 1 to folio 199 inclusive. Thence onwards to the last, which has been altered from 227 to 237, there are inaccuracies. The writing in the MS. is firm, close and legible. Notes on the text are written in the margin.

At the end of folio 237, which is written on both sides of the paper, appear two blank pages, followed by an alphabetical index with notes written in two columns by the same hand. This index fills nine and a half pages. Then follow six blank pages.

The two gaps which occur in the record of Innocent VIII.'s pontificate appear in this MS., from which the present text is a translation.

Rome. Vatican Library: No. 7838. Burchard's Diary. Not mentioned by Forcella.

Rome. Corsican Library: No. 980. Innocent VIII.'s Diary. Nat. Libr. fds: Moreau, 1267, folio 193.

Paris. National Library: fds: lat: 5521. Three paper volumes, bound in calf, bearing the arms of Loménie of Brienne on the cover, and his monogram on the back. Having previously been bought by Colbert, they were numbered 5310. They then passed into the King's Library, and were numbered 16932. This MS. was preceded by the one by Infessura, which in Colbert's Catalogue was numbered 5309. It extended from the year 1483 to 1492.

fds: lat: In the catalogue which was rearranged by Baluze for Colbert (B. N. lat. 1184, f. 281) we find:—No. 235. The notes of John Burchard, the Master of the Apostolic Ceremonies of the City under the Pontificate of Innocent VIII., extending from the year 1483 to 1492. Numbered 235 in Colbert's Catalogue; in the King's 2920. The MS. was copied in 1668. It is preceded by Infessura's, numbered 234 in Baluze's Catalogue. Its records end in the reign of Alexander VI.

Paris. National Library: fds: lat: 5158. *Codex chartaceus olim Mazarincus. Lib[er] c[eremonie] (?) Innocentii VIII. (1483-92).* This MS. appears to belong to the sixteenth century.

CLASS 2 (1492-1503).

Rome. *Vatican Library*. 5628, 5629, 5630, 5631, 5632, 5915. For description of these MSS., see Forcella, *Catalogo dei manoscritti che si conservano nella biblioteca Vaticana*, t. I., pp. 61-63.

Paris. *National Library*: . . . 5522. Four volumes in vellum (Baluze), dating from 1492 to 1502. Written in the seventeenth century. *Ancien Baluze* 779. Continued in No. 5521.

MS. 5160, written on vellum, dating from 1492-1503.

13,734-7 (from 1492-1503).

CLASS 3 (1497-1503).

Paris. *National Library*: lat: . . . 5161. Written in the sixteenth century, dating from 1497-1503.

5162. Catalogued as follows by Baluze: (*Nouv. lat.* 1184, folio 282.) *Ejusdem Burchardi Commentarii rerum Urbanarum ab anno 1497 usque ad annum 1521* (sic). *Codex Colbertinus* 236; *Regius* 224²⁰: *scriptus in charta manu recenti*. It is followed by Paris de Grassis's MS. (237, 238, 239).

Florence. *National Library*: 153. This MS. dates from Jan. 1st, 1497, to Dec. 25th, 1502. It is written at the close of the sixteenth century.

CLASS 4 (1500-1503).

Paris. *National Library*: lat. . . . 11,909 (Montfaucon, *Miscellanies*, t. III. of folio 39 to folio 146 v.); comprises the years 1500 to 1503. St. Germain-des-Prés, p. 145, No. 7 (corresponding work of the scholars of the congregation of St. Maur). Portion of a small MS. in folio, written in an Italian hand, comprising a record of events in Rome from 1500 to 1503 (lat.).

Paris. *National Library*: 1516. An ancient Italian MS. of Foreign Missions, 345, one folio, XVII. s. (1).

CLASS 5 (1483-1506).

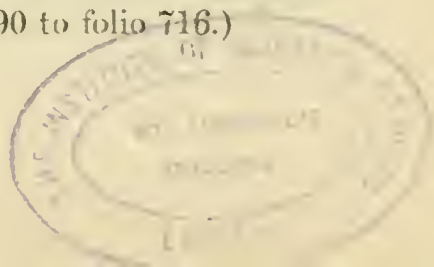
Rome. *Vatican Library*: 8673, 8674, 8675, 8676. Described by Forcella, Vol. I., pp. 242-243.

Rome. *Library in the Chigi Palace*: Former numbers, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835; quarto size, 5 vols. B. N. fds: Moreau 1658, fol. 218; 1670, fol. 221. (Notice by Lacurne of the sacred palace, 2160 to 2164.) These five volumes are bound in parchment and written on ruled paper. They belong to the seventeenth century. The first volume comprises the index and contains 712 ff. chiffrés; the second volume contains 689; the third 433, without an index; the fourth 462; and the fifth, without index, contains 198. Then follow 230 pages. (See also notices 2165 and 2166. *Id.*)

The following are the altered numberings:—

Vol. I., L. i, x. *Joannis Bruccardi ab anno 1483 usque ad annum 1491*.

Vol. II., L. i, xi. 1492 *ad annum* 1496. (From folio 1 to folio 689, besides an index comprising folio 690 to folio 716.)



- Vol. III., L. i, xii. 1497 *usque ad annum* 1499. (Comprising folios 1 to 433, besides an index filling folios 435 to 469.)
- Vol. IV., L. i, xiii. *Anno Jubilei* 1500.
- Vol. V., L. i, xiv. *Anno* 1501 *usque ad 30 maii* 1506. (Comprising folios 1 to 198; the pages are numbered afresh from folio 1 to 230. There is no index.)
- Florence. National Library*: 6 folio volumes, written in the seventeenth century.
147. *A die* 26 *januarii* 1484 *ad* 31 *decembris* 1487. Follini, the librarian, puts a note: *Fuit Antonii Magliabechii.*
148. *A die* 12 *januarii* 1488 *ad* 14 *junii* 1492 (the same indication as above).
149. *A die* 2 *decembris* 1492 *ad* 27 *decembris* 1496. In folio 348, at the foot of the page, one finds written in the same hand, *Originale est apud Rmum. D. cardinalem S. Angeli.* The same remark is found in the Roman MS. No. 5629, folio 155, and in the Paris MS., folios 160 and 271. (See Vol. II., p. 346, note 1.)
150. *A die* 1 *januarii* 1497 *ad* 5 *julii* 1500. *Fuit Antonii Magliabechii.*
151. *A die* 23 *junii* 1500 (*sed re veru* 9 *julii* 1500) *ad* 22 *februarii* 1503. *Fuit Antonii Magliabechii.*
152. *A die* 12 *augusti* 1503 *ad* 30 *mai* 1506. *Fuit Antonii Magliabechii.* Also the following note, written in the same hand:—*fol. 222 recto notatur mors auctoris Joannis Burchardi, quae accidit die 16 maii 1506. . . Desinit itaque Burchardi diarium die 27 aprilis, reliqua quae mortem ipsius et alia pauca usque ad 30 maii narrant, fortasse a Bernardino Gutterio scripta sunt; de quo Marinus AUCMATRI PONTIFICII, t. II., p. 260, nota 7. Idem Marinus ibidem nota 3 ab autore anonymo Diarii mortem Burchardi narratam fuisse (eadem certe phrasi satis lamentabiliter) narrat, sed de oratione funebri habita a Raphaelo Lippio, nulla in nostro codice mentio habetur.*
- London. British Museum*: 26,803–7 (*ab anno* 1483 *usque ad annum* 1506).
- Munich. Royal Arch.*: 135, 136, 137, 138. A very full summary is given of these MSS. in the *Catalogus codicum MSS. bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, III., pp. 25, 26. These MSS. form part of the collection copied at Rome by Panvinio, in fourteen folio volumes (132–145), under the general title of:—*Libri caeremoniarum Curiae Romanae vetustiores, item Diaria magistrorum caeremoniarum. Collegit et tomis XII. (hic voluminibus XIV.) in usum Joannis Fuggeri transcripsit Onuphrius Panvinus ord. erem. S. Augustini.*

Denis Godfrey published in 1649 some extracts from Burchard's Diary relating to Savonarola, along with the evidence in Comines' *Memoirs*. His son published, in his *Observations on the History of the Reign of Charles VIII.*, a long passage from it, which referred to the king's entry into Rome and his treaty with the Pope. The extract in question came under the following heading: "An account of Charles VIII.'s deeds in Rome. The agreement made between the latter and Pope Alexander VI., concerning Djem Sultan, the brother of the Grand-Seigneur. The interview between the King and the Pope and the ceremonies performed by the Pope in appointing Cardinal William Briçonnet, Bishop of St. Malo." *Extract from the Diary of a Master of the Ceremonies at the Roman Court* (p. 710). Rinaldi borrowed freely from Burchard to enrich his series of the

Annales Ecclesiastici by Cardinal Baronius. Soon after, Leibnitz published from one of Burchard's MSS. which he had found in the Library at Wolfenbützel, some extracts relating to the pontificate of Alexander VI., under the designation of: *Specimen Historiæ Arcanæ, sive anecdota de vita Alexandri VI. Papæ seu excerpta ex Diario Johannis Burchardi Argentincensis, capellæ Alexandri Sexti Papæ clerici Cerebmoniarum Magistri*. Hanover, 1696, quarto volume of 108 pages, containing Latin, Italian, and French extracts. As this work was very fragmentary, Leibnitz intended publishing a selection from Italian writers only, including Burchard's entire Diary, taken from a MS. his friend La Croze had discovered in Berlin. He was unable to carry out his plan; but Ecard published the MS. in Volume II. of his *Corpus Historicum* (1743), referring, in his arrangement of the work, to the Wolfenbützel MS. (preface xviii). These unfinished and imperfect MSS. can only be the work of very inferior scholarship. At the close of the eighteenth century, Foncebague wrote a description of the MSS. of Burchard and Bréquigny, preserved in the Chigi Palace; and gave a very interesting account of the MSS. of the Diary in the King's Library.

In 1854, Achille Gennarelli published in Florence an account of the pontificate of Innocent VIII., and the first two years of that of Alexander VI., taken from the MSS. in the Library of the said city. But the obstacles placed in his way by the Grand Duke of Tuscany's government, and the annoyances to which he was subjected, obliged him to abandon the publication of the Diary, which had been copied as far as May 15th, 1494.

The value of the matter which Burchard's Journal contains for the historian, the liturgiologist, and the archæologist, induced M. Thuasne to undertake the difficult task of publishing it in its complete form. The translator, who has based his edition on M. Thuasne's text, will be rewarded if the reader finds therein matter of interest and study, in spite of the many defects in his work.

Here and there, more especially in the second and third volumes, a few passages have been left in the original, as they would not admit of translation into the vernacular, for reasons sufficiently obvious.

In the Appendices a few additions have been made: two of historical importance have not, so far as the translator is aware, been observed or published previously, viz. the extracts from the *Bullarium* and the *Regesta* of Pope Leo X., proving the existence of Alexander VI.'s tenth child, born during the final year of his pontificate. These important documents have been ignored, if known at all, by those who have attempted the rehabilitation of Alexander VI., for example Père Ollivier, O.P.; Padre Leonetti; the Abbé Clément; and Frederick Baron Corvo.

The documents appended to each of the three volumes of the Diary suffice to establish the accuracy of such statements in it as have been questioned by admirers of the House of Borgia.

Some uninteresting details, such as long lists of names, repetitions in pontifical and legal documents, and the like, have been omitted.

The text is particularly corrupt in Vol. III., where a few unintelligible sentences have been deleted.

It remains to add that this Introduction is substantially a translation of that of M. Thuasne.

SYNOPSIS

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APPENDICES

- 1.—Vespucci's despatch to Lorenzo de' Medici on June 16th, 1484.
The Pope had internal trouble and a malignant fever.
The astrologers predict his death in June.
- 2.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 12th, 1484.
The Pope's condition grows worse. His swollen tongue will not allow him to articulate. Competitors for the papacy.
- 3.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 12th, 1484.
The Pope's condition is alarming.
- 4.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 12th, 1484
The Pope has had an attack of heart failure.
His condition is hopeless.
- 5.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 14th, 1484.
The Pope is dead. Ascanio, in spite of the opposition of a few of the cardinals, succeeds in gaining admission to the Conclave.
- 6.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, on August 14th, 1484.
When the Pope had expired, the cardinals repaired to the Palace and deputed some of their number to make an inventory of his effects. The mob sacked the house of Count Riario, Girolamo della Rovere. The whole city is in arms. Messer Jacopo Conti is appointed to defend the Palace.
- 7.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 15th, 1484.
Yesterday evening, Count Girolamo della Rovere took up his position with his troops on the Ponte Molle, in accordance with the desire of the Sacred College. The Castle of St. Angelo is held for him. There are two parties, whose respective leaders are Borgia and Giuliano della Robbia.
- 8.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 15th, 1484.

- After the Pope's death, the Sacred College wrote to Count Girolamo requesting him to remove his camp from Paliano to the neighbourhood of the Ponte Molle. Yesterday the count, together with Lord Orsini, removed thither his troops. The countess, who had been camping with her husband, entered the Castle of St. Angelo at the same time.
- 9.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 18th, 1484.
The count is ready to obey the commands of the Sacred College. He has no intention of fleeing. The funeral ceremonies have begun. Della Rovere, Savelli, Colonna and Molfetta have not fled from danger so much as from fear lest the Castle of St. Angelo will fall into the hands of the count. The Roman citizens fear lest it will be an occasion of great offence, and that only bloodshed and dissension will arise therefrom. The city is armed, and the cardinals' palaces are barricaded. The Colonnas recover the lands which they had lost.
- 10.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, on August 18th, 1484.
The corrupt practices of the cardinals. Borgia seeks to bribe his colleagues partly by money, partly by offers of offices and benefices. The count is inimical to St. Mark, Savelli, and the Cardinals of Lisbon and Molfetta. The count and the Orsini *casa* are united.
- 11.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 18th, 1484.
The count has commanded his wife to keep within the castle. The Cardinal of St. Mark's very much wishes to acquire the *pallium*. *It is necessary for him to be on the look out.*
- 12.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 21st, 1484.
Reflections of the ambassador on certain competitors for the papacy. Vice-Chancellor Borgia offers money, offices, his palace and his benefices, but *he is too much feared for his pride and want of good faith, to accomplish his aims.*
- 13.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 21st, 1484.
Cardinals Savelli and Orsini are reconiled at the house of the Cardinal of Navarre.
The resolution which they make.
- 14.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 23rd, 1484.
Decision made by the three cardinals. Count Girolamo della Rovere has received 7,000 ducats to pay his troops. Treaty entered into by the Orsini and the Colonna. The Conclave will open on or after Thursday. The Cardinals of St. Mark's and Lisbon have the most likelihood of gaining votes.
- 15.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 24th, 1484.
The French Bishop of Castres is appointed to the defence of the Palace. Various suggestions. On the morrow, the Conclave opens.
- 16.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 24th, 1484.
Corrupt practices of the cardinals.
- 17.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 24th, 1484.
Corrupt practices of the cardinals.
- 18.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 25th, 1484.
Corrupt practices of the cardinals.
- 19.—Copy of a letter written by the Dukes of Calabria and Bari to their ambassadors in Rome, August 26th, 1484.
The son of the King of Naples advises their ambassadors to proceed without violence and to keep clear of the election of the Cardinals of Lisbon and Molfetta, and Cardinals Savelli and St. Mark; and to deal cautiously with Borgia.
- 20.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 28th, 1484.
At the first counting of the votes, St. Mark had gained the greatest number. If fortune favours him he will be Pope. Giuliano della Rovere and Rodrigo Borgia, his avowed enemies, treated with their colleagues during the night, whilst the adherents of St. Mark were asleep, and made Cibo Pope. It was during these practices that Vespucci sent to Lorenzo de' Medici and the lords of Florence, the following despatches (Nos. 20-25), which faithfully describe the events of the close struggle between the Cardinals of St. Mark and Molfetta, which was finally decided in favour of the latter on the following day, Sunday, August 29th, at about one o'clock.
- 21-22.—Despatches from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 28th, 1484.
- 23-25.—Despatches from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 28th, 1484.
- 26.—Despatch from Vespucci to the Ten of Balia, August 29th, 1484.
Details of the election of the new Pontiff. A description of the latter.
- 27.—Despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 29th, 1484.
The Cardinal of Molfetta is elected. His character. Details of the election. Rewards granted by the Pope to those who have given him their vote.

- 28.—Despatch from Loeti to Lorenzo de' Medici, August 30th, 1484.
Fresh details of the election and character of the Pope.
- 29.—Despatch from Ludovico and Francesco Ursi, April 19th, 1488.
Account of the assassination of Count Riario.
- 30.—Despatch from Stefano de Castrocaro to Lorenzo de' Medici, April 21st, 1488.
Another account of the assassination of Count Riario.
- 31.—Letter from Ardicino della Porta to Pope Innocent VIII., on his recall to Rome, June 12th, 1491.
- 32.—Despatch from Laufredini to the Eight of Pratica, March 9th, 1488/9.
Zizim has arrived at Civita Vecchia. The first creation of cardinals.
- 33.—Letter from Canon Bossus to a friend (*s. d.*). Entry of Zizim into Rome. Account of the prince. The King of Naples attempts to assassinate him. The hireling he employs for this purpose, when put to the question, discloses his criminal intentions.
- 34.—Account of Zizim by William Caoursin. (Extracts.)
- 35.—Charge laid by the king on the Lord of Blanchefort and Anthony Gimel to escort the Sultan Zizim from the territory of the Church.
- 36.—Petrus Beneficiatus's account of the entry of Zizim into Rome (*s. d.*).
- 37.—Instructions given to the Lord Bishop of Lombes, the Abbot of St. Denis, the Lord Prior of Auvergne, the Lord Abbot St. Anthony Hautbois, Benoist Adam, Michael Biquent, Anthony Delleurs, John of Candida, John Briçonnet, John Lienans, all the Councillors and William Bongier, the king's secretary, regarding their services to our Holy Father the Pope, September 16th, 1491.
- 38.—Letter from Bernardo del Roi, January 7th, 1492. Entry into Grenada of the King and Queen of Spain.
- 39.—Letter from Canon Bossus to Archangelo Vicentio, March 14th, 1492.
Giovanni de' Medici is created a cardinal.
- 40.—Letter from Peter Dauphin to Guido, the Prior of Anges, April 7th, 1492.
Account of Giovanni de' Medici's journey to Rome, and his reception there.
- 41.—Letter from Jacobus Antiquarius to Politiano, April 18th, 1492
Account of the death of Lorenzo de' Medici.
- 42.—Politiano's reply to the same, June 15th, 1492.
The same subject.
- 43.—Letter from Peter Dauphin to Ventura, April 12th, 1492.
The same subject.
- 44.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 15th, 1492.
The Pope's condition is hopeless. The city is quiet. The cardinals are outside Rome, but only a short distance, so that they can return in a few hours.
- 45.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 16th, 1492.
The physicians despair of the Pope's recovery and discontinue their remedies. The cardinals are on their return to Rome. The ambassadors place the troops of their respective governments at the disposal of the Sacred College.
- 46.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 17th, 1492.
According to the physicians, the Pope can live two or three days longer. The cardinals yesterday brought the head of the spear used at the Crucifixion of Christ. The Pope replied suitably. He requested the cardinals' permission to leave to his relations 48,000 ducats.
- 47.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 19th, 1492.
The Pope's condition is hopeless. His end is praiseworthy and edifying. The people are quiet. The College seems united.
- 48.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 20th, 1492.
In the night the Pope's condition improved, but the physicians do not alter their verdict. The cardinals assembled this morning, and took the necessary precautions to maintain order.
- 49.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 21st, 1492.
The Pope is dying. Within and without the Palace, men behave as though he were already dead.
- 50.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 23rd, 1492.
The Pope is at the last gasp. He has sucked a little milk from the breast of a woman. He will not last through the next day. The cardinals consult as to what steps to take to assure public peace. Yesterday the Colonna and the Orsini offered their possessions and persons to the guardians of the Capitol. Corrupt practices increase.
- 51.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 25th, 1492.
Yesterday at an assembly of Cardinals, the Cardinal of St. George was chosen to represent the authority of the cardinalate. The Abbot of St. Denis, the French ambassador, is appointed Governor of Rome. Zizim has been transferred

to the apartments above Sixtus IV.'s Chapel, where he will be in as safe custody as in the Castle of St. Angelo. Corrupt practices are rife. The city is in arms.

Deeds of vengeance are performed *tru questi Romani*, as is the custom under these circumstances.

52.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 26th, 1492.

The Pope is dead. Arrangements made by the cardinals: offers made by ambassadors. The College appears united and ready to act in concert: everything points to the probability of a peaceful settlement. The States of the Roman Church are in readiness for war, but are as yet undisturbed. The city is patrolled. The funeral rites of the Pope will begin on Saturday. On the 10th, the Conclave will commence.

53.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, July 28th, 1492.

Since the Pope's death, there has been no event of importance. The barons endeavour to influence the cardinals to elect a Pope who will be favourably disposed towards them. The funeral rites have commenced, and will last for eight days. Throughout that time corrupt practices will continue. The favourites are the Cardinals of Naples and Sta. Maria in Porticu. But no great significance can be attached to the reports, which are constantly changing.

54.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, August 1st, 1492.

Corrupt practices of the cardinals.

55.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, August 3rd, 1492.

The majority of the cardinals are in favour of the Cardinal of Naples, but this circumstance is not necessarily significant.

56.—Despatch from Valori to the Eight of Pratica, August 6th, 1492.

The voting in Conclave by the cardinals. The Cardinals of Naples and Lisbon are apparently the two favourites. The city is tranquil.

57.—The Conclave of Alexander VI. by Michael Ferro of Milan.

Account of the death and funeral of Innocent VIII.; and the cardinals' entry into the Conclave.

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JOHN BURCHARD'S SEALS.

Facing page 1.

THE NOTES OF
JOHN BURCHARD

MASTER OF THE APOSTOLIC CEREMONIES

ON

ROMAN AFFAIRS DURING THE PONTIFICATE OF POPE INNOCENT VIII.

FROM 1483-1492

SEEING that it behoves a Master of the Ceremonies to pay heed to individuals, I, John Burchard, clerk of the ceremonies in the chapel of His Holiness our Lord the Pope, will note below the things which happened in my time which appeared to be connected with ceremonies, together with, at least, some external affairs, so that I may the more readily give account of the office entrusted to me.¹

1483.—*On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, on the 21st of December, the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, I was received as Master of the*

¹ It appears from this passage that Burchard wrote the Diary merely for his own private use, and that there was no official reason for him to do so. Later, the Master of the Ceremonies of the Apostolic Chapel was bound to keep a register of the events connected with his duties. Paris de Grassis, a colleague of Burchard in 1504, who succeeded him after his death, states this fact in the following words (*Paridis de Grassis, Diarium*, B. N., MSS. Lat., 5164, fol. 1 onwards): “*The Master of the Ceremonies is bound to set down in writing all that happens from day to day in connection with his office,*” and further on, fol. 4: “*Before I came into office, although the ambassadors of the King of England had entered the city, I was not obliged to make any note of this fact, seeing that I had not been requested to do so, us, [in fact], each of the two masters is wont to be, nevertheless . . .*”

And, in fact, we do not know of any diaries written by the predecessors of Burchard. On the other hand, we find extant, in unbroken order, the diaries of his successors, as may be seen from the frequent quotations of Rinaldi, and from the analysis made of them by M. de Bréquigny in his *Notices and Extracts of the MSS. of the King's Library*, Vol. II., p. 626 *sqq.*

Likewise, in 1499, this same necessity of keeping a diary was imposed upon the Chamberlain of the Sacred College. We read in the *Decrees of the Consistory from Alexander VI. to Urban VIII.* (B. N., MSS. Lat., 12,555, v. onwards):—

“*9th January, 1499.—The Most Rev. Lord Card. of Santa Croce decrees that certain reforms and additions be made concerning the office of Chamberlain to the Sacred College, to the advantage of the Most Rev. Cardinals, which reforms and additions are noted below, word for word; after they had been examined and fully approved, it was decreed that they were to be preserved for posterity.*”

“*In the first place, namely, that the Most Rev. Lord Card. Dean of the Sacred College, each year, at the end of his term of office, should be bound to produce and shew a statement of the money spent during his term of office, and of that which is in hand, and of what was repaid in his time, and how much belongs to deceased cardinals. This statement must be written at the end of the book of his year, to the effect that the Chamberlain who succeeds him may the more readily understand the pecuniary condition of the Sacred College,*” etc.

Ceremonies by the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Adriano,¹ Bishop of Ardicino della Porta, *locum tenens* of the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Bartolommeo, Bishop of Città Castello, master in the chapel of His Holiness our Lord the Pope, and by his command, for the first of the chants in the said chapel, I was set down for a *bastardello*, although on the Sunday before, namely *Gaudete in habitu*, etc., I had entered for the first time upon my duties: but I was admitted to the conduct of the ceremonies much later, that is, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of January, 1484, by the authorities of the Apostolic Church, in place of the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, Canon of Siena,² who was afterwards appointed to the churches of Pienza and Montalcino, and who retired from this post and office; and, when his resignation was accepted, I was prepared for the post by these same authorities, through the most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Sixtus IV., Pope by Divine Providence, by his apostolic decree dated the third day after the Kalends of December, 1483, in the thirteenth year of his pontificate.

And for this I paid the aforesaid Lord Bishop of Pienza, together with the attendant expenses, a total of about 450 ducats auri, in gold of the Chamber, as I have noted more exactly in the *bastardello* of the receipts from this kind of office. These were the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church at the time of my appointment to the said office, both resident in the diocese of Rome and outside it. The following are resident:—

Bishops.

Rodrigo, Bishop of Porto, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church.
Olivero, Bishop of Sabina, Cardinal of Naples, of the Holy Roman Church.

¹ Ardicino della Porta.—All the MSS. give “Lord Adriano, Bishop of Ardicino della Porta.” In the course of the Diary they appear to have in turn *Adriannus*, *Ardinus*, *Arduinus*, *Andrinus*, *Ardicinus*. This is doubtless due to the copyist, who must have failed to understand the abbreviations in the original text.

The text must have been exceedingly difficult to decipher, if, as was probably the case, Burchard had it written in the same hand which he had used for the books referring to the ceremonial. Paris de Grassis says that only an oracle could interpret the latter, and that Burchard must have employed the devil as copyist (*Par. de Grassis Diarium*, B. N., MSS. Lat., 5164, fol. 339 *sqq.*): “No man can understand the books which he had inscribed from the like, unless the devil, or, at all events, a sibyl, acted as his advocate, for he inscribed them in ciphers, or very obscure characters, or letters erased and smeared over, so that I think he must have had the devil himself for a copyist.”

However, in Garimberto we find a case in which *Ardicinus* and *Adriannus* are taken as synonymous, namely *La prima parte delle vite ovvero fatti memorabili d'alcuni Papi e di tutti i Cardinali passati*.—(Venice, 1567, Book I., p. 120.)

The title runs: *Di Ardicino secondo della Porta d'Innocentio ottavo*; and, immediately below, one reads: *Se Adriano della Porta . . .*”

In the remaining two chapters devoted to this cardinal, Garimberto always calls him *Ardicino*.—(See Book III., p. 253, and Book VI., p. 482.)

² Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini was Master of the Ceremonies of the chapel of Pope Paul II. He relinquished his office to Burchard, 26th January, 1484. Less than a year afterwards, 24th December, 1485, Patrizi resumed his duties in place of Antonio Rebioli. On 31st May, 1488, he abandoned them for good. He was succeeded by Aldello Piccolomini. Mabillon is therefore doubly mistaken when he asserts that Patrizi was first Master of the Ceremonies under Innocent VIII., and then Bishop of Pienza, in 1483 (see *Museum Italicum*, Vol. I., p. 255, note, at the end of the *Life of Fabianus Benlius*); he was repeating the mistake of Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*, Venice, 1717, Vol. I., col. 1178), a mistake pointed out by Muratori in his preface to the narration of Patrizi: *De adventu Frederici Imperatoris* (Mur., *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Vol. XXIII., p. 203). See *Apostolo Zeno: Dissertazioni Vossiane*, Venice, 1755, Vol. II., Dissertation X., p. 96, where the author has given a scholarly biography of Patrizi; nevertheless, the very precise text of Burchard allows us to correct and complete this biography on several points. (See also the biographical notice of Burchard, Vol. I. of this edition.)

Marco, Bishop of Preneste, Cardinal of Saint Mary's.
 Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, Cardinal of Saint Peter's ad Vincula, Principal Penitentiary of the H. R. C.
 Battista, Bishop of Tusculum, Cardinal of Saint Mary's in Portico.

Priests.

Stefano, of the title of Saint Mary's in the Trastevere, Cardinal-Priest of Milan.
 Giovanni, of the title of Saint Praxedis, Cardinal-Priest of Novaro.
 Giovanni Battista, of the title of Santa Cecilia, Cardinal-Priest of Molfetta.
 Filiberto, of the title of Saint Paul and Saint John, Cardinal-Priest of Macon.
 Giovanni Michele, of the title of Saint Marcellus, Cardinal-Priest of Sant' Angelo.
 Giorgio, of the title of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, Cardinal-Priest of Lisbon.
 Girolamo, of the title of Saint Chrysogonus, Cardinal-Priest of Recanati.
 Gabriel, of the title of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, Cardinal-Priest of Agria.
 Giovanni, of the title of Saint Sabina, Cardinal-Priest of Aragon.
 Pietro, of the title of Saint Nicholas inter Imagines, Cardinal-Priest of Foscara.
 Giovanni, of the title of Saint Vitalis, Cardinal-Priest of Conti.
 Giovanni, of the title of Saint Balbina, Cardinal-Priest of Gerona.
 Giovanni Jacopo, of the title of Saint Stephen in Celio Monte, Cardinal-Priest of Parma.

Deacons.

Francesco of Saint Eustacio, Cardinal-Deacon of Siena.
 Rafael San Giorgio ad Velum Aureum, Cardinal-Deacon, Treasurer to the Lord Pope.
 Giovanni Battista in Carcere Tulliano, Cardinal-Deacon Savelli.
 Giovanni of Santa Maria in Aquiro, Cardinal-Deacon Colonna.
 Battista of Santa Maria in Dominica, Cardinal-Deacon Orsini.

The Cardinals who are not resident in the diocese of Rome, are the following, namely:—

Giovanni, Bishop of Albano, Cardinal of Anjou.
 Luigi, of the title of the Four Crowned Saints, Cardinal-Priest of Segorbe.
 Thomas, of the title of San Cyriaco, Cardinal-Priest of Canterbury.
 Pietro, of the title of Santa Croce in Jerusalem, Cardinal-Priest of Siguenza.
 Domenico, of the title of San Clemente, Cardinal-Priest of Turin.
 Carlo, of the title of Sant' Anastasio, Cardinal-Priest of Genoa.
 Elias, of the title of Saint Lucy in Silesia, Cardinal-Priest of Tours.
 Ascanio Maria, of Saint Vitus in Macellus, Cardinal-Deacon, Viscount Sforza.
 Pietro of Saint Cosmo and Saint Damian, Cardinal-Deacon Fosco.

The Masters of the Ceremonies were:—

[*February, 1484*].—Lord Antonio Petrioli, my colleague, accountant and associate, by whom I was received as a friend and fellow-worker, and

Giovanni Maria of Podio, assistant accountant, who was absent from the diocese of Rome, on an embassy with the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Clemente.

During the first part of this year, and especially up to the month of August, I did not note down in detail the daily routine of the chapel, but afterwards, when I saw that it was very important to do this, I took notes, as will be seen below.

On the Eve of the Nativity of Our Lord, there were pontifical vespers in St. Peter's Basilica. The Pope was present and officiated. But during the night matins were said in the larger chapel of the palace; the Pope was not present. However, on Christmas Day the Pope came in procession to the aforesaid Basilica, and celebrated, enthroned in the place assigned to him for this purpose, and all things were done according to the decrees laid down for ceremonies.

On the Day of St. Stephen, his Eminence the Cardinal of Novaro officiated in the larger chapel, and there was a sermon.

On the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, high mass was celebrated in the aforesaid chapel, and a sermon was preached.

On the Eve of the Circumcision of Our Lord, pontifical vespers were solemnized in the aforesaid chapel. On the day of the Circumcision, mass was celebrated, and there was a sermon.

On the Eve of the Epiphany, pontifical vespers were solemnized in the aforesaid chapel, and on the day of the Epiphany, mass was celebrated in the Basilica of St. Peter, and there was a sermon.

On the Second Sunday after the Feast of the Epiphany of Our Lord, on which [day] the Gospel was read: *Nuptie facte sunt in Cana Galilee*, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Silvester, Bishop of Cluny, celebrated high mass in the larger chapel of the palace in green vestments. The Pope was absent, the cardinals were present, and there was no sermon. Other rites were observed according to the custom.

On the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, there was a celebration of high mass: first the candles were distributed, and there was a procession. All the other rites were observed according to custom.

On Ash Wednesday, the Pope blessed the ashes in the larger chapel of his palace, and distributed them. A public mass was then celebrated, in which he himself took part. Some one, I know not who, preached a sermon.

On the First Sunday in Lent, pontifical mass was celebrated in the larger chapel of the palace, and there was a sermon, according to the custom.

[*March*].—*On the Second Sunday in Lent*, pontifical mass was celebrated in the aforesaid chapel, and there was a sermon, according to custom.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, there was pontifical mass and a sermon, in the same chapel, according to custom.

On Tuesday, 16th March, in the larger chapel of the palace, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Filippo, Bishop of Adriano,¹ celebrated public mass for the dead, according to the custom of our chapel, for the soul of Giovanni of blessed memory, of the title of St. Stephen on the Celian Hill, Cardinal-priest of Autum, who, after a long residence outside the diocese of Rome, in foreign places, has departed this life; may he rest in peace! After mass, according to custom, [the Bishop of Adriano] pronounced the Absolution; the Pope was absent, and only a few cardinals were present.

¹ According to Ughelli (Vol. II., col. 404), Martin was then Bishop of Adria. He was appointed October, 1472, and died in 1484.

On Wednesday, 17th March, His Holiness our Lord the Pope, Sixtus IV., in his secret council appointed the Cardinal-deacon the Very Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Ascanio Maria Sforza, Deputy of the Apostolic See, and Protonotary of the Holy Roman Church, and afterwards he assigned to him the chapel, and allotted to him the Church of St. Vitus in Mucello.

On Friday, 19th March, the Very Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Giorgio, priest, of the title of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus, commonly called Cardinal of Lisbon, was appointed ambassador to the Venetians, whither he will go to negotiate for peace; and from the council he was conducted to his house by the College of Cardinals.

On the Fourth Sunday in Lent, pontifical mass was celebrated in the larger chapel of the palace. The Pope came to it, carrying the Golden Rose in his hand, and afterwards taking it back, for on that occasion he did not give it to any one, and there was a sermon, according to custom.

On Tuesday, 23rd March, in the aforesaid chapel, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Pietro, Bishop of Narni, celebrated public mass for the dead, according to the custom of our chapel, for the soul of Francesco of St. Mary's, of blessed memory, of late years commonly called Cardinal-deacon of Mantua, and after mass he gave the Absolution, according to the custom; the Pope was absent, but some few cardinals were present.

On the Fifth Sunday in Lent, pontifical mass was celebrated in the aforesaid chapel, and there was a sermon, according to custom.

On Monday, 29th March, the Very Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Giorgio, of the title of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus, publicly proclaimed Cardinal-priest of Lisbon, Italian and Venetian ambassador, accompanied from the secret council, according to the custom, by the College of the Most Rev. Lords the Cardinals to the gate of Santa Maria del Popolo, set forth on his journey to Venice.

On Tuesday, 30th March, in the larger chapel of the palace, the Rev. Father Lord Filippo, Bishop of Ariano, celebrated public mass for the dead, according to the custom of our chapel, for the soul of Theodore¹ of blessed memory, publicly proclaimed Cardinal of Montiferrato, who, of late years residing beyond the diocese of Rome, in distant parts, departed this life. And, after mass, the Absolution was given, according to custom, in the presence of the Pope and a few cardinals.

[*April*].—*On Palm Sunday*, the Very Rev. Lord Giovanni, of the title of Santa Cecilia, publicly proclaimed Cardinal-priest of Amalfi, being vested in the usual manner, blessed the palms;² then, standing without a mitre before the centre of the altar, he distributed the palms, first to the cardinals without vestments, who, on receiving them at his hands, made as though they would kiss his hand; but he, withdrawing his hand and smiling, did not permit this. When he had given the palms to the cardinals, he sat down in the same place on the fald-stool, and having accepted the mitre, distributed palms to the prelates, and the other rites were then solemnized in the usual way. When all was ready he passed in a procession through the great court to the place appointed, where he distributed palms to the people. He then returned to the chapel, and

¹ Théodore Paléologus, son of the Marquis of Montiferrato, made cardinal by Paul II., September 18th, 1467, died 21st January, 1484. See Ciaconius, *Vitae et res gestae pont. rom. et card.*, Vol. III., col. 90; Candella, *Memorie Storiche de' Cardinali*, etc., Vol. III., p. 175, etc.

² All the MSS. give *candela* instead of *palma*. In the Florence MS. (147), fol. 5, *recto et verso*, the word *candela* is crossed out and in every case replaced by *palma*, in the handwriting of the day (end of the seventeenth century).

celebrated mass according to custom; there was no sermon. The Pope was not present.

On Wednesday in Holy Week the office of *Tenebrae* was said in the larger chapel of the palace. The Pope was not present, but the cardinals attended. At this service all things were done as the ceremonial directs.

On Munday Thursday the Very Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor officiated in the aforesaid larger chapel. The Pope was not present, and, when mass was over, the Vice-Chancellor bore the Host beneath the baldacchino from the larger to the smaller chapel. And, when the cardinals and prelates were vested, they formed a procession before It. When they had restored It to the same place, so that It might be reserved for the morrow, the cardinals and prelates went in their vestments to the Parrot Chamber to attend the Pope, who went in a procession under the baldacchino to the place of public benediction, where, after the cardinals had paid him the accustomed homage, the route to be followed was laid down. Then the Pope gave the Benediction, and a plenary indulgence, according to custom, and then returned to his chamber. Afterwards the aforesaid Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Vice-Chancellor washed the feet of thirteen poor men, according to custom.

On the evening of the same day the office of *Tenebrae* was said. The Pope was absent, as on the evening before.

On Good Friday, there was a service in the larger chapel of the palace, according to custom. The Pope was not present. Nevertheless, he who celebrated as the Pope's representative, offered twenty-two ducats at the Adoration of the Cross.

On the evening of the same day the office of *Tenebrae* was recited, as on the two preceding days.

On Holy Saturday, Easter Eve, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Parma officiated in the aforesaid larger chapel, according to custom. The Pope was not present.

On Easter Day, the day of Our Saviour's Resurrection, if I remember right, our Most Holy Lord the Pope went in procession to the Basilica of St. Peter, and from his throne celebrated mass and gave Communion to the people, according to custom. After mass he came in procession to the place of public benediction, and from there, wearing his tiara in state, he solemnly blessed the people.

On Easter Monday, a solemn mass was celebrated in the aforesaid Basilica. The Pope was not present.

On the Saturday in Easter Week a solemn mass was celebrated in the larger chapel of the palace. A certain bishop officiated. The Pope was not present.

[*June*].—*On the Eve of the Ascension of Our Lord*, pontifical vespers were sung in the larger chapel of the palace; and *on Ascension Day*, mass was celebrated in the Basilica of St. Peter. When this was over, the Pope came to the place of public benediction, and blessed the people, according to custom.

On the Eve of Pentecost, pontifical vespers were sung in the larger chapel of the palace. The Pope was present, and he led the hymn from the throne, standing.

On the Eve of Holy Trinity, pontifical vespers were sung in the larger chapel; and *on Trinity Sunday* mass was celebrated there. The Pope was not present; there was a sermon.

On the Eve of Corpus Christi, pontifical vespers were sung in the larger chapel of the palace; and *on the Day of Corpus Christi*, mass was

celebrated in the Basilica of St. Peter. But first there was a procession, according to the custom.

On the Eve of the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul the Apostles, solemn pontifical vespers were sung in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope was present, and began the service; and *on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul* the Pope celebrated mass in this church, according to custom. On his way to and from the church the Pope wore the tiara, emblem of his temporal sovereignty.

In this month, according to the report in Rome, the Very Rev. Lord Elias,¹ of the title of Santa Lucia in Silesia, recently proclaimed Cardinal-priest of Turin, of the Order of Friars Minor, died in the provinces, distant from the Roman See. May his soul rest in peace!

*On Thursday, 12th August,*² between the fourth and the fifth hour of the night, or thereabouts, in the Vatican at St. Peter's, in an upper chamber, over the court in front of the library, there died our Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Sixtus IV., Pope, by Divine Providence. May the Almighty of His goodness, deign to have mercy on his soul. Amen.³

After his death, all the Most Rev. Lords the Cardinals, who were present in the city, came to the palace, and passed through the chamber, wherein the deceased was lying on the bed, wearing a vestment over his cassock, a crucifix on his breast, his hands clasped together.

They paid the profound cardinalitial respects to the deceased, then they entered the great court near the said chamber, for the purpose of discussing what should be done.⁴

The Bishop of Ceuta was appointed Captain, or Governor of the Capitol; the Bishop of Cervia, Captain of the Gate of the Palace of St. Peter; to each of the City Gates were appointed apostolic scribes, together with solicitors and Roman citizens, and it was decided that all the princes, countries and officials should be informed of the Pope's decease.

Certain cardinals were appointed to guard the palace, and to transact any business which might present itself. After the fifth hour, Giovanni

¹ Elias de Bourdeille entered the Order of Friars Minor, and was a professor of theology. The fame of his sanctity led Sixtus IV. to elect him to the cardinalate. He died eight months after his nomination, 5th July, 1484. He is buried in the cathedral of Tours.—(See Fuzon, *Gallia Purpurata*, in fol. 1638, p. 530.)

² The MS. 147 of the National Library of Florence (Magliabecchi) gives all the preceding. I cannot tell why M. Gennarelli, who followed this MS. in publishing Burchard's text (*Joh. Burchardi Diarium*, Florentiæ, 1854 [1484-1894]), does not begin the Journal before Thursday, 12th August.

³ Here follows the despatch which Antonio Vespucci, Florentine ambassador to the Holy See, sent to Lorenzo de Medici:—

“Magnificent Lorenzo de Medici, of Florence,

“Mag. mau, etc. At this instant, the 5th hour, Pope Sixtus, of blessed memory, has departed this life. May God have pardoned him! Hitherto, nothing further has occurred. We will inform your Magnificence of what follows. I commend myself to you. From Rome, 12th Aug., 1484. GUIDO ANTONIO VESPUCCI, your Ambassador.”—(Arch. Mediceo innanzi il Principato, filza. 39, No. 320.)

The Pope had been ill for several months, when the news of the peace, which had been signed without his collaboration, hastened his end. See in the Appendix, number 1, a despatch (dated 16th June) from Vespucci to Lorenzo de Medici, informing him that, according to the astrologers, the Pope will die that very month. See also the despatches dated 12th August, from the Florentine ambassador to the Ten of Balìa (numbers 2 and 3), written several hours before the death of the Pope, and full of interesting details.

⁴ See *Diario di Roma del Notajo del Nantiporto* (Murat., *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Vol. III., p. 11, col. 1008).

Maria, my colleague, called upon me at my house, and I went with him to the aforesaid palace, to make the necessary arrangements for the burial of the deceased: but, prior to this, the Most Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor had arrived at the palace, and according to custom, he broke the seal used for the papal bulls, on which was engraved the name of the deceased Pope. Then, when the cardinals had assembled in the aforesaid place, they stopped up the mouth, nostrils, ears and anus of the deceased with silk, dipped in balm; and, with the assistance of the regular penitentiaries of the Basilica of St. Peter, who meanwhile chanted the office for the dead in subdued, but distinct tones, [standing] round the corpse, they bore [it wrapped] in the covering of the bed and in a certain cloth which formerly hung from the bed before the door of the aforesaid chamber, away from the aforesaid chamber to the lesser papal chamber, and there, about the tenth hour, they placed it naked in their midst, on a long table. The Abbot of San Sebastiano, the sacristan, had arranged a bier with torches, although that belonged rather to our office.

All the other rites were performed immediately, so to speak, as soon as the deceased had been borne away from the chamber; for, from that hour, until the sixth, despite all my diligence, I could not obtain one towel, linen cloth, or any vessel in which to place the wine and water and fragrant herbs for cleansing the deceased Pontiff, nor could I find drawers or a clean shirt in which to clothe him, although I several times besought the Cardinal of Parma, Pietro of Mantua, Lord Accorsio, Gregorio and Bartolommeo della Rovere, Giorgio his private sweeper,¹ and Andrea his barber, who were all his private chamberlains, and of his household, and who had received the best of treatment at his hands. At length the cook furnished me with hot water and a vessel² in which he was wont to heat the water for washing the dishes, and the aforesaid Andrea, the barber, sent for the basin from his shop.

Thus the Pope was washed, and since there was no linen cloth where-with to dry him, I caused him to be dried with the shirt in which he had expired, torn in twain. I could not change the drawers in which he died, and in which he was washed, for there were no others. He was clothed in a doublet without a shirt, and a pair of shoes of pink cloth, furnished by the Bishop of Cervia, who was also his groom of the bed-chamber, and, unless my memory fails me, a damask vestment, either red or white. In this I erred, for he should have been buried in the habit of St. Francis, to whose Order he belonged, worn over the holy pontifical vestments. And, since he had no rochet, we placed on him the holy vestments over the afore-mentioned things;—the sandals, amice, alb, girdle, and the stole crossed over his breast, because I could not have a pectoral cross, the tunic, dalmatic, gloves, the precious white chasuble, the pallium, the simple mitre, and the signet-ring, with its valuable sapphire, which the sacristan said was worth 300 ducats. Thus vested, we laid him on the bier which we arranged on the aforesaid table, with cushions at his head, and a pall of brocade, in the midst of the aforesaid chamber. There he remained until the hour of burial.

In the meanwhile, I entreated for wax candles, and, with great difficulty, about the fourteenth hour, these were produced, to the number of twenty. When these had been brought, without any office having been said round the corpse, the crucifix and the acolytes going first, the

¹ From the Italian *scopatore*, a sweeper.

² From the Italian *ramino*, a cauldron.

penitentiaries and the chamberlains carried the deceased as far as the first large court, that is to say, of the palace. Here were the canons and the beneficiaries and the clergy of the Basilica of St. Peter; from that place the aforesaid canons bore the deceased to the high altar. The procession passed over the staircase and through the court, the way by which the cardinals are wont to descend when they go out through the principal gate of the palace to the central court-yard; thence, turning in the direction of the steps of the Basilica, we entered the church.

The deceased was placed before the altar on the first step, next his head was placed towards the altar, and his feet outside the iron rails, in order that those who wished might kiss them, and the gates of the rails were closed.¹

They were afterwards opened for a short time, and the deceased was placed nearer the altar, so that all could freely enter and depart, and some guardians were stationed there, lest his ring or any other possession should be stolen. He remained in that place until the first hour of the night, or thereabouts, when the shield-bearers bore him away, and we walked in front with the afore-mentioned twenty wax candles; only eight cardinals followed. I noticed among these: the Cardinal of San Pietro ad Vincula, him of Novaro, him of Amalfi, him of Recineto, and certain others; after them came the prelates, and the ambassadors, and a great many others.

After the deceased had been carried, as stated, into the church, the cardinals withdrew; some went to the aforesaid palace, and others to their homes.

When they had partaken of a refection, the cardinals entrusted to me the ordering of a coffin in which to bury the Pope, and the arrangement for his burial in his new chapel of the choir of the canons and clergy of the aforesaid Basilica, which the deceased himself had ordered to be built in the same Basilica, about the middle of the same chapel, facing the principal altar, in the centre. They declared that the deceased had himself chosen this place for his burial, and moreover, I did this.

About the first hour of the night of Friday, 13th August, the body of the deceased was borne from the choir of the principal altar by the clergy of the said Basilica, in a procession, to the place of burial, and it was buried with all the vestments, precious ring and chasuble aforesaid. There, as it lay in the tomb, in a long, wide coffin of nut-wood, which I had ordered, Lord Achilles, Bishop of Cervia, who was the only prelate there, together with a few clergy, chanted the *Miserere* and a prayer. He sprinkled the deceased and the tomb with holy water, and we immediately covered the corpse with the pall. Then, according to the command and express injunction of the College of the Most Rev. Lords the Cardinals, I forbade the canons and the clergy of the aforesaid Basilica, under penalty of being deprived of their benefices, [to allow] any man to touch the

¹ Volterrano (?) attests these facts in his Diary (*see* Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Vol. XXIII., col. 200). Up to the seventeenth century, the death of a Pope was an occasion of which private individuals and rival parties availed themselves to avenge their wrongs, and this sort of civil war lasted until the new Pope was elected. For the disturbances which broke forth in Rome on the death of Sixtus IV., see *Diario del Notajo del Nantiporto*, in Muratori, Vol. III., col. 1088-9; also the Diary of Infessura in Eccard; *Corpus Hist. Medii aevi* (Leipzig, 2 vols. in folio, 1723), Vol. II., col. 1942-3, a text which I will select for quotation rather than that of Muratori, who has altered it in several places, as he himself acknowledges in his preface (Mur., Vol. III., p. ii., p. 1110).

deceased, or to dare to remove the said signet-ring, or the chasuble, or anything else.¹

I must point out that, on that morning, we erred in vesting the deceased; for, under the sacred vestments, he ought to be in the habit of the Order of St. Francis, in which he was professed, and not in the pontifical vestments. Moreover, in this habit Pope Alexander V. was formerly attired, and he had been professed in the same Order. And it is fitting, because he dies in that habit in which he is as a man, and he, being dead, is no longer the chief of men, therefore he ought to be buried as a man, and as what he was before he became Pope. In the meanwhile the rites necessary for the obsequies were performed.

The catafalque was placed in about the middle of the aforesaid Basilica, upon the second round stone there; it was five cannes long, and four wide; it was eighteen palms high up to its plane; the cover was ample enough for it to cover a considerable part of it.

The bier was six palms high exclusive of the mattress, it was fifteen palms long, and twelve broad. Throughout the church, the arms of the deceased were affixed to the walls and columns, painted on parchment; along the nave over the columns, cross-wise, are fitted brackets for 171 wax candles, if I remember right, and here and there round the coffin candlesticks for fifty wax candles. For the public mass to be celebrated each day within the novena, the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary was adorned, where the Sacrament is administered, so that the celebrant may sit at the head, beyond the side of the altar, whence the epistle is read, his face towards the gospel side, to the effect that the epistle and gospel may be read between the altar and the Image of the Blessed Virgin Mary placed there.

The cardinals were to sit on benches on the platform before the altar, the bishops and priests standing on the epistle side, and the deacons on the

¹ Burchard's detailed account allows us to conclude that Infessura, out of hostility towards the Papacy, must have exaggerated the facts when he writes (*Murat., Rer. Ital. Script.*, Vol. III., p. ii., col. 1183)—

“There was a certain man (Pope Sixtus IV.), swarthy, deformed, with a much distended stomach. All men cursed him, nor was there any who spoke well of him, except a certain Friar of the Order of St. Francis, who alone watched the body on that day, despite the evil odour.”

This text differs from that of Eccard (*Corpus Hist. Medi ævi*, Vol. II., col. 1942), whose description is even stronger—

“His countenance resembled that of the Devil, his soul was cursed by all who beheld him, and openly consigned to the Devil again and again.”

As M. Gennarelli justly remarks, it is improbable that Burchard would not have omitted these details, seeing that he makes a point of being so exact as to state whether the prayers were chanted in loud or in low tones. It is none the less true that Sixtus IV. was an unworthy Pontiff; he was greedy, avaricious, and above all things fond of war, and, as the pious and learned Muratori says of him (*Annal. d'Italia*, Vol. IX., p. 538)—

“This Pope must have had a heavy bill to settle at God's tribunal.”

In the face of such varying judgments passed upon this Pope, it is well to recall the remark of Mansi—

“Many speak ill of this Pope, few praise him, but one cannot place great confidence in either the detractors or the supporters, for, when the whole of Italy, and especially Rome, was split into factions, of which one favoured Sixtus, and another opposed him, each author in speaking of the Pope was actuated by party spirit.”—(*Ann. Eccles.*, Vol. XXX., p. 63, note 1. Paris ed. 1877.)

See Grégorovius's portrait of Sixtus IV. (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom. in Mittelalter*, 3 vols. in octavo). I refer to Manzato's Italian translation, Venice, 8 vols., 1876, Vol. VII., chap. iii., p. 35. The seventh and eighth volumes of this excellent work form the best commentary on Burchard's Diary.

gospel side. At the end of the bench for the bishops and cardinal-priests was a lower bench for the lay orators; at the end of the deacons' bench were several long benches for the prelates.

The credence of the celebrant was to be placed before the altar and the aforesaid image. Near the bier were placed a large number of benches for the other officiating clergy, in three lines, and a double transverse line. Wax was used on the first day. The torches for the cardinals and for the altar were each of seven pounds weight; there were thirty-two of four pounds each for the church, the bier, and the tomb; 230 torches of two pounds each for the prelates and the mourners; for the rest, torches of one pound each, five torches of half a pound for the shield-bearers, and of four ounces for the bier, and of two for low masses; of little candles—fifteen to the pound—thirty pounds.

The same number for the last day; for each of the days within the novena, thirty big torches for the cardinals and the altar, fifty for the bier and the tomb, that is to say, of four pounds each; torches of two pounds, four of one pound, three of four ounces, and for low masses, fifteen to the pound.¹

On each day, in the house of the Very Rev. Lord Rafaele, of San Giorgio (cardinal-deacon), chamberlain to the Lord Pope, there was a congregation of all, or of the greater number of the cardinals, for the purpose of discussing what should take place.

On the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary there was no solemn mass in the chapel of the Pope, for they said that the Very Rev. Cardinals were concerned with more important or other matters. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor announced this to me.²

On Tuesday, 17th August, the Very Rev. Lord Rodrigo (Borgia), Bishop of Porto, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, Chief of the Bishops and of all the Cardinals, celebrated the first public mass for the dead for the soul of Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, in the Basilica of St. Peter, at the above-mentioned altar of the Blessed Mary, with the accustomed ceremonies.

After mass, the General of the Order of Saint Augustine preached a sermon, the Very Rev. Lord Bishops of Naples and San Marco, the Cardinal-priests of Milan and Macon, together with the celebrant, gave the absolutions in the accustomed way. There were present the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal-priests of Lisbon, Recineto, Agria, San Clemente, Aragon, Foscaro, Conti, Girona, and Parma; the Cardinal-deacons of San Giorgio and Orsini, who, together with five others of the above-mentioned, occupied their own places in the church. Three hundred men, or thereabouts, were attired as mourners.

On Wednesday, 18th August, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Agria celebrated public mass in the aforesaid place for the soul of the aforesaid Sixtus IV., of blessed memory. After mass, he himself gave the absolutions, with four of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal-priests.

On Thursday, 19th August, at the aforesaid altar, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Ratisbon celebrated a public mass for the soul of the same, and

¹ In all the MSS. this paragraph has been mutilated, and is barely intelligible.

² See, in the Appendix, numbers 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, the despatches of Vespucci. (In this last despatch, dated August 18th, Vespucci informs his government of the attempts of Rodrigo Borgia to bribe his colleagues. He aspired to succeed Sixtus IV.) See also Infessura (*Eccard*, Vol. II., col. 1942 sqq.), and the *Diario di Roma del Not. del Nantiperto*, in Murat., col. 1089 sqq.

after mass he gave the absolutions, together with four more of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal-priests.

On Friday, 20th August, at the same altar, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated a public mass for the soul of the same, and after mass he gave the absolutions, together with four other Very Rev. Lord Cardinal-priests.

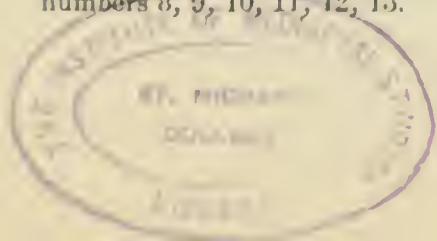
On Saturday, 21st August, at the above-mentioned altar, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Parma celebrated a public mass for the soul of the same, and after mass he gave the absolutions, together with other four of the Very Rev. Cardinals.

On Sunday, 22nd August, at the same altar, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Agria celebrated a public mass for the soul of the same, and after mass he gave the absolutions, together with four other Very Rev. Cardinals.¹

On Monday, 23rd August, at the same altar, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Amalfi celebrated a public mass for the soul of the same Sixtus, and after mass he himself gave the absolutions, together with four of the same Very Rev. Lord Cardinal-priests. On the same day, men began to build the apartment for the conclave of the Lord Cardinals, the Chamberlain and St. Mark's, in the principal chapel, as I will relate below, at greater length. These two cardinals, who were appointed by the College for this purpose, entrusted the superintendence of the building to Falcone Sinibaldi, protonotary and vice-treasurer of the Apostolic See, and to Luigi Agnelli also a protonotary of the said See, and clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, if I remember right. And, seeing that the Castle of Saint Angelo was as yet in the hands of my colleague, Girolamo, the nephew of Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, who in former days had declared war against the Colonnas, the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals Savelli, Colonna, and San Pietro ad Vincula, and those who favoured their party, did not wish him [*i.e.* Girolamo] to come to the aforesaid mass, declaring that a safe entrance would not be guaranteed to him, unless the aforesaid castle were assigned to the College of Cardinals. At length this was done and the castle was placed in care of the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Bishop of Todi. Then the aforesaid Very Rev. Cardinals came to the funeral mass. In coming to and departing from the said mass, they rode along the way which crosses the Tiber. At this time the Very Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, Ascanio Maria of SS. Vitus and Modestus the Martyrs, in Macello, Viscount Cardinal-deacon Sforza, came from Milan to Rome alone with one of his household, attired in so short a garb, that he rather resembled a layman than a priest. No one went to meet him; he came from Milan to Rome in four days or thereabouts.

Before this, that is to say, on Sunday, the 30th of last May, about the twenty-second hour, the Lord Girolamo Riario, Count and Captain-general of the Holy Roman Church, and Gentilio Virginio Orsini, together with their men to the number of 3,000 or thereabouts, surrounded the house the habitual residence of the Very Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Giovanni of Santa Maria in Aquiro, commonly known as Cardinal-deacon Colonna; and the men of the cardinal who dwelt within, bravely defended it for the space of two hours, or thereabouts. At length, overcome by the count's men, who rushed in from the back and sides, at about the twenty-third hour of the same day, they fled from the house. But the others

¹ See, in addition to Infessura and the *Diario di Roma del Not. del Nantip.*, Appendix numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.



entered and wholly plundered the house and all that was in it, even the doors and windows; they left absolutely nothing in it. Finally, having set it on fire, they burnt the dwelling-place and the chambers of the cardinal, taking prisoner the Lord Lorenzo Colonna, protonotary of the Apostolic See, together with several others, and [conveyed them] to the Castle of Saint Angelo, where they kept them until they died. On the same evening Pietro Valle and all his people fled from their homes and left them empty.

On Wednesday, 1st June, the Rev. Father and Lord the Protonotary de Albergati of Bologna, governor of the city, together with Giovanni Francesco, the sheriff, and a great company of armed men and Lombards, came before the houses of the de Valle, and, by order of the said governor, the Lombards climbed on to the top of these, and took off the roofs one after the other, with the exception of two they all broke in. Some of the houses they practically razed to the ground, others received less injury, but none remained uninjured after the aforesaid two onslaughts.

On Wednesday, 30th June, the Rev. Father, Lord Lorenzo Colonna, protonotary of the Apostolic See, in Holy Orders, and in about the fortieth year of his age, was beheaded in the morning, in the court within the first wall of the Castle of Saint Angelo; the Counts Girolamo and Gentile Virginio, so they say, stood and watched from the castle balcony. The corpse was then placed in an open wooden chest, in which it was to be buried, and the head was replaced in position. The corpse was borne from the aforesaid castle to the Church of Santa Maria in Transpontina, where it remained until about the twenty-first hour of the same day, so that it might be seen by all who wished to view it. Afterwards, about the twenty-fourth hour, it was conveyed to the Church of the Twelve Apostles, and there it was consigned to the Church for burial.¹

On Friday, the 2nd of last July, in the morning, Girolamo, Count and Captain of the Church, together with his men, artillery, two large battering-engines and several small ones, went forth from the city, to pitch his camp on the territories of the Colonna, in order to besiege them, and he did great harm to these. At length, leaving the campaign unfinished, on account of the death of Sixtus, he went to Rome, so men say, and thence betook himself in the direction of Imola.

Moreover, at this time the Lord Domenico de Albergatis, protonotary, of Bologna, governor of the city, died, as it is said, from grief at the downfall of the house of the Valle. The obsequies were performed in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo on Saturday, 12th June. There were present several families of Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, who were invited for this purpose, according to the entry in the schedule of my first ceremonial.

On Tuesday, 24th August, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples celebrated public mass at the aforesaid altar of Santa Maria in the said Basilica of St. Peter for the soul of Pope Sixtus IV. of blessed memory. After mass four of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal-bishops gave the absolutions with him. There was no sermon, and all the other rites were performed as on the first day. For the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals

¹ On Wednesday, 2nd June, the house of the Valle on the Via Pontificia was taken and destroyed; it was a beautiful building. Men say that it was destroyed because the House of Colonna assumed a very obstinate and contumacious attitude towards the Pope. On the same day the Cardinal of Siena left the city to go to Siena for the summer, according to his custom, but some declared that he departed thus suddenly that he might not see the ruined palace near him, for the Pope had once promised him to spare it.—(Volaterranus (Murat., *Rer. Ital. Script.*), Vol. XXIII., col. 196.)

having decided to enter into conclave on the morrow, for the purpose of electing a new Pope, determined to complete the last of the aforesaid funeral rites to-day.

On Wednesday, the 25th of the said month of August, when the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals learnt that the apartment was not finished, and that therefore they could not enter it, they decided that yet another mass should be celebrated to-day for the soul of the aforesaid Pontiff, in the chapel where he was buried; accordingly this was done. Therefore, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Ratisbon celebrated this mass in the aforesaid chapel in the accustomed way, and, when it was over, he alone, the celebrant, gave the absolutions.

The cardinals occupied the upper seats, namely those of the canons, but the prelates sat in other seats, namely those of the beneficiaries and the clergy, which were scattered about. Near the tomb were placed about twenty-four wax candles, and the like were distributed among the cardinals; and to the prelates and others were given torches according to the custom; the mourners were not present at this mass.

On the first and eighth days of the aforesaid funeral rites, lighted wax candles, to the number of one hundred and sixty-six or thereabouts, were placed throughout the church on the columns, as we have said above. Above the bier there were as many candles as space allowed—that is, 1,080 or thereabouts.

On the intervening six days, wax candles were not placed on the aforesaid columns; nevertheless, nine were placed on the bier, and there were candles in the middle, in such a way that between each two candles there was a vacant space for another candle. On the ninth day we did not use the catafalque. Every evening the bells of the aforesaid Basilica were tolled for the office for the dead, which was to be read on the morrow, according to the custom, and each day the time at which the service was to begin was announced by messenger to each of the cardinals, and the cardinal who was to perform the office on the morrow announced it to the couriers through our sacristan.

On the last days the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, wishing to appoint four suitable persons as guardians of the palace and of the conclave, as is the custom, commanded me, through the Very Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor, to write down [the names of] the prelates of the Court and the ambassadors of the different nations, and to present [the list] to them, so that, having learnt the names of all, they might the more easily appoint those whom they wished to have as guardians. And this I did, and I presented the [list of] prelates to the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor. The contents of the list are noted down below.

Accordingly four of these were chosen and appointed to these positions by the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, namely:—

To the first watch—that is to say, the gate of the palace at which the Bishop of Cervi was first stationed—was appointed the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Giovanni of the Counts of Arminici, Bishop of Castres in France. He had command of five foot-soldiers, or thereabouts.

To the second watch, namely the palace gate at the head of the stairs leading to the apostolic chamber, or at the foot of the stairs, were appointed the keepers of the city chamber, and the heads of the various quarters of Rome; that is to say, every day there was one keeper and two heads of districts, together with four Roman citizens of noble birth, to be chosen by them.

To the third watch, at the foot of the stairs leading from the apostolic

chamber into the palace, were appointed Lord Maschardt Brisach, ambassador of his Imperial Majesty; Lord Annello, ambassador of the King of Naples; Lord Florio Roverella, ambassador of the King of Hungary, and three other ambassadors, one from the Duke of Milan, a second from the Lords of Florence, and a third from the Lords of Siena.

And it was decreed that, for each of these watches where there were doors, suitable keys should be made, to be handed over to the aforesaid custodians.

To the fourth watch, that at the Conclave door, were appointed:—For the German nation, Lord Peter Anthon von Klapp, governor of Worms, ambassador of the Rev. Lord Berthold of Hamburg, chosen Imperial Elector of Mayence; Lord Prosper Camillo, Bishop of Caithness, ambassador of the most illustrious Duke Maximilian; and, for the Italian nation, Lord Francesco, Bishop of Reggio, ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara; Lord Raynaldo Orsini, Archbishop of Florence; Lord Leonardo Griffi, Archbishop of Benevento; Lord Urbano de Flisco, Bishop of Forli; Lord Girolamo dei Conti, Bishop of Massa; Lord Luigi Gonzaga, governor, or governor-elect of Mantua, who, on the excuse of illness, did not accept the charge committed to him; Lord Francesco Colonna; and Lord Giacomo of Sermoneta, protonotaries of the Apostolic See. For the French nation, Lord Eustache, Bishop of Arles; and Lord Pierre, Bishop of Nantes; for the Spanish nation, Lord Gonzalvo, Bishop-elect of Barcelona; and, for the English nation, Lord John, Bishop of Durham, ambassador of his Britannic Majesty; and, for Rhodes, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Lord John Kendal Virgil, Knight of the Order of the aforesaid, and commander of Rhodes.

On the same day, the 25th of the aforesaid month of August, in the Basilica of St. Peter, near the iron door of the chancel, leading from without to the principal altar, there was prepared an altar of wood, of a goodly size, and like unto the principal altar, with steps and platform, and from the ceiling above crimson hangings, in order that the mass of the Holy Ghost might be celebrated on the morrow.

Near the epistle side was prepared a credence-table before the altar; here and there, at sufficient intervals, benches were arranged on the gospel side for the cardinal-bishops and priests, and, on the epistle side, for the deacons, near the bench of the cardinal-deacons. There were lower benches for the lay orators, and, at the end of the benches for the bishops and priests, were several stools for the prelates. And this was done for the sake of convenience, although the place of the lay orators is behind the cardinal-priests, and that of the prelates is behind the deacons. The pulpit for the preacher stood next to the column of Christ (whither demoniacs are brought), in order that the preacher might see the bishops and cardinals.

On the same day, by command of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco, I gave to the custodians a paper to be communicated to the cardinals. Its contents were as follows:—

“Let it be known to each Very Rev. Cardinal, that the Very Rev. Lords appointed have made careful investigation with regard to the men-at-arms, and the enclosure of the place of conclave, and the Castle of Saint Angelo, and the other matters entrusted to them, and therefore on the morrow, between the twelfth and thirteenth hour, let them deign to attend a mass of the Holy Ghost, to be celebrated by the Very Rev. Lord Card. of San Marco in the Basilica of Saint Peter. After mass, the Rev. Father, Lord Guillaume de Perrier, auditor of causes of the Vatican, will preach a

sermon, and when this is over, [the cardinals] will go in procession, to the sacred conclave."

On the same day, by command of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, who commanded in the name of the Sacred College, I gave to the couriers another paper, to announce that which is contained therein; its contents were as follows:—

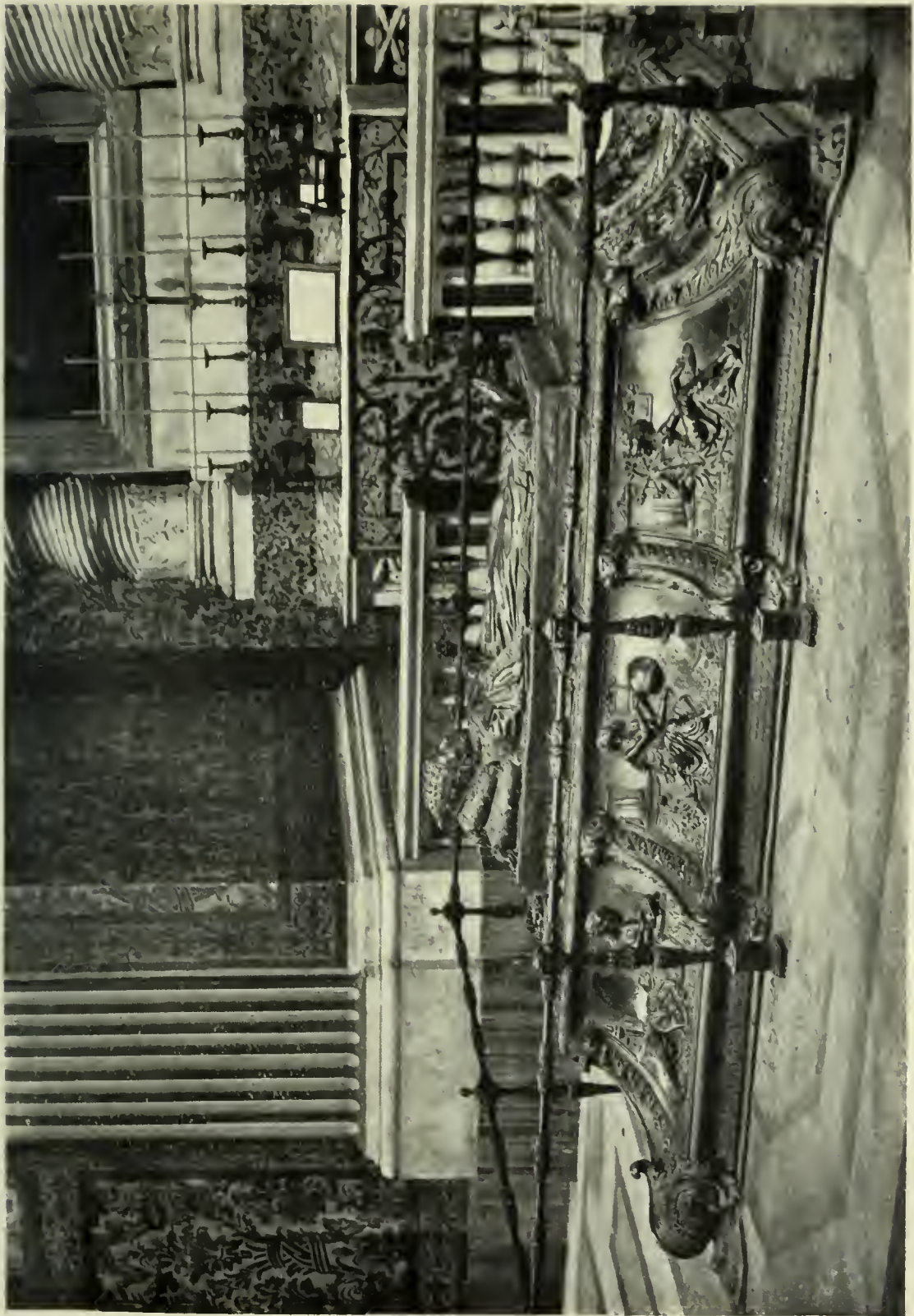
"Be it known to the Rev. Fathers and Venerable and Magnificent Lords:—

The Ambassador of the Emperor,
 „ Bishop of Durham, ambassador of the King of England,
 „ Ambassador of King Ferdinand,
 „ „ „ the King of Hungary,
 „ „ -elect of Mayence, appointed by his colleagues,
 „ Knight-Commander, orator of Rhodes,
 „ Keepers of the Chamber, and all the heads of the districts of the
 City,
 „ Bishop of Reggio, orator of the Duke of Ferrara,
 „ Ambassador of the Duke of Milan,
 „ „ „ Florentines,
 „ „ „ Sienese,
 „ Archbishop of Arles,
 „ „ „ Florence,
 „ „ „ Beneventum,
 „ Bishop of Nantes,
 „ „ „ Barcelona,
 „ „ „ Massa,
 „ „ „ Forli,
 „ „ „ Mantua,
 „ „ „ Caithness,
 „ Protonotary of Preneste, Colonna, and
 Giacomo Sermoneta, protonotary,

That, on the morrow, Thursday, the 26th of the present month of August, [those whose names are mentioned above] shall present themselves before the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, as soon as these shall enter in conclave, for the purpose of performing that which will be entrusted to them by the same Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals."

On the same day, the very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of San Marco and San Giorgio, to whom the arrangement of the conclave had been entrusted by the Sacred College, distributed by lot the rooms set apart for the cardinals in the following order:—

All the cells were marked with letters in alphabetical order; each cell had its own letter; the first on the left, that is, on the epistle side of the altar of the principal chapel, in which the conclave was held, was marked A, the second B, the third C, and so on. The thirteenth cell on that side was marked N; it was occupied by the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco; it was next the door of the aforesaid chapel, to the right of the entrance; the one opposite to it was still nearer to the door, to the left of the entrance; it was occupied by the Cardinal of Naples, and marked O; the next was P, and likewise all the other cells were marked, of which there were twenty-six, with the exception of one, namely, the last on the left of the entrance to the chapel, which was near the door leading to the chamber of the sacristan on the gospel side of the altar. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal



MONUMENT OF POPE SIXTUS IV. IN ST. PETER'S, ROME, BY JOLLAUOLO.

of San Giorgio ordered that twenty-five pieces of paper should be prepared, the one like unto the other, each marked with a letter of the alphabet, and that each of these, when folded, should be placed in a biretta, which one should hold. The Very Rev. Lord of the title of San Giorgio named each of the cardinals in succession, and each one, as he was named, took a paper, and received the cell which was marked with the letter on his paper. When distribution has thus been made, the name of the cardinal [who occupied the cell] was affixed to the back of each paper, and, on the part of San Giorgio and the aforesaid chamberlain, the papers were presented to each of the cardinals in their own homes, to the effect that their servants might prepare and furnish their rooms, in accordance with the decrees of the canons.

Moreover, the conclave was arranged as follows: All the doors of the first great hall of the palace, with the exception of that leading from the apostolic chamber into the said court, and of three others, leading to the greater and lesser chapels and to the second court; the little door of the second court leading to the library court; and the big door of the third court, leading to the chamber of the robes; together with all the windows of the said courts, were walled up, so that there were only breathing-holes in the upper parts of the windows, to admit the light.

Likewise, the first little hall, and the small chamber of the sacristan, in which are kept the chapel books and vestments, were left free for the conclave, and the privies in the said chamber, which the sacristan was wont to keep closed, were opened for the use of the cardinals; all the other doors and windows were walled up.

Likewise, in the corner of the great hall to the left on entering, the wall was knocked down to make an entrance through the chamber wherein the doctor of the Pope was wont to dwell, to the privies in the cells near; the other doors and windows of these chambers were likewise walled up.

In the small chapel behind the principal altar on the gospel side, there is a small sacristy with a little window, which was also blocked up, but not cemented, so that, on the election of the Pope, it might be the more speedily opened, and the crucifix exposed there, and the election of a new Pope announced to the people.

In the first hall, across the doorway, there was erected a large and lofty credence of new boards nailed together; it was six palms high, fifteen long, and ten wide, roughly speaking. It was to be used as a receptacle for things to be brought into the conclave from outside, and exposed there. Behind this credence, facing the chapels, was stretched a costly curtain of cloth crosswise, from one wall of the said court to the other, hung from the top to the ground, to prevent cardinals or servants being seen as they walked about the court, by the custodians without. On one side of the larger chapel were erected thirteen cells, the one like unto the other, occupying the whole space from the wall of the altar to that of the door, and the same number on the other side; they were built of strong pieces of wooden board, or small beams.

There was a space of about a palm and a half between each cell, and in the midst there was a passage, about two rods in width. From the chapel door to the chief altar, the doors of the chancel in between had been removed, and placed below the chief altar of the same chapel. In each of the cells that had been erected, there was a couch, formed of new boards nailed together, four palms high, seven broad, and eleven long, roughly speaking, and a bench.

The servants of each cardinal immediately hung each of these cells, or chambers, as we called them above, which had been distributed among the cardinals, all round, from without and above, with serge, in red, green, blue, white, variegated, and they put inside [the cells] the articles which were necessary and suited to the use of the Very Rev. Lords their Cardinals (in accordance with the contents of the paper contained in the first book of the ceremonies, fol. 65, written in my hand, which I gave to several of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals).

In the lesser chapel, there was placed a small table, about eight palms in length, and four in width, and there should have been coverings of green cloth behind the cardinals' benches, but these were not put there. The sacristan ordered that all things necessary for him and for the vesting of the new Pontiff should be brought, and we ordered the other things [needed] for our office, which things are also noted on folio 41. Moreover, three of the above-mentioned halls were furnished in the like manner, but these were only reserved for the cardinals to take exercise in them. Moreover, the cells, or rooms, which were allotted in the above-mentioned way, were inhabited as follows:—

The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal	Vice-Chancellor	had cell	Y	and what
“	of Naples	“	O	[goes
“	“ San Marco	“	N	[with it.
“	“ Saint Peter ad Vineula	“	Æ	“
“	“ Santa Maria in Portico	“	E	“
“	“ Milan	“	F	“
“	“ Novara	“	L	“
“	“ Amalfi	“	D	“
“	“ Macon	“	T	“
“	“ Sant' Angelo	“	C	“
“	“ Lisbon	“	M	“
“	“ Rieti	“	A	“
“	“ Agria	“	B	“
“	“ San Clemente	“	K	“
“	“ Aragon	“	R	“
“	“ Foscaro	“	G	“
“	Conti	“	P	“
“	of Gerona	“	H	“
“	“ Parma	“	J	“
“	“ Sant' Angelo	“	U	“
“	“ San Giorgio	“	I	“
“	Coloma	“	X	“
“	Sabelli	“	Z	“
“	Orsini	“	S	“
“	Ascanio	“	V	“

On Wednesday, 25th August, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco, in the Basilica of Saint Peter, at the altar in front of the chancel, which was prepared as above, and in the presence of the remaining twenty-four Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and of the priests and orators of the Roman See, celebrated a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost with the suitable prayer and preface, omitting the words *hodierna die*, and, if I well remember, when he had concluded the first prayer he read another, and this was well, for [the following] ought to be read before the election of a

new Pontiff, that is to say: *Supplici, Domine, humilitate disposcimus*, etc. He read the *Credo*, and the other prayers, in the accustomed way.

He then went before the altar to the fald-stool to recite the Confession, laid aside his mitre, but kept his cap on his head, made a profound obeisance to the cardinals, saying that it was seemly to do this for this mass, seeing that on that occasion, the cardinals represented the Pope. He did the same on returning, and on lighting the altar, after the offertory. When mass was over, the celebrant himself gave the benediction in his mitre, according to the custom, and no indulgences were given. He then approached the fald-stool, whence, having laid aside the sacred vestments, he went to his own place amongst the other cardinals. In the meanwhile, Lord Guillaume de Perrier, auditor of the Rota, having put on his accustomed cape and rochet, as is the custom of the auditors in the chapel, approached the altar, and, having genuflected, he prayed for a short time.

Then he rose, and ascended the pulpit; thence, after the Cardinal of San Marco had returned to his place, and remained there motionless for a short time, he [Guillaume] began and proceeded with his sermon.¹

At this mass, and at the other eight funeral rites, celebrated as above, the prelates of the Court were present; they did not wear their capes, but they had their mantles with the hoods crosswise on their necks, according to the custom.

When the sermon was over, I took the Pope's crucifix, with his silver crosier, which had been placed in readiness near the aforesaid altar, and I went in procession towards the aforesaid door of the church, with the conclave. The shield-bearers of the cardinals, and many others, went in front, the cardinals came immediately after me: first the Vice-Chancellor and him of Naples, behind them other bishops, then the priests, finally the cardinal-deacons, all two by two, with the exception of the last [row of] priests, three of whom walked together.

The choristers of our chapel, and the canons and clergy of the aforesaid basilica, did not take part in this procession, nor was there any singing in it. But the Roman citizens and many others surrounded each his own patron friend and Lord Cardinal, making to him supplications and other requests concerning offices and favours to be obtained and procured from the new Pope in conclave. I held the figure of the crucifix turned backwards, towards the cardinals, because in this case the College represents the Pope.

When I arrived at the first court of the conclave, in which there were about three thousand men who had forestalled us, for the Vice-Chamberlain had not turned out the people who were there before we entered, nor had he ordered way to be made for the cardinals and their servants, who were to enter the conclave, nor had he kept guard, as it was his official duty to do.

However, the principal chapel in which the cells had been prepared, and in which the furniture and possessions of the cardinals had been placed,

¹ "A sermon was delivered at Rome in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles by the Rev. Father Lord William of Perrier, Apostolic Auditor, concerning the election of a new Pontiff in the year 1484, on Thursday the 26th of August." A document in 4°, de 4 p. Gothic *s.l.n.d.*, reproduced by Martene(?) from a MS. in his *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, 1717, Vol. II., col. 1760. The part of Burchard's Diary which refers to the pontificate of Innocent VIII. is almost wholly devoted to an account of the ceremonial, I therefore would refer readers, for the history of the facts which Burchard has omitted to note, to the Diary of Infessura; to Vol. VII. of Grégorovius's *Storia di Roma Nel. Med. Evo* (chap. iv., p. 317); and to the numerous unpublished despatches contained in the Appendix.

was closed, and guarded by the servants of the cardinals, to whom it was open.

In the meanwhile the Vice-Chamberlain of the City, together with his servants and infantry, expelled from the conclave all who were not concerned in it; the cardinals passed in procession to the principal altar of the aforesaid larger chapel, which was unadorned, and wholly bare, and there, without making any other obeisance or genuflection to the said altar (and this was not well, for it ought to have been done, and a versicle should have been chanted, and the chief bishop should have prayed), the said cardinals formed a circle, and, after a few words uttered by the Vice-Chancellor, which, notwithstanding, I neither heard nor understood, as I stood afar off, all who could be found in the court, or thereabouts, of those who had been appointed to the second, third and fourth watches in the conclave, were summoned, and, when they were assembled, in the presence of the cardinals and of the aforesaid college, the Very Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor, who was also chief of the cardinals, declared that they had been appointed to guard the conclave, for the purpose of guarding with fidelity the conclave itself, and the college, and the palace, and of not permitting any violence to be done to the cardinals, and that, with reference to this, they must swear that they were willing to observe the sacred canons, in these words: *Sic nos Deus adjuvet et Sancta Dei evangelia*; and, when the said Vice-Chancellor had taken an open breviary, each of the guardians there present, appointed in the above-mentioned way, came before him, and knelt down, and swore to observe the aforesaid things, holding in both hands the leaves of the said breviary.

Then each guardian returned to his own place, and the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals betook themselves to their chambers. Whereupon the Very Rev. Lord Chancellor, having taken a wax candle, and accompanied by us the masters of the ceremonies, made a circuit of the whole conclave, even passing through the second court, and two places set aside as privies, lest these might be the hiding-place of those who had no right to be in the conclave. And, as he found no one, the door of the conclave was doubly locked, in addition to the hatch, and the custodians from without gave to me the keys of both these locks. About the middle of the door there was a hatch, almost two palms square, or thereabouts; the aforesaid custodians kept the key of this hatch; within was another door of which I kept the key. When this was accomplished the servants of the cardinals came to the hatch outside, bearing the food of their masters, which we took from them and delivered to each of the servants of the cardinals, in the order described below; and the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals partook of a refecton, and afterwards their servants did the same and we with them.

For there were in the conclave twenty-five Very Rev. Lord Cardinals, of whom each had two servants with the exception of the sick Cardinals of Milan and Gerona, each of whom had three [servants]. There were also present the Abbot of Santa Sebastiano, and the sacristan, with one attendant. But this was neither right nor customary, for he should have been alone; he took this attendant so that he might collect for him the flasks and other things which remained over from the cardinals' victuals. There were also present we two, the clerks of the ceremonies, and two doctors; I will note down below the names and surnames of all these:—

Giovanni Paolo di Bossis, abbot of the Monastery of Santa Sebastiano outside the city walls, sacristan of the chapel of our Holy Lord the Pope.

I, John Burchard of Strasburg, and Giovanni Maria de Podio, clerks of the ceremonies of the aforesaid chapel.



POPE SIXTUS IV. AND CARDINAL RIARIO, FROM THE FRESCO IN THE VATICAN BY MELOZZO DA FORLÌ.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, Lord Giacomo Casanova, and Juan Lopez, abbreviators.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples, the Lords Colathomasio Ronchelli, protonotary of the Apostolic See, and Matthew Man, scrivener to the Pope.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco, the Lords Giovanni Lorenzo of Venice, scrivener to the Pope, and Matteo of Aliprandi, a canon of Mantua, from Padua.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Lords Francesco of Viterbo, and Bartolomeo della Rovere, scrivener to the Pope.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, the Lords Balthasar of Cantagalli and Cristoforo of Puteo Pozzo.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Milan, the Lords Cecco of Palombaria, solicitor of the apostolic letters, Giovanni Gualba, and Lord Liberato of Bartelli. One of these, namely the latter, was afterwards removed by the cardinal and another was taken in his place, as will be related below.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Novara, the Lords Giovanni Pietro of Arrivabene, apostolic secretary, and Giovanni Filippo of Milan.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta, the Lords Lorenzo of Mari, canon of the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles of the city, and Girolamo Calagrano.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Macon, the Lords Filippo of Lucca and Umberto Croletti, his barber.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Sant' Angelo, the Lords Balthassare of Blandrate, and Thomas Probst.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon, the Lords Gesualdo Alfonsi and Ugolino of Florence, solicitor of the apostolic letters.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Rieti, the Lords Francesco Bertellai, principal canon of the Basilica of Saint Peter, and Bernardino dei Cossi of Montefalco, apostolic scribe.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Agrigra, the Lords Geroldo of Bambagini and Giovanni Francesco of Cremona.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Clemente, the Lords Giovanni Andrea dei Grassi of Piacenza, and Luca dei Dolce of Florence.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aragon, the Lords Pacifico Amerini, and the Abbot Rugi, laymen.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foscaro, the Lords Bartolomeo of Chaxa and Giacomo of Faustini, priests.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal dei Conti, the Lords Cherubini Carcalio, and Cesare Rosa.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Gerona, the Lords Giovanni dei Roccaforti, Alberto Pedœrlotto, and Rafaele Rocca.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Parma, the Lords Carlo Boccone, and Ellino Duce.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, the Lords Sinolfo de Castro Otterio, clerk of the apostolic chamber, and Andrea Lucentino da Piccolomini, apostolic scrivener.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Giorgio, chamberlain, the Lords Pietro da Costa and Camillo dei Tartagni, abbreviator of the apostolic letters *de prima usione* or *parco minori*.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Sabelli, the Lords Paris of Montemanno, and Luigi Sabino, a layman.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Colonna, the Lords Pietro of Segovia, and Giovanni Mariano of Viterbo.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Orsini, the Lords Francesco of Castello, and Giacomo Alperino, layman, and a Roman citizen.

Accompanying the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio, the Lords Bernardino of Lunate, and Francesco de Corte, Messer Giacomo of San Genesio and Theodoric of Codeghein, of Flanders, laymen, doctors.¹

Niccolo Giacomini, clerk, bellringer of the aforesaid chapel, a servant of the sacristan of the said chapel.

When luncheon was over, after a short interval all the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals assembled in the third hall of the conclave, and when one of the servants had brought stools, they sat down in a circle, and I placed before them, near the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor and chief, a red stool from our chapel, and on it a bell, so that, when necessary, we might be summoned. At this meeting the cardinals discussed the rules to be made and drawn up amongst them.

Whilst the Very Rev. Lord Cardinals were holding their meeting as above, all the afore-mentioned members of the conclave assembled in the larger chapel near the principal altar, where they agreed to elect and appoint the venerable Lords Sinolfo of Castro Oterio, clerk of the apostolic chamber, Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, apostolic secretary, Filippo of Lucca, Giovanni Lorenzo of Venice, apostolic scrivener, Balthassare of Blandrate, Francesco Bertellaio, and me, John Burchard, to receive all those possessions of the future Pope which were in the conclave, and faithfully to distribute the same amongst the aforesaid members of the conclave. Moreover, the said members of the conclave agreed, that the Roman members of the conclave [for electing] the future Pope, and others of the aforesaid, who, as bishops and pastors might be promoted to cathedrals or churches or metropolitan churches, in accordance with a promise which might, perchance, be made to them in the said conclave, or within a month after the coronation of the new Pope, yet before the distribution of the afore-mentioned possessions, should not receive a share of the aforesaid inheritance, and that their share should be divided amongst the others. Thereupon, each and all of the aforesaid members of the conclave in attendance upon the same the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, who were in the conclave, swore on the Holy and Divine Gospels, touching the Holy Scriptures [which were] in the hands of the aforesaid Lord Abbot, the sacristan, and each of them swore that, if his master were elected Pope, he would faithfully surrender each and all of his possessions, that is those of his said master, which were in the conclave, the gold and silver goods, the precious stones and all the other goods, without any exception, to the aforesaid seven lords appointed, or to one of the same.

That day we did nothing further.

When the meeting was over, some of them returned to their own chambers, others conversed together as they walked to and fro, others, again, recited the divine office.

On the same day, about the twenty-second hour, the servants of the cardinals returned to the door of the conclave with food and drink for the supper, bringing back the silver vases which they had brought for luncheon. I then appointed the time [for each], to the effect that whilst

¹ See Marini, *Gli Archiatri Pontificii*, Vol. I., p. 213.

this conclave was being held, henceforward, every day, they should come about the fourteenth hour with the luncheon, and about the twenty-second hour with the supper, of the cardinals.

On the last Friday in August, in the middle of the day, at the principal altar of the smaller chapel, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco celebrated a mass for his own sanctification, with one of his assistants in attendance. His example was followed by the Cardinal of Agria and by him of Macon, and by certain others, if I remember right.

And afterwards, about the eighth hour, the Abbot of Santo Sebastiano, our sacristan, administrating for us, celebrated a public mass, but he was only vested in the sacerdotal robes.

All the cardinals were present; they wore little capes over their rochets, of a colour which was especially pleasing to the said cardinals, and their trains were edged with a border, about two palms in width, of a dark violet hue. They stood by their stools, according to the custom, the bishops and priests on the gospel side and the deacons on the other side, namely that of the epistle; the dean facing the altar. When the celebrant had said the prayer: *Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti*, etc., I bore the instrument of the pax to the celebrant himself, in order that he might kiss it, and afterwards to each of the cardinals, who had knelt down in their places. I gave it first to the Vice-Chancellor, and then to each of the others in order, saying: *Pax tecum*, and they responded: *Et cum spiritu tuo*.

When mass was over, the celebrant stood facing the cardinals, and blessed them, making the sign of the cross over them, and saying: *Benedicat*, etc. Nevertheless, some there were who asserted that the said celebrant, turning towards the cardinals, ought to bless them on his knees, but to me this seemed somewhat absurd, seeing that he who gives the benediction is always greater, by this act, when blessing in this posture, than he who receives it. He said the mass of the Holy Ghost, with the prayer: *Deus qui corda fidelium*, etc., and the prayer that precedes it, omitting the words: *Hodierna die*. He said the first prayer with one conclusion, and then a second prayer for the election, namely: *Supplici, Domine, humilitate deprecemur*, etc., also with its conclusion, together with, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and the *Credo*, and the *Ite missa est*.

He celebrated in red vestments, as was fitting. Over the midst of the altar there was a cross, together with four candles placed two on either side.

When mass was over, all the cardinals returned to the third hall of the conclave, and there, when their servants had brought the stools, they sat down in a circle; the Vice-Chancellor had the bell on another stool near him. Again, as on the day before, they discussed the chapters which should be made. When the conference was over, the cardinals returned to their cells, and had luncheon, some alone, some in twos, and some in groups of several.

When luncheon was over, some cardinals discussed with others the election of the new Pope, to be made by them, asking for, and receiving, information.

After an interval, the cardinals again assembled in the aforesaid third court: here at length, they drew up the chapters which concerned themselves, and which concerned the promises, oaths, and help [due from them] to the new Pope; moreover, they remained together at this meeting until nightfall.

On Saturday, 28th August, very early in the morning, several of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals celebrated mass in the aforesaid small

chapel, as on the day before; then, about the twelfth hour, our sacristan celebrated a public mass, and I presented to all the cardinals the instrument of the pax, as I had done the day before; when mass was over, we placed a small table, about eight palms in length, and four in width, of the usual height, between the small door, leading into the second court of the aforesaid palace, and the middle wall opposite to it, and we covered it with a certain rose-coloured cloth, nearly two cannes in length. Thereon we placed a clock, a bell, a case for pens, together with ink, pens and quills, and a quire of paper. Moreover, the sacristan, who had laid aside his vestments, placed in the centre of the altar an empty chalice, and above it a paten. The servants of the cardinals placed, each before his own master, a stool raised up as a desk, and on it, a pen-case with ink, a reed or quill pen, one small candle, and a sheet of paper, whereon were written in headings the names of all the cardinals in the conclave, after this fashion, and in the following order:—

*[Here three sheets of the tablets have been lost, and [the MS.] continues as follows:—]*¹

The Very Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor, the Very Rev. Lord of Naples, the Very Rev. Lord of San Marco, and so on.

Moreover, near the aforesaid table, between it and the altar, we placed three stools, one in the middle, the other two on either side, to the effect that those who sat upon them had their backs turned to the altar, and between the said stools [we placed] a beautiful cloth of crimson brocade [embroidered with] golden apples, made for the new Pope, who was to take his place upon it. When these arrangements had been made, they of the conclave who had written the chapters ordered by the cardinals, viz. Lord Juan Lopez, Lord Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, Lord Giovanni Lorenzo of Venice, and certain others, carried these documents in six quires of manuscript (for all the chapters comprised in two quires were thrice copied, word for word) to the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, who approached the aforesaid table, and there, with his own hand signed each six of the aforesaid quires.

His example was followed by the other cardinals in their order. When mass was ended, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foscaro went to his cell, and, since he had not come to sign the chapters in this manner, the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor told me to notify the aforesaid Very Rev. Lord of Foscaro to deign to come to the chapel for the purpose of signing, and this I did.

His reply to me was to the effect that all the others should sign, leaving a space for his signature, and that when all had signed, he himself would do the same; and thus all signed, and a space was left for him.

After the other cardinals had signed, as has been said above, by command of the Vice-Chancellor, I bore all the six aforesaid quires to the Lord of Foscaro, so that he might sign them, [whereupon] he told me that he never intended to sign, and that I was to replace the quires on the table in the chapel, without saying anything. This I did, and no man asked me any questions.

Here follow the contents of the chapters with their signatures, thus:—

“Seeing that the Very Rev. Fathers and Lords in Christ, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, are members of the Supreme Pontiff, and that they constantly render assistance to them, and that they share their burdens and decisions, it is thought to be right and in accordance with the

¹ Interpolated by the copyist.

duty of a father towards his sons, that they should enjoy fuller privileges than the rest, and that they should have more servants for the purpose of maintaining their dignity, thereby enjoying greater opportunities for doing good.

“Wherefore, each and all of us, the undersigned, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, on behalf of a good and prosperous reign, and of our own repose, swear and vow to Almighty God, and to the holy Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and we promise, to all the Saints of His Holy Church, that if any one of us shall be elected Pope, that one, immediately before the publication of his election, celebrated on his account, shall swear and vow, in purity, simplicity, and good faith, to keep, perform, and accomplish, each and all of the chapters inscribed below, and that he will also sign with his own hand three schedules containing the chapters inscribed below, in the following words, namely:—

“I, such an one, elected Supreme Pontiff, do promise, vow and swear to observe and fulfil all the aforesaid things, in all and through all, in purity, simplicity, good faith, in effect and reality, to the letter, without any excuse, evasion, or misinterpretation of words, under the penalty of perjury and anathema, from which penalty I will neither absolve myself, nor will I charge another to absolve me, so help me God, and these Holy Gospels! And I desire that the afore-mentioned schedules, or any one of the same, may have the force of a decretal and constitution, always to be kept inviolate with the decree of nullification. And, if anything should be done otherwise by me, and if I should try in any way to go against it, or to set it aside, that should be of no weight or force; and that nevertheless, the said chapters, and any one of them, shall remain in their own strength and validity. And, that the three senior cardinals of each order shall hold and preserve the aforesaid schedules in their possession *ad petitionem* of the Sacred College, and that these shall not be entrusted to any man without the express consent of all the cardinals; moreover that, within three days after my coronation, I will make three bulls of the same effect, which shall be preserved by the senior cardinals, as above.”

*Here follows the tenour of the aforesaid chapters, namely:—*¹

“I, such an one, elected Pope, do vow, promise and swear to Almighty God and His holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the Saints, and the aforesaid Holy Church of God, to perform, keep, and observe, and fulfil in effect, each and all of the things inscribed below, namely:—

“Firstly, to give and to pay, from the income of the Apostolic Chamber, or to cause to be given and paid, one hundred gold florins of the Chamber, each month, to each cardinal who does not receive fully from the revenues and capital² of the Church, four thousand florins yearly, until such time as provision of the said sum shall have been made to him in revenues, and I will maintain all those cardinals who hold any ecclesiastical benefices in title or *in commendam*, even those which are incompatible, and I will

¹ “But, before taking the votes for the election of the new Pope, the cardinals made laws, partly for their own advancement, partly for the modification of the ecclesiastical state; they wished to bind the new Pope to these laws, although we have already seen that it was established by Innocent VI. (*Ann.*, Vol. XVI., An. Chr. 1353, number 29) that the authority of the Pope could not be controlled by any power of man, neither could the cardinals, when the Church of Rome was deprived of her Shepherd, exercise any authority other than that of appointing the world’s high-priest. And the laws made by the cardinals are most accurately transcribed by John Burchard of Strassburg, appointed Clerk of the Sacred Ceremonies.”—John Burchard (*MSS. Ard. Vat.*, number 37, p. 75) in the Codex MS. of the Tabularii Vaticani . . . (*Ann. eccles.*, Vol. XXX., p. 66, n. 29).

² *Capitali*.—Omitted in Rinaldi.

protect them in their possession¹ of the same. Also, to the effect that the advice of the said councils may freely reach me,² I will neither seize, nor will I permit any other to seize, the person or the possessions of any one of them, nor will I change anything in their state or provisions, on account of any reason, cause,³ or occasion, without the express counsel and consent of two-thirds of my Lords the Cardinals; neither will I take any proceedings, nor cause nor allow proceedings to be taken against any one of them, unless I have the support and consent by three cardinals, namely, one from each order, who shall be elected for this purpose by the said cardinals or by a majority of them.

“Neither will I condemn any one of them, unless he be convicted by the number of witnesses set forth in the constitution of the Pope Silvester, which was made in synod, and which begins: *Presul non damnetur*;⁴ and I will keep them free and exempt from⁵ all payment and taxation, as was done in the time of the Lords⁶ Nicholas V. and Calixtus III., our predecessors, Popes of Rome, of blessed memory.

“And, for no cause or reason whatever, will I impose upon them, or upon the churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, temporarily held by them, any duty of tithe, subsidy, or other burden⁷ called⁸ by any name; and, from the said cardinals, on behalf of the churches and monasteries, over which I have set them in authority, and on behalf of any ecclesiastical benefices, with which it shall happen that they be provided, in title or *in commendam*, under the name of annates,⁹ half lesser fruits, services, or in any other name, I will exact nothing, neither will I cause [these] to be received or exacted from them, even if they should tender payment of their own free will, neither will I permit it, in any way, directly or indirectly. And each and all of their privileges, whatever these may be, will I retain inviolate, and if, by reason of the aforesaid annates, any bonds should be found in the Apostolic Chamber, I will cause them to be wholly abolished and annulled.

“Moreover, seeing that the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church are constantly about the Supreme Pontiff, and that accordingly they ought to enjoy especial rights and privileges, from this time onwards, I concede to the said cardinals full and complete command over each and all of the monasteries, priories dignities, parsonages, administrations, and offices, canonries and prebends, and other ecclesiastical benefices, with or without cure of souls,¹⁰ for collation (?), provision, presentation, election, confirmation, institution,¹¹ or any other similar [or dissimilar] disposal of the same, by virtue of the churches, and of the titles of those cardinals, and also of the churches, monasteries, priories, dignities, parsonages, administrations, and offices and other ecclesiastical benefices over which they have authority, and which they hold, and those over which they shall come to rule and to hold, for the time being, in title or *in commendam*,¹² or belonging to any other authority, any right or title whatsoever. And that reversional favours, special reservations, mandates concerning pluralism, and any other ordi-

¹ *Perceptione*.—Rinal.

² *Proreniant*.—Rinal.

³ *Ratione, causa vel auctoritate, vel occasione*.—Rinal.

⁴ *Damnabitur*.—Rinal.

⁵ *Ex*.—Rinal.

⁶ *Dominorum*.—Is omitted in Rinal.

⁷ *Aut alterius nominis*.—Rinal; clearly a mistake.

⁸ *Nuncupati*.—Rinal.

⁹ *Annatorum*.—Rinal., p. 67.

¹⁰ *Cura*.—Is omitted in Rinal.

¹¹ *Institutionem, seu quamvis aliam similem vel dissimilem dispositionem*.—Omitted in Rinal.

¹² *Vel commendam*.—Here ends the quotation from Burchard in Rinal.

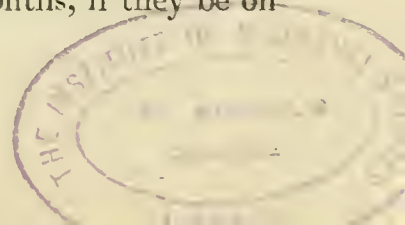
nances and rules of the Chancery, of higher dignities, and of principal or other benefices, of the servants of the cardinals, or of the Roman Pontiffs, or of the said officials of the same, or of the said See, or any others of any sort, general or special, containing or introducing constitutions, or making innovations, even should these over-ride what has gone before, or have any other effects, shall in no wise extend to the said monasteries, priories, dignities, parsonages, administrations and offices, canonries and prebends, and other benefices, but that of any of those outside the Roman See, which, for the time being, shall be vacant, and in their appointment, the cardinals shall themselves dispose, just as if the *gratiæ expectative* (reversional favours) and other reservations, attachments, unions, constitutions, and mandates of this kind did not exist.

“And if it should happen that there stand vacant in the said court, unless the express consent of the cardinal himself, the ordinary, or commendatory, be adduced over and above in the drawing up of letters on the subject, and that, without this, the said provisions shall be wholly invalid and void, and that, moreover, they might hold the churches, monasteries, provostships, priories, dignities, parsonages, administrations or offices, canonries and prebends and ecclesiastical benefices, secular and regular, of whatever order soever, with or without cure of souls, in any way, in consequence of the death, promotion, or any other resignation or arrangement on the part of the perpetual commensals of the same cardinals, which, for the time being, shall stand vacant in the aforesaid See, even if the domestics should themselves die, that they might hold these offices as titular, or joined to other ecclesiastical benefices, which they had held as being held for the term of their lives.

“And the notaries of the Apostolic See, chaplains, chamberlains, messengers, abbreviators of the apostolic letters, scribes, or any other officials of the said See, who hold these, or those qualified by any other quality, which bring any other reservation, general or special, or attachment, and the familiars and perpetual commensals of the Roman Pontiffs, my predecessors, who may, in former days, have been inmates and guests, and shall continue to be so, with the consent of their cardinals, and further, with preparation of documents, and not otherwise, I will consider or dispose of the same, so that, if I act in any other way, the whole may be invalid and void.

“And, if it should happen that any benefice fall vacant, in any way whatever, the appointment of which, by ordinary law, shall have concerned and shall have belonged to any of my Lords the Cardinals, I desire that the appointment and provision of the same should be made by the Lord Cardinal himself as *collator*, even if a familiar, a member of the household of another cardinal, obtain it, and, concerning these things, a special rule shall be made in full form, and shall be placed in the book of the Chancery, and shall be published in the same, so long and so often as it shall seem good and pleasing to the same cardinals, and, in addition to this said rule, separate bills shall be prepared for each cardinal.

“Nevertheless, let those [men] to whom it shall happen to be temporarily provided, by the aforesaid cardinals, with ecclesiastical benefices of this sort, which are generally reserved or attached to apostolic disposal, in whose favour, otherwise, it may happen that disposition is made of the same by the cardinals themselves, if their produce, income, and revenue should exceed the sum of twenty-four florins in gold of the Chamber a year, according to the common estimation, be obliged to receive further a new provision or other disposal from the Apostolic See within eight months, if these be situated beyond the Alps, and within four months, if they be on



this side the Alps, from the day on which they enter into undisturbed possession of the same.

“And further, they should have apostolic letters executed of the complete payment of the dues owed to the Apostolic Treasury (Chamber) as far as it is concerned. Moreover, otherwise the benefices themselves shall be deemed vacant, by that very fact, when the said months have elapsed, unless they be kept back by any lawful impediment, or if they [the occupiers] themselves make petition and protest against this new provision, that it does not hold good for them, it may happen to be rejected. And, in this case, there shall be no prejudice to them because of the new provision not having been obtained. Also, that each and all of the Cardinals present at my election, to whom it shall have happened that, for the time being, and those who were, for the time being, for any reason whatsoever, away from the Roman Court in their churches, or in any places, even distant ones, and outside Italy, with my permission, either verbal, or in writing,¹ shall enjoy all and sundry of the accustomed privileges, as though they had been present, fully, in all things, and through all things, without any other interpretation or evasion.

“Moreover, each and all of the privileges for giving Absolution, Dispensation, and doing other things, the favours, grants, and indulgences, which emanated² hitherto from Pope Sixtus IV. of blessed memory, and from any other of my predecessors, in favour of the same cardinals, in general, or in particular, I will approve and confirm, maintain and observe, even as I do approve and confirm, maintain and observe, and, if they should wish it, I will concede it anew in the fullest form, so that they may have the duty and possibility of obtaining full effect.

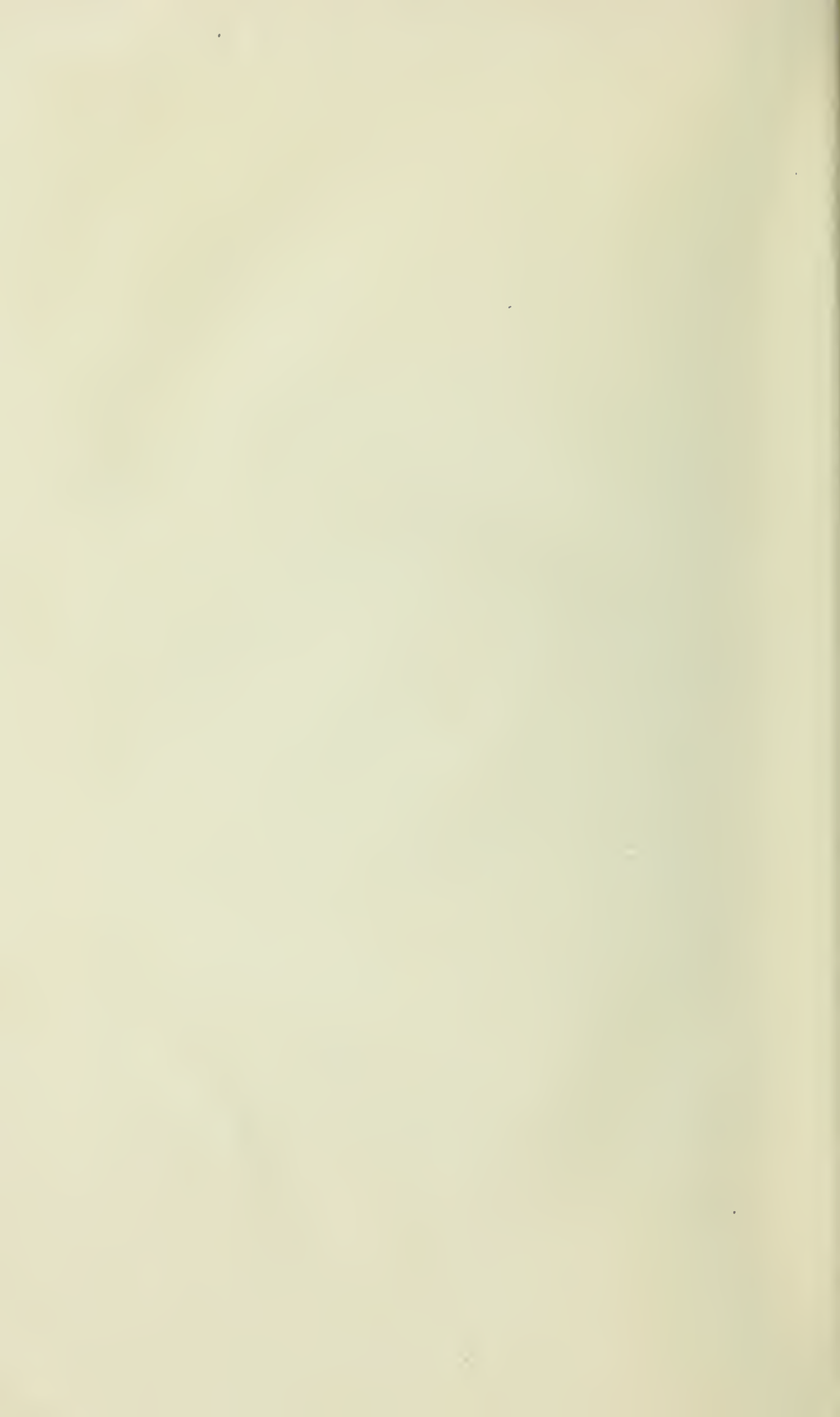
“Moreover, since in the aforesaid court, for the greater expedition of those frequenting the same, there were accordingly instituted, in former days, the offices of the Apostolic Chancery and of the Penitentiary, and of the Treasury (Chamber), and since these offices are held by the cardinals, according to circumstances, in the old manner, and according to the long-established custom of the aforesaid court, or, by express concession of my predecessors, certain permissions or authorizations have been accorded and certain payments attached, and [seeing that], from the alteration in the offices themselves, much inconvenience might be caused to the aforesaid court, I will ordain and decree, and for the present do ordain and decree and desire that my venerable brothers, Rodrigo, Bishop of Porto, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, and Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, who has charge of the aforesaid penitentiary, and [my] beloved son, Rafaello, Cardinal-Deacon of San Giorgio ad Velum Aureum, our chamberlain, and whoever shall, for the time being, be appointed chief penitentiary, vice-chancellor and chamberlain, in accordance with the ancient and established faculties which have been conceded to them and to any one of them, by Calixtus III., Pius II., Paul, also II., and Sixtus IV., the Roman Pontiffs, my predecessors, of blessed memory, they shall have the duty of exercising the said offices either in their own persons, or by *locum tenentes*, deputies appointed thereto by themselves, over the writers of apostolic letters, and of the penitentiary, the abbreviators, solicitors, and other officials of the Chancery, the Penitentiary, and the Chamber, and over their offices they shall exercise superiority, power, control, and complete authority, and [that of making] decrees freely without any restriction, modification, limitation, or other impediment whatsoever, and they shall receive the usual payments.

¹ *In scriptis*.—Rinal.

² . . . *et confirmato*.—Rinal.



CARDINAL ASCANIO SFORZA, BY PACIOLI. (MILAN MUSEUM).



“ And I will in no wise interfere with them, or with any one of them, in the free and lawful collecting of the same payments, or in the disposal of the said offices, or in the execution of their privileges and authority, as said above, and I will, in no way, either I myself, or any other by my authority, disturb, or in any other way whatsoever, hinder, or allow to be disturbed or hindered, them, or, any one of them, in the due and free collection of the same payments and the conferring of their offices, and the putting into force by the privileges and faculties granted to them, as aforesaid, and belonging to them absolutely, according to the contents and form of the documents granted to them as above.

“ Rather, should they wish it, will I approve and confirm the letters ceded to them, and that which is contained therein, and, for a greater security, I will cede all these to them afresh, and moreover, I will expressly cede it to the chief penitentiary himself, in the cases which have been customary in the time of the Supreme Pontiffs, Nicholas V., Calixtus III., Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV., my aforesaid predecessors.

“ Moreover, seeing that it is not right (dangerous?) that those who are frequently about the Supreme Pontiff in the execution of his pastoral office should, under any circumstances, incur sentence of excommunication, interdict,¹ or suspension, I ordain, decree, and declare, that, although it may happen that the aforesaid cardinals may go against the constitutions, decrees, ordinances, sentences, precepts, and mandates, which have hitherto been issued by my predecessors, or which I myself shall issue in the future, in general or in detail, in which, moreover, concerning the persons of the said cardinals, express mention may be made that they directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly, openly or secretly,² shall go against them in any other matter whatsoever, they shall in no wise incur the censures and ecclesiastical penalties, or that which amounts to the same, in the same constitutions and ordinances, sentences, precepts, and mandates, which may, perchance, be published, even in letters which are read in *Cœna Domini*, that is, with the exception of those in which the clause shall stand in the body of the law, that such a penalty shall be inflicted on those same cardinals, specially, and not otherwise, or in any other fashion. Neither will I publish any censures against any cardinal or cardinals, save with the consent of two-thirds of the same, and then only in the cases expressed in the law.³

“ Moreover, since it is right and fitting that, to those who assisted the Roman Church in her needs with prompt good-will, rightful satisfaction should be given in accordance with the faculties of the same Church, I now swear and promise that, in effect and reality, I will cause to be paid to any one of the cardinals, both present, and also deceased, all, and in total, that for which they are proved to be, or for which, in the future, they may be proved to be, the creditors of Pope Sixtus IV., my predecessor, of blessed memory, or [those] of the Apostolic Chamber and See, for whatever cause or reason, and those of them to whose credit on their behalf, by the same, my predecessor, there have hitherto been given and ceded, instead of security, castles, cities and places, jewels, and other possessions of the Roman Church, or [to whom], on behalf of restitution of the sum due to them, some rents were assigned, them will I maintain and preserve in possession of these securities and assignments, and, in my letters, I will approve and confirm the letters and documents ceded to them, thereon, supplying any defects concerning fuller retention of the same.

¹ *Ne in aliquo*.—Rinal.

² *Au occulte*.—Rinal.

³ Here ends Rinaldi's quotation from Burchard

“Moreover, seeing that it is of the utmost importance for the Apostolic See, that the letters which are carried to different parts of the world, should be prepared with accuracy and diligence, in accordance with the style of the Roman Court, and that, for this purpose, numerous offices have long been instituted in the Apostolic Chancery, and that, as experience proves, the letters which are despatched from any other place but through the Chancery, according to circumstances, are very often defective in style and other important matters; [seeing that] it is also of importance to the said See that, of the letters thus despatched, registers may be faithfully made, and preserved all together, in one and the same place, very earnestly, therefore, do I declare my will, swear and promise, that I will neither despatch nor cause to be despatched other apostolic letters from elsewhere than through the aforesaid Chancery and its officials, only excepting the letters concerning the offices, cities, and places of the temporal dominion of the Roman Church and those concerning its temporality. And I will contrive and command that these shall all be registered only in the general register of apostolic letters, and not elsewhere, unless they be letters concerning offices and temporality, which I will permit to be registered in the Apostolic Chamber, or [unless] they contain some matter to be kept secret, those I will permit to be registered in a private book at the secretary’s office.

“Moreover, since by some it is asserted that certain cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, fearing that the Roman Pontiff may compel them to depart from the Roman Court, on the pretext of some legation, have sometimes abstained, and do abstain from freely discussing in the consistory, those things which they deem it advisable to discuss, and it is of importance to the Roman Church and to the Apostolic See, that the mind of the said cardinals should be free to discuss, and that all fear and timidity in the expression of their views should cease to exist, I likewise vow, swear, and promise that, against his will, I will not send any cardinal on any legation (unless it be truly and unfeignedly necessary to send him), but only in accordance with his desire and express consent, nor will I, indirectly, in any way, force him to express desire and consent by any sinister means. And moreover, for the purity of conscience of the said cardinals, who desire to take counsel as it may seem good to them, I absolve and wholly exonerate them, and any one of them, from whatsoever crimes, excesses, and evil deeds, howsoever great and heinous, they may have hitherto, in any way, committed and perpetrated, whatever those may be, even if they be such as are not included in a general expression of this sort, and [such] that they require open and specific confession, and, for the purpose of obtaining absolution, individual expression from some definite ordinance, and if the absolution thereof should be specially expressed by the Roman Pontiff, for some definite cause reserved; also, from any [sentences] of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and from other ecclesiastical sentences, censures and penalties, passed and inflicted or published by the law or by man, on any occasion or cause, even from such [crimes] of which the absolution shall be simply reserved, as said above, by the apostolic authority, fully, and in both courts, I do entirely absolve and free them; and moreover, from any irregularity committed by them or any one of them, in any way, do I simply, in both courts, as far as concerns all the orders, and their execution of the pontifical office, even in the ministry of the altar, also their presiding over churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical places, and their exercise of those and of any other ecclesiastical benefices, and their performance of any acts whatsoever, most fully

dispense, abolish, and wipe out all stain of incapability and infamy arising from the above-mentioned things, by which they may be in any way disgraced.

“Moreover, I concede to them, and to any one of them, each and all of the profits, perchance unjustly taken by them from churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastical benefices, in any way whatsoever, up to the present day, and I completely restore, replace, and re-integrate them, and any one of them, in that former state of innocence, in which they were at the time of their sacred baptism. And, if any one of them should desire to receive more special absolution and dispensation and all which goes before, perchance, in any respect, I concede to any one of them that some suitable confessor, whomsoever he may consider should be chosen, a secular priest, or a religious of any order, even that of the mendicants, should exercise, towards the person of the chooser, in renewing the absolution, dispensation, abolition and restitution aforesaid, even in the case of crimes and specified censures, that very same most full and absolute power and authority, which I exercise as the vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter, absolutely, without any reservations.¹

“Moreover, since some of the Roman Pontiffs, on the day after their Assumption, after the publication of rules and constitutions, in the publication of which due diligence has been wont to be applied and used, have been accustomed to publish, on their own account, other rules and constitutions concerning the same cardinals and other officials of the Roman Court, in the publication of which such careful diligence has very often not been used, I do vow, swear, and promise that, in those clauses and constitutions, which it shall be my lot to publish, after the first customary publication, I will never include the cardinals, unless those should concern the favour of the same cardinals, or [unless] there should be published according to the counsel of the same cardinals, or of the greater part of them, concerning which it shall be stated in the constitution and rule thus published, by the superscription of three seniors of the same orders, and they shall be transmitted to the Apostolic Chancery to be read through; [I] ceding in this to the said Vice-Chancellor and his *locum tenens*, that any rule and constitution in which the cardinals shall be expressly mentioned, but which does not imply favour to them, may not be published in the said Chancery, neither shall it be entered and catalogued in the book of rules, as long as, and as often as, it shall not have been done with the consent of the said cardinals themselves, and shall not have been signed by the three priors of the orders of the same.

“Moreover, seeing that, from the concession of special reservations ceded by the Roman Pontiffs, my predecessors, and especially by Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, various inconveniences and scandals have very often arisen, and that all the courts agree in thinking that it would be well for the Apostolic See and the Roman Court to abstain from making these

¹ “But possibly, the strangest of all the articles is that by which the future Pope granted in advance to all the electing cardinals, complete and unqualified absolution for all the crimes which they might have committed, however heinous those might be, even supposing that they were such as could only be pardoned after an express statement. Such a promise would seem to include a tacit and discreditable acknowledgment of the necessity of it. This article is not contained in Rinaldi’s *Annals*.”—De Bréquigny (*Notice du Journal de Burchard*, in Vol. I., p. 74, of the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. Paris, 1787). Although M. Gennarelli observes most aptly that the same things recurred at every conclave (see *Joh. Burch. Diar.*, p. 22, note 2, Florence, 1854), this does not detract from the moral value of the remark of M. de Bréquigny.

concessions, which public opinion condemns, I also do vow, swear, and promise, that I will not concede to any man those special reservations, which are not usually executed by the Apostolic Chancery, in accordance with its style, and that I will wholly and absolutely abstain from conceding these, neither will I permit any man to avail himself of those which have hitherto been conceded, and which may have happened to be conceded, or in any way to produce an effect by means of them.

“Moreover, seeing that it has been prudently decided that the castles and lands of the Holy Roman Church, which are in the neighbourhood of the Mother City, will be governed in complete and established obedience to the Apostolic See, and to the greater satisfaction and encouragement of their subjects, if each of these should be assigned and handed over, as it were, altogether, under the governors of the same city, each to a cardinal, to be held and possessed with its fortifications and full jurisdiction, and all proceeds, and should be held as has been done heretofore; accordingly, experience has taught us that, in past times, when the See came to be vacant, and now it is very well known, that an attempt at defection and rebellion on the part of the said territories, has resulted in the greatest harm and detriment to the Roman Church; for this reason, moved by consideration of the like, seeing also that, at various times, such measures have been devised by former Popes, my predecessors, although those required execution less urgently, I do swear and promise that, to each one of my Lords the Cardinals, who are now in office, and who may be in office for the time being, I will hand over and assign to the same cardinal for life, one territory or castle in the neighbourhood, as said above, together with its citadel, should it possess one, and with the full jurisdiction and each and all of the rents and produce of the same, to the effect that he may rule, hold and possess it, and also to the effect that my Lords the Cardinals themselves, may have some special place whither they may freely betake themselves, either for the purpose of evading the plague, or for recreation. And provided, however, that the same cardinals shall swear, between my hands, to bind the officials and guardians whom they shall appoint to these territories and citadels, by a special and express oath, in the event of the cardinal who holds any territory or castle, freely, quickly, immediately, and without any exception to hand over and consign the said territory [*illam*] or castle [*illam*] with its citadel, if it have one, into the hands of me, or of my successors.

“Moreover, since many of my Lords the Cardinals here present have resigned certain cathedral churches, monasteries, priories, prepositures, provostships, dignities, administrations, offices, and other ecclesiastical benefices, both secular and regular, belonging to some order, which they held and possessed, or should have vacated these same benefices entrusted to them, or for the future should intend to resign or cede in favour of others what they obtain and possess, or did obtain and possess, I promise, swear, and vow, to concede, as I do concede from this time onwards, to the said my Lords the Cardinals, who may also resign, or who shall resign in this way, churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, or to those who may have ceased to control the same, who yield them up, or who shall, in the future, yield them up; and let those who cede or withdraw, who by this manner of resignation or cession shall, moreover, have obtained churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, have free and fullest rights of re-entry, on the same churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical benefices, and lastly, let them be able, in their own right, to reclaim possession of these, and let them freely, and with the fullest power, take



MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, BY LUINI. (MILAN MUSEUM).

Facing page 31.

them anew, even if they hold no bull of re-entry from the Pontiff, Pope Sixtus.

“Moreover, I promise, vow, and swear, that I will use all my favour, assistance, and authority to the effect that full restitution be made, both to the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church and to the others who may, in a lawful manner, have acquired ecclesiastical benefices, and who may not have been admitted into possession of the same, or who have hitherto not been admitted, or who have hitherto been prevented in any way from having full enjoyment of the fruits of the benefices of which they held undisturbed possession up to this time and [who have] freely and honestly acquired them; and I will apply to this, as justice and equity demand, all diligence and obligeance, and I will leave nothing undone.

“Moreover, I promise, vow, and swear, that the canonries and prebends of the Basilica of St. Peter, the Lateran, and of Santa Maria, the greatest of the churches in the city, and each and all of the other benefices vacant in the said basilicas and churches, etc., and those which shall, in their turn, stand vacant, I will not confer, neither will I give them *in commendam*, neither will I make any provision concerning them to any but Roman citizens, even the monasteries, priories and other benefices, regular, of some order; and my Lords the Cardinals have offered and bound themselves to do the same, concerning the benefices situated in their patronage, by reason of titles or of their *commendae*, which they hold in the city, or which they shall hold according to circumstances, at any given time, and likewise, concerning the offices of this Mother City, which are accustomed to be given to Roman citizens, I will not give them to any provisors other than citizens; likewise the protonotariate of the Capitol, notwithstanding the unification of this office with the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia, made by our predecessor, Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory.¹

“Moreover, since it frequently happens that the cardinals gather together at the Apostolic Palace, for various reasons, and that the Pope is occupied for the time being, and cannot immediately give them audience, it detracts considerably from their dignity that the cardinals themselves, when awaiting audience, should happen to wait in any place, crowded together with others who are not cardinals, as sometimes happened in former times; in order that this abuse may be removed, as is fitting, and that they may not lose in dignity, I likewise vow, swear, and promise to assign, in the Apostolic Palace and place of residence, in which I may happen to be, a good and fitting place for the said cardinals, in which to wait, and, under the heaviest censures and penalties, to forbid the chamberlains and others whom it shall concern, to introduce any one else into it, on any pretext, [not] even an ambassador of the Emperor of kings, or of any other potentates, [not] even with the express consent of the cardinals who are occupying it for the time being; rather is the place itself to be left free for the reception, waiting, and conferences, of the aforesaid cardinals.

“Moreover, I promise and vow as above that, in those matters temporal and spiritual, which are very grave and of great moment, and which in any way concern the condition of the Church, I will neither undertake nor give any jurisdiction or administration, on any pretext whatsoever, to any man, whether a layman or secular, of whatever rank or dignity.

¹ These promises in favour of the Roman people had already been made four days before, to the city guardians, by the Sacred College. (See Infessura's Diary in *Eccard*, Vol. II., col. 1946.)

“Moreover, I promise, vow, and swear that, if it should happen that any one of the potentates and secular princes, actuated, perchance, by displeasure, caused by the vote of any cardinal, at the present election of the Roman Pontiff, having been given otherwise than he would have wished, should seize the rents of the benefices of the cardinal himself, then, in that event, I will pay to, and provide for, the same cardinal from my own monies, and from the revenues of the Roman Church, the equivalent of the sum which he shall have lost from the said seizure of his revenues.

“Moreover, all that has been done and performed by the Sacred College or by its deans, or by special commissaries appointed by the same Sacred College, whilst the See was vacant through the death of the aforesaid Lord Pope Sixtus IV., I will hold, keep and observe as firm and valid, even as I now keep, hold, and approve, seeing that these things were done out of a pressing necessity of freedom of election.

“Moreover, under penalty of *anathema* I will punctiliously preserve all and sundry of the aforesaid articles, neither, under the same penalties, will I ever require the cardinals in any way to go against the aforesaid articles. And, if I should seek to do this, I desire that they should in no wise consent, and that, on the contrary, they should preserve all, under the aforesaid penalties and that of eternal malediction, and, if they should act otherwise, by favour, or fear, or be forced to give way to my authority and determination, and likewise may, whatever I might do or enact against, or in circumvention of, the aforesaid things, for any reason whatsoever, be held as void and worthless, and of no importance or force and as though it had not been; and, *ipso facto* notwithstanding, all that has gone before, and any one of these things shall remain valid in its full force and execution. And we have all signed with our own hands as a warranty and witness to this:—

“I, Rodrigo, Bishop of Porto, vice-chancellor, have promised, vowed and sworn the aforesaid things, and have signed myself with my own hand as a warranty.

“I, Oliviero, Bishop of Sabina, Cardinal of Naples, have promised, vowed, and sworn the aforesaid things, and I have signed myself with my own hand as a warranty.

“I, Marco, Bishop of Preneste, Cardinal of San Marco, have promised, vowed, and sworn the aforesaid things, and as a warranty . . .

“I, Giuliano, Bishop, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, have promised the aforesaid things . . .

“I, Battista, Bishop of Tusculum, Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico . . .

“I, Stefano, Cardinal of Milan. . . .

“I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Novara . . .

“I, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal of Molfetta . . .

“I, Filiberto, of the title of St. John and St. Paul, Cardinal-priest of Macon . . .

“I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Sant' Angelo . . .

“I, Giorgio, Cardinal of Lisbon . . .

“I, Domenico, Cardinal of San Clemente . . .

“I, Juan, Cardinal of Aragon . . .

“I, Giovanni, Cardinal dei Conti . . .

“I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Gerona . . .

“I, Giovanni Giacomo, Cardinal of Parma . . .

“I, Francesco, Cardinal of Siena . . .

“I, Rafaele, Cardinal of San Giorgio, chamberlain . . .

- “I, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Savelli . . .
 “I, Giovanni, Cardinal Colonna . . .
 “I, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Orsini . . .
 “I, Ascanio Maria, Cardinal Sforza, viscount . . .”

“Each and all of us, the undersigned Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, on behalf of the good and prosperous government and preservation¹ of the state of the Catholic Church, do swear, and vow, and promise to Almighty God and to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to all the saints of His Holy Church, that, if any one of us shall be elected Pope, after the election celebrated by him, he will immediately swear and vow in purity, simplicity, and good faith, to preserve, and to cause to be preserved, and in effect to fulfil, each and all of the chapters inscribed below, and that, moreover, within three days after his coronation, he will publish three bulls of the same tenour, in accordance with the chapters inscribed below, to serve as a perpetual record of the matter, which bulls shall have the force of a decretal and constitution always to be kept inviolate with the decree of nullification, should anything be done otherwise, or if it should be in any way opposed or set aside, except as set forth in each of the chapters below, and this with the advice and consent of the greater part of my Lords the Cardinals, whose names will be set forth in each chapter, and concerning their consent, it shall be made clear by the signatures of my Lords the Cardinals,² and three cardinals, deans of each order, shall keep and preserve the aforesaid bulls at their residences, at the request of the Sacred College, and they shall never entrust them to any man without the express consent of all the cardinals.

“In the first place, the Most Holy Lord the Pope will swear and promise that, in the event of its being necessary for him to assist the faithful Christians to defend themselves against the perfidious Turks, he will offer all the proceeds from the alum³ at Tolfa for the purpose of helping them, to be used in helping them, as aforesaid; and if these should not amount to the sum of fifty thousand ducats, the same Pope will give and offer so much from the other revenues of the Roman Church, until the said sum [has been completed]; nevertheless in this shall be included the *ransoms* of the nobles exiled and put to flight by the infidels, which, notwithstanding, shall not exceed the sum of eight thousand [ducats], so that it can never be covered by the said proceeds from the alum, or offered in any other way for other uses, under penalty of threat, anathema, and sacrilege; and that the aforesaid profits should be inscribed and reckoned at the same time, by the clerks of the Apostolic Chamber and of the Sacred College, and that their reckonings should be inspected. And a trustee, who should be appointed, should be bound to offer the aforesaid monies in accordance with the unanimous command of the clerks of the Chamber and of the College, according to the resolution of the Supreme Pontiff and of three cardinals, deans of each order; and in this event the cardinals shall offer to give and to pay from their own monies, to serve as help, ten thousand ducats, to be paid proportionately by each one, according to the rate and proportion of the incomes of each one.

¹ *Atque modo ratione*.—In Rinal.

² *Qui in quolibet . . . dominorum cardinalium*.—Omitted in Rinal.

³ The discovery of alum, which, for more than three hundred years, was a source of considerable wealth for the Holy See, is narrated in the memoirs of Pius II. (See *Pii Secundi Pont. Max. Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae temporibus suis contigerunt a R. D. Johanne Gobellino*, etc., Frankfort, 1614. One vol. in fol., pp. 185, 186.)

"Since truly, God will permit a general, powerful, and mighty campaign with the co-operation of the more prudent party of the potentates, princes, and Christian peoples, to oppose the same perfidious Turks, in addition to the profits from the alum, [the Pope] offers, in good faith and purity of heart, one hundred thousand ducats as above; and, in addition, all the tithes of the churches, as shall appear expedient, all the indulgences, the twentieths and thirtieths, and any other impositions whatsoever, which may seem to be useful, necessary, and helpful; and the cardinals themselves, of their own free will, offer twenty thousand ducats in the cause of the general campaign, promising to pay [them] effectually, in proportion as above, in reality and effect.

"Moreover, that, as soon as three months have elapsed since his coronation, he will reform the Roman Court, both its chief and its members, in accordance with the counsel of the greater part of my Lords the Cardinals, and that he will persevere in his reforms until it [the Court] shall have attained perfection.¹

"Moreover, that he will not remove the said Court from the city of Rome, neither will he transfer it from place to place, from province to province, and from his own country to another, even within [the boundaries of] Italy, without the consent and advice of the greater part of the cardinals; moreover [that he will not transfer it] beyond [the boundaries of] Italy without the consent of two-thirds, and this consent must be made evident by the signatures of these, so as to avoid scandals and dangers.

"Moreover, that, as soon as it shall seem that this can conveniently be done, he [the Pope] will celebrate, or will cause to be held solemnly, according to the manner of the ancient councils, in a safe and suitable place, according as it shall seem good to him, a general council, and the greater part of the cardinals shall discuss how to stir up the princes and Christian peoples to defend the faith and to [make] a general campaign against the infidels, and to reform the Catholic Church with regard to its faith,² life and morals, both in respect to the clergy, secular and regular, and those belonging to the military orders, and also with respect to the princes and communities in and in addition to that which shall pertain to the jurisdiction and provision of the Church.³

"Moreover, that he will neither create nor admit any cardinal, even at the request of any one whatever, the Emperor, kings, dukes or princes, unless he exceed his thirtieth year, and unless he be a doctor, either in theology, or in one or other branch of law, or, at any rate, in the case of sons or nephews of kings, of sufficient education, and with the advice of two parts of my Lords the Cardinals.

"Concerning his relations and kindred, he shall not promote more than one, that is to say, one with the above qualifications, neither shall he ever

¹ *Satisfactionem*.—In Rinaldi.

² *Fidem*.—Omitted in Rinaldi. M. Gennarelli, who has pointed out the variants of the text given by Rinaldi, has been most vehemently attacked by M. Cerri on account of this word. After the words *circa fidem*, Gennarelli notes at the foot of the page (p. 26): "*Fidem desideratur in Raynaldi*. If Raynaldi does not give *circa fidem*, it is because Burchard's text does not contain it, or, if it does contain it, it ought not to do so, since this use of the word *fidem* amounts to the most arrant blasphemy against God, and furnishes the clearest pretext for the Lutheran Reform, and for the birth of all the heresies which, at that terrible time, burst forth from hell to lacerate the Spouse of Christ," etc.—(*Borgia, ossia Alessandro vi papa e suoi contemporanei per Monsignor Cerri Domenico da Macello*, Turin 1873, Vol. V., p. 30.)

³ *Romane ecclesia*.—In Rinaldi.

have more than twenty-four cardinals at any time, wherever these may be, and whencesoever these may have come; and let those [cardinals] elected otherwise, or in any other way, after the death of the Pope, even if, in the meanwhile, they shall have held the office, be disqualified from taking any part, active or passive, in the election of the Pope, neither let them, in the future, be considered as cardinals, neither shall [the Pope] ever create any [cardinal] unless he has first reduced the College to the number of less than twenty-four, and let them not exceed it, as has been said above, and he shall at once announce the elections, and he shall not keep them secret, and, to this election, he shall summon all my Lords the Cardinals who are in Italy, and who can conveniently attend, from Bologna or from this side of Florence, and that the examinations of my Lords the Cardinals shall be held in the consistory and not in private, and let this refer only to the election of the cardinals.

“Moreover, that he shall make no change or provision with regard to the churches, cathedrals, abbeys, priories, and magisterial offices or any others whatsoever in the Apostolic Chamber, whether mentioned by name or not, even under the title of *commendata* or administration, or by any other title whatsoever, or in any way, except in the consistory or with the consent of at least the majority of the cardinals, with the exception of those which he may confer on my Lords the Cardinals, and with the exception of the abbeys which do not exceed the sum of two hundred ducats, and he shall receive no other tax.

“Moreover, that he should not grant the power of making presentations or nominations to churches, cathedrals and monasteries, to lay princes or ecclesiastical prelates of whatever rank, status or quality they may be, whether imperial, royal, ducal, archiepiscopal, episcopal, or of any other importance, except with the express advice and consent of the greater part of the cardinals.

“Moreover, that he should never permit any bull to be published, neither should he make any concession to any one, by which he might bind himself to princes or to any one [prince], neither should he assure them that he would not confer any churches, cathedrals, or monasteries, except according to their pleasure and good-will.

“Moreover, that he will not depose or dispossess any one at the request of any prince, unless he have gained information in a lawful manner, or unless there be notorious crimes fully proved, which have been heard on all sides in the Roman Court; neither shall he transfer the same prelates against their will, except from the said causes, and on account of those notorious crimes, by reason of which they should rightfully be deposed; and if, in accordance with the canonical constitutions, there should be any necessity of giving a coadjutor to any archbishop, bishop, or abbot, he [the Pope] will only give him [the coadjutor] in the legal form, entirely removed from all rights of succession.

“Moreover, that the possessions of the cardinals, monks, and other prelates, also of all the Court officials,¹ and those who frequent the Court, who may die in the Roman Court, he will in no wise seize, or cause to be seized for any reason or cause whatsoever, but that he will promise, in accordance with the arrangement of the law, or the custom, or the authority granted, and [in accordance with] the privileges and desire of the deceased, that the same at their death may dispose of the goods belonging

¹ *Cardinalium*.—Wrong in Rinaldi (p. 69). *Curtisanorum*.—Another form found in Rinaldi and several MSS. See the Glossary of Du Cange.

to them, in any way according to their pleasure, and that they may, without obtaining any permission, make a will freely and explicitly, notwithstanding the bull published in former days concerning this matter in favour of the crusade; but with regard to the other men in orders who are not cardinals, who have renounced their own authority, only with the exception of those whose goods he shall permit to return to him or to those to whom they may belong, by law, custom, or privilege, he shall neither seize, nor cause nor permit to be seized, any [part] of the revenues and the rights of the hat of the deceased cardinals; on the contrary, that he desires that the said cardinals and even the monks may be free to bequeath, dispose of, and act, concerning the said incomes and rights as shall seem good to them; and if it should happen that they die intestate, he will permit these rights and incomes due to the same deceased, to be transferred to their heirs, to whom they belong by law or by custom, to the abolition of all controversies and abuses whatsoever.

“Moreover, that he will not grant any fiefs of kingdoms, cities, lands, and well-known castles, even of those lands which have generally been granted as fiefs, or *alienationem* under any title whatsoever, even that of vicariate, mortgage, lease,¹ or any other contract, to any person whatsoever, ecclesiastical or secular, or [to any] community out of the lands and rights and possessions connected with the patrimony of the Church, neither will he levy taxes on the lands of the Church *in diminutionem vel remissionem*, unless he have first taken counsel in the consistory and [unless] two-thirds of the cardinals have given their consent and signatures, and the same shall apply to the recent acquisitions in Tuscany, the Marches and Romagnola.

“Moreover, that without the express consent of two-thirds of my Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, he shall not make war upon any king, duke, prince, lord, community or subject of his; neither shall he make a league with them for the purpose of making war upon any man.

“Moreover, that he shall compel the vassals of the kingdoms and other substitutes, whom he shall invest afresh, the captains, governors, lords of manors, and each and all of the other officials of the city of Rome, and of the other lands within the patrimony of the Roman² Church, to swear in their institution, obedience and loyalty to the Church of Rome, that is to say, to him, and to his successors.

“Moreover, that he shall compel the aforesaid vassals and the other officials named in this chapter, to swear that, when the See is vacant, at the command of my Lords the Cardinals themselves, they will forthwith hand over the cities, lands, places, citadels, fortresses, and castles of the Church of Rome to the assemblage of the cardinals themselves, and that they will renounce them willingly, without any refusal, and concerning this they shall furnish sufficient caution and security.

“Moreover, that he will not cede to any of his relations, either a prelate or a layman, the citadels of Sant' Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Tevere, Spoleto, Fani³ and Cesena, but [that he will cede them] to other prelates and ecclesiastical persons, and to those for no longer than two years, unless according to the counsel of two-thirds of the cardinals, it should seem well to act otherwise; neither shall he appoint the same [relative] to be lord of the manor or governor of any city, and the governors of the more important cities, such as Spoleto and others similar to them,

¹ See Murat., *Antiq. Ital.*, Vol. III. Dissertations, 36.

² *El aliarum terrarum patrimonii Eccl. Rom.*—Omitted in Rinaldi.

³ *Phani.*—Omitted in Rinaldi.

shall be prelates and ecclesiastics; neither shall he concede to his nephew or to any of his kindred the chief generalship of the Church.

“Moreover that, in addition to each and all of the aforesaid things and that which depends on them, and other things in which the advice of my Lords the Cardinals shall be required, only excepting the promotion of prelates, he shall consent never to publish any bull containing this clause, namely, *consilio fratrum nostrorum*, unless, in effect and reality, in the consistory he has first carefully taken the votes of the brethren in this matter, and [unless] the majority shall have given their consent and [unless] this is made evident¹ by the signatures of three of the cardinals, one from each order.

“Moreover, that he should cause each and all of the aforesaid chapters to be read in the private consistory, in the presence of His Holiness, once every three months, that is to say, at the first consistory of each [period] of three months; and my Lords the Cardinals shall meet in congregation twice every year, that is to say, on the Kalends of November, and on the 7th of May, at the summons of three of the deans of each order, under penalty of excommunication if they do not assemble and if they have broken them [the chapters], (unless any man be legitimately prevented), [they shall meet] for the purpose of seeing, considering and discussing whether each and all of the aforesaid [chapters] have been kept by the Pope, and if they have not been kept, let them admonish him kindly, and let them exhort him to keep them until the third warning; and the cardinals themselves shall be bound to keep all under penalty of excommunication, neither must they ever vote against the aforesaid [chapters], and that, if they should have acted otherwise, out of fear, or of their own free will, against the bond of excommunication by which they bind themselves from this time onward, with, moreover, the authority and desire of the future Pope; likewise, whatever the Supreme Pontiff himself may do or perform against, or in addition to, the aforesaid [chapters] for any reason whatsoever, this shall be as a matter of his, null and void and of no importance or force, and it shall be as though it had not been. And the future Pope shall never ask them to act otherwise, and, if he should have asked them, from now onwards, he desires that they will manfully resist, and that, in such case, they should not be bound to obey him.

“Moreover that, concerning all these [chapters] a notary shall be summoned who shall execute all and each of the chapters in the name of the Holy Roman Church and of the Sacred College of the Cardinals, and who shall be bound to draw up and publish one or more documents concerning them, and that a draft shall quickly be made, or [several] drafts, the one like unto the other, bearing the signature and [mark of] the signet-ring of the future Pontiff, and that these should have the force of a bull, if, three days after his coronation, he [the Pope] should not have given to the Sacred College, three bulls in accordance with the tenour of the aforesaid chapters, as has been said in the first chapter, or introduction.

“Moreover that, before the publication of his election, he shall confirm and approve each and all of these [chapters], by means of a decree, vote, oath, and of his signature in the following manner:—

“I, such an one, elected and received Supreme Pontiff, do promise, vow, and swear, to observe and fulfil each and all of that which goes before, in all things, and through all things, in purity, simplicity and good faith, in reality and effect, on the penalty of perjury and anathema, from which I

¹ *Unius*.—Omitted in Rinaldi, and in all the MSS. except the Chigi and MS. 5521.

will neither absolve myself, nor will I permit any other to absolve me. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God."

"I, Rodrigo, Bishop of Porto, vice-chancellor, have promised, vowed and sworn, all the aforesaid things, and I have signed myself, with my own hand, as a pledge.

"I, Oliviero, Bishop of Sabina, Cardinal of Naples, the aforesaid . . .

"I, Marco, Bishop of Preneste, Cardinal of San Marco, etc. . . .

"I, Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula . . .

"I, Battista, Bishop of Tusculum, Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico . . .

"I, Stefano, Cardinal of Milan . . .

"I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Novara . . .

"I, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal of Molfetta . . .

I, Filiberto, of the title of St. John and St. Paul, Cardinal-priest of Macon . . .

"I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Sant' Angelo . . .

"I, Giorgio, Cardinal of Lisbon . . .

"I, Girolamo, Cardinal of Rieti . . .

"I, Gabriello, Cardinal of Agria . . .

"I, Domenico, Cardinal of San Clemente . . .

"I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Aragon . . .

"I, Giovanni, Cardinal Conti . . .

"I, Giovanni, Cardinal of Gerona . . .

"I, Giovanni Giacomo, Cardinal of Parma . . .

"I, Francesco Jacopo, Cardinal of Siena . . .

"I, Rafaele, Cardinal of San Giorgio, chamberlain . . .

"I, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Savelli . . .

"I, Giovanni, Cardinal Colonna . . .

"I, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Orsini . . .

"I, Ascanio Maria, Cardinal Sforza, viscount . . ."

Meantime, whilst the chapters¹ were being discussed by the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, I, at the request of my fellow-members of the conclave, drew up, on behalf of all of us, a document to be signed for us by the future Pope, and that morning, when mass was over, before the signing of the afore-mentioned chapter, I placed it before the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, who were seated in their places in the said chapel; I, together with three or four members of the conclave having been summoned, [I] standing near the table which was prepared as above, entreating, in a short speech, in the name of all, that the cardinals themselves would deign to receive our petition to be signed and kept by the future Pope. First the Vice-Chancellor and then all the others replied "*Placet*," except the Very Rev. Cardinal of San Marco, who replied: "*De honestis placet*." Certain of the members of the conclave desired

¹ After having enumerated these articles, Rinaldi adds: "Some of those things which he promised by oath concerned the restriction of the dignity of the ecclesiastical rule, etc. But other things promised by Innocent for the advantage of the cardinals were distorted, and these things, since it was agreed that they were wrong, he thought that his religion could scarcely prevent him from violating, as we shall see."—*Annal. Eccl.*, Vol. XXX., p. 70.

The cardinals were all the more willing to sign these articles because each of them knew that he would always have the right to desist from keeping them, once he were elected Pope, by virtue of the decree of Innocent VI., who had declared that all the agreements drawn up during the vacancy of the Holy See, which tended to restrain or diminish the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, were null and void.

me to ask that each of the cardinals should sign in turn, but, seeing that I and several others did not think it right that we should not trust the word of the cardinals, we were satisfied with their word. But the tenour of the document will be given below, after the election of the Pope.

Therefore, when the chapters had been signed, as has been said above, at my command, all the members of the conclave went to the great chapel, likewise the sacristan and my colleague, who, together with me, kept the door of the said greater chapel from within. The Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals remained all alone in the smaller chapel. Then, the Very Rev. Lords the Vice-Chancellor, dean of the bishops, the Cardinal of Milan, dean of the priests, and the Cardinal of Siena, dean of the cardinal-deacons, approached the small table before the altar, the table being prepared as above, and there they seated themselves on those three stools, turning their backs towards the altar, and their faces towards the other cardinals; the Vice-Chancellor in the middle, the Cardinal of Milan on his right, and the Cardinal of Siena on his left; and there, when they themselves and all the other cardinals were sitting in silence, in their places, the Very Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor exhorted the cardinals in a few words, [saying] how they had come together to elect the Supreme Pontiff, so that each one might consider how to elect the most suitable, according to the dictates of his conscience.¹ And because the election of the Pope has very often been accomplished *per accessum*, he asked the cardinals whether, when the voting had been taken, the *accessus* should be held that morning or not; and on this matter, he took the votes of the cardinals, and the majority voted against there being an *accessus* that day.

Therefore, when this was over, the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, the Vice-Chancellor, (and he of Siena placed himself on the epistle side of the altar,) rose from their stools. Moreover, the Vice-Chancellor, kneeling down before the altar, having prayed privately for a short time, rose, and held his vote in his hand, written in his own writing on a small piece of paper, and stamped with his own seal, and, coming before the altar, having first kissed the paper, he carried it in two fingers, that is, with the thumb and index [finger] of the right hand, to the chalice placed on the same altar, he being wishful to place his vote therein; the Cardinal of Siena slightly raised the paten off the chalice, and covered it up with the vote inside.

But the Vice-Chancellor, having presented his vote, approached the right, that is, the gospel side of the altar, where he remained until all the rest had voted. The Vice-Chancellor was followed by the Cardinal of Naples, who came from his place, prayed before the altar and presented [his vote] as above; the Vice-Chancellor and he of Siena slightly raised the paten on both sides, and replaced it; thereupon he of Naples returned to his place, and he was followed by each of the cardinals in their order.

When it came to the turn of him of Milan, he being infirm could not

¹ It is none the less true that Rodrigo Borgia, the Vice-Chancellor, who was at the head of one of the two parties in the conclave, intended to sway the votes of his colleagues, to whom he had offered posts, money, benefices, even his own palace, in order to control them. This we are told by Vespucci, the ambassador in his despatch dated 21st August, 1484, and addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici (Appendix, number 12). When he saw that he could not succeed, the Vice-Chancellor sold his vote to the Cardinal of Molfetta. (See Appendix, number 26, despatch from Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, dated 26th August.)

move, he of Novara, who came next to him, presented both votes at the same time, sealed, as above. When all the votes were presented in the chalice, as above, the Vice-Chancellor and he of Siena, each on his side, took hold of the chalice and reverently replaced it on the aforesaid table, and they standing there, the Vice-Chancellor first took the chalice in his right hand by the knob or round part, and with his left steadied the paten on the top of it; inverted the chalice with the paten, so as to turn over the pieces of paper within; then, in his capacity of head, he placed it [the chalice] before him, and, having raised the paten slightly with his left hand, with his right hand he drew out the piece of paper which came nearest; he only used two fingers so that it might clearly be observed by all, and he gave this piece of paper to him of Siena, who, moreover, opened it, with his hands wide open, and read it aloud and kept hold of it. When this piece of paper had been taken out, the Vice-Chancellor covered the chalice with the paten as before, until the paper had been read, then he drew forth another, and this he did until the examination of the votes was completed. But it was the duty of the Dean of the Cardinal-priests to uncover and cover the chalice upon the table. Nevertheless, because the dean, the Cardinal of Milan, was oppressed with sickness, he could not do this, and the Vice-Chancellor took his place. Moreover, the pieces of paper containing the votes ran as follows, namely:—

“I, Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, elect as Supreme Pontiff my Very Rev. Lord, Lord Giovanni, of the title of Santa Cecilia, Cardinal-priest of Molfetta, also my Very Rev. Lord, Lord Rafaele, of the title of San Giorgio ad Velum Aureum, cardinal-deacon, and [also] my Very Rev. Lord, Lord Giovanni Battista, of Santa Maria in Dominica, also Cardinal-deacon Orsini.”

When the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena had read each of these pieces of paper, each of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals noted down in succession in the folios which they had before them, [that] the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta has the Cardinal of Ostia. They did the same in the name of the Cardinal of San Giorgio and Orsini and so on, as each one was read, as above. It appeared from the votes of each, that none of the cardinals had more than ten votes; on the contrary, only the Cardinal of San Marco had ten votes. But, seeing that seventeen votes were needed for the future Pontiff, that is, [the votes] of two-thirds of the cardinals present, it was not concluded that morning, but, when the votes had been read, all the cardinals rose. Some went to their chambers for luncheon, others to converse.

Yesterday, the Cardinal of Milan, who is sick, who had three servants in the conclave, said to me that Giovanni Galbi, one of these three, was not serving him well, and that therefore I must send him out of the conclave, and admit Guistiniano Amerino in his place. I replied, that I was not allowed to do this without the knowledge and order of the College. Therefore, he saw to it that the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, with certain other cardinals, gave me this commission in the name of the College, and at their command I sent away Giovanni Galbi, and in his place I received the aforesaid Guistiniano.

During these days, it was discussed by some whether the Very Rev. Lord, Cardinal Ascanio, who came to the city as cardinal after the death of Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, and whose mouth was not yet open, should vote in the election of the future Pontiff, seeing that the ceremony of the opening of the mouth, which is observed in the case of new cardinals, had not been performed in his case. At length it was decided by the Very

Rev. Lords the Cardinals, that, as the mouth of the aforesaid Cardinal Ascanio had not been closed, he might freely take a part in the election and vote in it, and that this had been done at the time of the election of Urban V., of blessed memory, when the Apostolic See was vacant, owing to the death of Innocent VI., at which time Androino Rocca, of good memory, took part. But, if the mouth of the aforesaid Cardinal Ascanio had been closed by Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, and if, at the time of the closure, before the same Sixtus had opened his mouth, Sixtus himself had died, that then, by reason of this closing of the mouth, the aforesaid Cardinal Ascanio would not have been able to vote in the aforesaid election.

But we will briefly add how the arrangement of the food and drink of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals was managed, together with a description of certain other things which were done in the conclave.

On behalf of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, before they entered the conclave, places situated near the palace, in which the conclave was held, were chosen and arranged, namely, in the palaces of Santa Caterina and San Marcello, in the residence of the Very Rev. Lord the Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, in the chamber of the Treasurer, in certain chambers of the canons of the Basilica of St. Peter, in which places food was to be cooked for the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals. In these places were the masters of the courts and the cooks of the cardinals themselves, who prepared each meal. Moreover, about the hours of luncheon and supper the *magistri domorum*, the treasurers, came to the above-mentioned places from the houses of the cardinals, bringing wines, and with them came some of the chaplains, shield-bearers, and others, who were guarding the palaces of the cardinals. Then, when the hour had come, the shield-bearers walked in front, two by two, and the chaplains followed in their order, with stable-boys, one before and the other behind, who bore between them on their shoulders wooden vessels [slung] on a stick, containing the food and drink and bread of the cardinals.

When they arrived at the door of the second watch of the palace, the shield-bearers and the chaplains remained there together with the *magister domus*, and the stable-boys with the wooden vessels went up the staircase as far as the third or fourth watch, and there, outside the door of the conclave, they set down the wooden vessels. This kind of wooden vessel has a lid with two keys, the one like unto the other; of these, the master of the court kept one, and the other was in the possession of those in the conclave who attended upon each Very Rev. Lord Cardinal.

The former (*magister ante*), when he had placed the food and wine in the wooden vessel, having first made a list of each thing, closed the wooden vessel with the key, and, in the manner above described, despatched it to the conclave; there were two of these wooden vessels, of which one was sent in the manner above described, and the other, which was in the conclave, was returned, and in this, all the things taken out from the one that remained outside were placed, these things having been handed into the conclave through the hatch, and then [each vessel was] replaced in the chamber of the cardinal to whom it belonged.

I, or my colleague, summoned the members of the conclave of that cardinal to whom the wooden vessel belonged, and, when they approached with his empty wooden vessel, I opened the hatch of the door from within, and those of the fourth watch [opened] it from without, and the members of the conclave themselves from within, held out the wooden vessels to the custodians, who, when they had opened each wooden vessel, drew out

everything from it and placed it upon the small table which stood in readiness there, near the door of the conclave; and there one of the custodians, appointed for this purpose by the others, inspected each, turning over the middle of the loaves and the soup, cutting open the fowls, tearing asunder the joints, the loaves and the tarts, whenever it seemed good to them, and looking through the glass [bottles] or decanters of wine. For the wine was sent or carried in uncovered glass [bottles], not in flasks or any other vessel. But the soup was sent in as small jars as possible.

When they had carefully inspected each [of the vessels] the guardians themselves handed them to us clerks of the ceremonies through the hatch of the door. Moreover we, on receiving them, placed them on our great side-board, where the members of the conclave, who were waiting, received them, each placing them in his wooden vessel which he held in readiness there, wherein each of them carried the victuals to his chamber. When the food for supper arrived in the evening, the members of the conclave set forth the vessels of silver and glass which they had taken in the morning, upon our side-board in the conclave, and I returned them empty to the stable-boys, who were waiting from without. But we clerks of the ceremonies placed the bread and the wine and the salt meats, and other things which would keep, in our vessels which we had brought to the conclave for this purpose. Moreover, I had brought a small bottle in which to collect the wine, and a big basket for the bread and the like, and this I placed in the chamber of the doctors, which led to the privies in the corner near the door of the conclave. But the other things, that is to say, the soups, joints or fresh fish and the like, which were left over, we gave to the aforesaid custodians, and I did the same in the morning with regard to the vessels received in the evening. The stable-boys or the other servants of the cardinals waited near the second watch in the morning and in the evening, and they were informed by us and by the custodians at what hour the food should be brought, and when they had been informed they brought it, and not before; for a fixed time could not be assigned to them because the cardinals despatched their business sometimes sooner, sometimes later. The aforesaid custodians did not deal with the said food in any given order, but he who came first with the food was the first to be released, whether he were first or last [in importance] or whether he were the *familiar* of any cardinal whatsoever; the same custodians appointed between themselves every day, two of the fourth watch, one for lunch and the other for supper, to examine the food, in the fashion described above, whilst the others assisted him. No member of the conclave at any time, or for any cause whatsoever, was admitted to the hatch, whether this were open or closed, even for the purpose of speaking to any one from without, without the express leave of the college; and, if any letters came to the college, which could not be received through the opening of the hatch, we opened the hatch, and having taken the letters we quickly closed it again. But we gave the letters, I, or my colleague, to the College of Cardinals, if they were all assembled together, or we told two or three of the senior cardinals that we had letters for the college, and that, if it pleased them, we would give them to the Dean of the Cardinals. But, if any one from outside desired to send any information within, he spoke with the hatch closed, and one of us two, having heard what he had to say, referred it to the Dean of the Cardinals, and to three or four of the other cardinals, he being also notified of this. When the hatch was opened to take in the food and to send forth the vessels, we took great care to prevent any member of the conclave, not only from approaching the hatch, but also from making any sign, which

would be received by any one from without. When the sacristan celebrated a public mass, all the members of the conclave, or those who wished, might hear the said mass, but they must stand outside the doors of the smaller chapel in which mass was celebrated, which doors led into the first and second court of the conclave, and, whilst mass was being celebrated, no man knocked at the door of the conclave. Likewise, whilst the votes were being examined, when mass was over, and when the stools had been arranged for each of the cardinals with a folio of papyrus, paper, and reed-pen, ink and two or three small candles, all returned to the larger chapel, in which they were all confined by us, the clerks of the ceremonies, the cardinals being in congregation. I guarded the door of the first court, so that, between the third court, in which the congregations were held, and myself, there was the second middle court, and, when they wished to summon me, one or other of the cardinals rang the bell; some took their meals alone in their cells, others with two, three, or four others, or several together.

When luncheon was over, on the *aforsaid Saturday, August 28th*, various intrigues¹ were set on foot, and at length the votes of about seventeen of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals were given in favour of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta, who, the following evening, before the sixth hour of the night, began, at the request of certain of the cardinals, to sign petitions in his chamber; having knelt down on one knee, he signed the petitions placed before him on a certain small box; some of the cardinals, who were asking and waiting for these signatures, stood round; whilst this was happening, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena came up, and seeing this, he said, with a smile: "*This is an inversion of the right order of things; the Pope is signing petitions on his knees, and we, the petitioners, stand upright.*"

On *Tuesday, the 29th of the aforsaid August*, the day of the Decollation of Saint John the Baptist, very early in the morning, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco, from motives of piety, celebrated a public mass in the small chapel, as indeed he did on the two following days; thereupon, about the tenth hour, when all the cardinals were standing in order in the aforsaid small chapel in their capes and with their croziers as on the day before, our sacristan celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost with commemoration of the faithful departed, as on the day before, and, when this was over, we prepared a small table and stools, with their appurtenances, as on the day before, and we all went out of the same chapel, leaving the cardinals there alone, and all the members of the conclave were confined in the larger chapel. And, meanwhile, the latter put their possessions together, asked for their chambers, and each one collected all his things, with the exception of the members of the conclave of the Cardinal of Molfetta, who left the chamber of their lord with the possessions of the members of the conclave. The cardinals in the small chapel made examination of the votes as on the day before, but there was no mention made of the accession. When the examination of the votes was over, it was found that the Very Rev. Lord Giovanni, of the title of Santa Cecilia, Cardinal-priest of Molfetta, had sufficient votes; therefore, unanimously, by all the cardinals, and by the whole college of the said cardinals, without any protest,² he was admitted and received as Supreme Pontiff of

¹ These intrigues, to which Burchard merely alludes, have been brought to light by Infessura (in *Eccard*, Vol. II., col. 1997) and confirmed by the despatches of the ambassadors. (See Petrucelli della Gattina, *Hist. diplomat. des Conclaves*. Paris, 1864, 4 vols. in 8°, Vol. I., p. 297 *sqq.*, and numbers 13-25 of the Appendix.)

² See, in the Appendix (number 29) the curious despatch of Vespucci to Lorenzo de'

the Holy Roman and Catholic Church, and as a sign of his admittance, the cardinals laid down their croziers before him, and invested him with the cape over the rochet. And they placed him in the magnificent seat of the chamber, between the altar and the aforesaid small table, and they placed upon his finger the signet-ring of Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, which ring the sacristan had in readiness for this purpose; and when he had been received as Pope, thus seated, he himself chose for himself the name of *Innocent VIII., Pope.*

And, when this was done, having been made Pope, he got up, and his aforesaid seat was placed before the aforesaid table; and when the three stools, which were there before, had been removed, the aforesaid chapters were brought. As has been said, these had been signed by the cardinals, with the exception of him of Foscaro, before the first examination of the votes; and, after the signature of the last cardinal, that is, of the Very Rev. Lord Ascanio, His Holiness signed each of the six quires, in these words, namely:—

“I, Innocent VIII., elected and admitted as Supreme Pontiff, do promise, vow, and swear to observe and fulfil all and each of what has gone before, in all things, and through all things, in purity, simplicity, and good faith, in reality and in effect, on the penalty of perjury and anathema, from which [penalties] I will neither absolve myself, nor will I entrust another to absolve me. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God.”¹

In the meantime, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, from the window of the small sacristy, which was near the altar of the said chapel, when the tiles or bricks with which it had been blocked up were removed, held out of it a cross to the people assembled there in the palace court, and proclaimed in a loud voice: “*I bring you tidings of great joy. We have a Pope. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta has been elected Supreme Pontiff, and he has chosen for himself the name of Innocent VIII.*”

When this was said, all the people applauded, and the bells of the Palace and Basilica of St. Peter were rung with great violence, and the soldiers of the guard of the palace, triumphantly, at once laid down the weapons with which they had been burdened, until the Pope-elect should have returned to the palace from the aforesaid basilica.

When the chapters had been signed by the said Pope, in the manner above described, many petitions were presented to him by the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and all these petitions His Holiness signed indiscriminately, without examining them. Then His Holiness entered the small sacristy aforesaid, where the cardinal-deacons stripped him of all his vestments, and put upon him the vestments of his predecessor, Pope Sixtus IV. These had been placed in readiness by the sacristan, that is to say, the alb, the doublet of white silk, and the vest of fine white serge, a pair of red breeches, shoes of red cloth like sandals, with crosses upon

Medici on the election of the Cardinal of Molfetta, and the details concerning the family and the children of the new Pope, whom the ambassador sets in a favourable light. See also the despatch of Loeti, number 30.

¹ Innocent VIII., at the request of the City Guardians, had pledged himself to grant to the Roman citizens certain privileges, wholly for their own advantage. Infessura declares that he saw the schedule by which the Pope had confirmed his promises. He even caused them to be inserted in a bull, to make them seem more authentic. It is only fair to add that he made certain changes (in the bull), which practically destroyed the advantages which, in the first place, were reserved for the Roman citizens. (See Infessura in *Eccard*, col. 1950.)

them, a crimson girdle with tassels of massic gold, the rochet, amice, alb, girdle, and precious red stole with pearls. Thus arrayed he returned to the aforesaid small chapel, and sitting on the aforesaid seat near the table, he again signed petitions presented to him by the cardinals and the members of the conclave, and the document of the members of the conclave, which was presented to him by me. Its tenour was as follows:—

“Of our own motion, we, wishing to grant a special favour to the beloved sons, the undersigned members of the conclave, who were present in the conclave at the time of our reception to the dignity of the Supreme Pontificate and of the Apostolate, to them, of our own accord, we give and bestow, all the furniture of our chamber in the conclave, the gold, silver, books, garments, and all our other goods and possessions which were brought to the said conclave, without any exception, and likewise all the timber in the conclave.

“Moreover, we likewise give to each of them, and we wish that they should receive the gift of five *cannes* of fine red cloth, in which they shall clothe themselves.

“Moreover, that they may receive some reward for their labours, and attain their deserts, of our own free will, and from our certain knowledge, we reserve and we wish these to be reserved for them as a body, and we decree that two offices of the apostolic scribes, called *della grossa*, if they are vacant at present, or as soon as they shall be vacant, with each and all of their accustomed privileges and emoluments, [shall be placed] at their disposal, freely, without any payment or indemnity to the datary of the petitions, to be signed by us, or at our command, or in our presence, or to be made by any other.

“Moreover we, wishing to grant a further favour to all and each of the same, on a similar motion [*i. e.* on our own motion] reserve one ecclesiastical benefice, or two or three ecclesiastical benefices. Moreover, if there should be two with the care of souls, or the dignities or livings, or all things, administrations or offices, canonries and prebends, stipends and stipendial shares, benefices to which some service is attached, perpetual vicarages in metropolitan cathedrals and collegiate churches, and that they should be accustomed to be admitted to the dignities, privileges, administrations, or offices of this sort, by election, and that the care of souls is destined for them by the collation of whatever patrons or patronesses to be chosen in the execution of the documents, we, by right of our dignity, reserve them by our inhibitions and decrees. And, so that they may the more speedily attain to the effect of these favours, on a similar motion, we concede to them, and we grant and desire and decree that, to assure these benefices, they shall, without exception (*omnino*), be preferred and placed before all persons, and every person, even [before] our former servants mentioned, or those who shall be mentioned by us, or at our command, of whatever dignity, position, rank, order or class these may be, even if they have been created canons, and notwithstanding any prerogatives, declarations, privileges, favours, and indulgences and pluralities, power to nominate or collate, and reservations, special or general, and primary prayers, rights registered or to be registered before this agreement, notwithstanding any other clauses derogatory, even if expressed as being on our own motion, and of our full knowledge, and with other stronger, more efficacious, unusual limiting clauses, even on such motion and knowledge, granted or to be granted at the request of any emperors, kings, dukes, princes, prelates, or any one else whatsoever, and each and all of these things, as to the

accepting of benefices by the said undersigned members of the conclave, and with which it may happen that they shall be provided, we do not wish to be extended, even if they should make express mention of these presents, with a word for word insertion of them, and with the rule concerning nationality, which may be made by us at any time, which, also, we do not wish to be extended to the undersigned members of the conclave, and thus judgment must be given by whatever judges and auditors there may be, declaring that anything that is against this is void, even though it be confirmed by constitutions and ordinances apostolic, statutes of churches, oaths, and all other contrary clauses which may occur.

“Moreover, on a similar motion, and with similar knowledge, carefully and with due discrimination, we reserve each and all of the ecclesiastical benefices with and without care of souls, even if they should be canonries and prebends, dignities, livings, administrations and offices, stipends and stipendial shares, chaplaincies in cathedrals, metropolitan and collegiate churches, and the dignities in the said cathedrals, even metropolitan, beginning with the chief pontifical churches or collegiate churches of the same kind, the principal ones which are now vacant, and shall be vacant in consequence of the death of any person whatsoever in the Roman Court, or outside it; and those which, in consequence of the promotion of any persons to cathedrals and to metropolitan churches, which are bereft of the comfort of pastors, are vacant, or shall fall vacant, or it may be hoped [may fall vacant] by such appointment or confirmation of election, or conferring of the gift of consecration, or lapse of time; and further, those which shall remain vacant until our coronation, [all these] to be conferred upon members of the conclave, to each in his own province, diocese, or idiom, or set under the rule of the same prince or government. We, binding ourselves, and decreeing that it is not our intention to wish to provide any other with these benefices, we stating [this] in the aforesaid clauses, and in others which are suitable.

“Moreover, and on a similar motion, we wish [and direct] our venerable brothers, the Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, who controls the Apostolic Chancery, our secretaries and beloved sons, the *rescribendurius*, the reckoner, the deputies, and any other of our officials, even the solicitors of Apostolic Letters, and those who, for the time being, are notaries of the Roman Court, under pain of a sentence of excommunication being brought against them, that they execute, and allow to be executed, and seal, all and singular letters apostolic, touching the above-quoted donations, reservations, favours, dispensations, even for two or three incompatible benefices, or a third, and whatever other petitions and favours, which touch favour and justice, also the provision of cathedral and metropolitan churches, and all kinds of monasteries, and whatever other documents they may need to have made, drawn up, and executed freely, without any payment in any of the offices, even of the abbreviators, any ordinances of ours to the contrary, notwithstanding.

“Moreover, on a similar motion, we command our beloved sons, the notaries of causes of the apostolic palace, and any others of the Roman Court, under pain of a sentence of excommunication being brought against them, that, each and all of the causes, whether concerning benefices, civil, profane, criminal and mixed, which the said members of the conclave shall have in the Roman Court, during the time of our pontificate, before any judges, commissaries, and auditors of causes of the said palace, which they [the members of the conclave] shall institute against others, or others against them, they shall grant freely, and out of order, to the said members



ISABELLA OF ARAGON, BY LUINI, (MILAN MUSEUM).

of the conclave, and shall receive payment from them as on account of extraordinary causes, and not otherwise.

“Likewise, we also command the notaries of the Roman Court, threatening them with the same penalty, not to exact or receive anything further, on behalf of the writs of summons, sequestration and execution, and on behalf of any other documents concerning allotments and provisions, and on behalf of law-suits and letters; they shall exact and receive nothing more, notwithstanding the apostolic letters of our predecessor, Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, concerning the establishment and reduction of the said offices, and [notwithstanding] any other [apostolic letters] whatsoever, which may be contrary to this. Let this be done, concerning all things, on our own motion, in all cases.

“Giovanni Battista.”

“And that, concerning the office of protonotary, nothing should be exacted or received, on behalf of anything to be despatched, or drawn up, or anything else; and with the reservation of two offices of scribes, as said above, and with regard to the reversion of three presentations and the same number of benefices; and, with regard to the canonries and prebends in cathedrals and metropolitan churches, and, notwithstanding the rule for the second and third prebend in the same; and, with regard to the dignities in the same, and in collegiate churches, and even with regard to things reserved, which, for any cause, are generally excluded in the body of the law; and with the concession of, and decree concerning, prerogatives as said above; notwithstanding the privileges, nominations, primary prayers, that is to say, with due legal security of all of them, including the rule about nationality, and with reservation of all the benefices which are vacant, or which shall be vacant, and which, according to expectation, may be vacant through promotion, up to the time of our coronation, as said above.

“And that the requests of each and all of the aforesaid members of the conclave may be considered as expressed, and free from the censures, to produce the effect of these presents for all of them, concerning the causes taken out of order, and the writs and documents and official reports to be furnished by the notaries of the palace and of the Roman Court, without any payment, as said above; and that the letters concerning reservations of gifts, favours, and any other arrangements, and any other favours, successful petitions and provisions, should be drawn up *gratis* as said above, in all places, in all offices, even in that of the abbreviators, and that mention be made of each of their surnames, dioceses, qualities and titles, and concerning all, and also on behalf of all, as said above; and that letters should be drawn up concerning each thing, or all things, together, on behalf of all, or each on behalf of one [individual], in all of which [letters] a more detailed and explicit statement and one in a form more advantageous to the said members of the conclave should be made; and that they may cede each of the reservations, and other favours aforesaid in favour of their sons, nephews, and others to be nominated by them, whom we may substitute in place of them.

“And annulling any bonds made on behalf of the annates to be paid to the Chamber by them, and with remission of annates on behalf of the benefices now vacant, and which, it is hoped, may be vacant. Concerning which it shall happen to them to have provision made, as said above, for the payment of which they would be bound to others.”

The names of the members of the conclave are as follows :—

Giovanni Paolo di Bossi, sacristan.	Giovanni Andrea dei Grassi.
Johann Burchard of Strasburg.	Luca Dolce.
Giovanni Maria de Podio (Pozzo ?).	Pacifico Amerino.
Giacomo Casanuova.	Abbot Roggi (?).
Juan Lopez.	Bartolomeo da Casa.
Cola Tomaseo Roncelli.	Giacomo Faustini.
Matthew Mann.	Cherubino Carcale (?).
Giovanni Lorenzo.	Cesaré Rosa.
Matteo Aliprandi.	Giovanni Roccaforti.
Francesco of Viterbo.	Alberto Pedarlotto.
Bartolomeo de Rovere.	Rafaele Rocca.
Balthazare Cantagalli.	Carlo Bocconi (?).
Cristofero Pozzi.	Eliino Duce.
Cecco Palombaria.	Sinolfo de Castro Oterio.
Guistiniano Amerini.	Andrea Lucentino da Piccolomini.
Liberato Bartelli.	Pietro da Costa.
Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene.	Camillo de' Tartagni.
Giovanni Filippo of Milan.	Paris Montemanno.
Lorenzo of Mari.	Luigi Sabino.
Girolamo Calagrano.	Pietro of Segovia.
Filippo of Lucca.	Giovanni Mariano of Viterbo.
Umberto Croletti.	Francesco Castello.
Balthassare Blandrate.	Giacomo Alperini.
Thomas Probst.	Bernardino Lunati.
Gesueldo Alfonsi.	Francesco Corti.
Ugolino of Florence.	Niccolò Giacomini.
Francesco Bertellai.	Giovanni Roble in place of Giacomo of San Genesio.
Bernardino of Copsi of Montefaleo.	Johann Lomber in place of Theo- doric of Codeghein.
Giovanni Bombagini.	
Giovanni Francesco of Cremona.	

Moreover, our Very Holy Lord signed the same, and also on my behalf, another petition concerning the provostship of Induerstat outside the walls of Bamberg, which would shortly be vacant in consequence of the promotion of the Lord of Mayence.

“On our own motion, we, wishful to grant a special favour, to our beloved son, Johann Burchard, canon of the church of Saint Thomas at Strasburg, clerk of the ceremonies in our chapel, who was present in the conclave at which we were elected to the dignity of Supreme Pontiff, concerning the provostship of the church which is called that of Our Lady or Genulfers, as it is said, [situated] outside, or near, the walls of Bamberg, which is the principal dignity there, even if there be a priest elected and in office, of which the income does not exceed thirty marks of silver, according to the common estimation of its annual value, and which [living] from now onwards, we decree and declare to be vacant, in consequence of the election of our beloved son, B. von Henneberg, who held it, to the Church of Mayence, which was recently deprived of the services of a pastor, even if it be vacant through the said ratification of the election, or the new improvement to be made by us in the said church, or the conferring of the gift of consecration, or, by reason of the time elapsed, in the consecration of bishops, or, likewise, in any other way, or by the person of any other, or in conse-

quence of the voluntary resignation of the said B. or any other, spontaneously made or to be made, concerning this, in the Roman Court or outside it, even before a public notary and witnesses, devolved, coming under a special or any other reason, by any cause usually kept in reservation, which could give rise to a suit, from which legal action might ensue, even though it be by the constitution *carcerabilis*, or the acceptance of another benefice, conferred by any authority, [concerning this] we provide for the same Johann, annulling all and singular provisions or mandates concerning provisions, if this should happen to have been given to others, by the same, or any other [authority], notwithstanding the apostolic constitutions and decrees confirmed by oath, the statutes, and anything else contrary to it, together with suitable clauses. Let this be done on our own motion.

“Giovanni Battista.”

“And, with the decree and declaration aforesaid, and with the clause which designates a general reservation, and with absolution from the censures to the effect of these presents; and that the beneficiary demands of Johann may be considered as expressed; and that a more exact account be given of the value of the said provostship, and of its title, and of the place and diocese in which it is situated, together with everything else that may be necessary, concerning that which has gone before, as far as possible, and with annulment of any other provisions whatsoever, and with a declaration that Johann may hold this place.”

In the meantime, whilst the Pope-elect was signing the petitions, as related above, the cardinals, who had laid aside their croziers and hoods, put on their ordinary capes. Then His Holiness, who had ceased to sign, declaring that he desired, within a short time, to sign what he had not yet signed, rose from the aforesaid seat, and was vested in a simple mantle, not one of the more precious sort, and was placed by the cardinals in a seat above the said altar in the small chapel, and as he sat there, each of the cardinals came to pay him homage. First the Vice-Chancellor, then the others in their order; first they kissed the right foot, then the hand, and then the mouth of the said Pope-elect; when the homage was over, my colleague took the crucifix, as I was somewhat hampered, and we went in a procession to the Basilica of St. Peter, by the same route by which we had ascended to the conclave; nevertheless, for this procession no preparations were made. The cardinals followed the crucifix. First the [cardinal]-deacons, then the priests and the bishops. Two senior deacons, who were present, namely he of Siena and he of San Giorgio, held up the gold-embroidered borders of the Pope's cope, the one on the right hand, the other on the left; no one held up the fringes or the train of the cope; the [Pope]-elect continually blessed the people, and the bells were rung all the time; so great was the concourse of people on the staircase, and along the whole route, that we could scarcely advance; they all shouted, “Innocent! Innocent!” When we had passed outside the door of the court of the conclave, one of the apostolic sub-deacons took the crucifix, and carried it before the high altar of the Basilica of St. Peter; the Pope-elect, having knelt down before the fald-stool, prayed for a short time. Then, standing with bared head, he intoned the chant: *Te Deum laudamus*, and the choristers continued it to the end. When he had led the hymn,¹ the Pope-elect was placed in a seat over the aforesaid altar, and

¹ *Carmine*. —In Rinaldi, p. 71.

each of the cardinals approached. First the Vice-Chancellor, then all the others, and they kissed the foot, hand and mouth of the [Pope]-elect, with the accustomed reverence: then many others kissed his foot. When this had been done, and the hymn was over, the [Pope] descended from the altar, and stood facing it, saying: *V. Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur.* *R. Et renovabis faciem terre.*

Oremus. Deus qui corda fidelium S. Spiritus illustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta supere et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. R. Amen.

And the choir chanted: *Benedicamus Domino. R. Deo gratias.*

But this prayer with the versicles did not seem suitable, neither should the Pope have led the *Te Deum* and said these versicles; the Dean of the Cardinals should first have done this, and should have made a suitable oration. When this was over, the [Pope]-elect seated himself in the special chair, which had been prepared in the meantime, and in this, preceded by the crucifix and the cardinals, he was carried to the palace, to the chambers of his predecessor. But, under the porch of the aforesaid basilica, he gave leave to all the cardinals to return, each and all of them, to their houses; some of these were sad, but others rejoiced; the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula formed the only exception, he remained in the palace with the Pope. I also followed the Pope to his private chamber, and there, kneeling down before him, I entreated His Holiness to make me his chamberlain outside the chamber; he replied that he would consider the matter; but because I addressed no further supplication to him, nothing was done. Meanwhile, the members of the conclave remained in the larger chapel, which they had closed from within, lest it be plundered by the shield-bearers and the guardians of the palace, and lest the chambers of their lords should be laid waste; and they collected the goods to carry them back to their houses, exception being made of the members of the conclave of the Pope-elect, who left to us, the other members of the conclave, all those possessions of the Pope which were in the conclave; nevertheless, many things were removed by individuals, which had not been allotted to us, the members of the conclave. For the abbot, our sacristan, an envious man, took the bell and the red cloth which the cardinals used in the small chapel, and the Pope allotted these, also the following other things, which were removed:—

Three silver cups.—Five silver shields.—Three pieces of tapestry, of which Lord Cola Thomaseo had one, and Lord Sinolfo two.—Two silver candlesticks, which the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Sant' Angelo had.—(?) Two curtains of cloth, which Lord Sinolfo had.—Lord Balthassare Blandrati had one silken covering.—Lord Sinolfo had a serge [covering] for the chamber.—Lord Balthassare Blandrati had the Cardinal's cape.—The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Macon had the croziers.—Lord Balthassare Blandrati had a gold signet-ring.

But we sold all [the furniture] of the conclave, that is, the beds, the benches, and the timber, which formed the partitions of the chambers, to a certain master carpenter, Pietrasanta, for the sum of fourteen ducats, but he only paid twelve.

Moreover, the following silver vessels were allotted:—

Six square vessels (?).—One shield.—Three cups, weighing fifteen pounds and a half, of the value of seven carlinos the half-ounce.—One jug.—Two little shields.—Two small dishes.—[Total value] one hundred and thirty-nine ducats and a half, at the rate of ten carlinos for each ducat.

One basin.—Two large plates.—Spoons; forks; salt-cellars; weighing

eleven pounds, valued at the rate of six carlinos and ten quattrines per ounce.—The total eighty-four ducats, sixty-five pieces of four farthings, at the aforesaid rate.

And we sold all these things for the above-mentioned price; and for the aforesaid goods, which Lord Sinolfo and Lord Cola Thomaseo had, we received satisfaction, but not for the others. And there were, besides other things, vests, doublets, coats, gaiters, shirts, and many other things mentioned in another inventory. All these things my colleague, Lord Giovanni Maria, sold for twenty-six ducats, at the aforesaid rate, at which sum the goods themselves were valued.

The tenour of the schedule concerning the deputation of the guards of the conclave, which [schedule] was given by me to the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, and concerning which mention is made on folio ii, here follows word for word.

In the palace of the conclave there were four watches to be kept. The first, at the palace gate, was entrusted to the Rev. Lord the Bishop of Cervia and Master Lord Conti.

The second [watch] was at the door leading to the apostolic chamber, and this was allotted to the *conservatores*, and other Roman nobles and barons, to as many as it pleased the Very Rev. College of Cardinals to appoint.

The third watch was at the door near the apostolic chamber, and this was entrusted to the lay ambassadors of the four chief nations which were represented in the Roman Court, to an even number to be appointed by the Very Rev. College of Cardinals, up to the number of four or eight or more. The following are [the ambassadors] in the Roman Court, namely:—

FROM THE GERMANS: The Imperial ambassador; the ambassador of Sigismund, Archduke of Austria; the ambassador of the Elector of Mayence.

FROM THE FRENCH: The ambassador of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

FROM THE SPANIARDS: I know of none.

FROM THE ITALIANS: The ambassador of the King of Sicily, the ambassador of the King of Hungary, the ambassador of the Duke of Milan, the Florentine ambassador, the Sienese ambassador.

The fourth watch was at the door of the conclave, and this was entrusted to the more important prelates in the city, to an even number from the four nations aforesaid, whether these were ambassadors or not, appointed by the Very Rev. Lords of the College of the Cardinals, up to the number of four, or eight, or more. The following are those in the Roman Court, namely:—

FROM THE GERMANS: The Bishop of Durham, ambassador of the King of England.

FROM THE FRENCH: The Bishop of Arles, the Bishop of Nantes, the Bishop of Macon, datary.

FROM THE SPANIARDS: The Archbishop of Monreale, the Bishop of Barcelona, the Bishop of Girgenti.

FROM THE ITALIANS: The Vice-Chamberlain, the Archbishop of Benevento, the Bishop of Spoleto, the [Bishop]-elect of Mantua, the Bishop of Reggio, the Bishop of Aleria, the Bishop of Forli, the Bishop of Comacchio, the Bishop of Glandevi.

The tenour of the schedule or inventory of possessions to be brought to the conclave on behalf of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals is as follows:—

An embroidered cloth of green serge, or of any other colour more pleasing to the eye; nevertheless, it can be above, and more conveniently of white cloth, so as to make the chamber lighter.

A bed for [each] Very Rev. Lord Cardinal, with all its appurtenances; a mattress, with linen sheets and covering for the members of the conclave, who place this at night on the carpet on the floor, and sleep there in the chamber of their lord.

A *tabula* or table, five palms in length, with its supports.—A chair.—A stool.—A seat for the dischargements of the stomach, with its appurtenances.—Two urinals.—A *cabasium*.—Two small napkins for the table of the lord.—Twelve little table-napkins for the same lord.—Four hand-towels.—A cape for the members of the conclave.—Two little cloths for wiping cups.—Carpet.—A chest or box for the garments of the lord, his shirts, rochets, towels for wiping the face, and handkerchiefs.—One mantle for assisting [at the ceremonies], with its hood.—Four boxes of sweets as a provision.—One vessel of sugared pine-seeds.—Marzipan.—Cane sugar.—Biscuits.—A lump of sugar.—A small pair of scales.—A hammer.—Keys.—A spit.—A needle-case.—A writing-case, with penknife, forceps, pens, reed-pens, and pen-stand.—A quire of paper for writing.—Red wax.—A water-jug.—A water-jug containing holy water.—Six cups.—Six vessels.—A salt-cellar.—Knives for cutting.—Little knives for the table of the lord.—Spoons.—Forks.—Side-tables for the service of the lord.—Two cloths for cleaning knives.—A copy of the *decretum*.—A copy of the *decretales*.—A collection of the decretals made by Boniface VIII.—A copy of the decretals of Clement V., and other books according to the pleasure of the lord.—Two breviaries.—Two flasks of Malmsay wine.—Two flasks of vinegar.—One vessel of oil.—One lantern.—Two candlesticks.—Ten pounds of candles for the table of the lord.—Two pounds of small candles.—Two torches.—Two quires of ruled paper.—Two empty flasks.—Two crystal water-jugs.—Beakers.—Two water-jugs full [of water] as provisions.—A vessel in which to wash things.

And the tenour of the schedule or inventory of things to be brought by the sacristan for the future Pope, concerning which mention is made above, folio xiii., is as follows, in addition to the table with its supports and pink cloth, of which mention has been made:—

A bell, silver-gilt.—A pen-stand, with reed pens, pens prepared.—Forceps, a place for cutting pens, and red wax.—A quire of paper for writing.—A clock.—Three stools.—A fine apostolic chair, covered in crimson velvet, so made that the Pope can be carried in it on poles.—A pair of shoes of pink cloth, or red serge.—A pair of sandals of the same cloth, with a gold crucifix worked thereon.—A new white shirt.—A doublet of white satin.—A white vest of fine cloth or serge.—A girdle with gold tassels.—A rochet, amice, alb, girdle.—A red stole with pearls, or without, according to the mode.—A red cope with pearls or not, according to the mode.—An apostolic breast-plate.—Three pink birettas lined with taffeta, if it be in the summer-time, or with ermine, if it be in the winter.—A *birettum* of white silk.—A mitre suited to the season.—An apostolic crucifix.—The ring of the Fisherman of the late Pope.—A list of the Popes.—A book of the oration to be made before the altar of Saint Peter over the Pope-elect.—A fald-stool, with its stool and two cushions for the [Pope]-elect, so that he may kneel down in it before the aforesaid altar.

Moreover, the tenour of the schedule or inventory of the things to be brought by the clerks of the ceremonies, for their own use and that of the

conclave, and concerning which mention has also been made above, is as follows :—

A bed with linen sheets, covering, and other appurtenances.—Three or four lumps.—A vessel containing oil, which the clerks of the chamber serve out to those who have been commissioned to take charge of the lamps in the conclave.—One or two chests in which to place the bread, etc., which is left over from the luncheon and supper of each of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals.

One or more small bottles, clean and empty, in which to replace the wine left over from the cardinals' [meals] as above. And orders shall be given to the effect that two or three of the servants of the same who are outside the conclave, shall come at the hours of supper and luncheon to fetch the remnants of meat and other victuals which shall have been left over, and which will not remain good, and which shall be handed to them outside the conclave.

Each day after the Sunday of the aforesaid election, and before the day of the coronation of the Pope, in the morning and after lunch, several of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals came to the palace, and for them the [Pope]-elect signed petitions for offices and other things on their behalf, and allotted to them lands and castles, but not to all the cardinals in accordance with the tenour of the aforesaid chapters; but in those days no petition was dated, but in all those afterwards presented by the Lord Datary was placed the date of the Coronation Day.

Our Most Holy Lord-elect chose and appointed as his datary the Rev. Father Lord Antoniano, Bishop of Ventimiglia, [who was] likewise his train-bearer. Moreover, five of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals were appointed to arrange the coronation, and the things necessary to it, namely, the Very Rev. Lords of San Marco, Saint Peter ad Vincula, he of Lisbon, he of Siena, and the Chamberlain, [Lord of] San Giorgio, and with their consent all things were arranged and supplied by me, as it is noted down below.

The following things were prepared for the coronation :—

Eighteen trumpeters' flags, bearing the arms of His Holiness our Lord, of which eighteen trumpeters' flags are given with the arms of the Church, of which are given—

Two valises of scarlet without arms, with four canopies and balls, crimson and gold mixed.

The Pope's ladder, composed of three steps, [used] when he mounts his horse, covered with scarlet cloth.

Twelve standards of red silk which the beadles carry.

Thirteen standards, also of red silk, of the thirteen districts of the city.

Two larger standards with two cherubim.

One big standard with the arms of the Roman people.

One standard of the same size with a black crucifix in the middle.

One standard of the same size with the arms of the Pope.

One standard of the same size with the arms of the Church.

One standard of the same size, all red, with a white crucifix.

Five vests for the bearers of the said five standards, which must all be of taffeta or silk of the division of the standards, with the exception of [the vest] of him who bears the standard of the Church, which must be all of red, and of the other who bears the standard of the Pope, [which must be] all of white.

Five trappings for the horses, which must all be barbed, and completely

covered, as far as the head inclusive, with taffeta of the colours corresponding to the vests.

Twenty vests or cloaks of fustian or cloth, of the colour described above, for each of the four attendants of the bearers of the said five standards.

Four caps of crimson velvet edged with gold and hanging ornaments of gold and crimson mixed.

A baldacchino of white brocade for the body of Christ, which should have similar little cloths with the arms of the body of Christ, that is, the chalice and the Host, and [those of] the Pope and the Church.

A similar baldacchino with the arms of the Pope and the Church which is left to the Romans.

Another similar baldacchino to be carried on the return of the Pope from the Lateran and on other occasions, an umbrella of red and white silk.

A big standard for the tower of the Castle of Saint Angelo, bearing the arms of the Pope.

Four smaller standards bearing the same arms for the lower turrets near the bridge and the top of the more important house or palace of the said castle.

Four staves, four palms in length, each with a rounded top, like . . . so as to hold the hats firm, covered in crimson velvet for the aforesaid four hats.

Twenty-four red banners for the three baldacchinos. Five banners for the five big standards.

Twenty-five smaller white banners for the twelve standards of the beadles and the thirteen heads of the districts are provided, only twelve for the standards of the beadles, because they ordered their own hoods for themselves, because it was said that this was the custom.

Two white banners for the two cherubim.

Five red staves for the two hundred horses bearing the ladder of the Pope; twelve horses with a female mule, which is an additional ornament to the procession.

Two gilt staves for the lanterns which are borne before the Host.

Ten staves for the attendants of the horses, or more if there should be more attendants on the horses, with the arms in pure gold.

A banner for the sunshade, which must have a golden or gilt apple on its top; thirty or forty stools, or more, with the arms of the Church and the Pope, for the chapel of the Pope and the consistories.

A white horse for the Pope; the back of it must be covered in crimson velvet, with a bridle of the same velvet, picked out with gold.

A similar horse for the Host, covered in crimson velvet, like the first, with a similar bridle.

Twelve similar horses, with trappings and bridles like the aforesaid.

A mule for the Pope, with similar trappings and bridle, which, according to the new custom, must be led.

A similar mule for the Host, covered in crimson velvet like the first.

A similar mule for the ladder of the Pope, covered in scarlet, also with a bridle to match.

Twenty-four coverings of scarlet, with bridles and headpieces for as many mules, for carrying the loads of corn to St. John Lateran.

Green cloths for the choir of the Basilica of St. Peter; rods . . .

Five rods of pink cloth for the Pope's throne there.

Green cloths for the chapel of San Giorgio in the aforesaid basilica; rods . . .



Green cloths for the *suggestum* to be prepared on the platform above the steps or for the aforesaid basilica.

Green cloths for the choir of the Basilica of St. John Lateran; rods . . .

Green cloths for the chapel of San Silvestro, near the aforesaid Basilica of St. John; rods . . .

A *suggestum* to be made before the aforesaid door of the entrance on the platform of the staircase of the Basilica of St. Peter, in size . . .

A wooden fortification to be erected at the principal door of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, reaching to the chief altar and from the same altar to the door leading into the chapel of the *Sanctu Sanctorum*, . . . palms in height and . . . rods in length.

There was another wooden fortification in the first court of the Palace of St. John Lateran, reaching from one cross-wall to another cross-wall, two feet in height, and above fifteen feet wide.

For the office of the Sacristan :

The sacristan of the Apostolic Palace must provide all the pontifical paraphernalia to be used for the coronation mass, and if other things should be needed for this, he must also provide them, also the vestments in which the Pope adorns himself after mass, because he must wear only white vestments when he rides in procession to the Lateran.

A casket for the Host, and the leader of the horse.

Two lanterns and candles and bearers.

All that which pertains to the papal mass.

For the Greek Deacon and Sub-deacon :

Let him inform all to whom he lends sacred vestments where they are to put these in the Basilica of the Lateran, and restore them to him, or [inform them] that these should be returned to him at the palace, and a note be made of the names of each.

The duty of the Apostolic Sub-deacons :

All the apostolic sub-deacons shall put on white tunics over the rochets, with the exception of the one who will recite the epistle at mass: he will only have the amice, alb, girdle, and maniple under the tunic, and at all the services he will bear the crucifix before the Pope, even in the procession to the Lateran, and he will do other things in mass according as it has been decreed, when the Pope celebrates.

Let them give praise.

Meanwhile, the Dean of the Bishops, whilst the third oration is being pronounced on the Pope by the cardinal-bishop, will bear the *pallium* to the altar, and will arrange the same in the middle of it.

Concerning the Palace of St. John Lateran :

The Palace of St. John Lateran will be repaired and restored wherever it may need repairs within; and its courts, ante-chambers and chambers for the Pope will be arranged and decorated in the customary way with cloth of *rascia*, with tables, windows, chairs and stools.

Moreover, all the chambers of the canons there, and certain other places, suitable for the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals and prelates, shall be decorated.

All the top storeys [containing] the courts and chambers of the Pope shall be cleaned, repaired and restored, and in each of them will be placed a bed, stool, table and other necessities.

Concerning the Credence-tables of the Pope :

Let them prepare a credence in the chapel of San Giorgio, and another in the choir of the Basilica of St. Peter, near the great altar on the epistle side.

The duty of the Forragers of the Pope :

Let them prepare the chair of the Pope within the last gate of the palace on the steps which lead to all the doors of the Basilica of St. Peter ; nevertheless, if the Pope be borne in a chair, he will be able to sit there in the same chair in which he is borne.

Let them adorn with many decorations the chapel of San Gregorio with hangings of green cloths on the ground, and [let them make ready] a seat for the Pope in which he will receive the sacred vestments ; let them adorn [it] with a white cover, with its two stools on either side for the deacons assisting ; let them prepare stools or benches in the said chapel for the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, for the lay orators behind, near the altar, and for the bishops in attendance on the left of the Pope, and let them decorate all with bench-coverings in the usual way.

Outside the aforesaid chapel, let them cover stools, or benches, and such-like things for the prelates, with bench-coverings, and likewise, let them decorate the choir of the aforesaid basilica with coverings, and [let them decorate] the seats of the Pope there, and the stools for the cardinals and prelates.

Let the fald-stool and the stool with the customary two cushions be carried by the shield-bearers before him into every place where the Pope will have to kneel down.

Let a low, magnificent chamber seat be placed between the high altar and the altar in the choir, in due season.

Let them decorate with hangings, tapestry and green cloths [spread] on the ground, the *suggestum* arranged at the top of the stairs of the aforesaid Basilica of St. Peter, also the chief chair placed there, and let them adorn the two ordinary stools before the aforesaid seat.

Concerning the other two ordinary stools, to be placed on either side for the cardinals in assistance, it does not matter, because, for that short space of time, the cardinals in assistance can stand.

Likewise, let them decorate with a covering, and green cloths spread on the ground, the chief chair and the choir of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, and let the altar made with panels, which the canons use there, be moved away from the choir.

Moreover, let the chief altar be formally decorated.

In the chapel of San Lorenzo, which, in the Palace of the Lateran, is called *Sanctu Sanctorum*, let some tapestries be laid upon the floor.

Let them decorate with hangings the chapel of San Silvestro in the same palace, also the chief chair therein, for the Pope, and [let them place] green cloths on the floor.

Let them decorate some suitable place near the porch of the Basilica of St. Peter, in which the Pontiff and the cardinals can make a collation, before the procession to the Lateran shall take place, and let another place be prepared there for the prelates and officials.

Concerning the duty of the Magister domus of the Apostolic Palace :

Let him see to it that, in the places where His Holiness our Lord and the cardinals, and in another [place] where the prelates and the officials make a collation, there be tables, and stools, and seats for convenience, benches and servants, Malnsey wine, marzipan, sugared pine-seeds, sugar, and other things suitable.

Let him appoint twelve of the Pope's servants, who shall be clothed in red cloth, and who shall bear twelve torches before the Host ; let him provide the wine and other things necessary for the luncheon to be given

in the Lateran Palace to the Romans and officials and all the members of the Court.

Concerning the duty of the Dean of the Cardinal-deacons :

The Dean of the Cardinal-deacons, when the cardinals have done homage to the Pope in the chapel of San Giorgio, in the Basilica of St. Peter, takes his vestments, that is to say, the unice, alb, girdle, stole and dalmatic, and when the Pope has put on all the vestments, he takes the maniple. When Terce has been said he invests the Pontiff with all the pontifical vestments, except the *pallium*, according to the custom. When the Pope has put on the accustomed vestments, and when Terce is over, he takes the ferule, or white staff, and arranges the procession through the Vatican to the chief altar, in the following order:—

First, the shield-bearers of the Pope.

The chamberlains outside the chamber.

The lay and clerical orators, who are not prelates and barons.

The secretaries and advocates together.

The acolytes.

The clerks of the Chamber.

The auditors.

An acolyte with censer and *navicella*.

Seven, or at least two, acolytes carrying torches.

A sub-deacon with his attendants, bearing a crucifix.

The two sub-deacons appointed to read the epistles, with copies of the Gospels.

The sub-deacon who will recite the Greek gospel.

Two abbots from without.

Bishops.

Archbishops.

The bishops and archbishops who assist the Pope.

The abbots of the city.

The patriarchs, if there be any.

The cardinal-deacons, cardinal-priests, cardinal-bishops.

The deacon who will recite the gospel in the midst, between two deacons who will assist him, who nevertheless will hold up the gold embroidery of the cope on either side, unless the Pope be borne in a chair.

Two clerks of the ceremonies, of whom the senior shall carry a cane, about eleven rods in length, with tow on the top, and the second shall carry another cane with a lighted candle fitted into the top of it.

The Pope, beneath the baldacchino, which the chief nobles, or the ambassadors of the city, or the keepers shall carry.

The Dean of the Auditors of the *Rota* in the middle, with a veil about his neck for holding the mitre, between the two private chamberlains of the Pope.

The prelates not in vestments, if there be any.

The protonotaries.

And the others follow in their vestments.

When the prayers over the Pope have been pronounced by the three senior cardinal-bishops, the aforesaid dean, followed by the senior deacon, approaches the chief altar, from which both together raise the *pallium*, and the senior himself alone places it upon the Pope, saying :

Accipe pallium, scilicet plenitudinem pontificalis officii, ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, gloriose Virginis Marie ejus genetricis, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et sacrosante romane Ecclesie.

Thereupon, he fastens it upon the Pope with three pins before and behind, on the left shoulder. When the prayers are over, before the epistle, the dean himself, together with the sub-deacons, auditors, secretaries and advocates, having taken the ferule, advances below the altar of St. Peter, between the chancel of the door and the steps and the altar, and there he arranges, in even numbers, on either side, the sub-deacons, auditors, secretaries and advocates, nevertheless, in such a way that the more important, namely, the sub-deacons, are nearer the altar, and the other more important people follow there. And when these are in order, the deacon himself, standing without a mitre in the middle between the first sub-deacon, says in a loud voice, as though he were reading :

Exaudi Christe } three times.

The sub-deacons, the auditors, secretaries and advocates reply in an equally loud tone :

Domino nostro Innocentio a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universali Pape vita.

And let this be repeated three times by the aforesaid Dean of the Deacons, and let the others aforesaid reply as many times in succession.

The same dean says : *Salvator mundi.* The sub-deacons and the others aforesaid will reply : *Tu illum adjuva* ; and let this likewise be done three times. Then let the same dean say, *Sancta Maria.* Let them reply : *Tu illum adjuva*, which is said twice.

Afterwards, let the same dean say : *Sancte Michael.* Let them reply : *Tu illum adjuva*, which shall only be done twice, and it shall be continued as below :

Sancte Gabriel.
Sancte Raphael.
Sancte Baptista.
Sancte Petre.
Sancte Paule.
Sancte Andreu.
Sancte Stephane.
Sancte Leo.
Sancte Gregori.
Sancte Benedicte.
Sancte Basili.
Sancte Saba.
Sancta Agnes.
Sancta Cecilia.
Sancta Lucia.

Rj. *Tu illum adjuva.*

Then the aforesaid dean shall say once only : *Kyrie, eleison*, and they shall respond : *Kyrie, eleison.*

Then let the same dean say once only : *Christe, eleison*, and let them reply : *Christe, eleison.*

Then let the dean and all the others together with him say, once only : *Kyrie, eleison.*

When they shall have ceased these praises, each one returns to his place, the deacon going first.

He shall do all the other things, as it is arranged at mass, when the Pope celebrates. When mass is over, the Pope ascends the *suggestum* arranged above the steps of the Basilica of St. Peter, and seats himself on a high seat prepared for him there, and when he is seated there, the deacon

in attendance on him on the left hand takes off his mitre, and the Dean of the Deacons places upon him the tiara, whilst those who stand round, give praise in the words: *Kyrie, eleison*. Then he proclaims indulgence, plenary or otherwise, according as it shall please the Pope, in Latin, and then another deacon [proclaims it] in the vulgar tongue.

Then he [the dean] arranges the procession to St. John Lateran, and the following is the order of it:—

All the servants of the cardinals and others.

The Pope's barber and his tailor, with two valises.

The nobles of the Court.

The nephews and relations of the cardinals.

A horse, with the Pope's ladder, after the Pope shall have mounted his horse.

Twelve bealdes with twelve standards,

Thirteen heads of the districts with thirteen standards.

Two bealdes with two standards of cherubim.

A standard of the Roman people.

A standard of the Order of the Teutonic Knights.

A standard with the arms of the Pope.

A standard with the arms of the Church.

A standard [of the Order] of St. John of Jerusalem.

Twelve horses belonging to the Pope, and the Pope's mule.

Four nobles, shield-bearers of honour, carrying four of the Pope's hats.

The chamberlains [who serve] outside the chamber of the Pope.

The lay and ecclesiastical orators, who are not prelates.

A sub-deacon with a crucifix.

Twelve servants of the Pope, with as many white torches.

Two clerks in surplices with two lanterns and lights.

A horse marching with the Sacrament, beneath the baldacchino.

The sacristan.

Two naval prefects.

The choristers of the Pope's chapel.

The secretaries and advocates together, in the order arranged by His Holiness our Lord the Pope.

The acolytes.

The clerks of the Chamber.

The auditors of the Rota.

The apostolic sub-deacons, wearing white tunicles.

The Greek deacon and sub-deacon.

The abbots from without.

The bishops.

The archbishops.

The bishops and archbishops in attendance on the Pope.

The abbots of the city.

The patriarchs.

The cardinal-deacons.

The cardinal-priests.

The cardinal-bishops.

The deacons in attendance on the Pope.

The Pope beneath the baldacchino.

The Court marshal and the prefect of the palace, who shall throw money to the people.

The deacon of the Rota in the middle, with a veil about his neck for the mitre, between the two private chamberlains.

The umbrella.

The vice-chamberlain, if he be a protonotary, or a prelate not in vestments.

Any other prelates whatsoever, who are not in vestments.

The protonotaries.

The auditor of the Court of Appeal.

All the others in vestments.

On behalf of the Dean of the Cardinal-deacons, if he recite the gospel at mass, which it behoves him to do, or on behalf of another cardinal-deacon, who shall recite the same, let one of their shield-bearers carry the basin with the ewer and two towels, for washing and wiping the hands of him [the Dean of the Cardinal-deacons] and of the apostolic sub-deacon, who will administer, when mass is over.

Concerning the Prior and Canons of the Basilica of St. John Lateran :

The prior and canons of the Basilica of the Lateran, wearing the vestments which they usually assume in church, must await the Pope in a procession at the chief door of the said basilica with a crucifix, and they shall cause him to sit upon his seat, or they shall place him there, when he shall have dismounted. Then the Pope shall precede them to the chief altar, and they shall sing: *Te Deum laudamus.*

Concerning the office of the Very Rev. Lord Chamberlain and Treasurer.

Let the Very Rev. Lord Chamberlain, or general treasurer to His Holiness our Lord the Pope, provide suitable coins, namely, a sufficient number of carlinos, of pieces of four farthings and small coins, which will constitute largess for the people.

Moreover, let them keep in their bosoms, for the use of His Holiness our Lord, at the gate or door of the Basilica of the Lateran, when His Holiness shall be seated in his chair, small coins, not gold or silver, enough for three handfuls.

Moreover, for the second purple seat, as many silver coins, that is to say, carlinos, those of four farthings and the like, enough for three handfuls.

Moreover, for the priests in the chapel of San Silvestro, three hundred ducats and as many carlinos; what is left over, can be kept.

Concerning the office of the Dean of the Cardinal-priests :

When our Lord is in the Basilica of St. John Lateran, in the council hall, the Dean of the Cardinal-priests, with a ferule in his hand, arranges, facing the stone which is called *mensura Christi*, the sub-deacons, auditors, advocates, and secretaries, in even numbers on either side, in such a way that the more important, that is the sub-deacons, stand facing the said stone, and, when these are all arranged, the same dean, standing without a mitre in the midst of the first sub-deacons, in a loud voice, as though he were reading, says: *Exaudi Christe.*

The sub-deacons, auditors, secretaries and advocates will reply in a similar tone: *Domino nostro Innocentio a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universali Pape vita;* and this is said three times by the dean, and they shall reply as many times. Then the same dean says: *Salvator mundi.*

And the sub-deacons and the others aforesaid shall reply: *Tu illum adjuva;* and this likewise is repeated three times by both parties.

Then the same dean says: *Sancte Michael.*

They shall reply: *Tu illum adjuva*; and this is only said once, and continues as below:

Sancte Gabriel.
Sancte Raphael.
Sancte Baptista.
Sancte Petre.
Sancte Paule.
Sancte Andrea.
Sancte Stephane.
Sancte Leo.
Sancte Gregori.
Sancte Benedicte.
Sancte Basili.
Sancte Saba.
Sancta Agnes.
Sancta Cecilia.
Sancta Lucia.

R̄. *Tu illum adjuva.*

Then the aforesaid dean says, once only: *Kyrie, eleison*, and they shall make response: *Kyrie, eleison*.

Then the same dean says, once only: *Christe, eleison*, and they shall make response: *Christe, eleison*.

Then the dean and all the others together with him shall say, once only: *Kyrie, eleison*.

Concerning the officials of the Lateran Palace:

When the Pope is seated in the second purple seat, girt with a girdle, all the officials of the Lateran Palace come to kiss his feet.

Concerning the duty of the Prior of the Basilica of San Lorenzo in the Lateran, which is called Sancta Sanctorum:

The prior of the Basilica of San Lorenzo, which is called *Sancta Sanctorum*, having put on the customary vestment, which he is wont to wear in church, hands a ferule to the Pope as he sits in the first purple chair, and the keys of that basilica and of the sacred Lateran Palace, and the Pope, when he is seated in another similar chair, returns them to him; and when he [the prior] has received these, he girds the Pope, as he sits there, with a girdle of red silk over the chasuble, with a purple purse hanging to it, in which are twelve precious stones with seals and musk.

Concerning the Jews:

As the Pope passes through Monte Giordano to St. John Lateran, the Jews meet him in the square of Monte Giordano, and they offer him the Mosaic Law, with a petition that it may be confirmed and approved. Nevertheless, for this occasion the Pope gives permission to the said Jews to present this law on the lower wall of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, among the battlements, so that they be not oppressed, or in any other way injured, by the Romans, as has happened on other occasions.

Concerning the Guardians of the City Treasury:

Let the guardians of the City Treasury conduct or lead with the right hand, by the bridle, the Pope's horse, from the square of St. Peter to the Lateran. Let them appoint one hundred and four citizens on behalf of the baldacchino of the Host, for thirteen relays, and let them assign to each his turn, and there are eight for each relay. Moreover, [let them appoint] as many others for the baldacchino of the Pope, for thirteen relays; let them notify the officials of the Lateran Palace, that, when the Pope is seated in the second purple seat, all should come to kiss his feet.

All the relays would have been arranged by me, in the following places, namely:—

The first shall bear [it] from the square of St. Peter to the residence of the Bishop of Aleria.

The second, thence to the corner of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, on this side of the gate.

The third, thence to the square of Monte Giordano.

The fourth, thence to the square of ———, that is to say, before the house of Lord Falcone.

The fifth, thence to the façade of the Church of San Sebastiano.

The sixth, thence to beyond the house of Gabriele Chiarini, at the entrance of the Via ———.

The seventh, thence to San Marco.

The eighth, from the piazza of San Marco to the Church of Sant' Adriano.

The ninth, thence to the façade of the Church of Maria Nuova.

The tenth, thence to the Coliseum.

The eleventh, thence to the piazza of San Clemente.

The twelfth, thence half-way to St. John Lateran.

The thirteenth, thence to the door of the Church of St. John Lateran.

But, because the Romans told me that they wished to observe their customs in these relays, I left it to them to decide.

Concerning the Standard-bearers:

Let the beadles of His Holiness our Lord the Pope appoint fourteen of themselves, of whom twelve shall carry small standards, and two [the] cherubim.

Let thirteen heads of the districts carry their standards.

The gonfaloniers of the Roman people.

The procurator of the Order of St. Mary of the Teutons.

Count Giovanni Francesco ———.

Count Antonio Mirandola.

The procurator of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Let all these have horses with trappings, and let them be armed to the neck with coats of arms for themselves and for the horses, and let each of them have four attendants who shall all wear black cloaks.

Concerning the Cardinals and the Prelates:

Let the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals order coverings of white taffeta, which shall cover the horses completely to within about a palm from the ground. Let them command embroidered stuffs, suitable to their order and to the season, in which they shall array themselves for mass and for the procession to the Lateran. In the procession to the Lateran, let each one be accompanied by eight servants, or thereabouts, according to his desire, who shall be decently attired, carrying white staves in their hands in the midst of the attendants on the horses, and these shall take the place of the attendants on the horses. Likewise, let the prelates order similar white coverings, which must be of fustian, not cotton. Let the porters take mantles, albs, and simple mitres to be worn in the procession and likewise at mass, unless another colour be required for the mass itself.

In the procession, let each be accompanied by servants or attendants on horses, decently attired, carrying white staves in their hands.

Concerning the distribution of the chambers in St. John Lateran:

Let all the chambers of the canons of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, both those in the collegiate church, and those situated above the gallery



MEDAL OF POPE SIXTUS IV. (B. MUSEUM).

leading to the *Sancta Sanctorum*, be distributed among the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals two or three days before the Coronation Day, and let them be marked with the letters of the alphabet, and let the keys of the said cardinals be allotted to each of the chamberlains, who shall cause them [the chambers] to be cleaned, and provided with suitable tapestries, beds, stools, seats, tables, and other things suitable for the repose and abode of their Lords on the day of the Pope's coronation.

The Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor has the chamber marked . . . Y, and the rest. (The rest of the Cardinals have chambers as described above.)

Concerning the three Cardinal-bishops, who shall recite three Prayers :

The Bishops	} of P.	} The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco the first: <i>Deus qui adesse.</i>		
			} of Sabina	} The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples the second: <i>Supplicationibus nostris, Deus omnipotens, etc.</i>

Concerning the Captain of the Gate of the Apostolic Palace :

Let the captain of the gate of the Apostolic Palace appoint and order, early in the morning, several of his foot-soldiers to guard the *suggestum* arranged over the steps before the Basilica of St. Peter, and to prevent any one from ascending it before the time. Moreover, let him despatch other ten to guard the wooden fortifications and the door of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, and likewise to prevent any one from entering before the time. Likewise, [let him appoint] others to guard the door of the choir of the chief altar of the same Basilica of St. Peter.

Concerning the duty of the ecclesiastical Bell-ringers of the Chapel of His Holiness our Lord the Pope :

Let the ecclesiastical bell-ringers of the chapel of His Holiness our Lord the Pope make provision of seven torches or candles of one pound each for the procession from the palace to the chapel of San Gregorio, and of as many candlesticks.

Likewise, [let them make provision] of seven torches of two pounds each for the chief altar.

Likewise, [let them make provision] of two similar torches for the side-table of the sacristy.

Likewise, [let them make provision] of eight torches for the elevation of the Host and for the gospel.

Likewise, [let them make provision] of twelve torches to be borne before the Sacrament, in the procession to St. John Lateran.

Concerning the censer and navicella for the aforesaid procession :

Let two candlesticks be placed upon the altar in the chapel of San Gregorio, with two torches of one pound each.

Let them arrange the fald-stool with stool and cushions and carpet for the Pope, who will use it in different places, namely, within the gate of the Palace of St. Peter, in the chapel of San Gregorio before the chief altar in the Basilica of the Lateran, in the Council Hall before the altar, in the Basilica of San Lorenzo, in the Lateran, which is called *Sancta Sanctorum*. Moreover, let them make provision of a white cope for the Pope in the chapel of San Silvestro in the Lateran.

On the 8th day of September the secretaries and advocates agreed concerning the aforesaid things, as will be related below; the above arrangements were made by me on each of the days preceding that of the

coronation of His Holiness our Lord; I requested that arrangements of this sort should be made.

On Saturday, 11th September, about the sixth hour of the night, expired the Very Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, Philippe, of the title of Saint John and Saint Paul, commonly called Cardinal-priest of Macon, who ended the last day of his life on earth; on the same night, without ceremony, [his body] was accompanied to the Church of the Blessed Mary, by the friars of the convent of the said Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and by his family; he was interred in the same church before the chief altar in such-wise, nevertheless, by his own orders, and he also decreed that no memorial should be placed on his tomb. He, after having accompanied the new Pontiff to the Basilica of St. Peter on Sunday, 29th of last August, on returning home, felt ill or indisposed, and went to bed, never again to rise in health. It is said that he fell into this sickness because, when in the conclave, he took no rest, but continually prayed, day and night.

During these days, His Holiness our Lord, wishing to make provision for the prelates in attendance on him, received the following, and His Holiness caused their names, noted on a piece of paper, to be given to me. They are as follows:—

	The Rev. Lord and Patriarch of Antioch.
„ „ „	the Patriarch of Jerusalem.
„ „ „	„ Archbishop of Arles.
„ „ „	„ „ „ Benevento.
„ „ „	Jean, Bishop of Castres in France.
„ „ „	Bishop of Teano.
„ „ „	„ „ Forli.
„ „ „	„ „ Aleria.
„ „ „	„ „ Nantes.
„ „ „	John, Bishop of Durham.

On Sunday, the 12th of the month of September, when all the arrangements had been made for the coronation of the Pontiff, His Holiness our Lord, Pope Innocent VIII., with the anice, alb, girdle, stole, cope, with precious rubies and mitre, descending from the palace to the Basilica of St. Peter beneath the baldacchino, which was borne by the nobles and ambassadors of the Court, preceded by the crucifix, which was followed by the cardinals in their capes, and the prelates, also in their capes, who followed the Pope, also the officials, who likewise went in their order and place, as on other occasions, [the Pope] arrived at the first gate of the palace on the seat on which he was carried, and remaining in his seat within the said gate of the palace, received all the canons of the said basilica to kiss his foot.

Thence he was borne in the aforesaid seat through the middle door, as is the custom, that is, to the aforesaid basilica as far as the second great purple stone placed in the floor, and there, in the fald-stool which was prepared for him, with its stool and cushions and carpet placed below, on the floor, having laid aside his mitre, he knelt down, and prayed before the chief altar; the men-at-arms carried the fald-stool with its stool, cushions and carpet, hither and thither, wherever it was required.

When he had ceased to pray, the mitre was placed upon the Pope, who reseated himself in the aforesaid seat in which he was carried to the chapel of San Gregorio, where, kneeling down in the same way in the fald-stool, he prayed in the accustomed way without a mitre; the men-at-arms carried the fald-stool with its appurtenances according to the custom. When he had ceased to pray, the Pope, having accepted the mitre, seated himself on the

pontifical throne which had been prepared for him there, and received the homage of all the cardinals and prelates in their capes, first the cardinals, who kissed the Pope's hand, which was extended to them from under the gold embroidery. Then the prelates, on their knees, kissed the Pope's right foot. When the homage had been paid, as said above, and when he had laid aside his mitre, he rose, and, standing with his face to the altar, head uncovered, he said in a low voice: *Pater noster*, etc. When this was over, he chanted, in an audible tone, crossing himself from the face to the heart: *Deus, in adiutorium meum intende*, etc., on account of Terce, remaining in this attitude until the choir had begun the psalm: *Legem pone*. When this had begun he seated himself, the cap and mitre were placed upon him, and the choir continued Terce.

Then the Latin sub-deacon approached the altar, where the sacristan of our chapel handed to him the silk veil, and also the socks and sandals, and he, raising his hands to his face, carried them before the Pope; all the apostolic acolytes followed the same sub-deacon, and as the sub-deacon stretched out and held back the borders of the cope of the Pope, he [the Latin sub-deacon] entered from below, together with one of the private chamberlains of the Pope, and they thus drew off the ordinary footwear of the Pope, and placed upon him the socks and sandals aforesaid. In the meantime, the bishops in attendance on either side the Pope said, in the accustomed way: *Ne reminiscaris*, etc., *Quam dilecta*, etc., and the rest, according as it is arranged in the same book. When the psalm, *Quam dilecta*, was over, with its responses and prayers, the Very Rev. Lords of Siena and San Giorgio, who were in attendance on the Pope, also [Cardinal] Savelli, the senior deacon, behind them, turned aside from the Pope, and there, behind the altar, received the vestments of white, that is, the anice and dalmatic. Moreover, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, because he was to recite the gospel, received the white girdle and stole; and before they withdrew from the presence of the Pope, they approached to assist the Very Rev. Lords Colonna and Orsini; behind these [came] the senior cardinal-deacons, and, when these three were ready, these two [C. and O.] returned to their places, and the former [three] stood near in the accustomed way.

In the meantime, the choir of our chapel, standing in the corner next the wall outside the said chapel, continued Terce up to the chapter, and when one of them had begun this, the Pope rose, with his mitre, when the versicle was to be chanted; after the brief response there came before the Pontiff two acolytes bearing wax tapers, with my colleague, at a sufficient interval; when the response to the versicle was ended, the Pope, having laid aside his mitre, said: *Dominus vobiscum*, together with a prayer from the book which the Sub-dean of the Cardinal-priests, namely, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Novara, held, assisted by the Lord Archbishop of Arles, and by the Archbishop of Benevento, who held a candle, and when this was over, the Pope repeated, *Dominus vobiscum*, and the choir, *Benedicamus Domino*, etc. Meanwhile, the bearer of wax tapers returned to the altar.

Before the Pope said the prayer for Terce, he sent word to me, at the instance of the Very Rev. Lord the Cardinal of Gerona, who had obtained this [favour] from His Holiness, to make room, among the aforesaid prelates in attendance on His Holiness, for the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Alfonso, Bishop of Pampeluna, whom His Holiness had received as bishop in attendance at the request of the aforesaid cardinal, and this I immediately did.

When Terce was over, His Holiness our Lord seated himself, and, having

taken the mitre, he washed his hands in the accustomed way; the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor served him, and gave him the water, and, when his hands were washed and wiped, having laid aside his mitre, he rose, and, putting off the red cope and stole, took the vestments of white, according to the custom and order, and the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena invested him with them.

Meanwhile, when the Pontiff was receiving the vestments, all the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, prelates, and officials, took their white vestments: the cardinals in their places in the aforesaid chapel, namely, the bishops, [took] the surplice and cope, the priests the amice and chasuble, the deacons the amice and dalmatic, and all [took] white mitres; but all the officials, even those outside the chapel, that is to say, the sub-deacons, [took] white tunics over the rochet; lastly, nevertheless, Lord Ugo Benci, who was to recite the epistle, took the amice, alb, and girdle, the auditors of the Rota, clerks of the Chamber, and acolytes [placed] surplices over the rochet; but the secretaries and lawyers placed white mantles over their ordinary garments, having the openings of the mantles over their right shoulders; the chamberlains, the shield-bearers of the Pope, and others, advanced in their ordinary garments.

When all were ready, the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor administrating, the Pope placed the incense for the procession in the thurible, according to the custom.

Then the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, dean of the deacons, having taken the ferule or white staff, which was about four palms in length, arranged the procession from the aforesaid chapel to the chief altar, whither we wended our way through the sacred nave of the said chapel, which is called the Vatican, and, when we had arrived at the cross-nave, we went to the right as far as the chief door, leading to the choir of the chief altar of the said basilica, and this was the order in which we went:—

First the shield-bearers of the Pope, then the chamberlains [who served] outside the Chamber.—The lay orators and those who were not prelates.—The barons.—The secretaries and advocates together, who, on the eighth of this month—I forgot to record it before—discussing precedence before His Holiness our Lord, came to the following agreement, namely:—

That, according to the number of secretaries who came, the same number of chief advocates should be received, that is, that first those of both offices should be received, then afterwards others of either office, two by two, with the exception of the advocate and secretary, who should have the last and more important place, and in all these places, both those at the back and those in front, the first admitted, whether they were secretaries or advocates, should have the more important place, namely [that] at the right hand. But the advocates, who exceeded the secretaries in number, should go in twos immediately before the pair of the more important secretaries and advocates, who had the more important place: nevertheless, on this condition, and on behalf of this arrangement only, was this decreed, that neither the secretaries nor the lawyers should enjoy any right, neither should there be any prejudice to either party, with the consent of Cornato Planchi, Francesco of Padua, and other six of the lawyers, in the presence of His Holiness our Lord, who [the lawyers] were present, and who accepted [these conditions] in the name of the college, and of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of San Marco, Sant' Angelo, Aragon, and San Giorgio, who were present there [in the name] of the Sacred College.

The acolytes.—The clerks of the Chamber.—The auditors.—An acolyte with censer and *navicella*.—Two acolytes bearing wax tapers.—A sub-deacon

with a crucifix, and all [the members] of his college around him.—Two sub-deacons appointed to read the epistles, with the gospels at their breasts.—A deacon appointed to read the Greek gospel.—Abbots from without.—Bishops.—Archbishops.—Bishops and archbishops who were orators.—Abbots of the city.—Patriarchs.—Cardinal-deacons.—Cardinal-priests.—Cardinal-bishops.—A deacon appointed to read the gospel in Latin.—Two clerks of the ceremonies.

I, myself, carrying a tube for tow, and Giovanni Maria bearing another with a candle.—The Pope, beneath the baldacchino, which was borne by the lay nobles of the city, between two deacons in attendance on either side, who carried the gold embroidery of the mantle, [the Pope] continually blessing the people.—The Dean of the Auditors of the Rota, with a veil at his neck for the mitre, in the middle, between two private chamberlains, namely, Lord Lorenzo de Mari, and Girolamo Calagrano.—The prelates who were not arrayed in their vestments but in capes or habits, if religious.—The protonotaries, also in their capes, and the others followed in their vestments.

As soon as the Pope was outside the aforesaid chapel of San Gregorio, I placed a small handful of tow in the top of my¹ tube, and knelt down, holding the tube erect in my right hand, and my colleague lit it, whilst I, turning towards the Pope, said in a loud voice: *Pater sancte sic transit gloria mundi*; this was done, and in the second place, when we had come before, I said . . .²

When the Pope had passed beyond³ the aforesaid nave of the Vatican, and was at about the middle of the second cross-nave⁴ of the church, there came up to him three junior cardinal-priests, namely Conti, and the Cardinal-priests of Gerona and of Parma, who, with bared heads, paid homage to the Pope; first kissing him on the mouth, then on the breast near the cross of the *pallium*. Cardinal Conti began, and the other two followed his example; and all of them, after having received the Pope in this way, accompanied him as far as the chief altar, marching immediately behind the cardinal-deacons.

When the Pope had been established before the chief altar, the said⁵ three cardinal-priests returned to their places, and the Pope, having laid aside his mitre,⁶ made obeisance to the crucifix placed on the altar; and then recited the Confession in the customary way.

When the Confession was over, the Pope ascended, not to the altar, but to the seat prepared for him on the platform, between the high [altar] and the altar next the lowest step of the platform, and there he seated himself, facing the altar, keeping his mitre on his head, having received it at the end of the Confession before he had left the place of confession, and with it, before withdrawal,⁷ he made obeisance to the aforesaid crucifix placed on the altar. And, when the Pope was thus seated in the said seat, there came before him the three first cardinal-bishops, namely, the Vice-Chancellor, Bishop of Porto, and dean of the college; he of Naples, Bishop of Siena, and he of San Marco, Bishop of Preneste; and all the prelates and the others remained in their places. These three placed themselves before the Pope, between his aforesaid seat

¹ *Mee.*—Omitted in Rinaldi, p. 72.

² All the MSS., including that of the Vatican, which Rinaldi has followed, have a *lacuna* here.

³ *Venisset.*—In Rinal.

⁴ *Circa medium altare majus.*—In Rinal.

⁵ *Domini.*—In Rinal.

⁶ *Et in altari posita.*—Omitted in Rinal.

⁷ *Inter sedem prefatam.*—In Rinal.

and the altar, but next to the lowest step of the altar, turning towards the Pope himself, and each of them had his chaplain behind him, who assisted him with his mitre. Moreover all the other cardinals, that is to say, the bishops and priests, approached on the right, and the deacons on the left, of the Pope standing between the platform and the altar, having behind them their chaplains, who assisted them with their mitres. When all were standing thus, and when the Pope, and all of them, had laid aside their mitres, the Pope rose, and the Cardinal of San Marco, third and last of the three aforesaid, standing in the middle before the said step of the altar, his face turned towards the Pope, having on his right the Vice-Chancellor, and on his left the Cardinal of Naples, who almost turned their faces towards him, as the bishops in attendance are wont to stand at the consecration of bishops, but turning more in the direction of the Pontiff, he [the Cardinal of San Marco] recited this prayer; he did not recite any introductory versicle, not even *Dominus vobiscum*, but began *absolute*, saying, in the tone employed in solemn festive collects: *Oremus. Deus, qui adesse non dedignaris ubicumque devota mente invocaris, adesto, quesumus, invocationibus nostris, et huic famulo tuo Innocentio, quem ad culmen apostolicum judicium commune tue plebis elegit, ubertatem superne benedictionis infunde, ut sentiat se tuo munere ad hunc apicem pervenisse: per Christum Dominum nostrum.* The cardinals replied: *Amen.* I held the book for the aforesaid cardinal whilst he recited the prayer, standing on his left.

After the aforesaid prayer had been read by the Very Illustrious Lord of San Marco, the Lord of Naples came to the spot where the Lord¹ of San Marco stood, he taking the place formerly occupied by the Lord of Naples; the Pope and all the rest stood as before, without their mitres,² and the Lord of Naples himself (I holding the book on his left) likewise began *absolute*, and said in the afore-mentioned tone: *Oremus. Deus, qui apostolum tuum Petrum inter ceteros coapostolos primatum tenere voluisti, eique universe christianitatis molem superimposuisti, respice propitius, quesumus, hunc famulum tuum Innocentium, quem ex humili cathedra violenter sublatum in novum ejusdem apostolorum principis locum sublimasti³ ut sicut profectibus tante dignitatis augetur, ita virtutum meritis cumuletur, quatenus Ecclesie universitatis onuste adjuvante ferat, et a te qui es beatitudo tuorum, meritam vicem recipiat: qui vivis et regnas cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia, etc.* The choir replied: *Amen.*

In the meantime, whilst the said prayers were being recited, Lord Ugo Benci,⁴ in the place of the Dean of the Sub-deacons, laid on the altar the *pallium* which was to be placed upon the Pope, and there he arranged it in the accustomed manner.

When the aforesaid prayers were over, the seat of the Pope, which had been placed on the platform, as said above, was moved, and all the cardinals, except those in attendance, returned to their places. But the Pope, with the cap, without a mitre, approached the lower step of the altar. And, when he was established there, the senior Cardinal-deacons the Lords of Siena and San Giorgio, went up to the altar, and received the *pallium* from the altar;⁵ he of Siena held it raised up before the Pope on the right hand, and he of San Giorgio on the left; and he of Siena, alone, being dean of the deacons, received⁶ it open in both hands and placed it on the Pope, saying: *Accipe pallium, plenitudinem scilicet pontificalis officii,*

¹ Omitted by Rinaldi, p. 73.

² *Papa et alii omnes, ut prius stabant, sine mitris manentibus.*—Rinal.

³ *Sublimamus.*—Rinal.

⁴ *Ugo Bencius.*—Rinal.

⁵ *De altare.*—Omitted in Rinal.

⁶ *Recipiens.*—Rinal.

ad honorem omnipotentis Dei, gloriose virginis Marię ejus genetricis, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et s. r. E. Then the same dean, with the assistance of the other deacons and sub-deacons, put three pins into the *pallium* itself, in the accustomed way.

When the Pope had received the *pallium*, as said above, the choir began the Introit for mass and *Kyrie eleison*, and the Pope went up to the altar, and, with bared head, kissed it in the middle, and then the Gospels were presented to him by the sub-deacon, in the accustomed way. Then he placed the incense there, and the First of the Deacons, who was to recite the gospel, administered the incense-boat, and he [the Pope] censured the altar, then the same dean offered incense there, whilst the Pope stood on the epistle side with his mitre. And, when the incense had been offered, he did not receive the salutations of the deacons in attendance, as is the custom, but he went up to the high seat, where he received all the cardinals and prelates in their vestments, who came to do him homage, the cardinals kissing his foot, hand and mouth, and the prelates his foot and hand.¹ When he had received this homage, the Pope arose, having laid aside his mitre, and, with the cardinals in attendance he recited the Introit and *Kyrie eleison*, whilst the choir continued to recite *Kyrie eleison*. Mass was said for the octave of the nativity of the Virgin Mary.

When the Pope had recited the Introit and *Kyrie eleison*, the choir was silent, and the Pope said: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and completed it in the accustomed way, together with those who were in attendance on him. Then, from the said seat, he recited *Pax vobis* and the prayer for the octave, and when he had finished this with its conclusion, he recited another prayer, also saying in a loud voice: *Deus, qui corda fidelium*, etc., and he also completed² this with a conclusion, and, when this was over, whilst the choir responded *Amen*, he, standing as before, quietly said another [prayer] by himself, namely: *Adesto supplicationibus omnipotens Deus et quod humilitatis nostre gerendum est ministerio, tue virtutis impleatur effectu, per Dominum*, etc.

When he had completed the aforesaid prayers, as above, the Pope seated himself in the high seat aforesaid, wearing his mitre, and the Dean of the Cardinal-deacons, that is to say, the Cardinal of Siena, with a staff in his hand, followed by the sub-deacons, auditors and secretaries, who were wearing³ the vestments described above, went down to the door of the chancel,⁴ and there, on the platform between the altar and the door, he traced two lines from the altar to the door to the right and to the left, and in each line he placed the officials of each of the three said orders, first⁵ the sub-deacons, facing the altar, then the auditors and secretaries, in such a way that, in both lines, they turned their faces towards him. And, when this arrangement had been made, and all were standing with uncovered heads, the Cardinal of Siena standing in the midst with bared head, between the two sub-deacons, facing the altar, said in a loud voice, as though he were reading: *Exaudi Christe*; and the sub-deacons, auditors and secretaries replied in similar tones, as though they were reciting, standing in order: *Domino nostro Innocentio a Deo decreto summo pontifici et universali Pape, vita*; and this was said three times by the aforesaid cardinal, and the response was given as often by the others aforesaid.

¹ *Ubi cardinales et prelatos paratos omnes ad reverentiam venientes accepit cardinales ad pedis et manus osculum.*—Rinaldi.

² Text modified in Rinal., p. 73.

³ *Indutus.*—Rinal., p. 74.

⁴ *Custelli.*—Rinal., and MSS. 147.

⁵ *Prinus versus ad altare subdiaconos.*—Rinal.

Thereupon, the same Cardinal of Siena said: *Salvator mundi*; and the sub-deacons and others aforesaid responded: *Tu illum adjuva*. And this likewise was said thrice by the aforesaid dean, and the response was given by the others the same number of times. Thereupon the dean added: *Sancte Michael*; and they responded: *Tu illum adjuva*. And this was said once by the dean, and they gave the response once, and the praise was continued as below: *Sancte Gabriel*, etc. Thereupon, in the same tone, the dean said *Kyrie eleison*, and they responded: *Kyrie eleison*.

At the close of these praises, and whilst they were being recited, the Pope sat on his throne and all the cardinals and prelates in their places, with mitres; the dean and the others aforesaid returned to their places, that is to say, the dean to the epistle side, where he sat on his stool, and the others on the floor, and the sub-deacon, from the accustomed place, recited the Latin epistle, and after him another [recited] the Greek, and mass was continued in the usual order, the Pope being the celebrant, without any change whatsoever. And when this was over, the Pope from the altar, without a mitre, gave the benediction, but no indulgence.

When he had given the benediction from the altar, the Pope, retaining the *pallium*, and all the other vestments, resumed the precious mitre, the gloves, the pontifical ring, and the other rings, and was carried in his seat beneath the baldacchino to the *suggestum* prepared in the place of benediction, preceded by all the cardinals, prelates and others arrayed in their vestments and mitres and ornaments or habits, in the order in which they had been present at mass, in a procession, but without lights or incense.

The Pope, established on the *suggestum*, sat on a high seat, which had been prepared for him there, and there, as he waited until the people should have left the church and assembled in the square, the Cardinal of San Giorgio removed his mitre, and the Cardinal of Siena, the dean aforesaid, placed the tiara upon the Pope, whilst all of us, who stood round, shouted in a loud voice, *Kyrie eleison*, once only.

And, when the Pope had thus been crowned, the same Cardinal of Siena announced¹ in Latin the plenary indulgences which had been granted to the people, and after him the Cardinal of San Giorgio, in the vulgar tongue, [made the same announcement], and both stood with their faces turned towards the people.

When the indulgences had been thus proclaimed, they all descended from the *suggestum*, and the Pope, only accompanied by the cardinals and a few attendants, entered the residence of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, archpriest of the aforesaid basilica, and there, in the court or garden, refreshment was prepared for the same Pope and cardinals.

But the prelates, and officials, and other personages entered the canonical residence of Lord Celso Mellini, canon of the same basilica, whose house was near that of the cardinal, and there refreshment was prepared for them, and there they refreshed themselves with sugared pine-seeds, confections, Malmsey wine and other things which had been prepared. Nevertheless, on the day before it had been decided that this refreshment should be taken before the Pope ascended the *suggestum* and was crowned, because, after he was crowned, he was to ride to the Lateran without delay, and this would have been more suitable. But that morning, as we left the basilica, it seemed to give greater pleasure to some, and thus the order formerly given was annulled, and wrongly.

¹ *Renunciavit*.—Rinaldi.

When they had partaken of refreshment, the Pope, cardinals, and all the other prelates in the vestments which they had worn at the *suggestum*, descended the steps to the square of the aforesaid basilica, where they mounted the horses which had been placed in readiness there, and adorned with trappings, as has been said above in reference to the preparations, and took their way to the Lateran. But the Pope came to the Lateran from the aforesaid residence beneath the baldacchino, which was borne by the Court nobles and the princes' ambassadors, until the Pope had mounted his horse, and thence by the Roman citizens as far as the Lateran. After the Pope had mounted his white horse, the ladder was replaced [on the back] of another horse which had been placed in readiness for this purpose and led to the spot. The Pope's horse was led by the senator of the city, and the guardians of the Treasury, because no greater dignitary was present to perform this office.

All the cardinals and prelates were arrayed in mitres and in all the ornaments in which they had appeared at mass. The horses of the cardinals were draped, behind and before, in white cotton, but those of the prelates [were draped] in white fustian, which hung down to within half a palm of the ground; all the sub-deacons wore white tunics over the rochet, with the exception of him who had recited the epistle, who still wore all the vestments in which he had officiated. But the auditors, the clerks of the Treasury and the acolytes had surplices over their rochets; moreover the secretaries and advocates [had] white cloaks over their mantles, having the opening on the right side; and all these rode horses and mules adorned with the accustomed trappings.

Moreover, the Cardinal of Siena, the dean aforesaid, arranged this procession from the aforesaid basilica to the Lateran in the following way:—

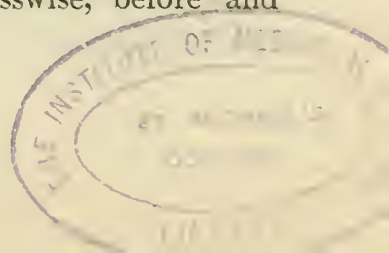
The servants of the cardinals, prelates and courtiers, and others in short robes, rode first with the bags of the cardinals; then [came] the Pope's barber with a scarlet bag, containing the cape or mantle and other vestments of the Pope.

The Pope's tailor, with a similar bag, also containing things necessary to the Pontiff.—The servants or shield-bearers of the Pope.—The nobles of the Court.—The nephews and relations of the cardinals.—The Pope's ladder, covered with pink cloth, on a white horse covered with a similar cloth, which was led by a servant of the Pope who wore a pink robe and who carried a red staff in his other hand.

Twelve beadles with twelve red standards, two by two, wearing pink robes, on horseback, if I remember rightly.—Thirteen servants in shabby attire; thirteen pedestrians who bore the standards with the arms of the heads of the districts, and this was far from seemly, for the captains of the districts themselves ought to have borne these standards in a more fitting manner, in fine attire, on horseback.

Two more beadles, in pink robes, on horseback, with the first two red standards of twelve magistrates, on which were represented two small figures, which they call cherubim.

Gabriele Chiarini, standard-bearer of the city, all in white armour, with a mantle or cloak of red taffeta, riding on a barb, which was completely covered with similar trappings; on either side of him [G.] were the letters S.P.Q.R.; he carried a big standard, which bore the arms of the Roman people; he had with him four attendants on foot, who carried long white staves; they wore mantles of red cotton, adorned crosswise, before and behind, with similar letters.



Lord Bernhardt of Brandeburg, at that time custodian and canon of the Church of Mayence—he was in the city on account of the confirmation of the Rev. Lord, Lord Berthold von Henneberg, [Bishop]-elect of Mayence, then dean of the same church—in the place of preceptor or procurator of the Order of St. Mary of the Teutons; his armour was like unto that of the other; he had a mantle of white taffeta, with a black cross before and behind, and he rode on a similar horse with similar [trappings] of taffeta, with a big banner which bore the arms of the aforesaid Order; like the other, he had with him four attendants, who wore mantles of white cotton [marked] with a black cross before and behind.

Count Giovanni Francesco Bagni, in armour like unto that of the other two, with a mantle all of white taffeta, [riding on] a barb, likewise completely covered with taffeta; he had with him four attendants, who wore mantles of white cotton, and he bore a standard with the arms of the Pope.

Count Antonio Mirandola, in armour like unto that of the other three aforesaid, wearing a mantle or cloak of red taffeta and [riding on] a barb covered with similar taffeta, bearing the standard of the Church, and having with him four attendants who wore mantles of cotton.

Turcopellerio of Rhodes, ambassador of the great Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in armour like unto that of the other four aforesaid, having a cloak of red taffeta with a white cross in the middle, before and behind, carrying a standard of the Order aforesaid, that is to say, [a standard] wholly of red with a big white cross in the middle, riding on a barb horse wearing a cloak of similar taffeta [marked] with a cross, accompanied by four attendants on foot, who wore mantles of red cotton [marked] with a white cross before and behind.

These five rode in the order aforesaid, namely, one behind the other, although in the wide streets they might conveniently have ridden two in front and the other three together behind, that is to say, on the right hand [the representative] of the Germans, on the left hand [the representative] of the Roman people, following, in the midst, the representative of Rhodes, bearing the cross, the [other two] carrying standards, on the right hand of the Church, and on the left hand of the Pope.

Twelve white horses with coverings of crimson velvet, and with gilt saddles and bridles, very ornate, led by the bridle by twelve attendants of the Pope, who were clothed in pink robes, and who carried in their other hands long red staves partly gilt; these advanced with dignity, one behind the other.

Four Roman citizens, called shield-bearers of honour, clothed in sumptuous robes, riding two by two, each of them carrying a hat of crimson velvet, edged with a gold border, with hangings of crimson silk and gold, over a staff which was about four palms in length, covered with crimson velvet, with a broad end like a fan, on which to support the hat.

The chamberlains [who served] outside the chamber, with the hoods which they had worn in the chapel.

The lay, as opposed to the ecclesiastical, ambassadors of the princes, and with them, the barons.

A sub-deacon with a crucifix, candlesticks and censer, accompanied by the other sub-deacons, his colleagues.

Twelve servants of the Pope, in pink robes, who went on foot, carrying twelve big white burning torches before the Host. One servant of the sacristan, on horseback, if I remember right, wearing a surplice, bearing, on a gilt staff, a lantern with a lighted candle in honour of the Host. A very

quiet and well-trained white horse, with trappings of crimson velvet and gilt saddle and bridle, led by a servant of the sacristan, who wore a pink robe, and who carried in his other hand a red staff like unto that of the other twelve, with the Host in a casket covered with damask or white brocade; above, the baldacchino was carried by the Roman citizens, who exchanged places twelve times, that is, one carried in the place of another, according as others were appointed to carry the baldacchino of the Pope.

The sacristan, arrayed in a white cope and a simple mitre, riding on a horse draped in white cotton or fustian, carrying in his right hand, a white staff about four palms in length.

Battista Arcone and Stefano Francesco, Roman citizens, clothed in white mantles, who had been ordered to take the place of the two naval prefects who, in former times, occupied this position, and are now no more; the mantles opened on the right shoulder, and they wore their accustomed headgear; moreover, under the mantles, they wore their customary garments of ceremony, nevertheless they rode together on horseback.

The choir of our chapel in surplices.—The secretaries and advocates together, with their mantles.—The acolytes, clerks of the Chamber, auditors of the Rota [all in albs.—The Latin sub-deacon, the Greek deacon and sub-deacon, in their sacred vestments, the deacon in the middle, the Latin sub-deacon on his right, and the Greek sub-deacon on his left.—The abbots from without.—The bishops.—The archbishops.—The bishops in attendance on the Pope.—The abbots of the city.—The patriarchs.—The cardinal-deacons.—The cardinal-priests.—The cardinal-bishops.

Two cardinal-deacons in attendance on the Pope, and among them was the Lord of Siena, dean of the cardinal-deacons, who had read the gospel at mass; he came in the middle, after having arranged this procession.—The Pope, whose horse was led by a senator and the guardians of the city, because these were the most important laymen present, was beneath the baldacchino, which was carried to the Lateran by the Roman citizens, the heads of the districts and other of the chief citizens, who continually advanced before the Pope in a sufficiently great number.

Lord Filippo Canonici of Bologna, shield-bearer to the Pope, and marshal, called prefect of the Court, on horseback, holding before him on his saddle two bags or sacks full of coins, that is to say, of carlinos of pieces of four farthings, one farthing, and copper coins, which monies he threw to the people, in certain places agreed upon, and also in others, wherever he saw a crowd.

Lord Antonio Grassi, dean of the Rota, in a surplice, with a veil at his neck for the mitre, in the middle between the Lords Lorenzo Mari, and Girolamo Calagrano, private chamberlains of the Pope.

A man-at-arms on horseback, carrying the umbrella (*ombrellino*).

The Vice-Chamberlain, carrying in his hand a staff, like that of the sacristan.

Certain prelates not in vestments.

The protonotaries, in their capes.

The Auditor of Appeals, and the Corrector of Apostolic Letters, did not advance in this place, because the auditor was an archbishop and the other was not present.

All the courtiers in their robes, who wished to do so, followed.

In this order they arrived at the Lateran.

When the Pope withdrew from the piazza of St. Peter, the prefect of the palace threw three handfuls of money to the people, so that the Pope might advance the more easily. When the Pope was near the Castle of Saint

Angelo, he halted, and the Jews who, with their laws and apparatus, had betaken themselves to the lower battlements in the corner of the said castle, facing the square, in a Hebrew speech presented to the Pope the law, that he might worship and honour it, and they welcomed the Pope almost in these words—

“Most Blessed Father, we Hebrews, in the name of our Synagogue, entreat your Holiness to deign to confirm and approve the Mosaic Law, which was consigned to Moses, our pastor, on Mount Sinai by Almighty God, in the same way that the other Supreme Pontiffs, the predecessors of your Holiness, have confirmed and approved it.”

And to these words the Pontiff replied: “We commend the law, but we condemn your trust and understanding, because the Church teaches and expounds that the Lord Jesus Christ, whom you say shall come, has already arrived.”

Nevertheless, on other occasions, this ceremony took place in Monte Giordano; but, by reason of the injury done to the Jews by the Romans and others, they were allowed to do it here.

When the Pope withdrew from that place, the prefect of the palace again threw money. He did the same in Monte Giordano, near San Marco, at Sant' Adriano and elsewhere, wherever he perceived a throng of people. When the Pope had arrived near the Church of San Clemente, he dismounted, and, leaving the baldacchino, ascended the seat in which he was carried to the palace gate by those provisionally appointed; and this was done on his behalf, because in the Lateran, on account of his having a horse, and the baldacchino, which the Romans claim to be their due, much violence and insolence is wont to be offered, and not without danger to the Pope. In order to avoid this, it was decreed that the Pope should be thus carried, but this gave rise to greater danger, for the soldiers who carried the Pope, and their colleagues who surrounded them, carried him with such impetuosity, that the Pope's reception at the door of the porch of the Lateran, and his establishment in the stercorary chair, and the casting of coins, could not take place; on the contrary, with such vehemence did they bear him to the chief altar through the wooden fortification erected at the door of the basilica, the people following in a great state of excitement, that the Pope himself and the cardinals were in danger of falling together with the wooden fortification. The Cardinal of Siena and certain others, perceiving the danger, leapt from the fortification. For this reason, the original programme was not adhered to in this spot, but this will be related below. When he had arrived at the chief altar, the Pope descended from the chair, which the soldiers had appropriated¹ for him by main force, and, laying aside his tiara, he knelt down in the fald-stool and prayed. When he had ceased to pray, he took the mitre, ascended the high marble chair which had been prepared² on the accustomed platform, where the prior and the canons of the Lateran caused the Pope to sit, in such a way that he seemed³ to lie down. When he was thus seated, all the cardinals raised him with reverence, saying: ⁴ *Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem, ut sedeat cum principibus, et solium glorie teneat.* And, after

¹ These scenes of violence were by no means exceptional, and generally recurred at the coronation of every new Pope. (See Franciscus Cancellieri, *Storia dei solenni possessi de' sommi Pontefici da Leone III. a Pio VII.*, Rome, 1802, pp. 40, 44, 49 and *passim*.)

² *A tribuno solito paratam.*—Rinaldi, p. 74.

³ *Quod facere videbantur.*—Rinal.

⁴ *Cardinales omnes elevarunt vocem dicentes.*—Rinal.

this, the Pope took from the bosom of Lord Falcone, his treasurer, three handfuls of small pieces of four farthings and one farthing, in succession, and threw them amongst the people, saying: ¹ *Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do.* Then he received the prior and canons aforesaid, only, to kiss ² his foot, but no other beneficiaries. Then ³ standing, having laid aside his mitre, on account of his crucifix, which the sub-deacon held before him in the accustomed manner, he solemnly blessed the people, saying: *Sit nomen Domini*, etc.

But it had been arranged that, when the Pope had come to the Lateran, he should dismount by means of his ladder which had been placed in readiness there, and that the prior and canons of the Lateran, who had gone thither in a procession in surplices and almucees, should receive him and place him in the marble chair, called ⁴ the stercoreary [chair], in such a way that he seemed to lie rather than to sit. Thereupon the cardinals raised him, saying: *Suscitat de pulvere*, etc., and the Pontiff threw three handfuls of money there, saying: ⁵ *Argentum et aurum*, etc.

Then the aforesaid prior offered the crucifix which he carried in his hand to the Cardinal of Milan, arch-priest of the Lateran, if he were present, and if his gout did not prevent him from fulfilling ⁶ this office, otherwise, to the Dean of the Cardinal-deacons, who held it out to the Pontiff in order that he might kiss it, and then returned it to the said dean. And, when this was over, the dean himself and the canons recited the antiphon, *Eccc sacerdos magnus*, and after that *Te Deum laudamus*, and advanced in a procession to the chief altar, where the Pope, having laid aside the tiara, prayed, kneeling down in the fold-stool. Then, when he had taken the mitre, he blessed the people from the altar, solemnly saying: *Sit nomen*, etc., without proclaiming indulgences. When he had pronounced the benediction, the Pope with his mitre approached the eminent aforesaid seat of marble, and, sitting in this, he received the prior and canons aforesaid, who kissed his foot.

¹ *Dicens*.—Omitted in Rinaldi.

² This phrase is slightly altered in Rinal.

³ *Tum*.—Omitted in Rinal.

⁴ It has been thought that the stercoreary chair was intended to prove the sex of the newly-elected Pope, and malicious ignorance has helped to foster this legend, which is as mythical as the existence of Joan, the papess, with whom it was connected.

When the Pope arrived at the porch of St. John the Lateran, the prior and canons of the basilica made him sit upon a marble chair, called stercoreary; afterwards the cardinals raised him from it, chanting the versicle: *Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem, ut sedeat*, etc. See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Vol. II., p. 211, "Ordo Romanus . . . auctore Cencio";—De Brèquigney, *Not. et Ext.*, Vol. I., pp. 79 sqq.;—*Mus. Ital.*, Vol. II., pp. cxxi. sqq.;—*Not. et Ext. des MSS. de la bibl. du Roi*, Vol. II., p. 580;—Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma Ricercata*, Venice, 1571, pp. 154–8;—*La Papesse Jeanne* of Philomneste Junior, Brussels, 1880, chapter vii., p. 87: "De la chaise probatoire";—and especially the excellent work of Bianchi Giovini: *Esame critico degli alti e documenti relative alla favola della Papessa Giovanna*, Milan, 1845, chapter xx., p. 175: "La Sede Pertugiata." And here I must point out a slight mistake.

Bianchi Giovini asserts that Mabillon (page 177) is wrong when he says that the use of the stercoreary chair and the two other marble chairs in the chapel of San Silvestro is not mentioned before Cencius, and, to prove his assertions, he quotes the testimony of Pandolphus of Pisa on the inauguration of Paschal II. in 1099. Mabillon was not ignorant of this. Of these chairs he does not remember that any mention was found before Pandolphus (p. cxxii.), and further on he quotes the very text of Pandolphus, to which Bianchi Giovini refers the reader. Mabillon merely says (Vol. II., p. cxxiii.) that Cencius was the first to apply to the marble chair the epithet *stercoreary*: ". . . stercoreary chair, which name Cencio was the first to apply."

⁵ Text slightly altered in Rinal.

⁶ *Interresset, alioquin*.—Rinal.

After this he was conducted to the Lateran Palace, but, by reason of the aforesaid tumult, the arrangements could not be adhered to, and what happened has been related above.

When the Pope had pronounced the benediction, as described above, he went up to the Lateran Palace through the aforesaid basilica, and when he had arrived at the first great hall, which is called the Hall of the Council, the fald-stool was placed before the step of the stone, which is supported on four columns, and called¹ *mensura Christi*; there the Pope sat down, turning his back towards the said stone.

Meanwhile, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Novara, sub-dean of the cardinal-priests, in place of the Cardinal of Milan, dean of the same priests, who was sick, without a staff, before the Pope, who was seated in the said fald-stool with his mitre, the cardinals standing on either side of him with their mitres, arranged the sub-deacons, auditors, secretaries and advocates in the same order in which the Dean of the Deacons had placed them in the Basilica of St. Peter, so that, between them and the Pontiff there was a space of about three rods; [the sub-dean] standing without a mitre between the first sub-deacons, with the others aforesaid, who stood with heads uncovered, turned towards the Pope, and gave praise in a loud voice, as though he were reading, saying: *Exaudi Christe*, and they responded: *Domino nostro Innocentio*, etc., all in turn and in the same order, and word for word, in the same voices and tones in which the aforesaid Dean of the Deacons had given [praise] in the said Basilica of St. Peter.

When the praises were over, the Pope was conducted to the door of the chapel of San Silvestro, near which were placed the two chairs of naked marble,² and, in the first of these, which was placed on the right of the door, the Pope sat down, almost as though he were lying down; and, when he was thus seated, the aforesaid Prior of the Lateran handed to the Pope a rod as a sign of authority and castigation, also the keys of the basilica itself, and of the Lateran Palace, as a symbol of his power of closing and opening, binding and loosing. When the Pope had received the rod and keys as related above, he rose from the aforesaid chair, and approached the other, which was placed³ on the left of the said door, and he likewise sat down in this, almost as though he were lying; and, as he sat thus, he gave back the rod and the keys to the prior aforesaid, thereupon the prior girded the Pontiff, who sat in the manner related above, with a girdle of red silk above the chasuble; to the girdle was affixed a purple purse, containing twelve precious stones which were fairly valuable, twelve seals and musk,⁴ despite the fact that the ancient books decree that the things aforesaid should be done by the prior of the Basilica of San Lorenzo, which

¹ *Dicitur*.—Rinaldi. "It is a variegated stone, in length seven palms all but an inch; it is five palms four and a half inches wide, and supported on four columns of white marble; it was called *mensura Christi*, or, the measure of Christ, and is still preserved in the cloister of the Lateran."—Franciscus Cancellieri (the work already quoted, p. 50).

² "The Pope-elect was required thus to sit in these two seats, and, if he appeared, to lie between two altars, that is, so that he may recline between the government of Peter, chief of the Apostles, and the preaching of Paul, the teacher of the nations." *Ordo Romanus, auct. Cencio* (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, Vol. II., p. 212). Concerning the two marble chairs in the chapel of San Silvestro, see Onuphrius Panvinius: *De præcipuis urbis Romæ sanctio ribusque basilicis quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant liber*, Romæ, 1570, p. 185.

³ *Positam*.—Omitted in Rinal, p. 75.

⁴ "The girdle denotes continence, the purse signifies the box from which the poor and widows are relieved, the twelve seals signify the power of the twelve Apostles, the musk contains the sense of smell, as the Apostle says: "Christi bonus odor sumus Deo" (*Ordo Romanus*, same page). *Cum undecim sigillis*.—Rinal.

is called *Sancta Sanctorum*; nevertheless, seeing that, now-a-days, San Lorenzo and the Basilica of the Lateran are the same, and that San Lorenzo has no prior, the ceremony aforesaid was performed by the Prior of the Lateran. As the Pope sat, girt¹ in the manner described above, he received from the bosom of Lord Falcone Sinibaldi, protonotary, his treasurer, three handfuls of carlinos, and other silver coins, which he threw to the people, saying: *Dispersit, dedit pauperibus, justitia ejus manet in seculum seculi.*

Then the Pope, thus girt, rose, and was conducted to the Basilica of San Lorenzo, called *Sancta Sanctorum*, and there, kneeling down in the faldstool before the altar, without his mitre, he prayed; after the prayer, he wished to place an offering upon the altar, and none of his chamberlains, nor his treasurer, who had the money, were present; therefore I lent the Pontiff two florins of silver and one ducat (all that I had with me) and the Pontiff offered² these upon the altar. Then the Pontiff returned to the chapel of San Silvestro, and there, having laid aside his mitre, girdle, *pullium*, chasuble, rings and gloves, having received his cope and mitre and taken back his rings, he seated himself in the high seat prepared for him there in the middle of the chapel, facing the door; and, as he sat thus, the cardinals approached one by one, bearing the mitre before them in their hands, and behind them, in the same way, [came] all the prelates in their vestments; and when these were established, one by one, before the Pope, the Pope gave to the priesthood,³ that is to say,⁴ to each cardinal, two ducats and two carlinos, and to each prelate [he gave] one ducat and one carlino; moreover, he gave the same amount to each of the other officials, that is to say,⁵ to the sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, acolytes, even including⁶ the naval prefects, and these coins the Pope first received from the bosom of his aforesaid treasurer. After this reception of the priesthood, the cardinals kissed the Pope's hand, standing with bowed heads; moreover, the prelates knelt down and kissed the Pope's foot, after the sub-deacons and the auditors, because there was a great crowd. And I approached the Pontiff, who gave me a ducat and a carlino, papal coins of his mint. When the priesthood had received its gifts, the Pope, thus arrayed, went up to the Lateran Palace, to the chambers prepared for him, where he rested for a short time and took luncheon alone with his familiars. The cardinals went to the chambers which had been prepared for them in the canonry and elsewhere, and they, likewise had luncheon.

For the Romans and Court officials there were prepared many tables and abundance of food in the lower part of the Lateran Palace, and there they all had luncheon in great confusion. I remained to luncheon in the chamber of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Marco.

On the same day, about the twenty-second hour, His Holiness our Lord, in his amice, alb, girdle and precious white stole, wearing a hat of crimson velvet, preceded by the crucifix and the cardinals, returned on horseback to the Apostolic Palace, near St. Peter, in the same order in which Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory, was wont to ride when thus attired.

¹ *Papa sedens amictus.*—Rinaldi.

² *Posuit.*—Rinal.

³ *Presbyterium.*—A special gift made by the Pope at the time of their elevation. See Du Cange, *Glossarium med. et infimae lat.*, article "Presbyterium S."

⁴ *Videlicet.*—Omitted in Rinal.

⁵ *Videlicet.*—Omitted in Rinal.

⁶ *Usque ad prefatos navales exclusive.*—Purposely omitted by Rinaldi, who did not quote the passage to which this refers, and therefore could not give this part of the sentence.

On Monday, 27th September, when the coffin, and the other things necessary for the burial of bishops had been arranged in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, the first public funeral mass was celebrated by one of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal-priests, in the presence of the Very Rev. Cardinals and other prelates; a sufficient number of candles, but not very heavy ones, was given to all. After mass, there was a sermon, and then the absolutions were given by five cardinals, and all the other rites were observed in the usual way.

Then, on each of the days, that is to say, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, which immediately follow Monday, some bishop celebrated public mass, and, when mass was over, he gave the absolutions in the accustomed way.

On Saturday, 2nd October, the Rev Father in Christ, Lord Lorenzo, by divine mercy Patriarch of Antioch, in Rome, expired, and, *on the same evening*, his body was accompanied to the church of the Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva by the friars of the said convent, and there he was buried without ceremony, and rests in peace.

On Tuesday, 5th October, in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, were celebrated the last funeral rites for the soul of the late Cardinal of Macon. One of the cardinal-priests celebrated mass in the presence of the cardinals and of the priests, and, after mass, the celebrant, together with four other cardinals, gave the absolutions¹ in the accustomed way.

About this time, there came to the city the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Niccolò, Bishop of Lucca, with a certain colleague of his; he came to promise obedience in the name of the community of Lucca; he was received by the households of His Holiness our Lord, and of my Lords the Roman Cardinals, and he was escorted to his place of residence; then he took the aforesaid oath of obedience to our Most Holy Lord, in the third hall of the palace, in the order arranged, and in the customary way.

On Saturday, 9th October, there was a general meeting of the Order of the aforesaid friars, in the Convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, to elect their general, and, on collecting the votes, it was discovered that Master Giovanni Corte of Pavia, who was professed in the same Order, and a certain Venetian, who was also professed in the same Order, had an equal number of votes; therefore, both were received and announced as generals, each by those of his party, and, one after the other, they were placed on the altar of the church of the said convent; this gave rise to a great scandal and confusion amongst the friars of the said Order, and greater trouble would have ensued, had not the governor of the city arrived with his men; nevertheless, His Holiness our Lord, at the request of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples, patron of the said Order, who favoured the said Venetian, desired and decreed that the Venetian should retain the office; the other [candidate] yielded, but against his will.

On Sunday, 10th October, when all the customary preparations had been made for the funeral rites, a public mass for the dead was celebrated in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva for the soul of Lorenzo, Patriarch of Antioch, of blessed memory; if I remember right, the Rev. Father, Lord Stefano, Archbishop of Antivari, or some other bishop,

¹ "Last night, at six o'clock, the Very Rev. Cardinal of Macon expired, and he was buried before the next day; may God grant a true pardon to his soul!" (Despatch of Vespucci, 13th September, 1484: in *Tabul. Ref. Class.*, X., Dist. 4, number 33.) He was buried in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Therefore Frizon (*Gallia Purpurata*, p. 519) and Palatius (*Fasti Card. omnium s. r. E.*, etc., Venice, Vol. II., pp. 366, 367) are wrong in saying that he died 14th December, 1484.



PINTURICCHIO, BY SPELLO, (CHURCH OF S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME).

Facing page 80.

was the celebrant. There were present the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of San Marco, Sant' Angelo, Agrin, Foscaro and San Giorgio, and these held big torches, as at the funeral service of a cardinal, and there were present very many prelates, and others. All held torches, as is the custom at the funeral service of a cardinal.

After mass, there was a sermon, and then the absolutions were given by the celebrant and four other prelates, and the other rites were performed in the accustomed way; there were about thirty mourners.

On Wednesday, 20th October, about the twenty-second hour, there entered the city by the gate of Santa Maria del Popolo,¹ the Illustrious Lord Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, eldest son of His Majesty King Ferdinand of Sicily, and there went to meet him, as far as the Ponte Molle, and further on this side, the Very Rev. Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Naples, Parma, Aragon (the last was the brother of the ducal visitor), Siena, and one other whom I did not see distinctly, together with their relations. Then, through the aforesaid gate, there came all the other Very Rev. Lords, the Cardinals who were in the city, all together. From the place in which the duke was received by the former six cardinals, he rode between the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal of Naples, and the other four cardinals followed, two by two, but, when he came near the gate, they left him, and these six cardinals stood in the accustomed order and received the duke all in a body; the Vice-Chancellor made a speech on behalf of all.

Then the duke, with head uncovered, kissed each of the cardinals, who stood with uncovered heads, and was admitted in the last place, between the first cardinal-deacons; all the other cardinals riding before in their order, they set forth for the Apostolic Palace, and there all the cardinals dismounted, not in the accustomed place, but below, at the steps of the

¹ The King of Naples, who knew that Innocent VIII., as a cardinal, had disliked him, despatched his own son to Rome, in order to win him over by this respectful attention. The following extract is taken from *La Congiura de' Baroni del Regno di Napoli contra il Re Ferdinando Primo, raccolta dal S. Camillo Portio*, Rome, 1565, Book I., fol. 2 sqq. and 12 :—

“ . . . Sixtus died after the Peace of Lombardy, and was succeeded by Innocent VIII., first Cardinal of Molfetta, by name Giovanni Battista Cibo, a native of Genoa, a peaceable, kindly man, who, notwithstanding, when in less fortunate circumstances had hated the Duke of Calabria and the King, both because he was the son of Father Angivino, who had ruled the city of Naples for many years under King Riniero, and also because they were cruel, and in past times had shown no consideration for the Church, who had protected them from the French army and the violence of the Neapolitans. This ill-feeling was increased by the contumacy of Ferdinand, who refused to pay the yearly tribute, which the King of Naples is wont to pay to the Church, in acknowledgment of his fief; the King declared that this had been remitted to him by his predecessors, and that it was due to him for the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. These were the official reasons, but the private causes of the feud, which have been laid bare by Time, the Revealer, were more deeply-rooted. Innocent was the first of all the Popes, within the memory of man, who brought up his illegitimate children in the palace, and honoured them with money and lands, for, up to that time, a decent veil of concealment had been thrown over the like. Innocent had two illegitimate children, Franceschetto and Teodorina, and, because he loved Franceschetto very much, and desired to make him a prince, by means of his own elevation to the Papacy, and because there was no territory in Italy which could conveniently be assigned to him, except in the Kingdom of Naples, and because Ferdinand had annoyed him, he decided to depose this king, and to set up in his stead one who would be grateful to him for the honour, and who, in return, would enrich his son with dignities and lands: in this he was swayed by the example of Pius [II.], who, under the same Ferdinand, by means of a similar device, had advanced the fortunes of his own family in these provinces.”

Apostolic Chamber, and, by the staircase of the Chamber of the same palace, they entered the great hall, which was set apart for a public consistory; there, after having paid homage to the Pope, the two senior deacons, having left the other two, went down to the duke, and conducted him into the presence of the Pope; and, when the duke had paid homage to the Pope, according to the custom, he was permitted to kiss him.

Then, when I asked what place should be assigned to him, the Pontiff, who in this, as I think, was persuaded by the Vice-Chancellor, declared that, on other occasions he had sat when there behind the first cardinal, namely, the Vice-Chancellor, and that therefore I was to place him again in the same place, and this I did; and assuredly this was ill-done, for only kings should occupy that place; and he ought to have had the place behind the first cardinal-priest. The consistory proceeded and came to an end. And when this was over, the Pope returned to his chambers, and with him all the cardinals and the duke. Then the duke was conducted by all the cardinals to the chambers assigned to him in the Apostolic Palace; he walked between the first two, and all the others followed; when they had left him there, each one returned to his place or residence.

On Tuesday, 26th October, about the twenty-first hour, the aforesaid Illustrious Duke of Calabria, left the city by the gate of St. John Lateran, on his way to Naples, and, before his departure, all the cardinals came to him in his chambers in the aforesaid palace; all riding in a body, the duke in the place of honour between the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal of Naples, the other cardinals following, two by two, they accompanied him as far as the aforesaid gate, where, with uncovered head, he kissed them, one by one, from first to last, and took leave of them. But the Very Rev. Lords the Vice-Chancellor, [the Cardinals of] St. Peter ad Vincula, of Aragon and Parma, [Cardinals] Savelli, Colonna and Ascanio, rode with him as far as the milestone. But the manner in which they rode was most unseemly, and gave displeasure to the greater part of the cardinals. For the duke should have ridden once more in the lowest place, between the two senior deacons, as on the day of his arrival, and not between the chief bishops, for only the Emperor should do this; but, because this pleased the Vice-Chancellor, I could make no other arrangement.

Last Friday, the 22nd of the said month of October, about the first hour of the night, there passed away the Very Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Stefano, of the title of Santa Maria in Trastevere, commonly called Cardinal-priest of Milan, in his residential palace in Rome; about the tenth hour of the same night, his body was borne, without ceremony, to the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles of the city, and thence it was placed in the Vatican, near the baptismal chapel, in the wall. May his soul rest in peace.¹

On Wednesday, the 27th of the said month of October, there came to the city the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Adriano, Bishop of Siena, and, if I remember right, two other citizens of the town of Siena, who had been despatched to take the oath of obedience to His Holiness our Lord; they were received by the attendants of His Holiness our Lord, and of my Lords the Roman Cardinals, and by the ambassadors, and, with the accustomed ceremony, they were conducted to the Angelo hostel, near the Campo dei Fiore.

On Saturday, 30th of the said month of October, in the Apostolic Palace

¹ He was thought to have died of grief at not having succeeded Sixtus IV. (See Garimberto, p. 462.)

in Rome, near St. Peter's, at the public consistory, which was held in the third hall, the Bishop of Siena gave an address, and the aforesaid ambassadors, in the name of their city, took the oath of obedience which is due to Supreme Pontiffs, to the aforesaid, His Holiness our Lord, in the accustomed way.

On Monday, the 8th of the month of November, when, according to custom, the bier had been prepared with arms and weapons and other things suitable, in the Vatican, outside the chapel of Sant' Andrea and San Gregorio, in the Basilica of St. Peter, mass was celebrated in the aforesaid chapel, the first funeral mass for the soul of Stefano, of blessed memory, of the title of Santa Maria in Trastevere, commonly called Cardinal of Milan; one of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinal-priests celebrated mass in the presence of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, prelates and others of the Court. After mass, there was a sermon, and then the absolutions were given by the celebrant and four other cardinals, and the other rites were observed in the accustomed way.

On each day of the novena, some bishop celebrated the first mass, and afterwards gave the absolutions in the accustomed way. Moreover, I gave a paper to those whose duty it was to make provision of things suitable for these funeral services. Its tenour was as follows:—

The wax to be ordered for the obsequies of Stephen of Milan, of blessed memory:

For the first day:

For the cardinals and the altar, thirty torches of six pounds each 180 pounds.

For the surrounding draperies, fifty-six torches of four pounds each 224 pounds.

For the benches on either side of the bier, twenty-four torches of the same weight 46 pounds (*sic*) [should be 96].

To be placed above the bier and on the tomb, eleven torches of the same weight 44 pounds.

Two hundred candles of two pounds each for the ambassadors, prelates and mourners 400 pounds.

Three hundred [candles] of one pound each for the canons, chamberlains, shield-bearers, and captains of the Pope 300 pounds.

Three hundred [candles], each of half a pound, for the officials and beadles 150 pounds.

One hundred and eight [candles], each of four ounces, for the bier and for distribution among the people 27 pounds.

Small [candles] for masses, at twenty-five to the pound 15 pounds.

The same number for the last day.

But, for each intervening day of the novena, let five torches of four pounds each be ordered for placing above the bier, twenty [to be placed] near the same bier, two for the tomb, one for the celebrant, and eight for the elevation of the Host. A total of thirty-six torches.

One hundred candles of two pounds each 200 pounds.

” ” ” ” one pound ” 100 ”

Two hundred ” ” half a pound ” 100 ”

Three ” ” ” four ounces each 100 ”

Small candles for masses, at twenty-five to the pound . 10 ”

Let two be appointed to receive the wax from the maker; let them keep an account, watch over and superintend the distribution; let

these have two attendants to carry the wax when distributed: they must be loyal.

On Tuesday, the 16th of the said month of November, the last public funeral mass was celebrated for the soul of the aforesaid, the late Cardinal of Milan; the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated it in the said chapel, in the presence of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and of others of the Court, together with four other cardinals. When mass was over, he gave the absolutions, and all the other-rites were performed in the accustomed way.

The executors of the will of the aforesaid, the late Cardinal of Milan, were the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of San Marco and Siena.

On Saturday, the 20th of the said month of November, in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, in the first great hall, a consistory was held, at which the excellent Lord Francesco of Padua, consistorial advocate, recited in public the life and miracles of S. Leopoldi, and, at the end, entreated that the saint should be canonized; and, when his speech was over, the Pope erred in not replying, as it is customary to do, nor did he ask the cardinals and prelates to lunch, in order to hear their opinion in another consistory; but he rose *absolute* and returned to his chamber.¹

On Sunday, the 21st of the said month of November, about the sixteenth hour, the Very Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, of the title of Santa Balbina, commonly called Cardinal-priest of Gerona, expired² in Rome, in the house in which he habitually resided. Then, about the twentieth hour, there came to the house of the same deceased cardinal the Very Rev. Lords the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Naples, San Marco, Recanati, Agria, Aragon, Siena and Orsini. The office for the dead was recited by the college in the hall of the deceased, and by the other cardinals aforesaid, in the accustomed way, and there small candles were distributed; about the twenty-third hour, the deceased was borne to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and placed there in the chapel behind the altar of the image of the B. Virgin Mary; only the Cardinal of Naples, his executor, visited the body there, and he went thither in the midst of very heavy rain.

On Saturday, 4th December, there entered the city the magnificent Lords Zaccaria of Pisa, knight, and Antonio Bonatto, doctor, ambassadors of the Marquess of Mantua, sent to take the oath of obedience to his Holiness our Lord, and they were received by the families of His Holiness our Lord, and of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and by the other ambassadors, and they were conducted to the hostel at which they lodged, in the customary way.

On Wednesday, the 8th of the month of December, by the gate of Santa Maria del Popolo, six ambassadors of the Florentine government entered the city, that is to say, five new ambassadors, for the sixth was one who had been an ambassador in the city for some time, as a representative

¹ This address is given in Vol. I. of the *Scriptores Rerum Austrocarum* (Leipzig, 1721, edition P. Pez), pp. 577-592, under this title: *Oratio de Sancto Leopoldo Austriacae Marchione, sedente Innocentio octavo Pontifice Maximo, Friderico tertio Imperatore Suadente, ab Francisco Appellato Patavo jurisconsulto atque avvocato consistoriali et Pauperum, equite et comite, oratore, habitu die duodecima Kal. Decembris, anno salutis millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo quarto, publico consistorio*. There follows a brief account of St. Leopold's canonization (pp. 592-671), the papal bull of canonization (pp. 671-678), the prayers, sequences and hymns in honour of St. Leopold (pp. 679-682).

² He had lived an exemplary and very active life, and died of the stone, at Rome, "to the grief and sorrow of all the Court."—Garimb. (work already quoted), p. 166.



LUDOVICO SFORZA, BY LEONI. (MILAN MUSEUM).

of the said government. The chief of all was the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Francesco, Bishop of Volterra, and Bartolommeo Scala, chancellor, who came between the other two knights; the others were merely Florentine citizens, who were all received by the families of His Holiness our Lord the Pope, and of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and by the other ambassadors, and, if I remember right, they were conducted, in the accustomed way¹ to the residence of the Very Rev. Lord Bishop.

On Thursday, the 9th of the month of December, there was a public consistory in the third hall of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, at which two ambassadors, namely those of the Marquess of Mantua, took the proper and customary oath of obedience to His Holiness our Lord, Pope Innocent VIII. One of them, namely, Antonio Bonatto, doctor, gave an address in the customary way.

On Saturday, the 11th of the month of December, and also to-day, at Rome, in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, there was a funeral service for the soul of Lord Giovanni, of blessed memory, of the title of Santa Balbina, commonly called Cardinal-priest of Gerona; the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, the prelates, and they of the Court, were present. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples celebrated mass; and after mass there was a sermon. Then the absolutions were given by the celebrant, and by the Very Rev. Lord Bishops, the Vice-Chancellor, and San Marco, and by the Cardinal-priests of Agria and San Clemente. The Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of Naples and San Marco were the executors of the deceased cardinal aforesaid.

On Sunday, the 12th of the said month of December, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Giovanni, [Bishop]-elect of Tours, *magister domus* of the Apostolic Palace, gave me a place in the dining-hall of His Holiness our Lord, at the table of the prelates, behind the last chamberlain who was present.

On Wednesday, the 15th of the month of December, the six ambassadors of the Florentine government, to whom I referred eight days past, were admitted to the public consistory, which was held in the third hall of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's; the excellent Lord Bartolommeo Scala, Florentine chancellor, who occupied the third place amongst them, made an address, and they took the proper and customary oath of obedience to the aforesaid, His Holiness our Lord, in their [the Florentine's] name.

On Wednesday, the 22nd of the said month of December, about the twenty-third hour, through the gate of St. John Lateran, six ambassadors of the Very Illustrious Ferdinand, King of Sicily and Naples, entered the city, namely, the Illustrious Francesco, fourth son of the same king; Archbishop of Capua; the Duke of Molfetta, own brother of my Very Rev. Lord the Cardinal of Siena; the Count ———; Lord Annello, who had long been the ambassador of the same king in the city; and the Count of Montagna. Sent to meet the Illustrious Francesco aforesaid, son of the king, to do him honour, and to receive him on behalf of the college of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and in their name, were the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals Giovanni of Aragon, cardinal-priest of the title of Santa Sabina, own brother of the same Francesco; Ascanio Maria, deacon of San Vito in Macello, and Viscount Sforza. The Cardinal of Aragon went about a mile outside the gate to meet him; but Cardinal Ascanio awaited him immediately outside the gate, and, when he had arrived there, the afore-

¹ These six ambassadors were: Francesco Soderini, Bishop of Volterra; Antonio Canisiano; Bartolommeo Scala, chancellor; Guid' Antonio Vespucci; Angelo and Giovanni Francesco Tornabuoni.

said Francesco was kissed by Cardinal Ascanio, and was received by both in the name of the college; moreover, there came to meet him the households of His Holiness our Lord, and of the other Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, by whom the said Lord Francesco, [placed] in the middle between the two said cardinals, the remaining five going one by one between the prelates of the palace and the ambassadors of the other princes who were in the city, who had come to meet them in the accustomed way, was accompanied with all ceremony to the residence or palace of the Orsini in the Campo di Fiore, which had been assigned to the same Francesco as his dwelling-place.

On Friday, 24th December, the Eve of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, His Holiness our Lord wished to hold, after vespers, a public collation in the chief hall of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, and [wished] that vespers should be celebrated in the chief chapel of the said palace, for the greater convenience of the thing, to prevent time being wasted in his departure and withdrawal from the Basilica of St. Peter, and so this was done.

His Holiness celebrated these vespers solemnly, he himself and the cardinals reciting the antiphons and the rest in the accustomed way. There were present at these [celebrations], by express leave of the Pope, Francesco of Aragon and his colleagues, the aforesaid ambassadors of his Most Serene Highness the King of Sicily, although they had not yet taken the oath of allegiance to His Holiness our Lord, wherefore they would not have been allowed to appear in public under any other circumstances, and to the same Illustrious Francesco, if I remember right, I assigned a place above the last cardinal-deacon, that is to say, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio, although Ascanio himself said afterwards that the aforesaid Lord Francesco had been placed behind himself, the cardinal. Before the cardinals conducted the Pontiff to vespers from the Parrot Chamber, I informed each of them that they must choose for themselves two shield-bearers or attendants, to serve them with wine and water at the collation. Therefore, for the collation which was to be held in public after vespers, the following preparations were made:—

The first hall, that is to say, the great hall of the aforesaid palace, was arranged with a pontifical throne and seat, and with stools for the cardinals, and green tapestries, just as though a public consistory were to be celebrated there, except that the coverings of the Pope's seat, and those above it, were white, not red; and besides those below, near the stools of the cardinals opposite the door by which, after the ascent from the court, where the cardinals are wont to dismount, one enters the same, there was prepared a large and lofty credence, which had eight steps, and was supplied with vessels of silver-gilt, and with certain sumptuous ones of crystal, and [the credence], moreover, has been described elsewhere on folio xv. of my first Book of the Ceremonies, which is written by my own hand.

In the second hall of the said palace, that is to say, in the one next the [hall] aforesaid, was prepared another credence of the kind which is generally prepared for His Holiness our Lord, and, not far from this, there was another long one for the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and these credences were arranged and prepared with wines, sweets and confections, basins, water and other things suitable. Moreover, the chamberlains and others had received instructions as to what they should do; these [instructions] will be understood from what is written below. Moreover, it had been arranged that, if His Holiness our Lord should wish vespers to be held in St. Peter's after the service, he should return to the Parrot Chamber

in the accustomed order, and there, having laid aside his cope and mitre, should take a crimson cloak and should go forth to the aforesaid hall, without a mitre, to make his collation. Therefore, when vespers were over in the aforesaid chapel, His Holiness our Lord, having laid aside his cope and mitre, took the crimson cloak and came to the aforesaid great hall, which was prepared for collation; one of the bishops in attendance carried the border of his cloak, and also the money collected. Moreover, meantime, whilst the Pontiff laid aside his cope and mitre, the cardinals on their stools and the prelates and sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, and acolytes outside the chancel of the chapel laid aside their decorations, assumed their accustomed capes, and in them accompanied the Pontiff in the usual order.

When His Holiness our Lord was established on the throne, and seated there, the Cardinal-deacons of Siena and San Giorgio remained near him, and assisted him until the Pontiff had completed his collation.

Then the Illustrious Lord Francesco of Aragon, son of the King of Sicily, approached the pontifical throne from the credence, to give water to the Pontiff.

They advanced in the following order:—

First, two men-at-arms, followed by me, the Master of the Ceremonies, in my surplice; nevertheless, if I judge rightly, I had better have laid this aside, since we were here outside the sacred [precincts] and in the public consistory, wherein surplices are not rightly worn; then the [Bishop]-elect of Tours, the *magister domus* of the palace, only wearing a mantle over his rochet, carrying a staff in his hand. Behind him one of the auditors of the Rota, without a mantle, and behind him, another auditor of the Rota with a mantle, both in their capes. The Illustrious Lord Francesco, carrying water in basins, in the middle between Andrea Conti, master of the hostel, who was on the right, and the private cup-bearer of His Holiness our Lord, who was on the left, came in this order to the Pope, with the proper and customary reverence; and [whilst] he [the Pope] washed his hands, the cardinals stood with covered heads, but the prelates stood with heads bared, and all the others knelt down, their heads bared. I was not summoned to this washing [of the hands], neither should the Dean of the Bishops, nor him of the cardinal-priests, be summoned, as is the custom at mass, but the two aforesaid deacons in attendance, with uncovered heads, helped to pour out [the water]; and, when the Pontiff had washed, they returned to the credence in the aforesaid order; but the aforesaid were led up to the steps of the Pope's throne; two other men-at-arms being received together with me, I led the Illustrious Lord Antonio, Duke of Amalfi, own brother to the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, another of the ambassadors of the aforesaid King of Naples, to the private credence of the Pope, and he was entrusted with the first course to be served to the Pontiff in a suitable vessel, a silken napkin having been first placed round his neck.

He, in the following order, approached the Pope:—

First came two men-at-arms and the *magister domus*, who, neither at the washing [of the hands], nor on this occasion, nor during that which followed, passed beyond the steps of the throne; on the contrary, he remained there until the attendants had departed from the throne, going back to the credence with them. After the *magister domus* came two auditors, the first without a mantle, the second with a mantle, the aforesaid cup-bearer of the Pope carrying the course; the master of the hostel remained alone near the credence, where he should remain. But neither the cup-bearer nor the master of the hostel preserved the proper and

customary order; on the contrary, they confused, and wrongly, all the attendants, both those for meat and drink. When the aforesaid duke had come before the Pope, the Cardinal of Siena gave to him some of the courses which were to be held on account of the furniture, or credence, and, kneeling down, he held them, holding the vessel until the Pontiff had eaten his fill of it, or as much as he wished [to eat]. As soon as the same duke had come before the Pope, I, together with two other men-at-arms, conducted to the aforesaid private credence the Rev. Lord Masquard Brisaquer, governor and knight, Imperial ambassador, and two other ambassadors, and there, when Lord Masquard had placed a silken napkin round his neck, drink for the Pontiff was given to him in a great siphon, and Lord Masquard himself bore it to the Pope in the same order in which the aforesaid duke bore the course, and he did not depart from the credence before the duke had returned [from the Pope] to the said credence. In this order, four courses were carried to the Pontiff, one after the other, and, after each course, another draught of wine. If I remember right, the Illustrious Lord Duke of Amalfi carried the first course, which was sugared pine-seeds, gilt and silvered, with a miniature standard of the Pope placed erect in the middle.

Lord Masquard, ambassador of the Emperor, carried the first draught of wine.

The second course consisted of large fat corianders; it was carried by the Count of ———, ambassador of the King of Naples.

The Lord Senator of the City carried the second draught.

The third course consisted of several kinds of confections; it was carried by the Count of Montagna, also ambassador of the aforesaid king.

Lord Florio Duverrela, knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, ambassador of the King of Hungary, carried the third draught.

The fourth course consisted of wafers; it was carried by Lord Leonardo, doctor and knight, ambassador of the Illustrious Duke of Milan.

Lord Antonio, Florentine ambassador, carried the fourth draught, which consisted of negus.

After the bearer of the Pontiff's fourth draught had ascended the throne, I summoned to the aforesaid credence the chamberlains of the Pope, and there, as each stood with his hood about his neck, a clean napkin was placed in his honour, only excepting those who were to serve table-cloths before the cardinals, who were to serve without napkins. When Lord Antonio, who carried the fourth draught, had withdrawn from the Pope, the two cardinal-deacons in attendance also withdrew, and they all came to their places at their bench, and sat down. In the meantime, whilst the Pope was making collation and drinking, all the cardinals, prelates and others remained, but they sat still in their places, only excepting the aforesaid assistants, who served standing with uncovered heads.

When all the cardinals were sitting down, five chamberlains came up to them with two long table-cloths, and three of them served the longer table-cloth, spread out at its full length, before the cardinal-bishops and priests. The other two [chamberlains] served the other [table-cloth] before the cardinal-deacons; these were followed by other [chamberlains] one by one, [each] between two shield-bearers of the cardinals. The first chamberlain walked in front, carrying fennel with sugared pine-seeds; he was followed by two shield-bearers of the first cardinal, that is to say, the Vice-Chancellor; the first of these, who had a napkin on his shoulder, bore a cup of wine; the other, who had no napkin, [bore] a bottle containing water; another

chamberlain followed with sweets, and two shield-bearers of the second cardinal [followed] him with wine and water, and so on to the end; each chamberlain carried the sweets of each [cardinal] together with sugared pine-seeds, and in the midst of each of the [dishes of sweets] there was a standard about one palm in height, which bore on one side the arms of His Holiness our Lord, and on the other those of that cardinal to whom it was being carried. The cardinals, as they sat, took [their fill] of the courses, and drank; the sweets that remained over were, to some extent, given by them to those seated before them; some threw [them] between those who stood near and those who sat on the floor. Then the aforesaid [attendants] returned to the credence in the order in which they had come, with the exception of those five chamberlains, who, to the end of the collation, served table-cloths before the cardinals; the chamberlains returned in the same order to the cardinals with other sweets, in which were fat corianders, peaches, peach-stones, nuts, pears and other things also cooked with sugar, and sugared pines and the like; and the shield-bearers [returned] with wine and water, and four courses were served, as in the case of the Pope.

When the collation of the cardinals was over, those five chamberlains with two table-cloths followed the chamberlains and shield-bearers who had carried the fourth and last course and draught to the credence, where they placed everything, and napkins were placed on the shoulders of the shield-bearers of the Pope. To eight of them were allotted eight basins containing sugared pine-seeds for the collation of the ambassadors, princes and prelates; to others, cups containing wine and bottles containing water, in the following order: First came a shield-bearer with a basin of pine-seeds, followed by three shield-bearers with three cups of wine, and one with a bottle of water. Then another shield-bearer, with a basin of pine-seeds, followed by three shield-bearers with three cups of wine, and one [shield-bearer] with a bottle of water, and so on. In the great court, these distributed themselves as best they could between the princes, ambassadors, prelates and others, who occupied ordinary places in the chapel; and after they had distributed sugared pine-seeds and wine, seeing that everything was thrown about in disorder, they returned to the credence and carried other basins, containing others sweets and wine, just as the Pontiff and the cardinals had been served; and after the consumption of the wafers and the final draught, as described above, notwithstanding great confusion, silence was procured, the Pope rose, and returned to his chamber in the customary way. I, together with Lord Agostino Patrizzi, if I remember right, remained for that night in the Apostolic Palace, and we slept in the chamber of the Prior of Santa Balbina, librarian to his Holiness our Lord.

His Holiness our Lord came to matins that night attired in his amice, alb, girdle, stole, and cope of crimson, about the eighth hour of the night, without a mitre, his crucifix hanging [by his side], followed by the cardinals, to the chief chapel aforesaid, where he prayed. He ascended the throne, and began matins in the accustomed way. When the response of the fourth lesson had begun, I led the Most Illustrious Lord Francesco of Aragon, who was to read the fifth lesson, from his place behind the pulpit, from which the sermon is generally preached, into the chapel, and there I placed upon him a surplice, and girt his sword over it; then I gave him a mantle, according to the custom, and, together with the mantle, a hat [made] out of a *birrettum*; and I placed upon him the hat [made] out of a *birrettum*, and then, when the ordinary ceremonies had been observed, he read the

fifth lesson; and, when this was over, having left the aforesaid vestments near the aforesaid pulpit, he returned to his place.

I read the first lesson at these matins.

The acolyte of the Pope read the second.

The auditor of the Rota [read] the third.

The junior of the cardinal-priests [read] the fourth.

The Illustrious Francesco of Aragon [read] the fifth.

The sub-deacon of the Pope [read] the sixth.

The cardinal in attendance [read] the seventh.

The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena [read] the eighth.

The Pope, with two deacons in attendance, read the ninth, and the Prior of the Cardinal-priests held the book, helped by the second in attendance on them.

If I remember right, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Recanati celebrated the first mass, with the accustomed rites. When this was over, His Holiness our Lord returned to his chamber, and the choir read the praises; when these had been recited, the Abbot of San Sebastiano, our sacristan, recited the second mass after the manner of the Pope. Only a few of us were present, and the other rites were observed in the accustomed way.

On Saturday, the 22nd of the said month of December 1485,¹ dating from the year of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Feast of the Nativity of Our Saviour, His Holiness our Lord, in the customary vestments, went in a procession to the Basilica of St. Peter, and there he solemnly celebrated the service with the accustomed ceremony. When this was over, His Holiness returned to his palace, having dismissed the cardinals under the porch of the aforesaid basilica. After His Holiness had returned to his chamber, he was conducted by the prelates, chamberlains and shield-bearers of His Holiness from his aforesaid palace to the house of the Orsini in the Campo di Fiore, where the Very Illustrious Lord Francesco of Aragon now abides; the same Francesco rode on the left of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aragon, his brother, and behind them came the prelates of the palace and others; before him went the attendant, who carried his sword with his hat, and the others paid homage to him in the accustomed order, on account of the sword given to him by His Holiness our Lord.

On Sunday, the 26th of the said month of December, if I remember right, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Novara celebrated a solemn mass in

¹ Burchard reckons the New Year sometimes from 25th December, sometimes from 1st January. One knows that, in the fifteenth century, the first day of the New Year was a very variable quantity. Eugenius IV., Pope from 1431 to 1447, "began the New Year sometimes on the 1st of January, sometimes on 25th March, and again sometimes at Easter. Nevertheless, he had decreed by a bull in 1440, that (in the future) throughout the Church the year would begin at Easter. But neither he nor his successors adhered to this rule, which was adopted in several countries." (*Art de Verifier les dates*, 3rd edition, Vol. I., p. 324.)

Nicholas V., successor to Eugenius IV., began the year on 25th March. "Thus," remarks the learned Benedictine of St. Maur, "one must not wonder that some of his bulls are dated 1446." (*The same work*, p. 325.)

"Calixtus III., his successor, began the year 25th March."

"Pius II., successor to Calixtus III., began the year sometimes at Xmas, sometimes on 1st January, and sometimes on 25th March." (*Same work*, p. 326.)

"Paul II. began the year sometimes on 1st January, sometimes on 25th March" (p. 327).

"Sixtus IV. followed the example of his predecessor, so did Innocent VIII." (p. 328).

"Alexander VI. dated the year of his great bulls from 25th March" (p. 329).

"Leo X., in his letters, dates his pontificate from before his coronation" (p. 332).

the aforesaid basilica. The Pope was present, there was a sermon, and all the rites were observed in the customary way.

On Monday of the same month of December, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Agria celebrated a solemn mass in the aforesaid basilica. The Pope was present, and methinks there was a sermon, and that the other rites were observed in the customary way.

When mass was over, his Holiness our Lord, standing at the throne, blessed the two big standards, the one bearing the arms of the Church and the other his own arms; and he afterwards entrusted these, together with the customary white staff, to the Illustrious Lord Giovanni della Rovere, prefect of the Mother City, and own brother to the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who [Giovanni della Rovere] knelt down before him, and he [the Pope] constituted and appointed him Captain-General of the Holy Roman Church, after he had received him, and after the said Giovanni had held the sacred Scriptures in his hands [*corporati*], and, according to the customary formula, taken the oath on the Holy Gospels of God.

And this captain, after the elevation of the Host at mass, went forth from the chapel with a few of his men, and other nobles, even the Roman [nobles], in order to receive his arms. And, when he had received them, he returned to the same chapel before mass was ended, armed in the accustomed way as to his arms, chest and back.

When the captain had presented himself, His Holiness our Lord returned to his chamber, having dismissed the cardinals beneath the porch aforesaid, and they, with their families, returned to their palaces. Then the aforesaid captain was escorted by the prelates of the palace, and by the ambassadors and the chamberlains and shield-bearers of the Pope and others, riding in the centre between the Lord Francesco of Aragon on the right, and the Vice-Chamberlain on the left, to the palace of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula; he was accompanied by us, in the order usually observed on such occasions.

In these last days, at different times, His Holiness our Lord received as attendants, in addition to the other prelates in attendance, the Rev. Fathers in Christ the Lords of Capua, Florence and Athens, archbishops, and the Lords of Lucca, Cervia, Volterra, Rimini, and Todi, bishops, and the Roman protonotaries Colonna and Sermoneta, with whom, moreover, had long been associated the Abbot of San Sebastiano, sacristan of the palace chapel, and perpetual attendant at the altar, not on the Pope.

Also in these last days, at the second or third private consistory, or about then, His Holiness our Lord appointed and proclaimed five legates of the Apostolic See, that is to say, he appointed as cardinal-legates the Very Rev. Lords [the Lord] of Milan, although absent from the consistory, and confined to his residence by reason of sickness, who was appointed to Avignon, Giovanni of Gerona to Campania, Giovanni Savelli to Bologna, B. Orsini to the Marches of Ancona, Ascanio to his patrimony, and he confirmed the appointment of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Novara to the legation of Perugia, to which he had been appointed by Pope Sixtus IV., of blessed memory. Of these [legates] the first was ill and at home; but the sixth, namely [the Cardinal] of Novara, ought not to be counted; but the other four were escorted to their residential palaces by the remaining Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, even including the Cardinal of Novara, in the following order:—

The Very Rev. the Lord of Gerona rode in the centre between the Very

Rev. the Lords of Siena on the right and of San Giorgio on the left, these riding in the last places; the Very Rev. Lord Savelli rode in the centre between the Very Rev. Lord of Parma on the right and the Very Rev. Lord Colonna on the left, these riding in the last places but one; the Very Rev. Lord of Orsini rode in the centre between the Very Rev. Lord of Foscaro on the right and the Very Rev. Lord Conti on the left, these riding in the ante-penultimate places; the Very Rev. Lord Ascanio rode in the centre between the Very Rev. Lords of San Clemente and Aragon, these riding in the last place but three.

And first we came to the residence of Orsini, and there he, in accordance with the custom, as the others stood below in the public street, in their accustomed order, before the flight of steps of his palace, when he had thanked them, and withdrawn from the other cardinals and prelates, went up to his palace, and the Very Rev. Lord Ascanio having left the Cardinals of San Clemente and Aragon, rode in the place of him [Orsini], in the centre between the aforesaid, the Cardinal of Foscaro and Cardinal Conti, as far as his palace, where he likewise remained. Then we arrived at the residential palace of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Gerona, and likewise gave thanks to the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals [who were] there, and entered his abode. Afterwards, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal Savelli, having left the Cardinal of Parma and Cardinal Colonna, rode in place of him [C. of Gerona] in the centre, between Siena and San Giorgio, as far as his palace; having thanked the cardinals, he withdrew from them, and went up to his palace; then each returned to his own home; and this, from inadvertence, I omitted to note down in its proper place above, and there is another thing which, from similar inadvertence, I omitted to note down above.

Moreover, *on the 20th day of the month of December*, if I remember right, after luncheon, about the hour of vespers, there was held a private consistory of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and of the prelates, who were at the Roman Court, in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, in the first hall, above the first gate of the said palace. His Holiness our Lord, attired in his cope, stole, girdle, alb and amice, and the mitre with the pearls, presided from his high seat. At this consistory, Lord Francesco of Padua, consistorial advocate, quite briefly set forth the life of S. Leopoldi, and recited the greater part of his miracles, entreating that he should be included in the list of the saints. And, when his proposal had been heard, first of all His Holiness took the opinion of the cardinals. And afterwards each of the prelates said what seemed good to him.

Moreover, the places in the aforesaid consistory were arranged as follows:—

At the head of the court, on the right of the entrance in the middle of the wall which divides the said court from the second court, was placed the seat of the Pontiff, and there the Pontiff sat, and facing this seat, in a circle, on their stools, [were] the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, in the accustomed order. Behind the cardinals, from the wall on the left of the entrance of the said [court], crosswise, facing the Pontiff, similar stools had been placed, and these we used for the prelates in the chapel; there were about thirteen lines of them, and they were so arranged that, between the first stool and the last cardinals, there was a space of about three rods, and the stools at the head touched the opposite wall of the door, and between them and the door, and the wall of the door, there was a space of about one rod to serve as a passage for those who came in or went out from among the said [stools]; and there was space enough for the prelates to go up or down without



INTERIOR OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL, ERECTED BY SIXTUS IV. (VATICAN)



trouble. The first prelates sat on the stool nearest to the cardinals and the Pontiff; then came the others in their order; and all the prelates wore the capes which they are wont to wear in chapel. When the votes of all had been taken, His Holiness our Lord exhorted all to pray lest God should permit His Church to err. And, when this had been done, they all went out.

Moreover, all the following had assembled for the aforesaid private consistory:—

The Very Rev. Lord	Rodrigo, Bishop of Porto, Cardinal, Vice-Chancellor.
”	” O., Bishop of Sabina, Cardinal of Naples.
”	” M., Bishop of Preneste, Cardinal of San Marco.
”	” Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula.
”	” B., Bishop of Tusculum, Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico.
”	” Giovanni, of the title of Santo Marcello, Cardinal-priest of Sant’ Angelo.
”	” G., of the title of Saint Marcellinus and St. Peter, Cardinal-priest of Lisbon.
”	” H., of the title of Saint Chrysogonus, Cardinal-priest of Recanati.
”	” G., of the title of Saint Sergius and Saint Bacchus, Cardinal-priest of Agria.
”	” Do., of the title of San Clemente, Cardinal-priest of Tarentum.
”	” Giovanni, of the title of Santa Sabina, Cardinal-priest of Aragon.
”	” Giovanni, of the title of Santo Vitale, Cardinal-priest Conti.
”	” Giovanni, of the title of Santo Stefano in Celio Monte, Cardinal-priest of Parma.
”	” F., of the title of Sant’ Eustachio, Cardinal-deacon of Siena.
”	” R., of Santo Giorgio ad Velum Aureum, Cardinal-deacon, Chamberlain to the Lord Pope.
”	” J. B., of the title of Santo Niccolò in Carcere Tulliano, Cardinal-deacon Savelli.
”	” Giovanni, of Santa Maria in Aquiro, Cardinal-deacon Colonna.
”	” Giovanni, B[attista], of Santa Maria in Dominica, Cardinal-deacon Orsini.
”	” A., of Santa Maria in Macello, Cardinal-deacon, Viscount Sforza.

The Very Rev. Fathers in Christ the Lords Giovanni, Archbishop of Ragusa.—Stefano, Archbishop of Antivari.—Eustache, Archbishop of Arles.—Leonardo, Archbishop of Benevento.—Giovanni, Archbishop of Tarentum.—Jean, Bishop of Castres, in France.—Costantino, Bishop of Spoleto.—Thomas, Bishop of Giesi.—Niccolò, Bishop of Lucca.—Prosper, Bishop of Ascoli.—Pietro, Bishop of Giovenazzo.—Mariano, Bishop of Glandevi.—Scipio, Bishop of Tricarico—Giovanni Paolo, Bishop of Veroli.—Giovanni, Bishop of Caserta.—Orso, Bishop of Viterbo.—Bartolomeo, Bishop of Rimini.—Urbano, Bishop of Forli.—Jacques, Bishop of Agde.—Francesco, Bishop of Todi.—Achille, Bishop of Cervia.—Stefano, Bishop of Ardicino.—The Bishop of Aleria.—Bonfrancesco, Bishop of Reggio.—

Alphonso, Bishop of Pampeluna.—Bartolomeo, Bishop of Cassano.—Giovanni, Bishop of Nocera.—Luigi, Bishop of Aquila.—Giovanni, Bishop of Cortona.—Leonardo, Bishop of Albenga.—Giovanni, Bishop of Alatri.—Pierre, Bishop of Nantes.—Francesco, Bishop of Volterra.—Pietro, Bishop of —.—Giovanni Antonio, Bishop of —.—Alvaro, Bishop of —.—Alvaro, Bishop of —.—Giusto, Bishop of Ceuta.—Antonio, Bishop of Agienses (in Crete).—Giovanni Andrea, Bishop of Modena.—Giovanni, Bishop of —.—Silvestro, Bishop of Chioggia.—Giacomo, Bishop of —.—Tito, Bishop of Castres in Patrimonio.—Antonio, Bishop of Fano.—Stefano, Bishop of Maurienne.—Thomas, Bishop of —.—Jean, Bishop-elect of Tours.—John, Bishop of Durham.—Agostino, Bishop of Montalcino and Pienza.—Bargio, Bishop of Cagli.—Caesar, Bishop of Ales.—Filippo, Bishop of Urbino.—Gabriel, Bishop or Bishop-elect of Gap.—Bencasa, Bishop or Bishop-elect of Ancona.

The Rev. Lord Giacomo Sermoneta, protonotary.—Lord Guglielmo de Caponi, protonotary of Pisa.—Lord Francesco Tergeste and Lord Ugo Benci, apostolic sub-deacons.—Lord Antonio Grassi, auditor of the Rota.—Master Marco, master of the Sacred Palace.—Lord Sinolfo [de] Castro Oterio, clerk of the Chamber.—Lord Francesco of Padua, consistorial advocate.

On Wednesday, the 28th of the said month of December, Don Francesco, Bishop of Gaëta, ambassador of the King of Naples, came to the city along with other envoys from the same king, who, on the 22nd of this month, had been admitted to take the usual oath of allegiance in the king's name. No one was sent to meet him, and he entered the city as a private individual.

Thursday, 29th of the same month.—A public consistory was held in Rome at the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, in the first and greater hall. There the envoys of King Ferdinand of Sicily, whose reception I have related, took the customary oath of allegiance to His Holiness. A speech was delivered by the Bishop of Gaëta, who had entered the city the day before.

Afterwards the same envoys, some few excepted, retired from the city, on Monday, 3rd January (1485), to return to their king.

1485.—*On Thursday, the 6th of the month of January*, the Feast of the Epiphany of Our Lord, His Holiness, arrayed according to usage in amice, alb, girdle, stole, red cope and mitre, came in person in procession under a baldacchino, with the prelates and cardinals in their vestments, and the officials in surplices leading the way, to the Basilica of St. Peter, where he ascended an ambo which had been ordered there for that purpose in the middle of the church, of the form and size prescribed in the Book of Ceremonial written by my hand, and with all other preparations as prescribed in the same book, fol. xxvi. *seqq.* The monks and the clerk of the city stood below in a circle close to the ambo, in accordance with instructions received on the preceding day from the vicar of the city. In the great hall of the palace, close to the door of the little chapel, candles were distributed to the cardinals, the prelates, and every one else except the Pope, who had in the Camera Papagalli received two large ones, which were carried by two nobles, and one small one, which he bore in his own hand. The prelates and subordinate officials each carried their own candles burning, and their attendants carried those of the cardinals. These candles were replaced in closed chests in the said chapel.

The Pope, when established in the ambo, said a prayer at a fald-stool. Then he mounted a high seat, and there received the cardinals and prelates,

who were arrayed to do homage. After the homage, he came to a low seat covered with gold brocade, placed immediately in front of the altar prepared for him, where, sitting with his back to the altar and his arms extended towards the people, he gave a short address or sermon, on the subject of the life and some of the miracles of S. Leopoldi. This done, the Pope rose from his seat, which we at once removed, and knelt at a fald-stool, which we then arranged on the platform beneath the topmost step of his altar. He kept the mitre on his head. Two cantors knelt with their backs to the altar at a stool placed in the middle of the choir between the benches of the cardinal-priests and deacons, above which the book had been placed, and began the Litany, saying *Kyrie eleison*, and other choristers responding on bended knee in their appointed place. They went through the Litany to the end, though no mention of S. Leopoldi was made in it. After the Litany, the Cardinal of Siena, who was assisting on the Pope's right, standing facing the people with uncovered head, said: *Orate*. Then the Pope and all the cardinals and prelates took off their mitres, and all kneeling down, prayed for the space of two *Pater nosters* or thereabouts. Then the Cardinal of S. Giorgio, who was assisting on the Pope's left (and standing facing the people), said, in the same voice: *Levate*. And they all rose, and the Pope, standing without his mitre in the same spot, and facing the altar, chanted the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, from a book which one of the assistant bishops, not a cardinal, held before him: it would, however, have been more suitable if the senior cardinal-priest had held the book. The choir took up and completed the entire hymn. The Pope at its beginning knelt down, but without moving from his place until the end of the first verse. When that had been said, he assumed his mitre, and mounted a throne, where he laid aside his mitre, and stood to the end of the hymn. At its close the choir repeated the versicle: *Emitte Spiritum tuum*, etc. Then the Pontiff said: *Oremus*, and the collect, *Deus, qui corda fidelium*, etc., with the aforesaid assistant bishop, not a cardinal, holding the book. When he had finished, the choir replied: *Amen*. Here the service ended, without the *Dominus vobiscum* or *Benedicamus Domino*, and the Pope sat down and put on his mitre.

Then Don Francesco of Padua, consistorial advocate, whose duty it was, in the name of him who asked for the canonization, standing on the chapel floor in front of the lowest step of the Pope's throne, besought the canonization of the Blessed Leopoldi, saying:—

“Most Holy Father, I, Francesco of Padua, consistorial advocate, as proctor for the Most Serene Prince and Lord, Don Federigo, ever august Roman Emperor, Do urgently, more urgently, and most urgently entreat of your Holiness, that the holy Confessor Leopoldi, sprung of the illustrious family of Austria,¹ be canonized, and enrolled in the catalogue of the Saints of Christ.”

Our Most Holy Father, being disposed to grant this petition, first protested that His Holiness, in so acting, had no intention of doing anything detrimental to the Catholic Faith, or the Church, or the glory of God.

Then, still sitting as before in his mitre, he pronounced the following words:—

“For the glory of God, Omnipotent Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and for the exaltation of the Faith, and the promotion of the Christian religion,

¹ For the canonization of Leopold, see Rinaldi, *Ann. Eccles.*, Vol. XXX., p. 105, Nos. 54-61.

by the authority of the same God the Father Almighty, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Peter and Paul, and of Ourselves, We, by counsel of Our venerable brethren, Do declare and pronounce Leopoldi of blessed memory, sprung of the illustrious House of Austria, to be a Saint, and in the catalogue of the Saints Do We inscribe him, decreeing that, by the Universal Church, in every year, on the 15th day of November, his Feast and Office, as meet for a Confessor, be devoutly and solemnly celebrated. Further, by the same authority, We do wonderfully in the Lord remit to all penitents after confession, who shall each year visit his tomb on the day of his Feast, one year and forty days of the penances enjoined on them."

This done, Don Antonio of Gubbio, fiscal procurator, standing in the aforesaid place before the lowest step of the Pope's throne, turned to the Pontiff, and said:—

"And I, Antonio of Gubbio, fiscal procurator to His Holiness, do ask and require of you all and several the protonotaries, clerks of the Apostolic Chamber, and other notaries here present, that you make of the protestation uttered by His Holiness, our Pope, one and several public deed and deeds."

And, that said, Don Francesco of Padua, advocate, with Don Antonio sitting in the same place, stood facing them and said:—

"And I, Francesco of Padua, as proctor for the Most Serene Prince and Lord, Don Federigo, ever august Roman Emperor, do ask and require of you, all and several, the reverend notaries and protonotaries here present, that of this solemn canonization you make according to your office one and several public deed and deeds, and of your Beatitude, most Holy Father, that you grant and concede the bulls and apostolic letters needful for the same."

After these speeches, His Holiness turned towards the altar with uncovered head, and, with one of the said assistants holding the book, said: *Te Deum laudamus*, the choir following to the end, and the Pope continuing to stand with his mitre off. This done, the Cardinal of Siena, who assisted at the Pope's right hand, said in a loud voice, standing in his place: *Oru pro nobis, beate Leopolde*. The choir responded: *Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi*, etc. Then the Pope, standing as before with the assistant bishop not a cardinal holding the book, said: *Oremus. Adesto, Domine*, etc.

This said, the aforesaid Cardinal of Siena mounted from the platform below the top step of the Pope's throne, and standing on the first step to the Pontiff's right hand, and turning towards him, said, with bent head, in a loud voice, the *Confiteor*, etc., as follows:—

Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beate Marie semper virgini, beato Michaeli archangelo, beato Johanni Baptiste, sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo, beato Leopoldo cum omnibus sanctis et tibi, Pater, qui peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere; mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa. Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper virginem, beatum Michaelem archangelum, beatum Johannem Baptistam, sanctos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, beatum Leopoldum, omnes sanctos et te, Pater, orare pro me ad dominum Deum nostrum.

Then the Pope, still standing without his mitre, and with the assistant bishop not a cardinal holding the book, said as usual:—

Precibus et meritis heute Marie semper virginis, beati Michaelis archangeli, beati Johannis Baptiste, sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, beati Leopoldi et omnium sanctorum, miseretur nostri omnipotens Deus, et dimissis omnibus peccatis nostris, perducet nos ad vitam eternam. R. Amen.

Indulgentiam, absolutionem et remissionem peccatorum vestrorum tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. R. Amen.



FRANCESCO MARIA DELLA ROVERE, DUKE OF URBINO, BY BAROCCI.
(UZZI GALLERY, FLORENCE).

Facing page 97.

This said, the Pope, in the said sandal-wood seat, said the psalm *Quam dilecta*, etc., and then, laying aside his mitre, cope and stole, he assumed all the white pontifical vestments, after first washing his hands, according to custom. The choir in the meantime kept silence. Terce was not said.

After receiving the vestments the Pope went down to the altar, said the Confession, and proceeded with mass in the customary order. The mass said was that for the Epiphany, with a commemoration of S. Leopoldi; for the rest, at the conclusion, during the saying of the *Credo*, the offertory, consisting of candles, wine, bread, and other things prescribed as offerings, which till then had been preserved in the said basilica, were brought by certain equerries to this place, for the envoys procuring the canonization, between the first and second doors of the ambo above mentioned; and, at the end of the *Credo*, the Vice-Chamberlain, the Cardinal of Milan, formerly of Novara, and the Cardinal of Siena, to whom the charge of this part of the canonization had before been deputed, came from their places up to the second, that is, the higher door of the said ambo, awaiting the proper time in that place. And when the Pontiff, after the saying of the Offertory, was sitting on a throne in his high seat, the three cardinals in charge above mentioned advanced with the equerries and envoys, carrying the offertory, in the following order:—

First the Very Rev. Vice-Chamberlain, followed by two equerries carrying the aforesaid two large candles of white wax, not lighted, each weighing ten pounds. Behind them His Magnificence Lord Marchardt Brisaquer, doctor and knight, and the first envoy procuring this canonization, carrying in his right hand one candle of white wax six pounds in weight, also not lighted, and, in his left, one small gilded cage with three doves; if I remember right, live ones. He was followed by the Cardinal of Milan. Next came two equerries, carrying two great loaves covered with two napkins, one gilded, the other silvered. They were followed by the Venerable Don Tomasso Lisc, dean of the monastery of the monks of Roamburg, and a friar of St. Augustine.

Then came the second envoy procuring the said canonization, carrying in his right hand a similar candle six pounds in weight, and, in his left, one small cage silvered over, with two live white doves. He was followed by the Cardinal of Siena, behind whom came two shield-bearers carrying two casks, one gilded, the other silvered, filled with the best wine. Behind them was a certain envoy from Germany, if I remember right, filling the place of the third envoy as sent to demand the performance of this canonization. He carried in his right hand the above-mentioned candle, like the two aforesaid, and, in his left hand, one small cage of different colours, with six or more little live birds in it.

When they were all face to face with the Pontiff, the Vice-Chamberlain, standing with bent head, received the candle from the hand of the attendant, presented it to the Pontiff, and reverently kissed, first his right hand, and then his left knee. The Cardinal of S. Giorgio, who was assisting on the Pope's left, received from the Pontiff the proffered candle, and handed it over to me at my request, and I stored it away at the end of mass. Then the same Vice-Chamberlain received the second taper, and presented it in the same way, kissing hand and knee as before. Then he returned to his place among the other cardinals, and knelt down. Next Lord Marchardt approached the Pontiff, and presented to him, first the candle, and then the above-mentioned cage, and the rest, and kissed, first the Pope's right hand, and then his foot. After them, the same thing was done by the Cardinals of Milan and Siena respectively, and the two other

envoys above mentioned: I placed the whole oblation behind the greater altar, at which mass was being said. For performing the mass in the proper order after accepting the oblation, the Pontiff washed his hands, and then advanced to the altar, and proceeded with mass in due order to the end. At its conclusion the Pope, standing with his face to the cross which the sub-deacon epistoler held before him as usual, the Pontiff, standing at the altar with his arms outstretched over it, blessed the people in the accustomed way, and granted plenary indulgences to the congregation, which were published by the aforesaid Cardinal of Siena, who had read the gospel, and served the Pope in the mass.

The Pontiff then returned in his vestments to the palace, and to his chamber, leaving in the church the baldacchino, which had been made at the expense of those procuring the canonization, extended over the altar at which the Pontiff celebrated. It was kept according to usage by the chapter of the said basilica, and preserved for the decoration of the actual church, and as a perpetual memorial of this canonization. After the withdrawal of the Pontiff, the oblation was divided between us: a half went to the sacristan, while the other part was shared equally between the Bishop of Pienza, myself, and the Clerk of the Ceremonies, except the three eages, which Don Lorenzo di Mari, Girolamo Calagrano, Bernardino Gambiero, and Bartolomeo Montano, sacristans, divided between them.

Now, after the protestation made as above by His Holiness before the act of canonization, that he had by such an act no intention of doing anything contrary to the Catholic faith, the Cardinal of S. Marco called me to him, and deprecated the making of such a protestation, saying that it was absolutely unsuited to this kind of act, particularly since the procedure observed in this matter had been most scrupulously examined by their Reverences the Cardinals, and others appointed for the purpose, and that such a canonization ought, both in the past and now, to be modelled on actual precedent. Therefore he said that the Church could not have been, and was not now, capable of error on such a point; but that a protestation of this kind, which in former times had suitably and conveniently been made by ——, *felicis recommendationis* in the city . . .¹, in a canonization to which the said Pontiff had been almost driven, and in an illegal way, and had actually made it, it might be said, from fear—circumstances not connected with the canonization in point.

I replied that this protestation ought to be made by the Bishop of Pienza, president² of the Office of Ceremonies, and that it had been ordered by me for this reason, that in the canonizations of the saints Bernardino, Vincenzo, Catarina of Siena, and Bonaventura, which were, in times past, before our day, widely known, we find the custom observed, as though considered appropriate, on the ground that, although a canonization may be performed according to approved precedent, the precedent may all the same be wrong, and in this way the Church may err. So saying I dismissed the cardinal.³

¹ So in all the MSS.

² Although he had made over his office to Burchard, Patrizzi remained, none the less, attached to the Office of the Ceremonies of the Papal Chapel, in the position of president, a post which would appear to have been created specially for him, owing doubtless to his peculiar suitability for it.

³ "On the following Epiphany, that is to say, in 1485, and in the first month of the year, he canonized Leopoldi, and for so doing is said to have received from the Emperor the sum of fifteen thousand ducats."—(Infessura in *Eccard*, col. 1951.)

"For the rest, the Pope, to state the truth, had not been driven to the canonization of Leopoldi, but he had a strong incitement to do it, if it is true, as Infessura insinuates,

Provision of candles made on this day of canonization, best white wax:

Two large candles of twelve pounds each for His Holiness, lbs.	XXIV.
Two other candles for the offertory, of ten pounds each, lbs.	XX.
Three other candles for the offertory, of six pounds each, lbs.	XVIII.
Twelve tapers for the elevation of the Sacrament, of six pounds each, lbs.	LXXII.
Nine torches for the altar and credences, of two pounds each, lbs.	XVIII.
Twenty torches for the cardinals, of four pounds each, lbs.	LXXX.
Total of two hundred and thirty-two pounds of white wax	CCXXXII.
Eighty tapers for the church, of four pounds each, lbs. . .	CCCXX.
150 torches of two pounds each for the prelates and envoys, lbs.	CCC.
300 torches of one pound for the officials of the Curia, lbs. }	DCCC.
1,000 torches of half a pound each for the monks, lbs. }	
Total of one thousand, four hundred and twenty pounds	MCCCCXX.

On Sunday, the 23rd of the said month of January, there came to the city two envoys of the Illustrious Don Pietro Jansen,¹ master of the Order

that the Emperor had given him fifteen thousand ducats on that understanding" (De Bréquigny, work already cited above). It is also possible to believe that this sum, which was sent after Leopoldi's canonization, was meant to defray a part of the expense which it had occasioned.

The not inconsiderable expenses incurred by a canonization fell almost entirely on the person or persons procuring it. The Holy See not only tolerated but encouraged such expense, in order to bring into disrepute canonizations often accorded less on account of the merits of the person canonized than of the solicitations of princes, towns or nations who took up the matter. Leopoldi's canonization cost twenty-five thousand ducats, as Paris de Grassis informs us in his Diary (Bibl. Nat., MSS. Lat. 5165, *Diary of Paris de Grassis*, Vol. III., fol. 757-8):—

" . . . (year 1519). I replied (to Pope Leo X.), that in the same way in the time of Innocent VIII., I had been a witness and spectator of the canonization of the Blessed Leopoldi, which was conducted with the utmost pomp; and that I had also read in the works of Rabuli (*sic*, for Rebioli) and of Agostino Patrizio that twenty-seven thousand gold ducats had been expended on Bonaventura, and on Leopoldi twenty thousand, as is expressly stated by the same Agostino Patrizio and by John Burchard, then Master of the Ceremonies. When I mentioned this enormous sum to the Pope, he almost laughed at it, as impossible, and asked me on what all that money had been expended. I replied that such expense was not only tolerated, but actually, to a certain extent, prescribed by the Church, or by the Apostolic See and the Pontiffs, in order that the prohibitive, or, anyhow, considerable cost, might deter princes and nations from seeking, as sometimes happened, to procure a canonization, not on account of the merits of the canonized, but because of the entreaties of some community, people, or prince, making petition," etc. . . .

For the enormous expenses of a canonization, see J. Aymond, domestic prelate to Pope Innocent VIII., *Tableau de la Cour de Rome*, ch. viii., p. 336: "Of the ceremonies and formalities of the Court of Rome in the canonization of saints."

¹ In all the MSS., and throughout the whole Diary, d'Aubusson is never designated further than by Ganson, Gason (5521); Gensen (Chigi); Gansen, Ganson (147); Gansen (5158-9):—

"Those elected to go to Rome to do homage to the new Pontiff were the Steward of Lango, Fra Edouardo di Carmandino, and the Vice-Chancellor, Guglielmo Caorsino,

of Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The first of these was the General of the Turcopoli, the second the chancellor of the said master. They were met by the households of His Holiness, and of a great number of the cardinals—not, however, if I remember right, of all—and accompanied by them in the usual way as far as their lodgings. In so doing, however, they acted contrary to right and proper usage, and without my knowledge. For His Holiness and the cardinals do not, as a general rule, send their households to meet prelates, whether ecclesiastics or regulars, coming to the Roman Curia, when they are mere fiefs and vassals of the Roman Church, except in the case of the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, electors of the Holy Roman Church.

On Wednesday, the 26th of the said month of January, the two envoys aforesaid were admitted to a private consistory, in which, at the instance of the chancellor, they swore allegiance to His Holiness, as I afterwards gathered; for none of us, nor any one else except the cardinals and the two envoys above mentioned—so they said—were present. These envoys, on their way to the palace and again on their return home, received escort and marks of consideration from the envoys of the King of Naples, and of the Duke of Ferrara, and a great number of other knights of the above order.¹

On Sunday, the 30th of the said month of January, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii, seven envoys from the Duke of Savoy, to take the oath of allegiance to His Holiness. The first of these was the Rev. Priest in Christ, Don Giovanni, Dominican, the Lord Bishop of Belluno; the second was a knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; others were a certain preceptor of the Order of S. Antonio, and two protonotaries in plain clothes, the rest simple ecclesiastics. An eighth envoy had previously entered privately, with no pomp or display. These seven were met by the households of His Holiness and of the cardinals outside the gate, and were all attended with marks of honour, as usual, as far as the lodging of the Bishop of Belluno aforesaid, the most considerable person among them. Then all the envoys dismounted, and at night those who did not desire to lodge with him went privately to other lodgings of their own.

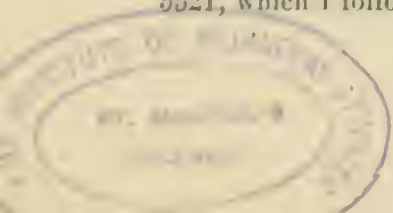
On Friday, the 4th of the month of February, the aforesaid eight envoys of the Illustrious Duke of Savoy took the usual oath of allegiance in a public consistory held in the third hall of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, addressing His Holiness in the customary order.

and it was ordained that they should undertake this enterprise in the company of the General of the Turcopoli, Fra Giovanni Luendal, Procurator-General of the Court of Rome . . .” (Jacopo Bosio, *Dell' storia della sacra religione et illma militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, Rome, 1594, Vol. I., bk. 14, p. 398).

The speech made on doing homage was pronounced by Guglielmo Caorsino, and published by him in his work, *Obsidionis Rhodie urbis descriptio*, Ulme, 1493, sig. hij. It contains nothing remarkable. Bosio has translated it into Italian.

¹ “This writer, Don Johann, is misinformed as to what happened. For I, Paris, was then present, and saw that it was not done in any consistory, but at the twentieth hour. The Pope was standing in a stole in his consistorial seat, and the cardinals were present in copes, with the other prelates, and the Pope's household. The actual oath of allegiance was taken by an envoy who made a really fine speech, as I saw and heard, for I was present.”

This remark occurs in the text of MSS. 5158 (National Library), with this marginal note: “Annotation of Don Paris, afterwards Master of the Ceremonies, in MSS. 147 (Library of Florence), with the name of the author in the actual text: it occurs with no indication of the author in MSS. 5159 (National Library). It occurs neither in MSS. 5521, which I follow, nor in the MSS. of the Chigi Library (IV. i. x.)”



On Tuesday, the 8th of the said month of February, the cardinals were by mandate of His Holiness the Pope sent to meet the Cardinal of Anjou on his return to the city. He had, in the past, been sent by Pope Sixtus IV. as legate to the kingdom of France, when, however, he was not as such received. Now, this mandate fell outside the limits of good and right ceremonial, for three reasons:—firstly, because he was not accepted as legate on his legation; secondly, because a cardinal should not be formally received by his college as though he were an envoy; thirdly, because the college should not meet an approaching cardinal, except to escort him to consistory. And so, about the twenty-second hour of the same day, the said cardinal came to the city, and about twelve cardinals met him; some received him not far from the Ponte Milvio, others on this side of it, and they attended him as far as the convent or monastery of S. Maria del Popolo. I do not, however, remember in what order they rode, the affair being so unusual, and arranged in defiance of sound precedent. The cardinal himself stayed in the said monastery. He came, being sent by the King of France to take the oath of allegiance to His Holiness, along with twelve others, four of whom stayed on the road, while seven others waited in Bracciano until the Cardinal of Anjou should duly enter the city.

On Wednesday, the 9th of the said month of February, in the morning, all the cardinals came to the monastery of S. Maria del Popolo, and congregated in one spot for the reception of the Cardinal of Anjou aforesaid. When they were all collected, they attended the above cardinal, as far as the palace, to the chapel of S. Niccolò, he riding behind between the two chief deacon cardinals. There, leaving him between two junior cardinal-deacons, all the rest went in to the Pope, who then came to the third hall of the said palace to hold a public consistory, in which the above Cardinal of Anjou was received in the accustomed way.

On the same day, about the twenty-first hour, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii seven other envoys from His Serene Highness the King of France, sent to take the oath of allegiance to His Holiness. The households of His Holiness and of the cardinals went to meet them, and attended them as usual, but, further, the Cardinal of Anjou went in person beyond the said gate of the city, and there awaited the same envoys, and the first of them, the Count of Dauphiné, he received in the usual way, and rode at the right hand of the same count as far as his house—that is, the house of the same cardinal. The other six rode, some between two prelates of the palace, others with a prelate of the palace on the right, and one of the said envoys attached to the Roman Curia on the left.

In this order they rode as far as the house of the Cardinal of Anjou, where the cardinal stayed with his retinue, or a part of it. The count, however, and the other six envoys aforesaid, were attended in the accustomed order by the prelates and other envoys to the house prepared for the reception of the same count, which was situated not far from the Church of Minerva. There, after expressing their thanks, these envoys went in, according to custom. The first was the Cardinal of Anjou, as is stated above; the second, the Count of Dauphiné; the third, the Bishop of Orense; the fourth and fifth, commanders of two religious houses of the Order of S. Antonio, if I remember right; the sixth and seventh, councillors of the Parliament of Paris; the eighth, the secretary of the King of France. And note that the Cardinal of Anjou, on his own initiative, and, so it is said, without the knowledge or countenance of His Holiness, came to meet the said count; for which he was, and not unjustly, reprehended by many.

On Friday, the 11th of the said month of February, in the morning, and before the time of the consistory, the Count of Dauphiné, with others of the envoys, his colleagues, came to the house of the Cardinal of Anjou, and rode with him to the palace, the count on the cardinal's left, and behind them the other envoys according to their rank. They were escorted with all honour by a great number of the prelates, and by the household of His Holiness, and by the prelates of the palace who came for this purpose, contrary to precedent and fitting ceremonial, at the persuasion of the Bishop, or, rather, Bishop-elect, of Tours, who hoped to please his diocese by such marks of attention. They dismounted at the palace, at the place where the cardinals usually dismount, and then in the same, or in a similar order to that in which they came, mounted to the first and greater hall of the palace, and, descending by another way, came to the Hall of the Chambers, or Apostolic Chamber. There, dismissing those seven envoys, his colleagues, the cardinal went up to the Camera Papagalli to await the Pope, who, shortly afterwards issuing from his chamber, came there to receive his vestments before going to the public consistory. In the meantime a question of precedence either arose, or was renewed, between the envoys of the Prince of Savoy and of the Duke of Milan, which, when our Most Holy Father understood, His Holiness gave command and order that, for that morning, the envoy of the Duke of Milan should give place to him of Savoy, and that, for the future, they should come alternately—on one day the envoys from Milan, on the next those from Savoy. The Milanese, in obedience to this command, withdrew, and gave place to the other.

Thereupon His Holiness, arrayed in the usual manner, came for the public consistory to the first, that is to say, the greater hall of the palace, which had been arranged for a public consistory. There, after the customary veneration of the cardinals, the case was stated as usual. Then came to the said consistory, escorted by the prelates in the usual way, the Count of Dauphiné, and the six other envoys of his college above mentioned. As they entered the consistorial hall, the Cardinal of Anjou advanced to the Pope, and waited there for the envoys, his colleagues, in the customary way.

When all, the cardinal excepted, had been admitted to kiss the foot, hand and mouth in the accustomed way, the cardinal himself presented to the Pontiff letters from the said king in the French vernacular, and the count others, written by the same king in the Latin tongue. Having presented them, the cardinal withdrew to his place among the other cardinals, and the count and the other six to their accustomed seats on the bench of cardinal-priests. The Pontiff having postponed the signing of the commission, there followed the reading of the credential letters from the King of France, first those in the vulgar tongue by a Dominican, Don Stefano, Bishop of Maurienne, and then those in Latin by Don Ludovico Grifo, Archbishop of Benevento, and secretary to His Holiness. These read, the envoys aforesaid swore allegiance to His Holiness in the name of their king, as the predecessors of the same had done in times past. I made a mistake as to the facts when I wrote above that the Cardinal of Anjou came in company with the envoys as far as the Apostolic Chamber, and then went to the Camera Paramenti, there to await the Pope. The fact is that the Pope, while he was still in their company, had already come to the consistorial hall, and there the said cardinal, on his arrival with the envoys, found the Pontiff and the cardinals, they having already done homage.

Thereupon he, too, did homage, and withdrew to his place amongst the other cardinals. All else was done as usual, and as related above.

When the consistory was ended, and the Pope's foot had been kissed by the attendants of the envoys, the Pope returned to his chamber, with the Count of Dauphiné carrying the border of his cope. The benediction was given by the Bishop of Orense.

On Friday, the 18th of the said month of February, there was a public consistory in the first, that is, the greater hall of the aforesaid palace, in which the Rev. in Christ the Dominicans Thomas of St. David's, and John of Durham, bishops, and the General of the Turcopoli of Rhodes, ambassadors of the King of England, took in the name of the same the oath of allegiance customarily taken by their ancestors to His Holiness, the said Bishop of Durham, if I remember right, acting as spokesman. These three ambassadors were not, as others had been, accorded public reception and escort by the households of His Holiness and of the cardinals, because they had already been for some time in the city on affairs of the same king, and had there received royal letters for the taking of this oath. And because the King of England in his letters styled himself King of France and England, at the end of the speech promising allegiance, and after the Pontiff's reply, one of the ambassadors of the King of France stood up and protested that the said King of England was not the King of France, and also complained of injuries, to which the ambassador of the King of England made some short reply, and so the consistory terminated. His Holiness made no comment on this dispute between the ambassadors.

On the First Sunday in Lent, the 20th of the said month of February, there was public mass in the greater chapel of the Pope's palace, in which all observances were performed as usual. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Dominicans.

On the Second Sunday in Lent, the 27th of the said month of February, the Rev. Don Giovanni, Dominican, Bishop of Belluno, and ambassador to the Duke of Savoy, celebrated public mass in the chapel aforesaid, in presence of the Pope. Then, in the Camera Papagalli, the ambassadors of the Dukes of Savoy and Milan again began to dispute for precedence, and as to which of them should first go in to mass, the ambassador of the Duke of Milan asseverating that on this Sunday it touched his interests to be present, in accordance with the scheme of attending alternately arranged by His Holiness, and the others replying that it was for them to be present, because the Bishop of Belluno, their head, was celebrating. His Holiness ordained that neither party should come to the chapel—an arrangement made and observed for that day only.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, the 6th of the month of March, public mass was celebrated in the aforesaid chapel, in presence of the Pope, and all observances were conducted in the usual fashion. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

On Saturday, the 12th of the month of March, in the evening, His Holiness fell ill of some serious disease, which had troubled him for months past.¹

On the Fourth Sunday in Lent, the 13th of the said month of March, the Cardinal of Parma celebrated public mass in the aforesaid chapel, with the customary ceremonial. The Pope was not present. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Carmelites, and, if I

¹ The Colonna profited by the Pope's malady to avenge themselves on the Orsini. See Infessura's *Diary* (*Eccard*, Vol. II., col. 1951) and the *Diario del Notajo del Nant*. J. Murat., *Rev. Ital. Script.*, Vol. III., p. ii., col. 1094.

remember right, the customary Rose was not carried, nor placed above the customary altar.

On Sunday, the Fifth of Lent, the 20th of March aforesaid, the Rev. Father in Christ, Don Stefano, Bishop of Maurienne, celebrated public mass in the aforesaid chapel, and a sermon was preached as usual. The Pope was not present. At the end of mass the Pontiff, who was lying sick in bed in the room in which he generally slept, and clothed, over his shirt, in a robe of his reaching to the arms only, was visited by all the cardinals, by the Count of Dauphiné, the ambassador to the French King above mentioned, and by Giovanni Maria, my colleague, and by me, and, besides the private chamberlains, by no other. When we were stationed in his presence, the Pope, holding the Rose in his right hand, gave it to the Count of Dauphiné aforesaid, who was kneeling by the bed, with these words from the book: *Accipe rosam*, etc., as at the ceremonial. This done, the count kissed the Pope's hand, but not his foot, because the Pope's feet were covered. The count then withdrew, and with him all the cardinals, who further attended him as far as his lodging, that is, to the palace of the Orsini, in the Campo dei Fiori, he riding behind, as usual, between the two chief cardinal-deacons.

On Palm Sunday, which was the 27th of the month of March, the Cardinal of Anjou, having arrayed himself as usual in the greater chapel of the palace aforesaid, in the absence of the Pope blessed the palms, which he thereafter distributed to the cardinals and others in the accustomed way; then a procession was formed through the greater hall to the gallery. There the said celebrant, the cardinal-deacons assisting, threw palms to the people, and then, returning to the chapel, celebrated high mass. The celebrant, in the procession backwards and forwards, wore his violet cope, but the deacon and sub-deacon the dalmatic and tunicle of the design of Pope Boniface, which were black, beautifully interwoven with green flowers. But for the mass the said deacon and sub-deacon laid aside the aforesaid vestments, and assumed violet chasubles folded over the breast, while the celebrant wore the chasuble of Boniface above mentioned, as the sacristan, in his usual misguided way, had ordained.

On Thursday in the said Holy Week, which is called Holy Thursday, the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, having arrayed himself as usual, celebrated high mass in the absence of the Pope, and in the presence of the cardinals, in the aforesaid chapel; which done, he carried the Sacrament, which was to be reserved from the said day to the following day, in procession, to the smaller chapel, attended by the cardinals and prelates and others wearing capes; then in the third hall, having laid aside the sacramental vestments in the small chapel above mentioned, he there assumed a violet cope, and before that, a violet stole and a simple mitre, and he washed the feet of thirteen beggars, according to the rules of the ceremonial. None of the other cardinals were present at the washing, and when it was over he, too, returned to his palace. None of the sentences of excommunication were read, which usually are read when the Pope is present. After dinner, about the twenty-first hour, the office of *Tenebrae* was said in the said chapel, in the absence of the Pope, and in the presence of the cardinals. At the end, the Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, chief penitentiary, said the collect: *Respice, quesumus Domine*, etc. . . .

On Good Friday, the 1st of the month of April, the Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, chief penitentiary, celebrated high mass in the aforesaid chapel, in the absence of the Pope. The cardinals were present. The sermon was given by Don Giovanni Lorenzo, apostolic scribe, and secretary to the

Cardinal of S. Marco. If I remember right, all observances proper to a ceremonial were performed. In the Adoration of the Cross, the celebrant, in the name of His Holiness the Pope, made oblation of twenty-five gold ducats of the Treasury. After dinner, about the twenty-first hour, the office of *Tenebræ* was said in the aforesaid chapel; the Pope was absent, but the cardinals present. At the end, the Cardinal of Parma, celebrant for the following day, said the collect: *Respice, quesumus*, etc. . . .

On Holy Saturday, the 2nd of the month of April, the Cardinal of Parma was arrayed as usual. He blessed the new fire, then celebrated high mass, and did everything else in the ordinary way. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. All the observances ordained for a ceremonial were performed. He did not proclaim the *Gaudium magnum*, that is to say, the *Alleluia*, because this is usually announced by the Pope alone.

On Easter Sunday, the Feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Bishop of Porto, cardinal and vice-chancellor, celebrated high mass in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. He communicated no one besides himself. At the end of mass, the cardinals in their capes ascended with the Pontiff to the loggias over the palace gate.

The Pontiff, wearing a stole over his rochet, and an unadorned simple mitre, and a long beard, blessed the people from the furthest window that looks on to the place of the benediction, though he said nothing aloud. It was on the third day of the said month of April.

On Easter Monday, the 4th of the month of April, the Cardinal of Milan, if I remember right, celebrated high mass in the greater chapel of the above-mentioned palace, in the presence of the Pope and of the cardinals. All rites were observed as usual.

On Easter Tuesday, the 5th of the said month of April, the Cardinal of Portugal, if I remember correctly, celebrated high mass in the aforesaid chapel with the customary ceremonial. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present.

On Thursday, the 7th of the said month of April, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii twelve envoys from the Duke of Geneva, to do homage and obeisance to His Holiness. They were received by the households of His Holiness and of the cardinals, and escorted with all honour, according to custom, as far as the lodging of the first of the same envoys, who was entertained in the house of the jealous prior, that ill-affected man, Don Urbano de' Fieschi, Bishop of Forli, and domestic referendary to His Holiness. The first of the said envoys was Don Tommaso of Campo Fregoso, and the second Ettore de' Fieschi, doctor and brother to the aforesaid bishop. All were laymen.

On Wednesday, the 20th of the month of April, after dinner, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii three envoys from the Illustrious Duke of Brittany. The first was Lord Robert, Bishop of Tréguier; the second, Lord Guillaume Focet, doctor and knight; the third, a certain secular priest of the same duke, and solicitor in the Roman Curia. They were met by the households of His Holiness the Pope and of the cardinals, and escorted with all honour in the accustomed way as far as the lodging of the said bishop.

On Thursday, the 21st of the said month of April, after dinner, and about the twenty-first hour, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii two envoys from the Illustrious Marquis of Montferrat. The first was a knight, the second the Lord D., brother to Don Guido Donato, apostolic writer, a doctor; both were laymen. They were received by the households of His

Holiness and of the cardinals, and attended in the accustomed way as far as their lodging.

On Wednesday, the 27th of the same month, in the third hall of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, His Holiness held a public consistory, in which the twelve envoys of the Cardinal Duke of Genoa, in the name of the same and of their State, took the oath of allegiance to His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII., as beseems good Christians, with Don Ettore de' Fieschi as spokesman.¹

On Wednesday, the 11th of the month of May, the Eve of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Cardinal of Portugal, formerly of Lisbon, in the greater chapel of the aforesaid palace held solemn vespers. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. *On the following day*, it being the Feast of the Ascension aforesaid, the same Cardinal celebrated high mass in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope was again absent, and the cardinals present. The sermon was preached by the Master or Preceptor, Don Lorenzo Cibò, formerly di Mario, and private chamberlain to His Holiness.

After mass, and after the exposition of the Holy Face to the cardinals and others, the cardinals in their capes went up to His Holiness in a loggia which was above the door of the palace. He, arrayed as usual, solemnly blessed the people from the furthest window that looks on to the place of the public benediction.

On Saturday, the 21st of the month of May, in the morning, about the twelfth hour, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii Lord Johann, Bishop of Worms, and His Magnificence Lord Bernhardt, Count Palatine of Erbestein, ambassadors of the Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. They were met by the households of His Holiness and of the cardinals, and escorted in the usual way to the dwelling of the Germans, behind the Campo dei Fiori, where they desired to lodge.

On the same day, the Vigil of Pentecost, there were pontifical vespers in the chapel of the above-mentioned palace. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. The Cardinal of San Marco, Bishop of Preneste, said the office. He, too, *on the following day*, the Feast, that is, of Pentecost, celebrated high mass in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles. The Pope was again absent, and the cardinals present. The sermon was preached by Don Francesco di Borgo, chaplain to the Very Rev. Cardinal Savelli. At the end of mass the celebrant published the plenary indulgences granted by His Holiness to the people.

Yesterday evening, at vespers, to the first verse of the hymn, and to-day at mass, throughout the whole verse of the *Alleluia*, which the choir began and completed, the celebrant genuflected as usual at the fald-stool with uncovered head, and the cardinals and others genuflected likewise in their places.

On Friday, the 27th of the said month of May, after breakfast, over the Ponte Milvio, through the meadows and the Porta Viridarii, there entered the city twelve new envoys, sent by the Dukes of Venice, Milan and Ferrara, four by each, and with them one former envoy of the Duke of Milan, and one of the Duke of Ferrara, both of whom rode in their order

¹ *Vide* Christian Lünig: *Orationes Procerum Europae eorumdemque Ministrorum ac Legatorum*, etc. (Læipzig, 1713, Vol. I., p. 77). This discourse, which is not at all a remarkable one, contains one phrase which accords well with the general feeling of Italy at the time:—"In thee, indeed, O Innocent VIII., we now behold the grandest Pontiff of all whom thy country has till now produced—given us, by the goodness of God, at a time when Christendom stood in utmost need of a good director, steersman, and governor, and Italy, in particular, was so tossed day by day upon the waves, that it seemed that without such a pastor she could not rest," etc. (p. 83).

with the new envoys. They were met by the households of His Holiness and of the cardinals, and the Cardinal of San Marco rode a mile or so beyond the bridge aforesaid, and the household of the Cardinal of Parma as far as the same bridge; the other households waited in the meadows. The Venetian envoys rode first, having in their midst, on the right, the Duke of Milan's envoy, on the left the Duke of Ferrara's. On their reception by the household of the cardinal that first met them, the chief Venetian envoy replied for the whole party; on their reception by the household of the second cardinal, the chief Milanese envoy; on their reception by the household of the third cardinal, the chief Ferrarese envoy; on their reception by the household of the fourth cardinal, the chief Venetian envoy again; and so on, as before, for the other envoys were not required to make any replies.

In entering the city, and in riding through it, the chief envoy rode between the Imperial despot of Constantinople on the right, and the Governor of the City on the left. The chief envoy of the Duke of Milan rode between the Archbishop of Benevento, the Pope's secretary, on the right, and the Illustrious Don Giovanni of Aragon, prefect of the Holy City, captain-general of the Roman Church, and cousin to the Very Rev. Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, on the left. The chief Ferrarese envoy rode between another prelate of the palace, as aforesaid, on the right, and the ambassador of the King of England on the left. The second Venetian envoy was between another prelate of the palace on the right, and a royal envoy on the left. Then came another Milanese envoy, and the rest followed in the same order, and were escorted as far as the house of Don Pietro of Rome, which is situated not far from the Church of the Blessed Maria di Minerva, where the chief Venetian envoy was lodged, and where all the envoys dismounted. Then the envoys of the Duke of Milan, who were lodged in their own palace of Santa Croce, not far from the Campo dei Fiori, were again escorted as far as the same palace by the Ferrarese envoys; then the same Ferrarese envoys were escorted as usual as far as the house of a certain Gioacchino of Narni, consistorial advocate *in pelliciarìa*, where they were lodged.

On Saturday, the 28th of the month of May, the Vigil of Holy Trinity, there were papal vespers in the greater chapel aforesaid. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. The office was sung by the Cardinal of Parma. After the collect, to my surprise, the choir said the antiphon for the first Sunday. The cardinal had then to add a suitable collect, which otherwise, as certain people informed me, is usually omitted in the chapel aforesaid.

On the following Sunday, that is, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the same Very Rev. Cardinal of Parma celebrated high mass in the same chapel. The Pope was absent, the cardinals present, and there was no commemoration. The sermon was preached by a certain Brito, a Franciscan friar, and chaplain to the Very Rev. Cardinal of S. Giorgio. Other observances were conducted as usual.

On Monday, the 30th of the said month of May, at St. Peter's, near to and below the place of solemn benediction, in a pulpit there erected by the bishop, by special mandate of His Holiness the Pope, was publicly degraded a certain Friar Niccolò Cola of the kingdom of Sicily, a professed friar of the Franciscan Order, and an ordained priest, for counterfeiting money. He was then, by order of the Pontiff, handed over to Giovanni Francesco, chief constable, and taken back to the Torre di Soldani, and on Tuesday, the 31st and last day of the said month of May, publicly hanged in the Campo dei Fiori.

On Thursday, the 2nd of the month of June, the Vigil of Corpus Christi, there were pontifical vespers in the aforesaid chapel. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. The Cardinal of Agria sang the office. On the following morning, the Feast of Corpus Christi, a procession was formed from the small chapel of the palace above mentioned almost to the house of the Bishop of Aleria, then to the house of the Cardinal of S. Clemente, and so returning by the accustomed route to the Basilica of St. Peter, where the Cardinal of Agria aforesaid [officiated]. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. The officials of the Roman Curia walked in the order observed in previous years. The cardinal carried the Sacrament from the said chapel to the fore-court with head uncovered; from the fore-court he went in a biretta to the Curia, where the cardinals usually dismount from and mount their beasts, and there assumed a gold-embroidered mitre, which he wore during the whole procession. The baldacchino was carried by the most important nobles who took part in the procession.

On Friday, the 10th of the month of June, the envoys of the Duke of Brittany, who had been before received, in a public consistory held in the third hall of the palace aforesaid, took the proper and customary oath of allegiance to His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII., in the name of their duke. A speech was made by the Rev. in Christ the Lord Robert, Bishop of Tréguier, who was the chief dignitary among them.

On [Friday], the 17th of the said month of June, the two envoys of the Marquis of Montferrat, who had been received on the 21st of April preceding, took the filial and proper oath of allegiance to His Holiness aforesaid, in a public consistory held in the third hall. A speech was made by Bonato, who was the chief dignitary among them.

On Saturday, the 18th of the said month of June, by special mandate of His Holiness the Pope, was held a Rota and hearing of causes, in the accustomed place.

On Tuesday the 28th of the month of June aforesaid, there was a consistory in the hall of the Pontiffs, at which His Holiness was present, arrayed as usual, and in which the envoys of the Dukes of Venice, Milan, and Ferrara, who had been received on the 27th of the month of May preceding, being unwilling to wait any longer for a public consistory because of the plague which was raging in the city, and for the further and particular reason that the Pontiff, owing to his illness, could not come to a public one, took the usual and accustomed oath of allegiance in three speeches, of which the first was made by the Venetian envoy, the second by the Milanese envoy, and the third by the Ferrarese envoy, one after the other, with no pause between. After the third speech was ended, His Holiness replied to them all in a single short speech, and all withdrew.

On Wednesday, the 29th of the month of June, the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, there were pontifical vespers in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals present. The Cardinal of Anjou sang the office, and he too, on the following day, that is, the Feast of the said Apostles, celebrated high mass in the same place, the Pope again being absent and the cardinals present. There was no sermon; other observances were performed as usual.

On Saturday, the 2nd of the month of July, the Feast of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, His Holiness, arrayed in amice, alb, girdle, stole and hood, rode under a purple canopy from the Apostolic Palace to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, preceded by the cross and the cardinals. He had previously prayed at the altar. The chamberlain who was to say mass came to the Pope's left hand, behind the deacon assisting

on the Pope's left, and said the Confession with the Pontiff, and then the mass as usual. He was served by another chamberlain, arrayed only in a surplice. The Pope knelt at a fold-stool arranged for him between the middle and lowest steps of the altar, and behind him the two cardinal-deacons assisting as before. Behind them knelt on this side, that is, the right side of the Pope, the cardinal-bishops and priests; on the other, the left, the cardinal-deacons.

After the gospel the Cardinal of Naples, senior cardinal, owing to the temporary absence of the vicar, received the Missal from the hand of the said chamberlain serving the mass at the lowest step of the said altar, and presented it to the Pontiff to kiss; he then offered it to the said server in the same spot, and handed it back, after saying the collect: *Domine, Jesu Christe*, etc. The same Cardinal of Naples received at the hands of the said chamberlain, serving on the step aforesaid, the instrument of the *pax*, and offered it to the Pontiff to kiss. I then received it from the hands of the same cardinal, and, after the said Cardinal of Naples had returned to his seat, I handed it to be kissed, first to the rest of the bishops, priests and deacons serving the Pope, then to the other cardinals, then to the prelates and the rest. At the end of mass, he went up to the altar, and there standing, blessed the people, saying, in place of the celebrant: *Sit nomen Domini*, etc. He then returned to the palace whence he had come. To avoid mistakes I had, before mass began, inquired of the Cardinals of Naples and S. Marco whose duty it was to offer the Book and the *Pax* to the Pontiff at this mass. They replied that it was the privilege of the senior cardinal-priest, but the Cardinal of Siena, senior deacon, asserted that it was his duty. The Bishop of Pienza, my predecessor in the Office of Ceremonies, was then interrogated on the point, and said that the duty properly belonged to the senior cardinal-bishop, or to the cardinal given the seniority in the Pope's presence. The said cardinals submitted to this assertion, and carried out the plan above mentioned.

On Monday, the 4th of the month of July, a general holiday was announced from that day to the 1st of October inclusive.

On Wednesday, the 6th of the month of July, His Holiness, kneeling in the doorway of his chamber which opens into the Camera Papagalli, heard mass, which was celebrated by one of his chamberlains in the Camera Papagalli, almost all the cardinals being present in the said chamber. The Cardinal of Siena, the senior deacon, with the consent and good-will of Naples, S. Marco, and the other cardinals, offered the Pope the Book and the *Pax* to kiss after the gospel in the customary way. After mass the celebrant blessed every one, including the Pope, a defiance of precedent which displeased even the Cardinal of S. Marco. Now, what he should have done was this: after saying the collect, *Placeat Pape*, he should have knelt for licence, and, on receiving it, have blessed every one else in their order in front of him, from the epistle side and at the middle of the altar; he should then have turned to the Pontiff, and himself received his blessing on his knees. Then the Pontiff assumed the customary vestments, and came to the third hall, where he held a public consistory, in which the Rev. Father, Lord Johann, Bishop of Worms, and the Illustrious Lord Bernhardt, Count of Erbestein, envoys, swore the customary allegiance and loyalty to His Holiness in the name of the Very Illustrious Lord the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the said Lord Bishop made a speech in a somewhat outlandish accent.¹

¹ This speech is given by Lunig.

On Saturday, the 6th of the month of August, His Holiness, arrayed in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, red cope and simple mitre, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the greater chapel, where he heard a mass for the dead, for the anniversary of the death of Pope Sixtus IV., his predecessor, celebrated by the Rev. Father Don Leonardo, Bishop of Albenga and Vicar of the City. And, at the end, the Pontiff himself gave the absolution in the accustomed way. There were present the only six cardinals residing in the city, namely, Naples, S. Pietro ad Vincula, Anjou, dei Conti, Savelli, and Colonna.

Our abbot sacristan had ordained that the Pope should come in a scarlet cape, but at my order, and because, when the Pope questioned it, the Cardinal of Naples and the Bishops of Aleria and Tibur supported my view and order, the Pope came in a cope, as related above; but the sacristan was not very wrong, because it is in the Pope's choice to wear a cope or a cape.

On Monday, the 15th of the month of August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, His Holiness, in a mantle over his rochet, without the cross, and attended by not a single cardinal, came to the greater chapel above mentioned, where, after saying a prayer at a fald-stool as usual, he said the *Confiteor* with the celebrant; then he mounted a throne from which the larger seat had been removed, and sat on a brocaded chair that had been arranged for him, with a fald-stool placed in front, and a Missal on it; there, with his domestic prelates in their mantles standing in their accustomed places, he heard mass sung pontifically, with a deacon and sub-deacon assisting, by Don Giovanni, Bishop of Strongoli, likewise a domestic prelate. I did not use incense at the beginning of mass, nor for the gospel, nor did I have candles brought up for it. After the gospel, the first assistant bishop presented the Book, which he received from my hands, and the Pope kissed the gospel, and then received from the same, when the time came, the *pur* by a medium arranged for the purpose.

This I afterwards offered to the other prelates to kiss. After mass the Pope, standing in the seat aforesaid with covered head, gave the benediction, saying: *Sit nomen*, etc.; he then returned to his chamber, the borders of his cope caught up and borne by the chief prelate, who had also carried them when the Pontiff came from his chamber. On the assistant aforesaid presenting the *navicula* before the offertory, the Pope put incense in [the thurible], and, after the celebrant had incensed the oblations, the same assistant incensed the Pope only; the others were not incensed, and wrongly, because the Pope, when not arrayed in pontifical vestments, ought not to be censured, in spite of an idea that this is only true of the beginning of mass, and for the gospel. Accordingly, all ought to be censured as at high mass.

On the same day, about the second hour of the night, died in the city of Orvieto, or near it, the Rev. Lord in Christ, Don Pietro, Cardinal of Foscara. May his soul rest in peace. His body was then transferred to the city, and given over for burial in a chapel of the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, which he had built for himself.¹

On Monday, the 29th of the said month of August, the Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, and the anniversary of the elevation of His Holiness the Pope to the apex of apostolic power, the Cardinal of Anjou, Bishop of Alba, celebrated high mass in the greater chapel of the

¹ Pietro Foscara, famed alike for his goodness and his learning, was the only one who refused to sign the articles imposed by the cardinals upon the future Pope.

Apostolic Palace, owing to the absence of the cardinal-priests, none of whom were present except the Cardinals Conti, Savelli, Colonna and Orsini. He said one collect only, viz. *Deus, qui corda fidelium*, omitting the words *Hodierna die*, which he also omitted in the Preface. During the action he omitted the *Proprium*, nor ought it to be said. The Prose was said by the choir. At the verse *Alleluia*, the Pope came to the fald-stool, but he did not begin it. There was no sermon; all other observances were conducted as usual.

On Thursday, the 8th of the month of September, His Holiness, in a cape above the rochet, and without the cross, and attended by none of the cardinals, but by the domestic prelates only, came to the chapel aforesaid, when public mass was celebrated pontifically by the Rev. Father Don Giovanni, Bishop of Strongoli. After the epistle had been read, there came to the same chapel the Cardinal of S. Angelo, who had returned to the city on the preceding day. He kissed the Pope's foot and hand. Then he sat down alone upon the cardinal's bench; after the gospel he offered the Book to the Pope to kiss according to the service; after the offertory placed the *navicula* for the putting in of the incense, acted as server, and censed first the offerings, and then the Pontiff himself. The celebrant was censed by a deacon. In this mass, all rites were observed which were mentioned above on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

On Sunday, the 11th of the said month of September, the anniversary of the coronation of His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII., the Cardinal of Milan in the above-mentioned chapel celebrated high mass with the customary ceremonies, in the presence of the Pope. The Prose was said by the choir, and the rest was as usual. After dinner the choir came to the Pontiff, who gave to each of them, as well as to Giovanni Maria, my colleague, a new gold ducat of the Treasury, in commemoration of his auspicious entry upon the second year of his pontificate.

On the following night, that of Sunday, the 16th of the month of October, about the seventh hour of the night, the Rev. Father in Christ and Lord, Giovanni of Aragon, titular priest of Sta. Sabina, and son of the King of Naples, expired at Rome in his palace, at the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucena. May his soul rest in peace.¹

Accordingly, on the morning of *the day following*, at the mandate of the Cardinal of Naples, I made the arrangements necessary for the funeral. There were invited the chapters of the Churches of St. John Lateran, and of St. Peter, of Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Celso and S. Eustachio, and of S. Lorenzo in Damaso; also the friars of Santa Maria di Minerva, of Sta. Sabina, of SS. Apostoli, of S. Maria in Aracoeli, of S. Agostino, of S. Maria del Popolo, of S. Marcello and S. Martino dei Monti; also the communities of S. Salvatore, and of S. Maria Salvatore—of which I myself was a member—and the Treasurer of the Clerk of the City, with his chaplains. These all came, except the chapters of St. John Lateran, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and S. Eustachio, and the Convent of S. Martino dei Monti; the households of all the cardinals were also invited. Then, about the hour of vespers, the body of the deceased cardinal having been placed in the great hall of the said palace, with twenty torches round it, and other rites observed as usual, vigils were begun and sung. The Cardinals of Naples, Anjou, and Conti were present. Vigils ended, the body was carried to the Church of Sta. Sabina, where it was to be interred. In this pro-

¹ According to the majority of historians, the Cardinal of Aragon died of poison. (*Vide Infessura in Eccard, Vol. II., col. 1956.*)

cession the friars of Minerva led the way, for the reason that the interment was to take place in their church; then came the rest, in their order. None of the canons of the churches above mentioned were present, but only a few of the prebendaries. Behind all the clergy came the janitors, carrying torches of a hundred and forty ounces, besides those in the hall; behind them, the Confraternity of S. Salvatore, whose members carried the deceased upon a bier, covered with the pall of the said confraternity, as far as the said church, assisted by some few of the friars of the same church. For the members of both the confraternities above mentioned said that, even though a deceased person were a member of another confraternity, or of the Confraternity of the Annunciation, if the members of the Confraternity of S. Salvatore were present, it devolved on them to carry the deceased with a bier and a pall. Behind the corpse rode the prelates and other officials of the Curia, as usual. The Cardinal of Anjou retired from the said house to go to his own, but the Cardinals of Naples and Conti proceeded, not following the deceased, but by another route, to the Church of Santa Sabina, where, about the middle below the choir, the deceased was placed on a bier. And there four responsories were said, and four collects, the first by the friars of Sta. Sabina, the second by the Roman clergy, the third by the other friars, and the fourth by the friars of Sta. Sabina again; it would, however, have been sufficient to say one responsory with its collect.

After the fourth responsory I, at the command of the Cardinal of Naples, thanked the orators and prelates there present for their courteous attendance; then the body was carried behind the greater altar, to be there interred. This done, both the cardinals aforesaid and every one else retired. There was no distribution of wax or candles, and money, among the friars as generally happens, because no one had been appointed to superintend the matter, and everything was done in a somewhat confused and irregular manner.

The general holidays announced shortly before, that is to say, on the 3rd of the month of July preceding, up to the 1st of October, were on the 23rd of the month of September extended to the 20th day of this present month of October, and again on the 19th of this same month to the end of the month. This was done by order of His Holiness, on account of the prevalence of the plague.

On the same day, Tuesday, the 19th of the month of October, died in Rome the Rev. Father in Christ, Don Alfonso, Bishop of Cantazaro, and provisor of the hospital of the Spaniards in the city, and on the same day, about the twenty-first hour, he was carried to the church of the same hospital, and in it honourably buried. May his soul rest in peace. He was in the ninetieth year of his age.

On Monday, the last day of October, there was a change of capes, and solemn vespers were said in the greater chapel above mentioned. The Pope was present, and said the office.

On the following day, the 1st of November, and the Feast of All Saints, the Cardinal of Naples celebrated high mass in the same chapel, in presence of the Pope. There was no sermon, because the appointed preacher was not in the city. Other rites were observed as usual.

On the same day, at the hour of vespers, the Pope, arrayed in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and scarlet cope, and retaining the biretta, also scarlet, which he generally wore in his chamber, with the cross, and the cardinals behind and before, and the Cardinals Savelli and Colonna, assistants, walking behind all the other cardinals, came without his mitre



HENRY VII., KING OF ENGLAND, (1485-1509).

to the chapel aforesaid. The Bishop of Teano, who was assisting, gathered up the borders of the Pope's cope, and bore them behind him. In the chapel, vespers of the feast were omitted, and the choir said vespers for the dead; after the *Requiescant in pace*, matins were begun without any pause, and continued to the end. The Pope, at vespers and at matins alike, said the collect: *Fidelium Deus omnium*; but all other rites were observed as usual. Before, however, various errors were committed; in the first place, the cardinal ought to have followed the Pope, and not preceded him; in the second, the two deacons, who generally assist, ought to have gone behind the last cardinal-priests, because when the Pope does not wear a mitre he is not assisted; in the third, between vespers and matins there should have been a substantial pause, and matins should have been begun by the Pope standing, and first saying a *Pater noster* to himself. All these points, by mistake, as it is stated, were neglected. The altar had a black frontal, and the Pope's seat a violet cover.

On Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of November, the Feast of All Souls, His Holiness, arrayed in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, simple red cope and plain mitre—it would have been better if it had been made of white linen with pearls—came to the chapel aforesaid, and heard public mass celebrated by the Cardinal of Lisbon in black vestments; he said one collect only, for which His Holiness the Pope knelt at a fald-stool, and all the others knelt in their places. After mass, the celebrant took off his vestments near the altar, and, assuming a cape, went to his place among the other cardinals. The choir in the meantime said the responsory: *Libera me, Domine*. This done, the Pope gave the absolution with the book in the usual way, as is ordained.

On Monday, the 7th of the month of November, were performed the funeral rites of the late Orbano dei Fieschi, Bishop of Forli, at the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, in the presence of the households of the Pope and of the cardinals. Public mass was celebrated by Leonardo, Bishop of Albenga and Vicar of the City; and the sermon was preached by Don Girolamo, a kinsman of the Cardinal of Volterra. This done, the Bishops Tommaso of Jesi, Orso of Teano, Mariano of [*Slandatensis*], and Silvestro of Chioggia, with the celebrant, gave the absolutions around the bier in the accustomed way.

Now, I had before given a schedule of things required for the obsequies to Don Falcone, treasurer-general to His Holiness the Pope, and he arranged matters according to the contents of the same schedule, which ran as follows:—

- For the bier, torches of four pounds, in number xxiii.;
- For the elevation of the Sacrament at solemn mass, in number viii.;
- For the celebrant and the orator, torches ii.;
- For the tomb, ii.;
- If cardinals are present, let each have i.;
- Altogether, let there be liii. torches, of varying weights.;
- Tapers of seven pounds each for the mourners and prelates, in number cxxv.;
- Tapers of one pound for the servants, chamberlains and chaplains, in number cc.;
- Tapers of half-a-pound for the friars and shield-bearers, in number cc., for the others of three ounces;
- For low masses, from forty to the pound, v.
- Let provision be made by the celebrant for the preacher of _____

Four prelates for the absolution, each of whom shall have his plain mitre ;

A litter for the church, benches for the mourners, benches for the prelates and orators, a pall for the bier, arms for the pall, two large candelabra for the tomb, a deacon and sub-deacon as singers for the Pope, and let dinner be prepared for them ;

Of priests to say low masses, to the number of a hundred or thereabouts, and to each let there be given as bounty one carlino ;

Of some additional attendant, to keep count of the masses ;

Of two or more to guard the wax faithfully, and serve it out to the clerks of the ceremonies for them to distribute.

Let the household of the deceased be arrayed, and, above all, let there be given to each a black cap ;

To the bishop, the brother of the deceased, let there be given cannes v. ;

To each of the chaplains, cannes iii. ;

To each of the shield-bearers, cannes iii. ;

To each member of the household, cannes iii., of fine hunting ;

Pontifical vestments, all black, for the celebrant ;

Dalmatic and tunicle, etc., for the deacon and sub-deacon ;

Five copes and black stoles besides the other two ;

A silver cross on its staff ;

A censer and an incense-boat ;

A vessel of holy water, with a sprinkler ;

Eight candelabra and a fald-stool for the celebrant ;

Missals, books of the Epistles and Gospels, and a book for the absolutions.

Everything above mentioned can be had from the Pope's chapel, and let provision be made of a porter, to carry everything to the church, and to carry them back from the same.

The obsequies concluded, let there be paid :—

To the clerks of the ceremonies, ducats xvi. ;

To Don Girolamo, who gives the sermon, ducats vi. ;

To the chapel singers, ducats v.

Let couriers, on the part of the executors, inform the households of the cardinals that on Monday, the 7th of this month, they are to be in the Church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, to attend the obsequies ;

Let them make the same intimation to him who is to be celebrant, and to the four bishops who are to give the absolutions, and to Don Girolamo, who is to preach ;

Let them also choose some of their number to walk with their silver staves in front of the household of the deceased on the day of the funeral, from the house to the church, and, the office ended, let them reconduct them from the church to the house ;

Let the wax be weighed at daybreak, and sent to the church ;

Let the robes of the mourners be in the house of the deceased by day-break, that the household may be in the church by the fourteenth hour.

All the preliminaries were thus arranged, and carried out, with a few changes.

Eighty low masses were celebrated, distributed as follows :—

The Convent of Sta. Maria del Popolo celebrated	XIII.
The Convent of Aracoeli celebrated	VIII.
The Convent of S. Domenico di Minerva celebrated	XV.

The Convent of S. Agostino celebrated VIII.
 The Convent of S. Salvatore and the secular priests LXXXV.

And to all who celebrated were given six bajocchi, although it had been arranged that each should be given one carlino.

On Thursday, the 10th of the month of November, came to the city by the Porta di Sta. Maria del Popolo, the Lord Roberto of San Severino, future *gonfaloniere* of the Roman Church. He was met by the households of His Holiness and of the cardinals, and the chief ambassadors present at the Roman Curia. Lord Marchardt Brisaquer, the Imperial ambassador, received him inside the said gate, in the name of the Emperor, as being an advocate of the Roman Church. Next there met him Lord Johann of Espasch, and the Prior of the Dominicans, ambassadors of His Most Serene Highness Maximilian, King of the Romans; next the Pope's household, which came up later between the said gate and the cross-road, and received him with all courtesy, and escorted him as far as the Apostolic Palace. He rode between the Governor of the City, who had come, not with the Pope's household, but behind it, on the right, and the said Marchardt, Imperial ambassador above mentioned, on the left, followed by the other prelates and envoys in their order. There he was lodged in the hall of the Apostolic Chamber, in which princes are usually received. I should say that outside the door of the aforesaid palace, before he went in, he turned to his escort, and expressed his thanks with uncovered head, in the usual way.

On Friday, the 11th of the month of November, the Feast of S. Martino, bishop, in the morning died that most estimable man, Don Antonio of Gubbio, proctor of the Roman Curia, of Causes, and of the Faith. Later in the day, after the hour of vespers, he was carried with all honour to the Church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, his parish, and there handed over for burial. May his soul rest in peace.

On Thursday, the 17th of the same month of November, the Rev. Father in Christ, Achille Marescotto of Bononia, Bishop of Cervia, who, on the preceding Saturday, the 12th of this month, had returned in health and spirits to the city, on the preceding Tuesday, the 15th, fell ill of the plague, and on the night of this day, the 17th, breathed his last. On the same night he was, in the Basilica of St. Peter, handed over for ecclesiastical burial with no ceremonies. May his soul rest in peace.

On Saturday, the 19th of the said month of November, all customary preparations being made, obsequies for the soul of the Cardinal of Aragon were begun in the Church of Sta. Sabina. The Cardinal of Agria celebrated public mass, and the sermon was preached by Friar Giovanni of Ferrara, a Dominican. This done, the celebrant joined with Bishops of Naples and of S. Marco, and the Cardinal-priests of Milan and Lisbon, in the absolutions of the dead. Besides these, there attended the aforesaid service the Cardinals of Anjou, dei Conti, Parma, Savelli, Colonna and Ascanio, and the ambassadors of King Ferdinand, and of the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara, and of the Florentines; they were arrayed in mourning robes, and sat with the other mourners, having the first place among them, and sitting two by two on each bench all the way down. There were a hundred and twenty mourners altogether, or thereabouts, and as the Cardinal of Naples had taken on himself the charge of the aforesaid obsequies, and had left it to me that they should be conducted honourably and in due order, I drew up a schedule for the proper disposition of affairs, to this effect:—

- Let the household of the said deceased be arrayed as usual ;
- Let provision be made around the church of brands for torches, and beneath them black cloths with the arms of the deceased, omitting none ; let the same be done around the columns of the altar, on the higher part outside ;
- Let a catafalque be prepared in the centre of the church, on an elevation, covered with a black pall with a large white cross upon it ;
- Around the catafalque let there be placed stands for fifteen torches on each side, and stands for the mourners on three sides of the catafalque, in proportion to the number of mourners, and at the foot of the catafalque a litter or bier ;
- A mattress filled with straw, the size of the said litter, and a bolster also filled with straw ;
- A cloth-of-gold pall, with the arms of the deceased cardinal ;
- Two cushions of black taffeta, stuffed with straw, with the arms of the deceased cardinal ;
- Two carpets, one large one for the altar, and one medium-sized one for the fald-stool ;
- Two red cardinal's hats to be placed at the feet, on the bier ;
- Two fans of black taffeta with the arms of the deceased cardinal painted all over them ;
- Let the arms of the deceased cardinal be painted on whole sheets of paper, sufficient in number to be affixed to all the surrounding columns inside the church, and near its entrance outside ;
- Stands for the cardinals, prelates and orators ;
- Let provision be made of some learned priest to give the address on the first day of the obsequies, and of prelates to say public mass on each of the seven days within the *novena* ;
- Let two cardinals be bidden to celebrate high mass, one on the first, the other on the last day of these obsequies, and four cardinals to give the absolutions with the celebrant on the first, and as many on the last day of the same ;
- Let the choir of the chapel of His Holiness the Pope be summoned for the first and last days of these obsequies, and on those days let dinner be prepared for the same ;
- Let provision be made of a deacon and sub-deacon to serve the prelate who celebrates on the seven days within the *novena*.
- Let priests be conscribed for masses, to celebrate low masses, namely, a hundred masses on the first day, and as many on the last, and fifty masses on each of the seven days that fall within the *novena*.
- Let one or two be deputed to note the celebrants, and keep the count, and distribute the bounty to the same ;
- Let cloths be spread upon the stone benches on which the cardinals will sit below the tribune of the choir ;
- Let places be arranged for the prelates and orators, and where the pulpit for the orator on the first day is to be placed ;
- A credence for the celebrant with the necessaries for the same, and a spot where it may conveniently be placed ;
- Each of the prelates among the mourners shall have behind him one of his servants, also arrayed in funeral garb, to gather up the borders of the prelate's cope, and carry them behind his lord ;
- The prelates shall precede the brothers, children, and other relatives, not prelates, of the deceased cardinal. If, however, the brothers, children or relatives of the deceased are also prelates, they shall take their

place among the other prelate mourners, in the order of their promotion ;

Vestments to be sent from the chapel of His Holiness the Pope to the Church of Sta. Sabina for the first and last day of these obsequies ;

Pontifical vestments, all black, for the celebrant ;

Dalmatic and tunicle and all vestments for the deacon and sub-deacon ;

Five black copes, with as many unices and stoles, for those giving the absolutions after the mass and the benediction ;

A cross of silver and its staff ;

A thurible, with incense-boat and spoon ;

A vessel of holy water, with aspersion ;

Seven silver candelabra,

Missal, gospel-book, epistle-book, and book of the absolutions,

A fald-stool for the celebrant.

Let there be sent from the house of the deceased cardinal four painted foot-stools of the chamber, to Sta. Sabina ;

Wax to be ordered for the first day of the obsequies :

Torches of six pounds each for the cardinals and the altar, in number	XXII.
Torches of four pounds each for the church, in number	LX.
Similar torches to be placed above and around the catafalque, in number	XXXIX.
Similar torches for the tomb, the sacristy, the Pope and the celebrant, in number	IV.
Two similar torches for the chapel servants-at-arms	II.
Tapers of two pounds each for the orators of the palace, and the mourners, in number	CCL.
Tapers of one pound each for the attendants, officials, xxix., in number	CCCC.
Tapers of half-a-pound for the curials officiating, xxxi., in number	CCCC.
Tapers of four ounces for the catafalque, and to be distributed	MD.
Twenty small candles of a pound for low mass, twenty pounds	XX.

Let some trusty person be deputed to take the wax by number and weight from the druggists, to receive it each day, and to see to its conveyance to the church, and its safe custody there. Let there be, besides him, three or four servants to carry the wax behind the masters of ceremonies, to be distributed by them as occasion arises.

Let there be arranged also in the Church of Sta. Sabina some chapel or other convenient and well-guarded spot, in which the aforesaid wax can each day be deposited and guarded, and from which it can be carried, and distributed as occasion arises.

On the last day let the same provision be made, as regards the quantity and quality of the wax, as noted above for the first day.

Likewise the deputy guardian of the aforesaid wax shall, on the first day, give to the officials, [or their treasurer], or official mentioned below, the following amount of wax :—

To the singers of the chapel of His Holiness, tapers	XXIII.	} of one pound each.
To the master door-keeper, tapers	XVI.	
To the servitors of arms, tapers	XV.	
To the couriers of His Holiness, tapers	XX.	

The iron gates, tapers	VII.	} of half-a-pound each.
The chief gates, tapers	II.	
For the private garden, tapers	II.	

He is on the last day to give as much again to the officials above mentioned, and, in addition, he is to give on the said last day two torches of four pounds each for their chapel to the servers-at-arms.

Wax to be distributed for various purposes on the seven days that fall within the *novena*:—

Torches of four pounds: For the catafalque	V.
For the elevation of the Host	VIII.
For the celebrant	I.
Around the catafalque	XX.
And for the tomb	II.
Total number	<u>XXXVI.</u>

Tapers of two pounds, in number	CL.
„ of one pound, in number	CL.
„ of half-a-pound, in number	CL.
„ of four ounces, in number	CCC.

For low mass, ten pounds of candles of twenty to the pound.

On *Thursday, the 24th of the month of November*, the Rev. Father in Christ, Don Leonardo Grifo,¹ Archbishop of Benevento, and secretary to His Holiness, who had fallen ill on Saturday, the 12th of this month, or thereabouts, about day-break this morning breathed his last in his chamber in the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, and on the following night was carried with no ceremony to the Church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, and there buried in the chapel behind the greater altar. May his soul rest in peace. He left as executors of his will the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of S. Marco and of Lisbon.

The same day, in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles in the city, were performed the obsequies of Achille, Lord Bishop of Cervia. Public mass was celebrated by Don Filippo, Archbishop of Antivari, to which we received our first summons this morning. But none of us were there, so I do not know who performed the ceremony or gave the absolutions.

During the *novena* of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Aragon, one bishop on each of the seven days celebrated mass publicly, and then gave the absolutions as usual.

On *Sunday, the 20th of November*, Ludovico, Bishop of Aquileia, attendant of the deceased cardinal, celebrated; on *Monday the 21st*, the Bishop of Caserta, also attendant of the same deceased cardinal;² on *Tuesday the 22nd*, the same Ludovico, Bishop of Aquileia; on *Wednesday the 23rd*, the same Bishop of Caserta; on *Thursday the 24th*, the same Bishop of Caserta; on *Friday the 25th*, the same Bishop of Caserta; and on *Saturday the 26th*, in like manner, the same Bishop of Caserta celebrated mass and gave the absolutions.

On *Friday, 25th of the said month of November*, the Rev. Father in Christ, Don Ludovico,³ Bishop of Aquileia, who on the Sunday and Tuesday preceding had, in the Church of Sta. Sabina, publicly celebrated

¹ St. *Grifus*. Griphius in Ughelli, Vol. VIII., col. 166.

² Achille Marescotto died 21st November. See Ughelli, Vol. II., col. 476.

³ Ludovico Bosio. See Ughelli, Vol. I., col. 391.

public mass in the obsequies for the soul of the Cardinal of Aragon—on this day through the plague, his spirit returned to the God who made it. May his soul rest in peace.

The First Sunday in Advent, the 27th of the said month of November, was the last Sunday [of that month]. Don Leonardo of Albenga, vicar of the city, celebrated public mass in the greater chapel of the Palace of St. Peter, in presence of the Pope. The sermon was preached by a certain Dominican friar. All rites were observed as at a ceremonial.

On Monday, the 28th of the same month of November, was the last day of the obsequies for the soul of the Cardinal of Aragon, in the Church of Sta. Sabina, where the Cardinal of Naples, if I remember right, celebrated public mass. I cannot remember who gave the absolutions. All observances were conducted in the accustomed way, except that, by special command and licence of His Holiness the Pope, a Rota and Court were held by the auditors, notwithstanding these obsequies.

On Wednesday, the 30th and last day of the month of November, the Cardinal of Parma, on the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, celebrated high mass at the greater altar of the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles of the city, in presence of the Pope. His Magnificence, Don Roberto of S. Severino, who was to be made *gonfaloniere* of the Holy Roman Church, should have attended him, but he did not do so, because he had not his people ready; so he did not attend the Pope, nor carry the borders of the Pope's cope, as was meet. The said Don Roberto, however, came about the end of mass to the basilica aforesaid, wearing a long mantle right to the ground, with an opening over the right arm. By command of the Pope I stationed him on the highest step of the throne, at the Pope's right hand. He wore a biretta and all else that they usually wear. I had ordered, if he had come in time, that incense and the *pax* should be given him after the cardinals, and before the assistant bishops. The same Don Roberto, who had on the preceding day taken my advice on this point, had deputed two nobles to bring standards, that were placed on the altar, for him to present to the Pope and the Church. When the Communion had been read by the celebrant, the said two standards were placed above the altar on the gospel side, while two men-at-arms held their staves erect behind the altar.

After the benediction had been given by the Pontiff, and the indulgences published by the celebrant, two acolytes went up to the Pontiff, carrying the two standards aforesaid folded over their shoulders, and with them the senior cardinal-priest and another acolyte with holy water and a sprinkler. Then the Pontiff, laying aside his mitre, rose up and blessed the said standards, saying: *Adjutorium nostrum*, etc., and finally sprinkling them with holy water. They were then immediately placed upon their staves by those in charge. Then the above-mentioned Don Roberto went up to the Pontiff, and knelt before him, and took the usual oath of prescribed allegiance in the following formula, first reading it after me word by word:—

“I Roberto of San Severino, future standard-bearer and *gonfaloniere* of the thrice Holy Roman Church, do hereby promise, vow, engage and swear that from this hour onwards I will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, to the Holy Roman Church, and to you, My Lord, Pope Innocent VIII., and to your successors lawfully following. I will be the defender of the thrice Holy Roman Church, and of your Holiness, and of your successors as aforesaid, and I will undertake, to the extent of my power and knowledge, to preserve, promote and protect all rights, honours,

privileges, prestige, benefits and advantages of the Roman Church, of your Holiness, and of your successors, the same Roman Pontiffs, at the time existing, in loyalty honest and undefiled, so help me God, and these His Holy Gospels."

When he had read the above statement, he placed both his hands on a book of the Gospels held in the hands of His Holiness, and took the oath in the terms that he had read.

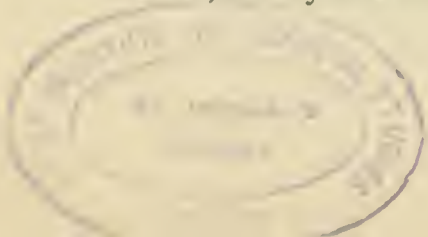
This done, the standard of the Church on its staff was presented to the Pontiff, who laid his right hand upon it; and gave it over to the said Don Roberto, with these words: *Accipe vexillum*, etc. Don Roberto bowed before him, and received it with both hands. Then the said standard was by us made over to one appointed for the purpose, and the second standard, that bearing the arms of the Pope, was presented to the Pontiff, and treated as the first had been. Then Don Roberto kissed the foot of the Pope, who rose, and returned to the palace, with the said Don Roberto preceding him in front of the cross. The Pope dismissed the cardinals in the porch of the said basilica, who forthwith returned to their homes, while the Pope went up to the palace. With him went the said Don Roberto, who, after he had conducted the Pope to his chamber, was escorted by the prelates of the palace, the chamberlains and equeries of the Pope, and the orators and domestics of the cardinals who had been dismissed by the cardinals on their return, from the aforesaid palace to the Palace of SS. Apostoli, the abode of the Very Rev. Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, with whom the same Don Roberto was to dine. The order in which they rode was as follows:—

A band of trumpeters, carrying arms, the subordinate ones in front, and the others following, except the more important or noble, who escorted the two standard-bearers riding in front of the *Gonfaloniere*.—The equeries of the cardinals.—The equeries of the Pope.—Roman nobles unarmed.—Orators, lay and clerical, not prelates.—Two standard-bearers, with a few of the more important nobles, carrying arms.—Don Roberto, *gonfaloniere*, between the Vice-Chamberlain, formerly governor of the city, on the right, and the Prefect of the City, also Captain of the Church, on the left.—Prelates of the palace, with the orators who were also prelates on their left.—Other prelates, followed by chamberlains, and then other chaplains.—Before the door of the Palace of SS. Apostoli the *Gonfaloniere* turned, and, with uncovered head, expressed his thanks to the prelates and envoys as they entered.

I should say that the above account of the creation of the *Gonfaloniere* was noted down or rewritten by me long after the actual event, from a memorandum of procedure made by me for it long before. This procedure was carried through without any variations, and after I had rewritten the above statement, I found an accurate note of what occurred, written to this effect:—

On Wednesday, the 30th of November, the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, the Cardinal of Parma, arrayed in red vestments, celebrated solemn high mass at the greater altar of the Basilica of St. Peter, without a bull, owing to inadvertence or forgetfulness, because he had not been reminded that he had to get a bull written. Nor could I supplement this omission, even as far as appearances went, because I could not discover any bull which I could introduce in place of the real bull. He said only one collect, for a festival, namely, with no commemoration of Advent.

His Holiness came to the basilica aforesaid, and with the cardinals as usual, but by some inadvertence Don Roberto had remained in his chamber,



expecting that he would be summoned. Afterwards, when summoned by me, he came to the basilica aforesaid, preceded only by me amongst his household, and escorted by his servants-at-arms and nobles. He came in, and approached the greater altar as the *Credo* was being said. By command of the Pope I placed him on the first step below the top of the throne, on the Pope's right, while the Pope's brother, who was standing there, I led, also by command, to the same step, and placed him there on the Pope's left. The said Don Roberto was arrayed in a mantle of brocade, very full, splendid and long, with its borders trailing two palms along the ground. It was open only on the right, and lined with purple silk with a fold round the neck, or else a collar of a palm, in width, and on the right four great pearl buttons; below this he wore a robe reaching to the ground, of similar brocade lined with sable, and on his head, the usual biretta. When mass was over, and the Pontiff had given the benediction, no indulgences were published, because on that day, by indulgence of Pope Pius II., of happy memory, plenary indulgences in perpetuity are to be given.

Then the two standards were carried before the Pontiff, and in the presence of the Cardinal of Milan, senior priest, blessed by the Pope as set forth in the book. Then Don Roberto, kneeling before the Pontiff, took the oath as related above. He was not, however, able to read the oath, but excused himself because he was without his spectacles. Accordingly, the Cardinal of Milan aforesaid read it first word by word, and he repeated the words after him. Don Anicèto, notary of the Apostolic Chamber, was called upon as witness of the taking of this oath. After the taking of it, the Pope put on him a biretta of the height of a palm and a half, or thereabouts, made of purple satin, with a band round the lower part, in width a finger and a half or thereabouts, of silver brocade trimmed with a few small pearls. Higher up, in the middle, it had a boss, also embroidered with pearls, in width half a palm or thereabouts, and with eight twisted golden rays issuing from the pearls, like the painting of the Christ of S. Bernardino, in the centre of the aforesaid boss; on the top of the biretta was a raised dove of pearls. Then the Pope put in his right hand a staff or wand of silver-gilt, a palm and a half in length, in the form of the handle of a scourge,¹ . . . with a carved peacock on the top, holding a circlet. While making these presentations the Pope said nothing. Thereafter the Pope, in words taken from the Pontifical, handed him the standard with the arms of the Church, and then the other, which bore his own arms. The Pope's standard with the arms of the Church was con-signed to Giovanni Francesco di Tolentino, who was armed *cap-a-pie*; the other to some other noble, armed in the same way. Of the rest, nobody, even the most important noble, bore arms.

Then, without kissing the Pontiff's foot, Don Roberto rose, and advanced in procession immediately in front of the cross. The course arranged was through the Vatican to the chapel of St. Andrew. As the Pope drew near the chapel, escorted by the chamberlains, an exposition was made of the head of that most noble apostle, St. Andrew. Then all left

¹ *Abheni geischelstiel*. This is the reading of MSS. 5159, page 326, which seems to agree best with the general sense of the passage. Possible readings are: *abiegni* (of fir) *gestell*, *gestiel* (shaft or column of fir, in German), or *abiegni gestellstiel* (branch or stock of fir). MSS 5521, fol. 324, gives: "*In modum alfereni . . . summitate . . .*" In the other MSS. the passage is left blank. See Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script*, Vol. III., p. ii., *Diario del Notajo del Nant.*, etc., col 1096, in which allusion is made to this wand: "*Una bacchetta da senatore, la quale era tutta d'oro con certo lavoro da capo.*"

the church, and the Pope under St. Peter's porch dismissed all the cardinals, and also Don Roberto.

The cardinals went in a body with their attendants on one side, and Don Roberto with his attendants on another. When they came to the steps of the said basilica, the cardinals and Don Roberto alike dismounted, though the cardinals did so first. They rode in a body to their houses with their attendants. Behind rode Don Roberto with his following. First came the crossbowmen, and behind them some few nobles and officials of the Curia; then the Pope's household, followed by the trumpeters; behind them a few nobles, and then the servants-at-arms; then the two armed men, carrying the two standards above mentioned; behind them Don Roberto, in his above-mentioned robes, and bearing the silver staff in his right hand, between the Governor of the City, on the right, and the Prefect of the City, and Captain-General of the Holy Roman Church, on the left. Then the prelates of the palace and the rest of us rode in our order over the Ponte di S. Angelo, straight to the Campo dei Fiori, and thence, by the road which passes in front of the grotto known as Taverna Publica, we came to the house of the Cardinal of Anjou, with whom we dined, in company with the Cardinals of S. Pietro ad Vincula and Colonna. Along the whole road the two standard-bearers caused the actual standards to be carried by certain men who rode between them, and they themselves only laid their right hands on them. Over the Ponte di S. Angelo the wind was so strong that it was hardly possible to carry the standards upright. The riders with the standards entered the house of the said cardinal. At the door of the said house Don Roberto turned to his escort, and, keeping the aforesaid biretta on his head, expressed his thanks to the prelates and chamberlains as they retired. He then entered the house aforesaid, and there dined. The mass above mentioned was heard by all the cardinals then in the city, with the sole exception of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Giorgio, the treasurer, who did not attend. The following, however, were present: the Vice-Chancellor, Naples, S. Marco, and S. Pietro ad Vincula, cardinal-bishops; Anjou, S. Clemente, dei Conti, and Parma, cardinal-priests; Siena, Savelli, Colonna, and Ascanio, cardinal-deacons. I had made my memorandum for the arrangements in the following terms:—

Preparations for the *Gonfuloniere* :

Let provision be made of two standards, and also a thick white staff of the length of an arm, or thereabouts, and two staves for the standards;

Robes and armour for Don Roberto; a place in which he may array himself after the elevation of the Host;

Two armed nobles, to carry the standards;

A Pontifical, containing the prayers for the Benediction and the presentation of the standards; holy water, and a sprinkler; trumpeters.

On the following night, that of the said day, the 30th of November, was burnt the Palace of Magno Virginio Orsini, usually inhabited by Cardinal Orsini, on Monte Giordano, in the city.

On the Second Sunday in Advent, the 4th of the month of December, there was a public consistory. Don Tiberio, Archbishop of Siponto,¹ celebrated public mass in the greater chapel of the Apostolic Palace with the customary

¹ Tiberius, Archbishop of Siponto, was the nephew of Cardinal Nardini. (See Ughelli, Vol. VII., col. 858.)

ceremonies. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Franciscans.

On Friday, the 9th of the month of December, there was a public consistory in the first hall of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter's, in which Don Pedro, first cousin to Very Illustrious King of Portugal, and Master of the Order of S. Giacomo of Sparta, and a certain other, his colleague, took the due and accustomed oath of allegiance to His Holiness as envoys of the said king. In the same public consistory a *pallium* for the Bishop-elect of Spoleto was sought and obtained. The said consistory was not attended by any of the Lord Protonotaries of the Pope, and owing to their absence I deputed to Don Sinolfo, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, the carrying of the Pope's brocaded train. He bore the train on the way to the consistory, as well as on the return thence to the chamber.

On the Third Sunday in Advent, which is called Gaudete, the 11th of the said month of December, the Cardinal of San Clemente celebrated public mass in the aforesaid chapel, in presence of the Pope, at whose command I stationed the aforesaid Don Pedro, ambassador and first cousin to the King of Portugal, on the topmost step of the Pope's throne (notwithstanding that he was a monk), and above the Pope's brother. The son and son-in-law of the same ambassador, by a similar command, I placed on the lower step of the same throne. In the meantime the cardinal celebrating said *Pax vobis* before the first collect, instead of *Dominus vobiscum*, owing to the idiocy of Giovanni Maria, my colleague. The same mistake had occurred in the preceding year. All other rites were observed as usual. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

On Thursday, the 15th of the said month of December, at Rome, in the Church of Sta. Maria del Popolo, were held the obsequies for the soul of Don Leonardo, Archbishop of Benevento, and secretary to His Holiness the Pope. High mass was celebrated by Don Tommaso, Bishop of Jesi.¹ The sermon was preached by Pomponio, in his every-day clothes, for he refused to comply with the custom of our chapel, and wear a cape. At its end, the absolutions were granted by the celebrant, and the Rev. Fathers Filippo, Archbishop of Antivari, and Leonardo of Albenga, Giovanni of Strongoli, and Silvestro of Chioggia, bishops. There were present at this office the Cardinals of S. Marco, Anjou, and Lisbon, the households of His Holiness the Pope and of the other cardinals, and officials of the Curia in great numbers. There were about thirty mourners, the chief of whom was Giovanni Battista Grifo, brother to the deceased. The office, by order of the cardinals, was begun before the wax had arrived for distribution, and with it were also all the torches. It came after the reading of the epistle, and then the torches were lighted and placed in the places arranged for them, around the bier. Twenty-three torches were put there, and two at the tomb; for the elevation of the Host, eight; for the celebrant, the preacher, and the cardinals, five; all of four pounds each. Tapers of two pounds for the mourners and prelates, a hundred and fifty; of one pound for the chamberlains, three hundred; of half-a-pound for the officials, three hundred; and of three ounces a great number. And to the servants-at-arms were further given two torches for their chapel, contrary to sound precedent, for they ought not to be given at the obsequies of prelates.

On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, the 18th of December, the Rev. Father Don Giovanni, Bishop of Nocera, celebrated public mass in the chapel

¹ "Thomas Isilerius civis, episcopus Æsinus." (See Ughelli, Vol. I., col. 283.) Jesi or Giesi, in the Marches of Ancona.

aforesaid, in presence of the Pope, in which, by command of His Holiness, I gave a place among the assistant bishops to the Rev. Father Don Tomasseo, Bishop of Dol-de-Bretagne. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Carmelites. Other rites were observed as usual.

On Thursday, the 22nd of the said month of December, about the twentieth hour, died the Rev. Father Don Giovanni, prior of the Holy and Apostolic Palace, auditor-general of the Court of the Apostolic Chamber, and canon of the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in the city. The same evening, he was carried with no ceremony, and by night, to the said Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and there buried. *On the following day*, there assembled at his house the auditors and prelates and households of the cardinals, and the monks of the convent aforesaid. Together they carried the litter or bier with the same solemnity as if the body were inside, and attended it with all public marks of honour as far as the said church. May his soul rest in peace.

On Friday, the 23rd of the same month of December, His Holiness, in his private chamber in the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, subrogated to office in the Curia of the Apostolic Chamber the Rev. Father Don Pietro of Vicenza, Doctor of Laws, and consistorial advocate. He knelt before His Holiness for the imposition of the hood, which His Holiness placed crosswise on his neck, and charged him to deal justly, in the presence of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of S. Pietro ad Vincula and of Colonna; of Don Lorenzo Cibò, Archbishop-elect of Benevento, and Antoniotto, Bishop of Ventimiglia, datary; of Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon, and of me, John Burchard, master of ceremonies.

On Saturday, the 24th of December, the Eve of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, there were solemn pontifical vespers in the Basilica of St. Peter. The cardinals, and the prelates in their capes, came to the said basilica. There, after doing homage, the cardinals assumed their vestments. The Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal of Naples argued that I was wrong, and said that both in the past and now they ought to come in their vestments, and that so it had always been observed. As a matter of fact, such a custom had never been observed. The Cardinal of S. Marco, when interrogated on the point, replied that he had received an intimation that they were to come in procession, and accordingly in vestments, and that the Pope was to come under a baldacchino, which, however, he did not do: if the intimation that they were to come in procession had not been given, it would have been suitable to observe this order, viz. that they should come in capes, without their vestments, and the Pope under a baldacchino. He did not, however, consider, if I may say so, that there never is a procession at vespers, but only for mass, and that couriers can never convey an intimation correctly. Don Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon, said the office, and, through my carelessness, made two mistakes: he bowed, as he gave out the first antiphon, to the Pope, whereas he should have stood erect, and, after the cardinals had been informed of the antiphons, before they began to intone, he should have retired, and have waited for their intonation. The Vice-Chancellor filled the office of assistant. Before the Pope went down to vespers, he told and ordered Giovanni Maria, my colleague, to look upon me as the chief in office, and not to appropriate a share of the emoluments of office, as he had been doing lately, but to leave all emoluments for the Bishop of Pienza, whom, as he said, he had preferred in place of Rebioli, and for me to receive. Further, after vespers, His Holiness ordered the Rev. Father Don Pietro of Vicenza, auditor-general

of causes of the Apostolic Chamber, to give up the fifty ducats for a memorial to the prior, Don Giovanni, his predecessor, which had been seized by Don Pietro of Seville at the instance of the said Giovanni Maria.

This evening, about the twenty-fourth hour, came to the city Fracasso, son to Don Roberto of San Severino, *gonfaloniere*, with thirty-three squadrons of armed men. The following night, before the ninth hour, His Holiness, arrayed in amice, alb, girdle, stole, and cape of purple velvet lined throughout with ermine, but unfringed, came to the greater chapel of the aforesaid palace, where matins were sung as usual. I sang the first lesson, I, John Burchard, clerk of ceremonies; the second was sung by Don Giovanni Francesco Marescallo, acolyte; the third, by Don Francesco Brevio, auditor; the fourth, by the Cardinal of S. Clemente; the fifth, on behalf of Don Gaspare Blondo, clerk of the Chamber, who declared that he could not sing, was sung by Don Ugo Benzo, apostolic sub-deacon; the seventh (*sic*), by the Cardinal Savelli, assisting on the left; the eighth, by the Cardinal of Siena, assisting on the Pope's right; the ninth, by the Pope. At its beginning, the Cardinal of Recineto, who was to say the first mass, went to the altar, and there at a fald-stool received the sandals and usual vestments for mass. At the end of the last lesson the Pope began the *Te Deum laudamus*, starting the intoning himself. At its end, the two cardinal-deacons assisting advanced to him, and two acolytes, carrying candelabra, and the Pope said the collect. The same acolytes also held the candelabra before the Pope, while he was reading the ninth lesson. After the collect the Pope laid aside his cape, and, assuming the cope and mitre, went to say the Confession, which he said with the celebrant as usual. Then he sat upon a fald-stool, and put in incense for mass, and homage was not paid him by the cardinals. This office was heard by seven of the cardinals, viz. S. Pietro ad Vincula, Anjou, Recineto, San Clemente, Siena, de Savelli, Colonna and Ascanio. When the first mass was over, which was at about the thirteenth hour, the Pope returned to his chamber; the second mass, which ended about the fourteenth hour, was celebrated by the Abbot of San Sebastiano in the City, sacristan of our chapel.

1486.—*On Sunday, the 25th of December*, at the beginning of the year 1486 after the birth of Our Lord, on the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, our Most Holy Father, arrayed as usual and preceded by the prelates and cardinals in their vestments, came under a baldacchino to the Basilica of St. Peter, between the fifteenth and sixteenth hour, and there celebrated high mass in the usual way. It ended about the twenty-first hour. The first water was presented by the Venetian ambassador; the second, by the cousin and ambassador of the King of Portugal; the third, by Don Roberto, *gonfaloniere* of the Church; the fourth, by Marchardt Brisaquer, Imperial ambassador. I placed the cousin and ambassador of the King of Portugal on the top step of the throne above the said Don Roberto, and for this I was reprehended by the Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor and Naples. I mentioned it to the Pope, but he refused to make any other arrangement. The Latin epistle was read by Don Girolamo Calagrano, the gospel by the Cardinal of Siena; the Greek epistle by Don Demetrio, the gospel by Don Giovanni Lorenzo, apostolic scrivener of Venice. At the end of mass the cardinals, contrary to my design, escorted the Pontiff, and wrongly, in their vestments to the outside of the basilica aforesaid, where leave was given them by the Pontiff to retire. They took off their vestments on the spot, assumed their capes, and returned home. The sword and the cape, both at matins and at high mass above mentioned, were borne before the cross by

Don Gaspare Blondo, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, and by him carried back to the Pope's chamber, since no one else was appointed to take them.

On Monday, the 26th of the month of December, the Feast of St. Stephen, first martyr, the Cardinal of Milan, arrayed in red vestments, celebrated high mass in the greater chapel, in the accustomed order. The sermon was preached by a certain Spanish chaplain of the Cardinal of Anjou. During the said mass the Gonfaloniere came to the chapel aforesaid, and I gave him a place by the Pope's throne, above the cousin and ambassador of the King of Portugal, who also stood there. In this I acted wrongly, for he ought to have been among the ambassadors.

On Tuesday, the 27th of the month of December, the Feast of St. John, the Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated high mass in the aforesaid chapel. The sermon was preached by a certain disciple of Pomponio, and gave general dissatisfaction. At the end of mass, Don Roberto, gonfaloniere, held a review of his troops in the piazza of St. Peter. First came infantry with halberds; then arquebusiers; behind them more infantry with long lances; then Don Roberto, in armour, except for his helmet, and followed by one squadron of arquebusiers, and again by twelve armed squadrons, in the first of which was Giovanni Maria, Don Roberto's son. Then followed six standards. I did not observe the arms of three of them, but the fourth was Venetian, the fifth bore the Pope's arms, and the sixth those of the Church. After the standards came a squadron of armed men, led by Tracasso, son to the said Don Roberto, and then sixteen more squadrons, followed by two troops of infantry, to the number of three hundred or thereabouts. When they were drawn up in the aforesaid square, he retired from it in company with the Cardinal of Siena, and the troops aforesaid withdrew, again in the most regular manner, in the order in which they had come.

On Saturday, the last day of December, the Vigil of the Circumcision of Our Lord, there were pontifical vespers in the aforesaid chapel, in presence of the Pope. Through a mistake, or from carelessness, I did not arrange for him to be assisted by the Cardinal of Milan, the senior priest, and for this I was afterwards reprehended by the Cardinal of S. Marco. On the following morning, the Feast of the Circumcision, the Cardinal of Agrigento celebrated high mass in the said chapel, as usual, in presence of the Pope. The sermon was preached by a certain Franciscan friar, a relative of the late Cardinal of Milan, and was much admired by all present.

On Thursday, the 5th of the month of January, the Eve of the Epiphany, there were pontifical vespers in the said chapel, in presence of the Pope, and, on the following day, high mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, celebrated by the Cardinal of Anjou. The Pope was again present. An old document was made use of, a bull of the first year of His Holiness Pope Innocent, owing to the lack of a new bull, although I had, on the evening of the previous day, warned the train-bearer of the said cardinal-celebrant that one ought to be engrossed. The sermon was preached by a certain Roman, a disciple of Pomponio; he was very conceited, and pleased no one.

On Thursday, the 2nd of the month of February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, His Holiness, arrayed as usual, came to the greater chapel, where the cardinals in their capes paid him homage. The two last deacons assisted the Pope, while the two first assistant deacons put on their vestments. When they were ready, they returned to his service, and the other two to their places. Then the Pope blessed the candles which had been placed on his left, in the corner where the assistant

prelates usually sit, and in the meantime all the cardinals assumed their vestments in their places. After the benediction, the Vice-Chancellor gave candles to the Pope, and then the Pope to him and others, as usual. After the cardinals came the Emperor of Constantinople, to whom the Pope prepared to give a candle of red wax, like those usually given to the assistants, but, on his saying that he ought to have a white one like a cardinal, he received an ordinary white one. I had ordained that the cardinals, when receiving their candles, should kiss first the knee and then the hand. This did not suit the Cardinal of S. Marco, who declared that the hand was the more honourable member, and should be kissed first.

The Cardinal of S. Clemente, who was to celebrate, received only one candle; after its reception, he went to the fald-stool, where he took off his chasuble, and assumed, first a cape, and then sandals and vestments for mass, as usual. Don Bernardino, the private chamberlain, should have held the Pope's small candle alight from the gospel till after the elevation, instead of which he put it out, and placed it above the altar; for the gospel, however, and the elevation of the Sacrament, the Pope held it alight, and the others did the same. Other rites were observed in the customary way.

On Ash Wednesday, the 8th of February, the Pope, in the aforesaid chapel, blessed the ashes which the Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, who was to celebrate, first placed on the Pope, then the Pope on him, the other cardinals, and the rest, as usual. The sermon was preached by Don Giovanni Francesco Marasca, the Pope's acolyte, in rochet and cape.

On the First Sunday in Lent, the Rev. Father Don Eustachio, Archbishop of Arles, assistant to the Pope, celebrated public mass in the aforesaid chapel, in presence of the Pope. The sermon was preached by a certain Dominican friar, on behalf of the Procurator of that Order. All other rites were observed as ordained in the Ceremonial as for the 12th of February.

On the Second Sunday in Lent, the 19th of February, Don Tommaso, Bishop of Dol-de-Bretagne, and assistant to the Pope, celebrated public mass in the aforesaid chapel, and in presence of the Pope, with the accustomed ceremonial. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Franciscans.

On Wednesday, the 22nd of February, in the Church of the Spanish Hospital, obsequies were held for the soul of Don Alfonso, Bishop of Cività. Public mass was celebrated by the Rev. Father Don Filippo, Archbishop of Antivari, who alone, after a sermon preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, gave the benediction. The Cardinal of Siena was present, and a great number of prelates, and the households of some of the cardinals. Around the catafalque were placed twenty-three torches, while eleven were assigned for the tomb, and six for the elevation of the Sacrament. The prelates and mourners received candles of one pound, the rest smaller ones. Torches were given to the cardinals celebrating and assisting. The arms of the deceased were painted on sheets of paper, and affixed to the walls and columns of the church, contrary to my instructions. Everything else was done as usual.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, the 26th of February, Don Leonardo, Bishop of Albenga, and vicar of the Pope, celebrated public mass in the aforesaid chapel. The Pope was not present. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine.

On Thursday, the 2nd of March, in the morning, and about the fourteenth hour, the body of Lazzaro Oria, Genoese envoy, who had died on

the 28th of February preceding, was, after the entrails and other internal organs had been taken out, for preservation, carried from the house opposite to the *Curia Primatorum*, in which he died, to the Basilica of St. Peter, and escorted by the mourners, the Pope's household, twelve prelates, and certain other invited guests. I do not know what plan was followed, because Don Maurizio Cibò, the Pope's brother, gave the charge and superintendence of affairs to Giovanni Maria, my colleague, who, I know, arranged everything far from well. He had large candles given to the mourners, who came in a disorderly way to the said basilica, and to whom, as they sat with the prelates in the company of the canons, in front of the altar of Sta. Maria and the Host, Friar Adamo Barbaro preached a lengthy sermon, which lasted for an hour after I arrived. At its end, I arranged that the mourners, attended by couriers, should lead the way to the house of the deceased, and that the rest should go wherever they liked.

On Lacture [Refreshment] Sunday, the Fourth in Lent, the 5th of March, His Holiness, wearing a stole above the rochet and cape, blessed the Rose in his private chamber in presence of the cardinals, who then came with the Pope and the cross to the greater chapel, two by two, the higher dignitaries leading the way. First walked Don Sinolfo,¹ clerk of the Chamber, carrying the Rose, which he placed in the said chapel above the centre of the altar. The Cardinal of Gran celebrated public mass with the customary ceremonies. The sermon was preached by the Procurator of the Order of the Carmelites. After mass, all withdrew, and the Rose was left on the altar, in charge of the sacristan.

On Passion Sunday, the Fifth in Lent, the 12th of March, the Rev. Father Don Clemente, Bishop of Mende,² cousin to the Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, celebrated public mass with the customary ceremonial, in presence of the Pope. The sermon was preached by Don Tito, Bishop of Castro in the Patrimony, in a violet cope and white mitre, which he did not take off after the Angelical Salutation, nor till the end of the sermon, when he published the indulgences. This was wrong. He also went wrong in the publication of the indulgences, for he published indulgences for seven years, when the Pope had only granted them for five.

On Palm Sunday, the 19th of the said month of March, His Holiness, arrayed as usual, came to the greater chapel, where, standing at his seat, according to custom, after the cardinals in their capes had done homage, and had then assumed their vestments, he blessed the palms which had been got ready and placed in the corner to his left hand, the seat of the assistant prelates, beginning with the words: *Dominus vobiscum. Oremus. Auge fidem in te sperantium*, etc. Next, omitting the preface, he said: *Oremus. Petimus, Domine*, and the five following collects, and then put in the incense, and sprinkled and incensed them, although the Ordinary says that they should be sprinkled and incensed before the collect: *Deus, qui Filium tuum*, etc. I did this to prevent so many changes, but the ordinary arrangement and observance is the most convenient. The Vice-Chancellor gave palms to the Pontiff; then the Pontiff, after receiving the gremial, gave them to him and to others, as usual. Before the benediction of the palms I stationed the Illustrious Lord the Grand Duke of Monopoli, who had lately, for religious reasons, come to the city one day between Mid-Lent

¹ "And wrongly, because, if the Pope is not present, it ought either not to be carried at all, or should anyhow be placed privately on the altar." This observation, presumably of Paris de Grassis, is given only in the MSS. 147, 5158, 5159.

² *Miniatisensis*, Mende. Some of the MSS. (5158, 5159) give *Miniutensis*, an obvious mistake, since San Miniato was not made a bishopric till 1622, by Gregory XV.



MEDAL OF POPE INNOCENT VIII. (B. MUSEUM).

and Passion Sunday, on the highest step of the throne at the Pope's left hand, and Don Maurizio Cibò, the Pope's brother, at the Pope's left hand, on the same step. To them the Pope gave his two great palms to hold and to carry in the procession. After the cardinals, the next to receive the palm was the Emperor of Constantinople, and after him the aforesaid duke and the said Don Maurizio who was on his left. Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, to whom His Holiness gave one palm only. The deacon and sub-deacon of the chapel, owing to the carelessness of the abbot, our sacristan, wore dalmatics and tunics of the design of Pope Boniface, black and interwoven with green flowers, and the [three] singers of the Passion had albs, with stoles that were red, black, and violet respectively—an error that I was unable to repair in time. Everything else was done as usual.

· On Wednesday in Holy Week, which was the 22nd of the month of March, at the twelfth hour or thereabouts, *Tenebræ* was sung in the greater chapel of the Apostolic Palace, in Rome, at St. Peter's. The office was attended by His Holiness, who came from his chamber, in which he had been vested by the cardinal and deacons in amice, alb, girdle and violet stole below a red cape, with which he retained his red biretta; he did not wear a mitre, but came to the chapel in a cape like an unmitred cardinal; there was no cross, but he was followed by the cardinals, those of higher rank first and the others behind. The train of his robe was gathered up and carried behind His Holiness by the Rev. Father Don Eustachio, Archbishop of Arles, the most important of the assistants then present. In the chapel His Holiness knelt and prayed as usual, while the assistant bishops adjusted the folds of his cape. After he had kept silence for a short pace, I genuflected before His Holiness, and made a sign to him. He rose, and, half uncovering his head, and half turning to the altar, said a silent *Pater noster*, which, when he had silently finished, he covered his head, and sat down, whereas he should have continued standing until the choir had finished the antiphon and begun the psalm. The choir began the antiphon and proceeded with matins according to the Ordinary. The choir also sang the Lamentations and Lections in their place, where they do their other singing. At the end of the versicles of the first, second and third nocturns, I genuflected before His Holiness, and made him a sign. He rose, and, half uncovering his head, and half turning to the altar, said a silent *Pater noster*, which, when he had finished in silence, he sat down and covered his head, and the assistant bishops adjusted the folds of his cape, and the choir sang the Lections. In the same way he rose when the *Benedictus* was afterwards begun, and at its close sat down again until the beginning of the antiphon: *Christus factus est*, etc. Then he rose and descended to the fald-stool, where he knelt with uncovered head, and so remained, until the *Christus factus est*, etc., was ended, and the choir said a silent *Pater noster*, and then the *Miserere*, etc., in an inaudible voice. This done, the Pope, kneeling as before, said the collect: *Respice, quesumus Domine*, etc. But observe that they should not all have knelt, till the completion of the antiphon: *Christus factus*.¹

These matins were heard by a few of the cardinals, viz. the Vice-Chancellor, Anjou, and S. Pietro ad Vincula, and, I think, three cardinal-priests and four cardinal-deacons. The rest was done as ordered in the

¹ MSS. 147 and the Chigi MSS. (L. i. x., f. 24), immediately after *Christus factus*, give: "This is false, because at that word 'obedient,' known as the 'bond of obedience,' the Pope and the rest kneel in token of obedience." This remark is not given in the MSS. 5521.

Book of Ceremonies. Matins ended, the Pope returned to his chamber, where he took off his sacred vestments. The Cardinal of Siena was of opinion that the cardinals ought to precede the Pope, as they had done on other occasions, when he wore a stole. This, however, was not done, because the Pope never goes in public without a stole.

On Thursday in Holy Week, which was the 23rd of the month of March, the Very Rev. Don Rodrigo, Bishop of Porto, and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, said the office. He celebrated mass in the greater chapel of the Palace of St. Peter's, in the accustomed way. The Pope came to the chapel in a cope, an embroidered and apparelled alb and a precious mitre, and escorted by the cardinals, as is the custom. When the Communion had been read by the celebrant, the aforesaid cardinal, the Rev. Father in Christ, Don Giovanni, Bishop-elect of Tours, and master of the Apostolic Palace, who, before the beginning of mass, had had the chest that held the candles carried to the chamber of the sacristan, distributed candles near the altar for the procession; that is to say, white ones to the cardinals, of three pounds or thereabouts, and common wax ones to the prelates, of two pounds. All these prelates, after the Communion, left the chancel of the chapel, and received their appropriate vestments, and returned to the chapel, and to their places, before the candles were distributed. Meantime mass was ended, and arrangements were made for a second chalice for the Sacrament and torches for the same, and the rest, as in the new Ceremonial. After mass the Pope gave the benediction in his seat, according to custom, without indulgences. That given, the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals of Siena and S. Giorgio withdrew from the Pope, leaving him alone, and near the bench of the cardinal-deacons they received his customary vestments; taking these they returned to the Pope, and when he had laid aside his white cope and stole, they, with the help of the acolytes and sacristan, vested him in precious red ones. In the meantime all the cardinals received their vestments, standing in their places, and when they were all arrayed, the Very Rev. Don Giovanni, Cardinal of Milan, senior cardinal-priest, and two acolytes with two thuribles and but one incense-boat, advanced to the Pontiff, and the Pope, according to custom, placed incense in both thuribles. In the meantime, the procession for carrying the Sacrament to the small chapel was organized as usual. Then the Pope went up to the altar, and there, laying aside his mitre, and kneeling on the topmost step of the altar, he censured the Sacrament, which lay in a chalice, swinging the thurible three times. After the incensation, he remained there kneeling, and the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, who was at the Pope's side, advanced, and had celebrated at the altar, and, in front of the altar, gave the kneeling Pope the chalice with the Sacrament. The Pope, rising with uncovered head, and wearing round his neck a beautiful silk veil, which had been put on at the altar by the cardinal-deacons assisting, carried it to the lesser chapel under a baldacchino, going from the chancel of the greater chapel as far as the door of the lesser chapel. The baldacchino was carried by eight bishops and archbishops, that is to say, by five assistants, and three envoys and prelates who were not assistants, because the number of these was insufficient. They all preceded the Sacrament, the elect ones with birettas and mitres in their hands, and the other prelates and cardinals without mitres.

Sixteen white torches were carried in front of the Sacrament—that is to say, twelve of three pounds each, while four were the large ones that we use at the elevation of the Host in the great chapel—and then two large candelabra with lights. These were all carried by the chaplains of the

cardinal celebrating, with candlesticks. When the Pope reached the top step of the little chapel, he there knelt down, and the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor aforesaid received the chalice with the Sacrament from his hands, and replaced It in a casket which had been arranged there above the altar. Then the incense-boat was served by the Lord Cardinal of Milan aforesaid, and the Pope placed incense in one thurible, and censed the Sacrament kneeling, as above. Immediately after this incensation, the Vice-Chancellor, assisted by the sacristan, locked the casket, and gave the key to the sacristan. Then the Pope rose, put on his mitre, and walked in procession to the place of the Benediction, preceded by the prelates and cardinals, as usual. The baldacchino over the Pope was carried by the more important envoys and other laymen there present. When they reached the place of Benediction, all the cardinals did homage to the Pope, because they had not done homage at mass. This over, the Pope turned to the people, and the bull of anathemas was read and pronounced, first in Latin by Don Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon, and then in the Italian tongue by the Very Rev. Don Giovanni, Cardinal di Colonna. Meantime the Pope and all the cardinals, as well as the prelates, held their lighted candles in their hands, and, when the reading of the bull was over, they all flung them to the people. Then attendants laid a black cloth or carpet over the covering in front of the Pope, and the Pope read the solemn benediction from the book, in the usual way. After that he blessed the people, and returned under a baldacchino to the third hall of the palace, where thirteen beggars were waiting to be washed. Almost all the cardinals also returned with the Pontiff, in their vestments, and, so arrayed, stood till the end of the *mandatum*, though this is neither usual nor suitable. They should take off their vestments, and then, if they like, they can assist the Pope in their capes only, with the exception of the one cardinal-deacon who is to read the gospel, and also of the sub-deacon who reads the bull on the loggia, and who should be there in full diaconal vestments. At the top of the hall, in front of the last or lowest step of the throne, was a wooden seat, which had been arranged for the Pope in that place with two stools, as usual, and two stools on either side for the two cardinal-deacons assisting, and to the right of the Pope's seat a long high bench for the thirteen beggars who sat there, awaiting their washing. So high was it that the said beggars had their feet up on a form of the same height as that on which the cardinals usually sit. A credence had also been arranged in a corner against the wall, opposite to the Pope's seat, and on it two great gilded vases, and other very ornate ones, and eight basins and other things for ornaments, and eight basins and six jugs, as ordained in the Book of Ceremonies.

When the Pope came there, the assistant cardinals took off his cope and precious stole, and arrayed him in a violet stole and simple red cope, and pectoral cross set with pearls, and a simple mitre; and everything else as ordained in the Ceremonial was done. The gospel was sung by the Cardinal of Siena. The Pope, after taking off his cope, and retaining the alb, stole and mitre, knelt down in his mitre, and washed the right foot of each, kissed it, and gave to each a piece of cloth, and two ducats and two carlinos. The basin with the money was carried by Don Gaspare Blondo, clerk of the Chamber, and the other basin, with the pieces of cloth, by Don Francesco Brevi, auditor of the Rota, because no other clerk of the Chamber was present. The Illustrious Lord the Grand Duke of Monopoli gave water to the Pontiff. Everything else was done as in the new Ceremonial.

Observe, however, that the Cardinal of S. Marco reproved me because I allowed the change of the Pope's stole and cope from white to red to take place in the greater chapel after mass, before the *Corpus Domini* was conveyed to the small chapel; for he thought, and was right in thinking, that the carrying of the Sacrament should be conducted in white vestments, and that the procession should go in state, or be conveyed to the place in the same white vestments, that the vestments of the Pope and of all the cardinals might match; and that then, before homage is paid in that spot, the Pope should change the aforesaid vestments and put on the red ones, which signify justice and severity. This appeared to me, too, a more seemly plan.

After dinner attendants stripped not only the whole of the Pope's chapel so thoroughly, that no hangings were left on the walls or carpets on the ground, but also the Pope's seat, on which there remained only one cushion of purple velvet. The altar, too, was absolutely stripped by the sacristan, both before and above, and only six candelabra, with a plain covered cross on a bare stand, without any cloth, were left on the altar.

This evening, about the twenty-second hour, *Tenebrae* was sung in the greater chapel, with rites as on the day before. The Pope was present and many of the cardinals.

At the end of matins, the Cardinal of S. Marco blamed me because I had allowed the Pope, who had come to his fald-stool, to genuflect at the fald-stool at the end of the antiphon that follows the *Benedictus*, and throughout the antiphon, *Christus factus*, etc., and not only at its close. He said that there ought to be no genuflection during the antiphon, *Christus factus*, etc., but at its close only. For the *Pater noster* and the *Miserere* and for the collect *Respice*, etc., the Pope came without a cross, followed by the cardinals, and with the said Archbishop of Cartagena, the chief bishop assisting, carrying his train in the same way. At the end of matins, he returned to his chamber.

It had been arranged by the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor and S. Pietro ad Vincula on Palm Sunday last, that to-day the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, and to-morrow the Very Rev. Lord of S. Pietro ad Vincula, should celebrate the office and mass, and such was the intimation sent both yesterday and to-day at dinner-time to the cardinals.

This morning, however, about or before daybreak, the Cardinal of S. Pietro rode to Ostia, unknown to anybody, unless to the Pope, or possibly also to the Cardinal of Anjou. He was going to travel or sail thence to Genoa and Avignon, because of wars that are being projected between the Roman Church on the one hand, and King Ferdinand of Sicily, and Gentile Virgineo Orsini, captain of the League and adherent of Ferdinand, on the other. Accordingly to-day, after dinner, His Holiness sent notice and request by the Lord Abbot of S. Sebastiano to the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, that, on the following day, owing to the absence of the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, he would celebrate the office and mass. This invitation the said Vice-Chancellor, to avoid scandal and to please His Holiness, accepted.

On Friday in Holy Week, which is called Good Friday, and which is the 24th day of the month of March, the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor and Bishop of Porto said the office in the greater chapel of the Palace of St. Peter. An altar was prepared with a black velvet cloth on the front, and on the altar was placed only one simple covering, with a bare stand

above it, in the centre of which was a plain covered cross, and on either side six candelabra with the lights out. In the same way, on the top of the altar, and near the middle of the said stand, where the burse of the corporals is usually placed, there was placed another smaller cross, also covered, and made of gold and pearls and precious stones, which had been arranged for this office. A credence had been arranged, and covered with a simple cloth, which was disposed over it in such a way that it hung down on no side, and on it were two unlighted candelabra, with a basin and jug, without stands. Everything else was arranged as in the Ceremonial. Moreover, above the chancel of the chapel were placed six torches, not lighted, in the usual way. The Vice-Chancellor assumed all the pontifical vestments except the sandals and gloves, as usual, and did not say the psalm: *Quam dilecta*, etc. The Pope, after he had been arrayed in the Camera Papagalli in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, and scarlet cope, came, wearing a simple mitre on his head, and preceded by the cross, the cardinals, and the rest, as usual, to the great chapel, and the chief assistant gathered up the borders of his cope, and carried them. The Pope prayed at an empty fald-stool, that had only one single violet cushion on the top, and another small cushion placed below on a foot-stool on the Pope's left. The Vice-Chancellor came and knelt on the bare ground, with his arms on a bare stool, and they prayed for the space of one *Miserere* or thereabouts. The Pope mounted a bare throne, and sat on a bare seat, on which only a single violet cushion had been placed. Two cardinal-deacons assisted him, sitting on either side in the accustomed way, and the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, who was the celebrant, seated himself at the fald-stool, as is the custom. The office was begun and continued, as in the Ceremonial. The deacon and sub-deacon of the chapel were arrayed in black *planetas* [or folded chasubles] folded over the breast as usual. The sermon was preached by Don Antonio Lolio of S. Germano, chaplain to my Lord the Cardinal of Siena, and a truly good and wise man, and much beloved by the Cardinal of Siena aforesaid. He fell ill on Monday, the 24th of April, after dinner, and on Wednesday, the 26th of the same month, at Rome, in the house of the said cardinal, at the twentieth hour or thereabouts, he died of the plague, and his spirit returned to God who made it. May his soul rest in peace. He was buried the same evening in the Church of S. Sebastiano, close to the house of the aforesaid cardinal. His Holiness's brother was present at the service. Owing to forgetfulness I did not place him, for the Adoration of the Cross, behind the cardinals, but behind all the bishops who were in the chapel, and his actual place was between two lay envoys. The Lord Protonotary de Nigris, governor of the city, who was behind all the bishops and in front of the Pope's brother, paid homage to the Pope, along with the protonotary of Sermoneta, who was assisting. After this veneration, His Holiness went in procession to the small chapel for the Sacrament, and the Very Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor, the celebrant, arrayed in full pontifical vestments, except the mitre, which he did not wear, walked alone behind all the cardinals, and immediately in front of the Pope. Behind him were the cardinal-deacons who assisted the Pope, and bore the borders of the Pope's cope on either side.

In the small chapel the Vice-Chancellor, with the aid of the sacristan of the chapel of the palace, opened the casket of the Sacrament. The Pope censed It kneeling. Then the Vice-Chancellor drew out from the casket the chalice with the Sacrament; the sacristan, with the help of the cardinal-deacons, placed a silk cloth round the Pope's neck; and the Vice-Chancellor gave the Sacrament to His Holiness, who carried It to the great chapel,

while the assistant prelates carried the baldacchino, and the choir sang: *Vexilla regis*, etc.

Both yesterday and to-day sixteen white torches were every time carried in front of the Sacrament, twelve close to It, while the other four were the large sort that we use in the great chapel for the elevation of the Host; there were also two candelabra with lights in the great chapel. I myself placed the Sacrament on the altar, assisted by the said Vice-Chancellor. Then the Pope, after placing incense in the thurible, knelt and censed It, and then received his mitre and ascended the throne, and the service was duly continued. About, however, the end of *Christus factus est*, etc., the Pope in his mitre descended from the throne to a fald-stool, where, when the antiphon was finished, he knelt to the end, though wrongly, as I said above. He said the collect: *Respice, quesumus*, etc., and then, after receiving his mitre, went to his chamber, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, while one of the assistant bishops gathered up and carried the borders of his cope. At the Adoration of the Cross the Pope offered twenty-five gold ducats.

After dinner, at the second hour or thereabouts, *Tenebrae* was sung in the greater chapel aforesaid, with the accustomed rites. The Pope was absent, and only seven of the cardinals present. The Cardinal of Parma, who was to celebrate twice on the morrow, said the collect: *Respice, quesumus*, etc., at the end of matins, kneeling in his seat. The Pope's seat was entirely bare, with only one violet cushion lying on it, as to-day. In front of the altar was a pall of Servian cloth, with the Passion of Christ worked on it, and above the altar was a single simple cloth and a bare stand, in the middle of which was a cross, and on either side six candelabra with the customary number of candles, and above the chancel six torches.

On Holy Saturday, the Vigil of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which was the 25th day of March, the altar of the greater chapel was arranged for a festival. There was a more costly cross in the centre, pictures of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul and six candelabra on either side, and two frontals on the altar, a white one underneath and a violet one above it. The Pope's seat was arranged with two covers, and a credence was also arranged with the customary appurtenances, and an Easter candle and a pulpit, as ordered in the Book of Ceremonies. The Very Rev. Lord Giovanni, Cardinal of Parma, who was to say the mass and office, came to the chapel, where he received the sandals and full pontifical vestments, including the dalmatic. When arrayed in this, but without the gloves, etc., he received a violet cope, and advanced to the altar, where, standing facing the altar on the epistle side, from a book placed above the altar he blessed the new fire offered him in some vessel, with the words and actions prescribed in the Ceremonial and Missal. Then in the same place and in the same way he blessed the grains of incense that were to be placed in the Paschal candle, and sprinkled and censed them. After this he returned to the fald-stool, where he took off his cope, and received the gloves and other vestments and a simple mitre, in the accustomed way. When he was thus arrayed, the Pope, robed in amice, alb, girdle, and stole, all violet, and red cope and mitre, both simple, came to the chapel, preceded by the cross, the cardinals, and the rest, in the accustomed way; and, on the approach of the Cardinal of Milan, senior cardinal-priest, Giovanni Maria advanced with the thurible, and the Pope put in the incense. Then we went to the little chapel, where was the candle lighted by new and holy fire. I walked first in the procession, and on my left hand walked the celebrant's chaplain, with the thurible and incense-boat; behind us walked the sub-deacon of the

chapel in an alb,¹ but without *planeta* and tunicle, carrying the Pope's cross in such a way that the Image of the Cross was turned towards him, and not away from him. Then came the cardinal-deacon, arrayed in a dalmatic, and behind him various chaplains, who advanced carrying the sacred vessels, and then the four chaplains of the celebrant, walking two and two. In the small chapel the deacon received the reed which had been arranged with three candles, and I the candle, lighted with new fire. We then entered, and conducted everything as prescribed in the Ceremonial. When the deacon sang the *Lumen Christi* the first time the Pope and the celebrant stood up, and the deacon blessed the Paschal candle, and all was done as in the Ceremonial. All the prophecies were sung by the choir, for His Holiness so willed it, and would not have them sung by the cardinals, as Sixtus had in former days ordained. In place of the tenth collect, after the tenth prophecy, owing to a mistake of mine in turning over two leaves of the Missal, the cardinal celebrating sang the eleventh collect, but afterwards in place of the eleventh he said the tenth. The two singers who sang the Litany made a mistake, and, before they came to the words: *Te rogamus audi nos*, turned over two pages, so omitting all their contents, and singing: *Christe audi nos*, etc., as at the end of the Litany. This caused a great sensation, for they ought to have said in its order everything which should duly come between the verse *Peccatores* and the end of the Litany. The same singers made another mistake too, for they stopped singing *Kyrie eleison* before the Pope was censed and the circle of the cardinals made around the Pope. This also caused a sensation, for the cardinal who was celebrating did not wait for instructions from me when the choir stopped singing, but sang the *Gloria in excelsis* before singing the *Kyrie eleison*. The Pope refused to sing the first *Alleluia*, as Sixtus used to do, and desired the celebrant to sing all three, which he did. Meantime Don Girolamo Calagrano, the sub-deacon, entered the sacristy near the greater altar, while the choir were saying: *Et in terra*, etc., and there received white vestments, as though he were going to sing the epistle. After the epistle he issued forth, and, standing on the last step of the Pope's throne, that is, on the chapel floor in front of the Pope, he sang: *Pater sancte, annuncio vobis quod est Alleluia*. This said, he rose, and went out to disrobe without kissing the Pope's foot. I stood at his left hand while he sang, and walked before him on his way in and out. The said sub-deacon ought, however, after saying the above-mentioned words, to have kissed the Pope's foot—a ceremony which I omitted by mistake, because I did not find it in the Ceremonial of Don Pientino, though I came across it afterwards in that of Don A. Rebioli.

When the choir had finished the *Et in terra*, and the cardinal-celebrant had to say *Pax vobis*, he began to say *Dominus vobiscum*, but I realized it at the first syllable, and I at once warned him, so he said: *Dominus, pax vobis* in the same breath. Then the service was continued as in the Ordinary and Ceremonial. While the antiphon: *Vespere autem*, etc., was being said, and before the *Magnificat*, the Pope put in the incense, and when the *Magnificat* was begun, the cardinal-celebrant censed the altar; then he was censed himself, then the Pope, and all the others as usual.

The Very Rev. Lord the Cardinal of S. Marco was not in chapel this morning. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor,

¹ "And wrongly, for he ought to have been in a *planeta*." This observation, presumably of Paris de Grassis, though wanting in the Chigi MSS. and 5521, is given in the other MSS.

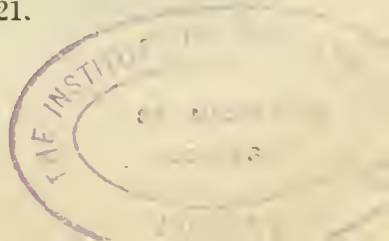
Naples, and Siena blamed me for the censuring of the altar during the *Magnificat* by the cardinal-celebrant, saying that after the *Alleluia*, etc., for vespers had been begun, the celebrant ought, on the epistle side, to have said everything, including the collect: *Spiritum nobis, Domine*, etc., in a low voice, that he ought then to have taken off all his vestments at the fold-stool, and gone to his place among the other cardinals, so leaving the censuring of the altar, and the singing of the aforesaid collect: *Spiritum nobis, Domine*, etc., for vespers, to the Pope, whose vespers they were, because His Holiness was going to celebrate on the following day. I replied to the Very Rev. Lord Cardinals aforesaid, that the aforesaid matters neither could nor ought to be done as they had said, but in the way in which they actually had been done, because these vespers were a part of the mass, and were not properly vespers at all, but an arrangement in place of a post-communion prayer occurring after mass, for, after the collect, is said: *Ite missa est*, and not *Benedicamus*, as is usually said at vespers; accordingly this service cannot be divided from mass, but must necessarily be performed by the celebrant, and concluded by the deacon, with the words: *Ite missa est*. To this the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena appeared to consent. I related the above conversation on another day to the Cardinal of S. Marco, who unreservedly approved my view, and said that matters should be so observed. His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII. also favoured my view, and said that, when he was in minor orders, he had frequently celebrated on this vigil in the chapel, in the presence of Sixtus IV., and had invariably censed the altar at the *Magnificat*, as indeed ought to be done, and is unquestionably the proper procedure.

To-day's Feast, that of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was by His Holiness postponed till Tuesday, the 28th of this present month next after Easter.

On Sunday, the 26th of the month of March, the Resurrection of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, His Holiness early in the morning came in state to the Basilica of St. Peter, when His Holiness celebrated the office, and everything was done as contained and prescribed in the Ceremonial. The chalice with the Hosts for the communicants was placed at a convenient distance between the altar cross and the chalice arranged for mass by the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Giorgio, chamberlain, who had sung the gospel and stood continuously with covered head till the Pope was about to say: *Per omnia secula seculorum*. For the Preface, I called the Very Rev. Lords Giovanni di Colonna, and Ascanio, viscount, the junior cardinal-deacons, and di Colonna, a senior, I placed on the epistle side, and another junior on the gospel side at the Pope's left hand, as is prescribed in the Ceremonial. For this I was blamed by the Cardinal of Siena and certain others, who said that two junior cardinal-priests, and not deacons, should be placed there, and that in their times it had always been so organized and arranged. I wished to arrive at the truth of this matter, and questioned the Cardinal of S. Marco, who told me that I had done rightly, and that it was for cardinal-deacons and not priests to be so placed; that, however, Pope Paul II., of happy memory, when he himself was celebrating on a like occasion, desired that the then two junior cardinal-deacons, viz. of S. Maria in Porticu and of S. Lucia in Septisolio, who were his cousins, should not be placed there, lest the ignorant should think that they were stationed there through favouritism, because they were his cousins; accordingly he desired that the said Cardinal of S. Marco, and the Cardinal of Aquileia, who were the then junior cardinal-priests, should be so stationed, and this was the arrangement that was made. Moreover,

after the said occasion, from the time of the same Paul onwards to the last days of Sixtus, there were but few cardinal-deacons, and it was accordingly necessary to supplement them from the cardinal-priests. When the Cardinal of Siena understood this from me, he withdrew his objection, and these other two cardinals stood at the sides of the altar, facing one another, until His Holiness mounted from the altar to his throne, to communicate.¹ As the Pope was on the point of preparing the Sacrament, and of saying the words of consecration: *Hoc est*, etc., the Cardinal of S. Giorgio reminded His Holiness to remember to leave to the end a part of the Hosts in the chalice, for communicating the congregation. At the *Per omnia secula*, before the *Pater noster*, there was no response of *Amen*, but the Pope continued: *Oremus. Preceptis*, etc. After His Holiness had, on his throne, communicated himself, and the deacon and sub-deacon, he did not purify himself, but first communicated the people, and then only purified himself. This was wrong, because he ought to have purified himself immediately after the communion of himself and his servers, and to wash his fingers, not then, but after the communion of the people, since no cardinal-deacon, with the exception of the server, was this morning communicated by the Pope, for they said that they had already received the Communion before. After the servers, the Pope communicated the Very Illustrious Lord the Grand Duke of Monopoli, next his, that is the Pope's cousin, and then all present in the chapel who wished to communicate, without exception. The number, however, was not great, so that many Hosts were left over. The deacon of the chapel stood by a pillar on the epistle side of the altar, with wine in a large chalice prepared for the purpose, and with a napkin, as is the custom, that the communicants might purify themselves and wipe their lips. When all had communicated, His Holiness purified himself, and washed his fingers, and bathed his hands in the accustomed manner. The sub-deacon, who held the chalice containing the Hosts for His Holiness, stood on the Pope's left; he should, however, have stood on the right, to enable the Pope to take the Sacrament from it the more easily, after the chalice with the Hosts for communicating the people had been carried to the Pontiff. The Pope sat down, but with uncovered head, and a narrow napkin, worked in gold, was placed over his knees, and held by two auditors, kneeling on either side, until the end of the Communion. That ended, the napkin was laid aside, and the sub-deacon carried back the chalice containing the Hosts, and placed it on the centre of the altar, in the place where it had first stood, and there it remained to the end of mass, and until the Pope left the church. Then the Pope's sacristan gave the Hosts to the sacristan of the Basilica of St. Peter, who reserved them for the communion of the faithful. The Pope, having washed his hands, returned to the altar in his mitre, finished mass, and gave the benediction without his mitre, in the accustomed way. He did not grant indulgences, because he was about to give plenary indulgences at the public benediction. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, who was assisting, and the Very Rev. Lord the Cardinal of Siena, said that the Pope ought not then to give a benediction at the altar, because he was afterwards going to give a public one. I replied that this ought not to be omitted owing to

¹ "This was wrongly done, for the senior ought to be on the gospel side, on the right and more honourable hand of the altar, and not at the Pope's right, because to-day in this action he says that the altar stands for the sepulchre of Christ, the Pope, as it were, taking His place, and so the senior deacon should be on the gospel side as well as the junior." This remark, presumably of Paris de Grassis, is given only in the MSS. 147, 5158, 5159. It is wanting in the Chigi MSS. and in MS. 5521.



the public one, because it was the conclusion of mass, and so they acquiesced in my opinion. The Pope, after the benediction, took off the *pallium*, which he left on the altar, saying meanwhile: *Dominos vobiscum*. He was then carried in procession to the place of public Benediction, along the furthest left aisle of the church, that is, the aisle of the Holy Face [*Vultus sanctus*], which was then exposed in the place aforesaid. The Pope gave a solemn public benediction, as the custom is, and then a plenary indulgence, which was pronounced by the cardinal-deacons de Savelli in Latin, and Colonna in the vulgar tongue. After its publication, the cardinals took off their vestments.

All the prelates, and the Pope, and the said cardinals one and all returned to their places, the Pope going to the basilica and to the benediction, and for the benediction he had the tiara on his head.

On the First Monday after the Feast of Easter, which was the 27th of the month of March, the Cardinal of Milan celebrated mass in the great chapel of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, in presence of the Pope, and the customary ceremonial was observed as at other masses, and there was no sermon; only one collect was said.

On Easter Tuesday, which was the 28th of the month of March, there was no chapel. The Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which had been transferred to this day, was celebrated, and at the entreaty of the Very Rev. Lords the Cardinals, and of the Society of the said Annunciation of the Blessed Mary, His Holiness gave leave to the cardinals to attend the office in the Church of Santa Maria di Minerva, and accordingly there was neither solemn nor public mass in the palace chapel. The same morning His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII., in the second hall, or higher chamber over the entrance door of the palace, consecrated the Rev. Fathers, Don Niccolo as Archbishop of Cosenza, Don Lorenzo as Archbishop of Benevento, and Don Giovanni as Bishop of Tours, in this order. The aforesaid altar was arranged with a cross in the middle and six candelabra placed on either side, and in the middle all the vestments for the Pope, including the *pallium*, with the sole exception of the maniple. This altar was placed at the top of the said hall, in the middle, near the wall there, and in a corner, on the epistle side, the sacristan prepared his credence, with the chalice and other necessary appurtenances for the sacrifice of the mass. Then on the same side, near the wall, at a distance of six or eight paces from the credence of the sacristan, was prepared another credence for the washing of the Pope's hands, on which were placed two large water-pots, and two or three basins with their jugs and towels. Also, outside the said hall, that is, in the first hall, in front of the aforesaid adjacent door which leads from the said first to the said second hall, and in the middle of it against the wall, between another wall and the door, an altar was arranged for the said candidates for consecration, and near the same altar, at a distance of six or eight paces, was a credence with all the appurtenances usually employed at a consecration. Also, as His Holiness was this morning going to bless and consecrate the *Agnus Dei*, since, owing to his illness, he had been unable to bless and consecrate them in the first year of his pontificate, seven great white chests filled with *Agnus Dei*, for blessing and consecration, were prepared and placed against the wall on the gospel side, by order. Also, there was prepared a great silver shell filled with pure water, which the Rev. Don Tommaso, Bishop of Jesi, arrayed in cope and stole over his rochet, and a simple mitre, before the Pope came into the said hall, blessed, simply, with salt, as is customarily done on Sundays in parish churches. Also the sacristan prepared one *ampulla*

of holy oil, and another *ampulla* of balsam; a vase of water, blessed, it was said, was placed on one side on one of the said chests of *Agnus Dei* awaiting benediction, until the end of mass. Then there came to the place aforesaid His Holiness, and with him the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Anjou, and behind him the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco, who stood near the altar on the epistle side. His Holiness sat at a fald-stool that had been arranged for him, in his rochet, and assumed the sandals with the words: *Quam dilecta*, etc., as usual. The book was held by the aforesaid Bishop of Jesi, arrayed in a cope, who knelt on the Pope's left, and said with him the aforesaid psalms by the wall. Between the credences of the sacristan and the Pope were placed two stools, on which the two cardinals aforesaid sat till the completion of the office. In the meantime the candidates for consecration also received the sandals and other vestments at the altar, saying the psalm: *Quam dilecta*, etc., and the rest, in the customary way.

The assistants of the Pope for the consecration, and the attendants of the said Lords awaiting consecration, were the Rev. Fathers Don Ardicino, Bishop of Aleria, and Don Antoniano, Bishop of Orense. The server for carrying the Pope's mitre was the Rev. Father Don Ludovico, Bishop of Capaccio, who put on and took off the Pope's mitre at the proper times.¹ The said mitre at such times was held by Don Ugo Benevo, apostolic sub-deacon, who wore a surplice, and a silk veil, as usual, around his neck. It would, however, have been more suitable if some chamberlain, robed in a surplice, and wearing the veil round his neck, had carried the mitre for the Pope. The private chamberlains put on his sandals, and he was otherwise arrayed by the aforesaid Don Ugo and Don Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacons, who themselves, too, went out so soon as they had completed their duties. The sacristan was in general attendance.

By order of Don Girolamo aforesaid, no acolyte was present, and he went so far as to express great annoyance at the presence of the said Don Ugo, saying that it was quite enough for one—that is, for one apostolic sub-deacon—to attend a consecration of this kind, which the Pope conducts privately, officiating in person. When everything was ready, His Holiness seated himself at the fald-stool in front of the altar, and the aforesaid lords who were to be consecrated came before him with their assistants, and, after genuflections, took their seats on five stools in the accustomed way. So soon as they were all seated, the Bishops-elect of Cosenza and Benevento aforesaid came before His Holiness, and, after genuflecting, Benevento, on behalf of himself and in the third person, first read and then took the oath of allegiance to the Pope, according to the formula, and after him Cosenza swore in a similar manner. I think, all the same, that it would have been more suitable, and it would certainly have been neither improper nor wrong, if they had said: *I, etc., from this hour, etc., and to you, our Lord, Pope Innocent VIII., and to your successors, etc.*, and had not followed the formula in speaking in the third person, this formula being written for an oath taken between the hands of a cardinal-deacon. I had this oath taken between the hands of the Pope, and rightly, because they had not already taken it between the hands of the senior cardinal-deacon, which is the usual procedure. This much amazed the aforesaid Bishop of Aleria, who was entirely ignorant of, and unversed in, such ceremonies and observances,

¹ “This, too, was done inadvisedly, for a cardinal-priest, arrayed in a cope and not in a *planeta*, ought to place and remove the mitre, and do what is required of an assistant” (Paris de Grassis).

and he said that an oath of this kind ought to be taken in the Apostolic Chamber. Then, shifting his ground, he said that it ought to be taken after the consecration, because in ancient pontificals it is assigned to the end of the consecration. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco said that he had on various occasions consecrated various persons in the Curia, but that he could not recollect that any one had ever taken an oath of this kind. I replied that it was customary for the aforesaid oath to be taken before the expedition of the bulls, and certainly before the consecration, between the hands of the senior cardinal-deacon, and not between the hands of the consecrator, when the consecration takes place in the Roman Curia, but that as these two candidates for consecration had not yet taken this oath, it was convenient that they should take it just before their consecration. The Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of Anjou said that he had, by commission of the Pope, consecrated many bishops outside the Roman Curia, and that they had always taken the oath before the consecration, according to the tenor of apostolic letters issued for the purpose. Thus he supported my procedure, which in good truth was quite in order, and very sound. The Bishop-elect of Tours did not take the oath on the present occasion, because he had taken it some time before in the customary way.

When the oaths had been taken, every one seated themselves in their places in the customary way, and His Holiness began and proceeded with the examination or scrutiny, saying: *Antiqua*, etc., and where in this scrutiny the singular number is used, as in *Interrogamus te, dilectissime frater*, and again in other places, such as *Vis*, etc., His Holiness changed it to the plural, and said: *Interrogamus vos, dilectissimi fratres*, etc., and *Vultis*, etc., and all the three elect responded simultaneously to the query.

I said that the scrutiny ought to be made in the singular number, even though several persons were to be consecrated, and that each in turn ought to give a clear and intelligible answer, because, however many the number in the Presence, the question referred to each one singly. To the question: *Vultis*, the answer is *Volumus*; but since it is not possible for one to reply for the rest, when the question touches each one particularly, the interrogation should in that case be put to each singly, and an audible answer given by each in turn. His Holiness submitted to the view of the Cardinals of S. Marco and of Anjou, who said that the interrogation might be made in the plural number, and a simultaneous reply given by all, and so His Holiness continued as he had begun, which was right, in fact, absolutely right. After the scrutiny the candidates one by one genuflected before the Pope, and kissed his right foot. Then the Pope rose to say the *Confiteor*, and on the Pope's right, in the place of honour, stood Cosenza, and, beyond him, Tours, and on the Pope's left Benevento. The office was continued in all its details as at other consecrations, with the following exceptions:—

When the Pope at the end of the Litany was blessing the said candidates with the words: *Ut hos presentes electos*, etc., he did not hold a crozier in his left hand, because the Pope never uses one. Moreover, the Pope did not read the litanies. When the Pope was washing his hands, one private chamberlain offered him water, and another the towel for drying. After the saying of the Offertory, first the consecrators all made their offerings in their order, and then the consecrated, attended by the assistants: Cosenza made his offering first, then Benevento, and lastly Tours, kissing both the Pope's hands in the customary way. They concelebrated mass, standing at the altar, and I stood between the Pope and them, serving the Pope with the corporal and paten, mixing the wine and

water in the chalice, and doing everything in the usual way. After the collect: *Domine Jesu Christe*, all the newly-consecrated received the *pax* from the Pope, first Cosenza, then Benevento, and lastly Tours. Each of these then gave it in succession to the two assistant bishops. This done, the Bishop of Orense, the second assistant, gave the *pax*, with a kiss, to the Cardinal of S. Marco, who gave it to another cardinal. This, however, seemed to me less suitable, because the Pope, after giving the *pax* to the three newly-consecrated, should kiss the *pax*, which I should offer him, and which I should then transfer to the Cardinal of S. Marco aforesaid. But as the instrument of the *pax* had not been placed on the altar, this was the way in which it was done.¹ At the end of mass, the Pope gave the benediction in his mitre, and they did not hold the cross before him, nor should they have done so, the place being a private one.²

While the Pope, mass being ended, was placing mitres and gloves on the newly-consecrated, I arranged (on the Pope's right hand two, and on his left one) beautiful seats covered with velvet—the ones that the Pope generally uses in his chamber. On these, the preliminaries ended, the Pope, sitting at the fald-stool, with the aid of the assistant bishops enthroned the newly-consecrated aforesaid, having Cosenza on the right, and Benevento on the left, and Tours to the right of Cosenza. This, however, was a bad arrangement, for Benevento should have been in the middle on the right. When they had been thus enthroned, the assistants placed in the left hand of each his crozier, and wrongly, because it is the Pope who ought to give them these staves. Then removing his mitre, he rose, and standing with his face to the altar, began to say in an audible voice the *Te Deum laudamus*, etc., which was continued by the assistants in the same tone to the end. Meanwhile the newly-consecrated advanced together along the hall with mitres on their heads, croziers in their hands, and attended by the assistants, and blessed the bishops, who were also walking in their mitres, and others, in the accustomed way. In the meantime the Pope (and wrongly, for he ought to stand while the hymn is said)³ took his seat on a chair higher than the rest, and covered with velvet. He had a stool beneath his feet which had been arranged for him beyond the altar on the gospel side, so that he had the altar on his left hand, and looked towards the epistle side. He had the mitre on his head. At the same time the Pope's fald-stool, which stood immediately in front of the altar, was removed, and the three seats on which the newly-consecrated had been enthroned were set there by order in front of the altar, and on them the said newly-consecrated, when they had made the customary circuit of the hall, took their seats, Cosenza having Benevento on his right and Tours on

¹ "Orense was right in giving the *pax* as he did, because the *pax* is given with the instrument when mass is not pontifical, and this mass was not pontifical, but papal, and said in full vestments" (Paris). Although in all the MSS. this remark of Paris de Grassis is incorporated in the text, I think that I should give it as a note. MSS. 147, f. 204, V.; MSS. Chigi, L. i. x., f. 265, V. This remark is wanting in the MS. 5521, f. 361.

² "This was wrong, because the Pope ought certainly to give the benediction with the cross held before him, and without a mitre; so do other bishops when they consecrate, for in place of the cross they give the solemn benediction, holding the crozier, and without this staff do not bless. Nor does it matter that it is said that the mass was private, because it is false, for a mass is not called private which is said by the Pope in full pontifical vestments, particularly a mass of consecration, which is said, as this was, with all ceremony, and the *pax vobis* was said in this mass, and at the end it is said that an indulgence was given of ten or fifteen years . . ."—(Paris).

³ This parenthesis, which is wanting in many of the MSS., is probably due to Paris de Grassis.

his left. After the *Te Deum laudamus*, the Pope, sitting on his said [seat],¹ in his mitre, said the antiphon: *Firmetur*, etc., with the *Gloria*, etc., and a repetition of the antiphon. After this the Pope removed his mitre and Rose, and standing facing the newly-consecrated as they sat in their mitres, said the verse, *Domine exaudi*, etc., and the collect, *Deus omnium*.² This ended, the Pope seated himself again in his mitre, and the newly-consecrated all arose, and all the three seats were removed. Benevento and Tours withdrew to one side, and Cosenza, standing in his mitre, and with his pastoral staff in his left hand in the middle of the altar facing the cross, made the sign of the cross on his breast, and said in a semi-audible or rather low voice: *Sit nomen*, etc., in the accustomed manner of blessing the people, except that, when saying *Et Spiritus sanctus*, he did not give the blessing directly facing the gospel side, as the custom is, but rather to the left, between the cross that had been made for him, and the gospel side, that he might not appear to bless the Pope, whom no one blesses, while he blesses all.³

The same thing was done in succession by Benevento and Tours, while he who first gave the blessing retired.⁴ When all had given the benediction, Cosenza said *Ad multos annos* three times, in the accustomed way. When he had said it for the third time, the Pope embraced him with the kiss on the cheek, as is the custom of other consecrators.

This observance was successively performed as regards, and by, the other two, and, after the Pope, they were also embraced with the kiss on the cheek by the assistants, in the accustomed way. Then the Pope, making the sign of the cross in the middle of the altar, said: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., and, at the fald-stool, removed all his vestments with the exception of the *pallium*—(this he should previously have left on the altar, and a cardinal-priest should have taken it from him⁵)—to the stole inclusively, but all that he wore beneath the stole he retained. The newly-consecrated were escorted, in the accustomed way, by the assistant bishops to the first hall, and there, beside their altar, they all removed all their vestments. In the meantime the Pope advanced from his altar above mentioned, and in front of it, at a distance of two or three paces, was placed one of the above-

¹ This is the reading of the MS. 5521, f. 382. All the other MSS. give: "The Pope sitting in his tiara." Chigi, L, i. x., f. 267; MS. 147, f. 206; and the MSS. 5158 and 5159.

² "Now learn the mistakes that were made, for the Pope in saying the antiphon ought not to have sat but to have stood. Also he ought to have said the antiphon over each one in the singular, as it is written, and they with the verse, etc. . . . and then he ought to have said the collect, without the mitre but in the cope, once and for all over the newly-consecrated, who should not have sat, out of reverence for the Pope, but stood in their mitres, particularly when the Pope removed his mitre to say the collect. Then when he had said the antiphon, he ought to have laid his right hand on the right hand of the consecrated person, and to have done the same with each in turn. I made these observations from ancient ceremonials, where the aforesaid subject is treated, and also from a particular instance which came under my notice in my own times."—(Paris.)

³ "I think that this author, as usual, has made a mistake, for we see the Pope's chaplains at private masses daily give the benediction over the Pope. So it must be allowed that, once you grant that the Pope can be blessed, the newly-consecrated too might have blessed the Pope, he being present, and licence having been given as a privilege to bless the people, and thrice to make the sign of the cross in the middle of the altar, saying at the same time: *Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus*."—(Paris.) This remark is wanting in MS. 5521.

⁴ "This is a mistake, for when the benedictions have been given, each one ought to remove his mitre and staff and ring, and offer thanks to the Pope with the words, *Ad multos annos*, which words signify 'Long live your Holiness!'"—(Paris.)

⁵ This parenthesis is wanting in MS. 5521, f. 383.

mentioned three seats, in such a way that the Pope, when seated on it, had his back to the altar. In front of this seat was placed one of the cardinals' stools, and on it a large shell, filled, as aforesaid, with holy water. A thurible was also arranged with fire, an incense-boat, spoon, and incense. When everything was thus arranged, the Pope, stripped of his vestments as far as the stole, as aforesaid, came to the seat above mentioned, and there, standing with uncovered head, and turning to the water set before him, said: *Dominus vobiscum*, etc. *Oremus. Domine, Deus Pater*. This said, still standing without his mitre, he received from the sacristan's hand a cruet of balsam, which he poured into the said water in the form of a cross, with the words: *Consecrare*, etc.; then he returned the said cruet to the sacristan, and received from him a cruet of holy oil, which, standing in the same way, he poured into the same water, with the words: *Consecrare*, etc. When he had said this, and restored the cruet to the sacristan, the Pope, standing, as before, with his face to the chests of *Agnus Dei* that were to be consecrated, said: *Dominus vobiscum. Deus omnium*, etc. This ended, the Pope sat down and received his mitre; the Bishop of Aleria served the incense-boat and thurible, and the Pope put in the incense. Having put in the incense, the Pope rose in his mitre, and censed the said water, passing the thurible over it three times. This done, the Pope seated himself in his mitre, and was girt with a napkin. Then the *agni* to be consecrated were carried to him from their cases in basins, the larger ones first, and then the others, and the Pope put these *agni* into the said water, to baptize them. The assistant bishops who stood around, many of whom were domestic prelates, and all of whom were arrayed in their customary mantles over the rochet, took them out of the water, carried them away in basins, placed them on tables that had been arranged there, near at hand, covered them with clean cloths, and laid them out to dry. These operations went on for half an hour or so, and then the Pope had the shell with the consecrated water, as above, replaced in the corner by the altar, and he himself removed all his vestments and sandals, and the consecrated bishops aforesaid knelt before him, and expressed their thanks, and kissed his feet. There, not far from the altar, a table had been prepared for the Pope, and there he dined, and with him the aforesaid Cardinals of S. Marco and Anjou. The newly-consecrated, meantime, and with them the other prelates of the palace, dined in the first hall, where their altar had been set. The sacristan had all the candles, all the torches and basins, and all the loaves; some of the loaves, however, he gave for the Pope's table, as also some of the offertory wine. I do not know who had the rest. Don Girolamo had two patens and one cloth; another paten and two cloths fell afterwards to Don Ugo, the apostolic sub-deacon aforesaid, and a certain number of cloths to me. I remained to dinner there after the aforesaid consecration, at another table, along with the Pope's secretary.

The Pope, as I mentioned above, at this consecration, which he performed outside the church, in the hall aforesaid, wore the *pallium*, for he is allowed to wear it everywhere, by extraordinary privilege, as the Cardinal of S. Marco informed me. The other five patriarchs, however, archbishops and bishops, who have this privilege, neither can nor may on any account wear the *pallium* outside the church, and inside the church only on the days set apart for it.

Note that many of the chamberlains attending on the Pope, and of the other officials, carried and set down by the cases of *agni* aforesaid basins filled with *agni* to be consecrated; but the Pope ordered them all to be removed and taken away, and refused to give his blessing to any of them,

with the sole exception of two basketfuls, one of which belonged to the Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincula, the other to the Cardinal of Anjou aforesaid.

To-day, after the hour of vespers, His Holiness issued from the hall aforesaid, and gave orders to the sacristan that he should go into the said hall, and baptize all the *agni* that were in the cases, associating with himself for the task Don Tommasino, deacon of the chapel, and one or both of the bellringers of the same chapel; that he should then throw all the water left, to the last drop, into the *sacrarium*, and that, on pain of the greater excommunication, he should not baptize any *agni* in baskets, with the exception of such of those of the Pope as were, as aforesaid, in the cases. Then the aforesaid sacristan, accompanied by Don Tommasino, and Don Niccolò Giacomini, bellringer of the chapel of the palace, entered the said hall, in which the *agni* and water were, and, having ejected every one, and shut the door behind him, executed the commission entrusted to him by His Holiness, as above.

At to-day's mass of consecration the oblations were not censed, nor the altar, nor the Sacrament; in fact, the mass was performed without incense, for this reason, that we do not use incense for masses which are read or celebrated without music.

On the day of St. Mark the Evangelist there was high mass in the church of the same saint in the city, which was celebrated by some bishop. He said only one collect, the *Credo*, and the Preface for the Apostles. The Cardinal of S. Marco was present, and a number of other cardinals and monks, and the clergy, who had come for the procession, waited about the church and outside until after the elevation of the Host. They first began to pass in procession round the greater altar, in their proper order. Other rites were observed, according to the customary observances in other pontifical masses, except that the Cardinal of S. Marco stood in the hindermost place, behind all the cardinals, even the deacons, although he himself is a cardinal-bishop. He was also the last to receive the *pax* from the assistant chaplain, and as the cardinals arrived one by one at the church aforesaid, he came to meet them as far as the door of the church, where he received them severally, and escorted them to their places in the choir.

On Wednesday, the 3rd of the month of May, the Vigil of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, there were pontifical vespers in the greater chapel of the palace, in the presence of the Pope and of the cardinals. The Pope began vespers, and other rites were observed as usual.

On this day the mass was said in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles in the city by the Cardinal of Agria, in white vestments, in presence of the Pope. The sermon was preached by a certain professed friar of the Order of St. Augustine. At its close, the *Confiteor* was said by the deacon of the chapel, and the absolution given by His Holiness, but it was not pronounced by the preacher as by himself. After the Pope had given the benediction, and before the sermon, an indulgence was sought, as His Holiness was about to grant a plenary indulgence in the public place. After the elevation of the Host at mass, the Face of Our Saviour was exposed to the people, in order that, when they had seen it, they might go to the place of Benediction, and so tumult might be avoided. At the end of mass, the Pope passed down the furthest aisle of the basilica, and the said Face was again exposed. Then when he came to the customary place of Benediction, preceded by the cardinals and prelates and others in their capes, but not in formal procession, the Pope in the place aforesaid gave the people a solemn benediction, and all other rites were observed in the customary way.



AENEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI (AFTERWARDS POPE PIUS II.), ON HIS WAY TO THE COUNCIL OF BASLE, JULY 1431, BY PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SIENA).

[N.B.—This and the next ten illustrations are introduced as affording contemporary explanation of similar events described in the text.]

On the 16th of the month of February preceding, the Most Serene and Invincible Prince Frederick, ever august Emperor of the Romans, obtained the consent of six electors of the empire, viz. the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg—(the King of Bohemia, it was said, was not summoned, being out of his country)—in the town of Frankfurt, that the Illustrious Prince Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, his son, whose ambassador was at that time in the city of Rome, should be made King of the Romans. This ambassador, on hearing of his master's promotion, wished to have precedence of the other ambassadors resident in the city, but they refused it. The matter was taken up and debated on in consistory, and it was finally concluded to wait for the emissaries to the Pontiff, and the petition for Maximilian as King-elect of the Romans, before giving the coveted place, at the instance of Charles IV., whose letters, with the Imperial seal attached, were brought forward at the instance of one Clement, and then he was given the place requested.

At the same time the King of Hungary, who was about to send his envoys to the Pontiff, asked for a safe conduct for them. It was decided in consistory that the request was superfluous and not to be conceded, inasmuch as access to the Apostolic See lay open in perfect safety to all peoples and nations, without any hindrance.

On Saturday, the 13th of May, the Eve of Pentecost, there were pontifical vespers in the greater chapel of the palace. The Pope was present, and began. At the beginning of the first psalm I asked him whether he wished to begin the hymn, and he was much upset, and told me that I should have advised His Holiness of the matter two days before. So he did not begin it. At the beginning of the chapter he came to the fald-stool, and there, when the chapter was ended, knelt, while the choir began the hymn. At the completion of the first verse, the Pope assumed his mitre, and stood to the end, as usual. *On this day* Don Giovanni, Cardinal of Anjou, celebrated high mass in presence of the Pope in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope did not begin the verse: *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, because, on the preceding day, at vespers, he had not begun the hymn. The sermon was preached by Don Girolamò Scoto, equerry to His Holiness, a Sienese by birth.

On Wednesday, the 17th of May, at the twentieth hour or thereabouts, there came to the city a certain Lord John, who had been appointed by the chapter of Premysl to the Church of Premysl, but not yet confirmed in his appointment by the Apostolic See, and a certain Altas, a layman. They came as envoys of the Very Illustrious Kazimir, King of Poland, to take the oath of allegiance to His Holiness, accompanied by about thirty horsemen, members of the Polish Court. They came to Rome yesterday evening quietly, and were entertained in the hostel called The Buffaloes, where they remained in retirement until to-day, when, about the eighteenth hour, they rode more or less privately along the Via Trastevere to the house of de' Spinella, outside the Porta Viridarii, and there awaited the hour arranged for their entry. When it arrived they rode to the Church of S. Lazaro dei Leprosi. Here the households of the cardinals arrived one by one, and last of all the Pope's household, which came a little beyond the Church of S. Peregrino, outside the gate aforesaid. They received the envoys, and attended them, as is the custom, as far as the hostel of The Buffaloes aforesaid, where they were lodged.

On Saturday, the 20th of May, the Vigil of Holy Trinity, there were pontifical vespers in the greater chapel of the palace. The Pope was

present, and said the office, according to custom. Before the cardinals entered his private chamber I inquired whether he had any commands for me. He replied that this was not the hour for coming, and that I should have come two or three days before, as indeed he had lately told me. I replied that there was nothing to be said or done save one collect and commemoration, of which I now wished to remind His Holiness, that it might be the fresher in his memory. His Holiness then ordained that on Sunday there should be no commemoration, for the reason that, when he himself was in minor orders, he had celebrated the office on four returns of this feast without this commemoration. The private referendary, Don Aleria, there present, added that on the Birthday of Christ, at His Resurrection, and at Pentecost, which are feasts of the Son and of the Holy Ghost alone, no commemoration is said; still less, then, ought it to be said on this feast, which is sacred to the whole Trinity, that is, to Father and Son and Holy Ghost. Accordingly, I sent notice to the singers of the chapel, and no commemoration was said.

On Sunday, the 21st of May, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the very Rev. Don Giovanni, Cardinal of Parma, celebrated high mass in the greater chapel of the palace, in presence of the Pope, and again said no commemoration.

At the conclusion of mass, the Cardinal of S. Marco told me that on Sunday a commemoration should be said both at vespers and at mass. I replied that it had been omitted by express command of His Holiness. The sermon was preached by a certain Spanish priest, chaplain to the Cardinal of Anjou.

*On Monday, the 22nd of May, I asked His Holiness what order he wished observed among the officials of the Roman Curia in the procession of the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, this being an occasion on which they always quarrel for precedence. His Holiness sent me to the Rev. Don Giovanni, Bishop of Tours, and master of his household, and he to the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Giorgio, chamberlain, to tell him by command of His Holiness the Pope to summon the officials to him, and settle their disputes. He replied that he had no jurisdiction over these officials, and that it was a matter for the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, who had jurisdiction over them.*

When this reply was conveyed by the Bishop of Tours, His Holiness ordered that the Very Rev. Lords the Vice-Chancellor and the Chamberlain, and the Most Rev. Cardinals, should, on the 24th day of May aforesaid, determine what was to be done, and should on the same day consider the above-mentioned question of precedence. Accordingly, I received from the Lord Bishop of Tours aforesaid, a schedule of the order to be observed in the said procession, which arranged that the officials should observe the following order: The notaries of the auditors of the Rota were to go first, followed by the procurators of the Penitentiary, the clerks of the Register of Supplications, the solicitors of Apostolic Letters, and other functionaries according to custom.

In this procession I could not find in any book either a place allotted to, or consideration taken of, scriveners of either Registry, notaries of the Apostolic Chamber, or notaries of the Curia of Causes of the Apostolic Chamber, although these offices are quite old ones. The reason of this I do not know.

*On Wednesday, the 24th of May, the Vigil of *Corpus Christi*, there were pontifical vespers in the greater chapel of the palace; the Pope was present, and began, as usual. Vespers over, the Lord Cardinal of S. Giorgio,*

chamberlain, and the Lord Bishop of Tours, master of the household, gave order to the vicar and the four canons of the Basilica of St. Peter present there before them, in the name of the whole chapter, that on the following day the clergy of the aforesaid Basilica of St. Peter were not to appear, in procession or otherwise, with the clergy of the city in front of the officials of the Pope.

On Thursday, the 25th of May, the Feast of the Most Holy *Corpus Christi*, about the tenth hour the procession was begun. The clergy of the city led the way, the last of them being, by the Pope's orders, the clergy of St. Peter's, and then came the officials of the Roman Curia, as arranged above. The Pope, after a prayer in the small chapel, rose from the fald-stool, and the fald-stool was removed. The Pope put in the incense standing, and censed the Sacrament kneeling, swinging the thurible three times. A rich humeral veil was, by two assistant deacons, placed round his neck, and he arose, and advanced with another small cloth to the altar, where he received the casket with the Sacrament standing, and carried It with uncovered head into the small chapel aforesaid. There he sat on a seat under a baldacchino, assumed the biretta only, and carried It as far as the Curia of the Palace, where he assumed the precious mitre, and then carried It throughout the procession to the altar of the Basilica of St. Peter. The procession went along the Via Nuova to the Castle of S. Angelo, and thence by *Sancta* to the basilica aforesaid, where the Pope deposited the Sacrament on the altar. He put in the incense standing, and censed the Sacrament kneeling; then he said the *Confiteor*, and other rites were observed as usual. Mass was celebrated by the Very Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, who did not come to the procession, but when the Pope went down from the palace with the Sacrament, he went down to the basilica, and there assumed the vestments for saying mass. There was no sermon. At the end of mass, the Pope granted an indulgence of seven years, and as many *quadragenas*, which were published by the aforesaid Cardinal of S. Clemente, celebrant.

On Friday, the 26th of May, there was a public consistory in the first hall of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, in which Lord John and his colleague, the envoys of the King of Poland, took, in the name of their king, the oath of allegiance due to His Holiness the Pope, asserting that Kazimir, King of Poland, acknowledged Innocent VIII. to be the true Vicar of Christ and successor to Peter. A speech was made by the aforesaid Lord John, in the garb of a cleric, but not of a prelate, because this is not given by election by chapter, but by election by the Pope only. Also he was only in the same clerical dress in which he had entered the city at his coming. At the end of the public consistory all the cardinals advanced to the Pontiff, who thereupon, by advice of the cardinals, immediately, though privately, pronounced the aforesaid Lord John, as he knelt in person before him, elected to Premysl, and set him over the Church of Premysl as its bishop and pastor. Then the retinue of the envoy advanced to kiss the Pope's feet. This done, the Pope returned to his chamber, and the other lay military envoy, colleague to the aforesaid bishop-elect, carried the border of the Pope's cope.

On the same day, the aforesaid Don John, Bishop-elect of Premysl, had a mitre made for him, and assumed a prelate's dress.

On Wednesday, the last day of May, there entered the city three envoys from the King of France and the Duke of Lothringen, sent on particular business to His Holiness the Pope. They were received by the households of certain of the cardinals, their friends, and attended to their abodes.

During this month of May, as was learnt from news subsequently brought from the provinces to the city, the Very Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Thomas, of the titular Church of S. Cyriacus in Thermis, and commonly known as Cardinal-priest of Canterbury, died in England. May his soul rest in peace.¹

On Monday, the 5th of the month of June, the Rev. Father in Christ and Lord, Don Giovanni, of the titular Church of S. Marcello, and generally known as Cardinal-priest of Venice, formerly of S. Angelo, was in private consistory proclaimed as legate *de latere* over the men-at-arms of the Holy Roman Church, and when the consistory was ended, publicly escorted in the usual way by all the cardinals to the palace where he habitually resided.

On Saturday, the 24th of June, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, His Holiness, in rose-coloured muntle and cap, and preceded by the cross, came to the greater chapel, and there heard high mass, which was sung by the Rev. Father the Lord Bishop of Jesi. The Pope's train was carried by Don Ardicino, Bishop of Aleria, who, together with the Abbot of S. Sebastiano, sacristan of the chapel, stood by, and served the Pope with the Missal, which was placed on the fald-stool in front of him. The *Credo* was not said. At the beginning of mass the altar was not censed, nor were lights and incense brought for the gospel, nor did they kiss the Pope's foot, because he was not wearing pontifical vestments, at the offertory. The oblations, the altar, the celebrant, the Pope, and the whole congregation were censed. Don Aleria served the incense-boat to the Pope, and censed him, and offered him the *pax* to kiss. This I, after the celebrant had kissed it, served to him from the altar, and, after him, to the rest—that is, to the chief only of each several order, and he gave it with the kiss to his colleagues. After mass, the Pope, with his head covered, gave the solemn benediction, when the cross was placed before him, but he did not grant indulgences. Then he returned to his chamber, with Don Aleria carrying his train.

On Wednesday, the 28th of the month of June, there were pontifical vespers in the Basilica of St. Peter. The cardinals, when they had done homage in their capes, received their vestments, and so likewise did the prelates. The choir, by some mistake, began the hymn which the Pope

¹ Thomas Bourchier, English by nationality, was brother to Henry, Earl of Essex, one of the favourites of Edward IV., King of England. He studied at the University of Oxford, of which he was for three years chancellor. After he had been for some time Dean of St. Martin's in London, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Worcester, then to that of Ely, and finally, in 1454, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

He was made cardinal by Paul II. in 1464.

As Primate of England, he crowned the kings Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., and solemnized the marriage of Edward IV. with Elizabeth Woodville, and that of Henry VII. with Edward IV.'s daughter, Elizabeth, who had been promised in infancy to the Dauphin of France, the future Charles VIII. Famed alike for his learning and his virtues, Thomas Bourchier convoked a number of provincial councils in London, with the object of reforming the morals of the clergy, and of organizing the policy of the Church.

He died on the 30th of March, at Canterbury, and was buried in the Cathedral Church, where, on the north side of the high altar, a marble tomb was erected to his memory, bearing the following inscription:—

HIC . JACET . REVERENDISSIMUS . PATER . ET . DOMINUS
D . THOMAS . BOURCHIER . QUONDAM . SACRO . SANCTÆ
ROMANÆ . ECCLESIE . S . CYRIACI . IN . THERMIS
CARDINALIS . ET . ARCHIEPISCOPUS . HUIUS . ECCLESIE
QUI . OBIIIT . XXX . DIE . MARTII . MCCCCLXXXVI .
CUIUS . ANIMÆ . PROPITIETUR . DEUS .



PICCOLOMINI AS AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF JAMES II. OF SCOTLAND, 1437.
PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

Facing page 149.

should have intoned. The Cardinal of S. Marco said that the cardinals and prelates should have come robed to the church, and that the cardinals should have done homage in their vestments; but he was wrong, because it is only at mass that this happens. All rites were observed as usual.

On Thursday, the 29th of June, the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, His Holiness, arrayed as usual, came to the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles preceded by the officials, the cross, and the prelates and cardinals in their vestments. He received them for homage, and other rites were observed as ordained in the Ceremonial. The choir said a Prose about twenty verses long. There was no sermon. The Pope, both when coming to the church and when returning to the palace, wore a tiara. After mass, the cardinals and prelates removed their vestments, and assumed their capes, in which they escorted the Pope out of the basilica aforesaid. There the Pope dismissed them.

On Sunday, the 9th of July, at Rome, in the Church of S. Giacomo di Galizia, the Rev. Father Don Pietro, Bishop of Ussel, celebrated high mass for the octave of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, because of the victory gained by the Most Illustrious Ferdinando, King of Spain, over the infidel King of Granada. After the ordinary collect he said the collect for the king after one *per Dominum*, which, on consideration, seemed to me somewhat inappropriate, for any collect might have ended, and have ended better after his *per Dominum*, without his conclusion. Mass was heard by the Very Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, and twelve other cardinals, and in the evening bonfires were lit in front of the palaces of the Pope and of the cardinals, and in many other parts of the city, as a sign of rejoicing.

On Tuesday, the 25th of July, the Feast of St. James the Apostle, the Lord Bishop of Ussel, in Rome, at the Church of S. Giacomo aforesaid, celebrated high mass, which was heard by the Very Rev. Lords the Vice-Chancellor, Naples, Anjou, Agria, de Conti, Parma, Siena, the Chamberlain, and de Savelli, by permission of the first three cardinals. After the collect for the day was said the collect for the king, under one conclusion, which, however, afterwards seemed somewhat inappropriate, although it is the custom in the said church to introduce the special collect for the king on all days at mass. All other rites were observed as usual. I was present, and served at this mass, by particular invitation of the chaplain of the said church.

On Thursday, the 27th of July, at Rome, in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, and on the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by the tomb of Pope Paul II., the Rev. Father Don Cesare, Bishop of Amerino, celebrated mass for the anniversary of the death of the aforesaid Paul, in his pontifical vestments. He said only one collect: *Deus, qui inter apostolos*, etc. There were present the Cardinals of S. Marco and Anjou, and eleven prelates, of whom nine were bishops, one an auditor of the Rota, and one a master of the Sacred Palace. After the epistle, wax was distributed, namely, to the cardinals torches of five or six pounds each, to the prelates of one pound, to the train-bearers of half-a-pound; tapers to the canons of St. Peter's, and, to the rest, small candles. On the tomb was placed a high chest, covered with a great golden pall, and by it, on either side, twelve torches. The epistle and gospel were sung by two canons of the said basilica. After mass was sung the response: *Libera me, Domine*, etc. The celebrant, who stood at the fald-stool which he had used for mass, and which was, so to speak, at the head of the bier, put in the incense after beginning the *Pater noster*. There he remained without moving from his place, which was

wrong, because he ought to move round the bier. Then he said: *Et ne nos inducus in tentationem*, etc., and the collect for the absolution: *Deus, qui inter summos sacerdotes*. Other rites were observed as usual.

On Friday, the 11th of August, about the third hour of the night, peace was concluded between His Holiness the Pope and King Ferdinando of Sicily, and Don Filippo of Ponte Corvo, notary of the Apostolic Chamber, was summoned to draw up the terms.

On Monday, the 14th of the month of August, there was a private consistory which lasted from the twelfth to the fifteenth hour, or thereabouts. When it was ended, the cardinals came to the greater chapel of the palace, where a mass for the dead, on the anniversary of the decease of Sixtus IV., was celebrated by the Rev. Father Don Giovanni, Bishop of Carignola. The Pope was absent, but the Vice-Chancellor, S. Marco, Anjou, and other cardinals were present. The absolution after mass was said by the above-mentioned bishop-celebrant, and other rites were observed as ordained in the Ceremonial.

On Tuesday, the 15th of August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Rev. Father Don Giovanni, Bishop of Tours, celebrated pontifical mass. The Pope and cardinals were absent, but a few of the prelates of the palace were present in their ordinary habits. All rites were observed that usually are observed at other solemn masses, when the Pope is not present.

On Tuesday, the 29th of August, the Feast of the Decollation of St. John Baptist, and the anniversary of the elevation of His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII., the Cardinal of Parma, in red vestments, celebrated high mass in the greater chapel of the palace, in presence of the Pope and of the cardinals. The Pope came to the fald-stool to kneel for the verse at the altar: *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, etc., which, however, he did not begin, nor should he begin it. A Prose was then said, and meantime incense was put in for the gospel, and all other rites were observed as usual. It should, however, be remarked that if the choir do not say the Prose, the imposition of the incense before the Pope comes to kneel down should in nowise be postponed or delayed. Yesterday there were no pontifical vespers.

On Thursday, the 31st of August, there came to the city, by the Porta di S. Lorenzo, Don Antonio of Alexandria, envoy from Ferdinando, King of Sicily, at the twelfth hour or thereabouts. He was met by the households of His Holiness the Pope and of all the cardinals, with the exception of Anjou, Milan, and Colonna, who did not send their households. The households of the cardinals received him about and at the gate, as they happened to meet him, but the Pope received him near the butchers' quarter, between the Palaces of S. Basilio and S. Marco. He was escorted as usual to the house of the Mellini, near the Hospital of the Germans, which he had hired for a lodging.

On Friday, the 8th of the month of September, the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Don Giovanni, Bishop of Tours, celebrated mass pontifically in the greater chapel of the palace, in presence of the Pope, but not of the cardinals. The Pope came to the chapel in a mantle and small cap, without the cross. The Bishop of Aleria carried the train, and served the incense-boat to the Pope at mass for the imposition of the incense. At the offertory he offered the Pope the book of the gospels to kiss after the gospel and the *par*, and, together with the abbot sacristan, served to the Pope the Missal, which had been set near him on the fald-stool, at the throne, because the Pope sat on a low chair that had been arranged for him. I did not have the altar censed before the Introit, nor

lights and incense carried for the gospel, but it seemed more suitable, on other occasions at like masses, to use them also.

On Tuesday, the 12th of the month of September, the anniversary of the coronation of His Holiness Pope Innocent VIII., in the third year of his pontificate, the Very Rev. Don Giovanni, Cardinal of Milan, celebrated high mass of the Holy Ghost in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope and the cardinals were present in red vestments in the accustomed way.

After mass, before the Pope gave the benediction, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Bishop of Aragon, arrayed in a red cope and simple mitre, kissed his knee, and instead of soliciting the benediction, mounted a pulpit, and in a few brief words announced the peace that had been concluded between His Holiness the Pope and Ferdinando, King, etc., and others, etc.¹

Now, it had been arranged that the terms of the peace should be read, but as they had not yet been ratified by the Duke of Genoa, the decree was changed, and the reading of the terms omitted.

The announcement ended, the choir began and continued to the end the *Te Deum laudamus*; the same choir said: *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*, and the Pope the *Pater noster*, beginning in an audible voice, and finishing in a low one. Then he said the following versicles and collect in a moderate voice, and the choir replied:

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. R. Sed libera nos a malo.

V. Fiat pax in virtute tua.

R. Et abundantia in turribus tuis.

V. Concede, quesumus, Domine, populo tuo, ut sit cor unum et anima una.

R. In observatione mandatorum tuorum.

V. Non nobis, Domine, non nobis.

R. Sed nomini tuo da gloriam.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus. Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia et iusta sunt opera, da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem, ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedito, et hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per D. N. J. Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

When the prayer was ended, without repeating *Dominus vobiscum*, and without the *Benedicamus Domino*, the cross was carried before the Pope, who said: *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, and blessed the people in the usual way, and returned to the palace.

Notice that their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinals of Naples, Angers and S. Angelo, said, when the benediction had been given by the Pope, that in their opinion the *Pater noster* with the aforesaid versicles, as quoted above, were not appropriate to this office, since it seemed to be an office of the dead, but that it would have been more appropriate, when the *Te Deum laudamus* was ended, for two of the cantors, omitting the *Pater* and the verse *Et ne nos*, etc., to say those following, or others appropriate to the office, and for the Pope to recite, at the close, the aforesaid prayer, with the conclusion: *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*. They said, moreover, that such had been the practice heretofore in the time

¹ For this peace, see the *Lettere de l'Archevesque de Vienne a M. de Langeac au sujet des affaires de Naples et de la Paix entre le Pape et le roy Ferrand*, in Godefroy, *Hist. de Charles VIII.*, in fol., Paris, 1684, p. 535.

of Paul II. and Sixtus IV. I replied that the sacrist of our chapel had arranged the aforesaid, and that our Most Holy Lord had given his approval; but the cardinal's opinion was more agreeable to me, and seemed to me also more fitting.

On the same day, 12th September, between midnight and one o'clock in the morning, there returned to the city the Most Rev. Lord Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, from Jaen. He was met by their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Angers, Recanati, S. Clemente, Parma, Savelli and Colonna, as his intimate friends, and escorted by them to the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, where he rode first to our Most Holy Lord the Pope.

On Wednesday, 13th September, about one o'clock there came to the city the Noble Lord Eneus Lopez of Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, and two apostolic chief notaries, in long mantles with black hats, the chief notaries without hoods and capuces, ambassadors of the Illustrious King Ferdinand and Queen Elizabeth of Castille, Leon, Aragon and Sicily, sent to pay homage. They took luncheon at the Fonte Malliana. They were met by the households of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals and our Most Holy Lord the Pope in the usual way; and because the count could not speak Latin fluently, the chief notaries answered those who received them alternately. They entered by the Porta Viridarii, and were escorted to the palace of the Orsini in the Campo dei Fiori, which had been prepared for their entertainment.

On Saturday, 16th September, I rode for a change to Tivoli, and with me Pietro N . . . and one of my suite. I returned thence to the city on *Sunday, 17th September*, about ten in the evening. I found in the city Ulrich Biresth, who came this morning to the city about an hour before dawn, to petition for a chaplaincy at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary situated in the Parish Church of St. Nicolas, beyond the boundary of Strasburg, which he sought, and left Strasburg on the 8th of this month in the morning.

On Monday, 18th September, in the first and larger hall of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter's, there was a public consistory on account of the ambassadors of the King and Queen of Spain, who came at this time to pay homage to our Most Holy Lord. The Lord Octaviano brought forward a case, or commission; meanwhile, the aforesaid ambassadors came, and were received by our Most Holy Lord for the kiss upon foot, hand and mouth. The ambassadors then presented duplicate letters, that is to say, in Spanish and in Latin, and one instrument of procuracy also in Latin. The Rev. Father Antoniotto, Lord Bishop of Auray, the datary, read the Spanish letters, then Girolamo Balbano, the secretary, read them in Latin, and the instrument. After these were read, the Lord Antonio de Giraldini, apostolic chief notary, the third ambassador in rank, made a speech. When it was ended our Most Holy Lord replied, and the rest was carried out in the usual way.

On Friday, 22nd September, before the hour of the consistory, on the space above the steps, before the Basilica of St. Peter, upon a platform erected for the purpose, were assembled the following persons: the Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, vested in amice, alb, girdle, stole, red cope and plain mitre, seated at a fald-stool; the Rev. Father Pietro di Vicentia, Lord Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber of the Court of Causes; N. di Parma, fiscal procurator; Giovanni Francesco, apparitor; Giacomo Quintinoti, notary of the aforesaid court, and several others, with Friar Gabriel di Fontaria, of Piacenza, a professed religious of the Order of

the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, one who has received all the orders, up to and including that of priest. Wearing his vestments, and standing facing the people, the Lord Giacomo, the notary, read the summary of the process against the said Gabriel, and the sentence pronounced against him, and the commission for his degradation. When these had been read, the said Lord Bishop degraded him, in accordance with the order given in the Pontifical, upon the strength of the given commission. After he had been degraded, the apparitor led him away to the Castle of Soldano, and on Saturday, 23rd September, about one o'clock, the said degraded person was hanged in the Campo dei Fiori, suffering the death penalty with great patience and devotion, as the witnesses reported. At the head of the cord by which he was hanged was fastened gold foil, as a sign that he was a noted robber. The same morning, in the Campidolio, was hanged for theft a certain Jew, who had become a Christian; he refused to have the cross before him, or a Christian to comfort him in the faith of Christ, but wished to die in Judaism, and thus he was hanged and died. His accomplice, another Jew, also in prison, ought to have been hanged with him, but he threw himself into the sewer, from which he was taken out alive on the same day, and then was also hanged.

On Tuesday, 26th September, the Rev. Father the Lord Bishop of Albenga, vicar of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, for the soul of Filiberto, Cardinal-priest of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo, commonly called Cardinal of Macon, of pious memory, according to the custom of our chapel. The Pope was absent, their most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Angers, S. Clemente, Conza, and Siena were present. After the mass the celebrant pronounced the absolutions and the other observances were as usual.

On Wednesday, 27th September, about midnight, or as some say before that hour, but at any rate on that day, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Gabriel of S. Sergio and S. Baccho, Cardinal-priest of Agrigra, of the Order of Minors, departed this life. May his soul rest in peace.¹ He made a will, and appointed as executors the Fathers and Lords in Christ the Lord Vice-Chancellor and the Lord Cardinal Ascanio, and Lord Aloisio de Maffei, apostolic writer, who had me summoned this evening to arrange what should be done. I came and arranged that sandals, tunic and dalmatic should be got, that the body should be washed and dressed in the ordinary clerical vesture (as was done), and that wax tapers should be provided for carrying the body to the church, with a hundred torches, and about a hundred candles, thirty of a pound or twenty or twenty-five, with forty faggots of about half-a-pound; that the body, when washed and dressed, should be laid on a carpet on the floor of the chamber, with two torches, one at the head and another at his feet; that the domestic chaplains should stand round the body, and say the office of the dead; that in the centre of the larger hall there should be arranged a large bier, with mattress and a golden cloth coverlet upon it, pillow and cushions, and two cardinal's hats, and at the foot of the bier a small table covered with a plain cloth, and on it a vase of holy water, with

¹ He was a natural child of Guido Rangoni. Gabriel betook himself to Hungary at his father's death and entered the Order of the Friars Minor of St. Francis, where he made himself so distinguished for his piety and talents, that King Matthias Corvin employed him in diplomatic negotiations with the neighbouring princes and Pope Sixtus IV., who named him successively Bishop of Alba and Agrigentum, and finally Cardinal in 1477. See the biographies of the Cardinals Tiraboschi, Scrittore and Modanesi, t. iv., p. 263 and sq.

aspersorium, a censer with a *navicle* and spoon and incense, two candlesticks with candles, two large candlesticks, two torches at the head and foot, and a bench placed on either side the bier for twenty-four torches, and another against the wall running all round the hall, or rather across the end of the apartment, for the cardinals, and on either side for the clergy and ambassadors, and other things as required. I then withdrew, having been first instructed to summon the monks and clergy hereafter named for the morrow.

On Thursday, 28th September, in the morning, by command of their Rev. Lordships the executors aforesaid, I gave to the heralds a list of the following nature :—

On behalf of their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor and Cardinal Ascanio, executors of the will of the Cardinal of A., of pious memory, let it be known to the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, that to-day, Thursday, 28th September, at the hour of seven in the evening, they come to the house of the said late Cardinal of Agria, to escort his body to the Church of the Blessed Maria in Aracœli, where he will be buried. Also, let it be known to all chapters, convents and others, undersigned, for between six and seven o'clock :

The Chapter of the Church of the Blessed Maria Maggiore ;

The Chapter of the Church of the Blessed Maria in Via Lata ;

The Chamberlain of the Clergy of the City to come with the other priests ;

The Convent of the Blessed Maria sopra Minerva ;

The Convent of S. Augustine ;

The Convent of the Basilica of the Holy Apostles ;

The Convent of the Blessed Maria in Aracœli ;

The Convent of S. Francesco in Trastevere ;

The Convent of S. Pietro ;

The Convent of S. Francesco near the Ponte Sesto, or new bridge ;

The Convent of S. Martino dei Monti of the Order of the Carmelites ;

The Convent of S. Marcello of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Mary.

On the same day, about three o'clock, the aforesaid deceased cardinal was vested in full pontifical vestments of violet, except the pectoral cross, which he did not possess ; but, instead of it, his stole was placed upon his breast, crossed, and a chasuble of white, with gold lace, which Giovanni Maria, my colleague, had put upon him in my absence, and wrongly, for it should have been violet. Then, about six in the evening, the body was laid in the great hall, upon the bed which had been made ready in the usual way. Then the friars of Aracœli approached, and said the office of the dead, reading until the arrival of the cardinal-executors. After their arrival, the same friars began the vespers, and also chanted the first nocturn of vigils, or the matins. The second nocturn was said by the friars of the Convents of S. Augustine and S. Marcello, who had come ; the third, by the friars of the Convents of the Blessed Maria sopra Minerva and S. Martino dei Monti, who came third. The lauds were said by the clergy of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Maria in Via Lata. When these were ended, the body of the deceased was borne to the Church of the Blessed Maria in Aracœli, by the friars of that convent, about nine o'clock. There were present at the office the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals the Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Clemente, Conza, Siena, and Ascanio. None of them, however, escorted

the body to the church, nor did any of them come to the church on that day, but after the body was carried out of the house, all the cardinals withdrew to their respective homes. The households of the Pope and cardinals rode behind the body, the clergy first and then the others. There were carried before the body of the deceased, by the grooms of the household and other poor men, a hundred torches, of which twenty-four had stood around the bed in the hall, and eleven at the head and foot.

The chamberlain of the clergy had one torch and one faggot of a pound; I told him that he ought to have two such faggots, and one pound of small candles. Also one of the four priests, who came with him in their copes, had two firebrands of about half-a-pound; and the chamberlain had two candles for himself and the said four priests, who wore their copes, because I learned that this was customarily given to him. Also, to whoever recited the office in the hall, I gave small candles, and to the heads or principals of convents or churches, six. Also, on entering the church, every one had four candles and three *baiocchi*,¹ and the priors or sacrists of convents, two brands of about half-a-pound beside, while to the heralds were due, as I learned, twenty pounds of small candles when the body was placed in the church. It was about the centre of the church where the clergy of the city said their office, and the four priests in copes pronounced the absolutions in their order. The office ended, the friars of Aracœli removed from the body the chasuble and the pontifical ring, which, together with the golden coverlet which had been thrown over the bier, and the mattress and pillow, they put ready to carry back to the house of the deceased.

On Monday, 2nd October, there were read the constitutions of the court for the new audience in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Lord Auditors of the court and their assistants resumed the cases, and the audiences were begun.

On Tuesday, 3rd October, the Rev. Father in Christ, Thomas, Bishop of Aleino, celebrated the public mass of the dead in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, in accordance with the custom of our chapel, for the soul of Stefano, cardinal-priest, with the title of S. Maria in Trastevere, commonly called Cardinal of Milan, of pious memory. The Pope and all the cardinals were absent, except only the Most Rev. Cardinal Lord Giovanni Arcimboldo, who was the only cardinal present with the Bishops of Interamna, Pergamos, and Alexandria, the Abbot of S. Sebastiano, the Lord Hugo Bencio, apostolic sub-deacon, Alvisio Thora, acolyte, two chamberlains, and several esquires of the Pope. After the mass, the celebrant pronounced the absolutions, and the other observances were as usual.

On the same day, about ten in the evening, there came to the city the Lord Brando di Castiglio, Bishop of Cumae, Giacomo di Trivulzio and Guido Antonio Arcimboldo, ambassadors of the Most Illustrious Duke of Milan. At the instance and entreaties of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio, they were met by some, though a few, of the households of the Lord Cardinals, who escorted them to their place of entertainment in the usual way.

On Wednesday, 4th October, the Feast of St. Francis, our Most Holy Lord, Pope Innocent VIII., vested in amice, alb, girdle and white stole, with a hat of crimson velvet on his head, and preceded by the cross and followed by the cardinals, rode in the morning on his mule by the Via Trastevere to the Convent of St. Francesco, according to the usual observance. I was

¹ A *baioccho* is a coin of about three farthings in value.

absent and knew nothing of it. He returned by another route to the palace, as I was informed by the Lord Giovanni Maria.

On Saturday, 7th October, all the usual preparations for a funeral ceremony had been made in the Church of the Blessed Maria di Araceli in the city, and the funeral of the Cardinal of Agria, of pious memory, took place on this day. The coffin, with its handles, measured by carpenter's rule twenty-eight palms long, twenty-one wide, and fourteen high without the lid; and the lid measured vertically from the level of the coffin eight palms. It was made by Signor Giovanni Pietro of Parma, with cloth coverings in three thicknesses, from above the door of the church and thence to the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary painted by St. Luke. There were forty-seven torches over the arms, seventy-five candles of eight ounces, and some of four, over the coffin, with nine torches, and beside the coffin twenty-eight torches. There were a hundred coats of arms in parchment along the walls and marble columns of the church, as well as upon the catafalque, and other things in the usual manner.

On the first day, the Most Rev. Father the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the mass. There were present their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Milan, Recanati, Conza, Siena, Savelli, Colonna, and Ascanio. It was announced for two o'clock, but the office was first begun about three. In the morning, mass being ended, the sermon was preached by the Lord Archdeacon of Cremona, chaplain to the deceased cardinal, and the sermon ended, the absolutions were pronounced by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal-bishops the Vice-Chancellor and Naples, and the Cardinal-priests of Milan and Recanati, together with the celebrant. The benches for the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals were made ready in the Apostolic Palace, those, namely, which they use in public consistories, and were placed against the wall on either side the high altar; the ambassadors and clergy had a place in the friars' choir. The cantors were behind the high altar; the pulpit for the preacher was placed outside the choir of the cardinals, near the corner by the chancel, on the right of this entrance, close to the iron screen. All the other observances were as usual.

List of the wax lights for the first and the ninth days :

Torches of six pounds for the cardinals and the altar, or for the elevation of the Host	24
Torches of four pounds for church and coffin	106
Lights of one pound for chamberlains	300
Lights of two pounds for ambassadors, clergy and mourners	200
Lights of half-a-pound for the squires of cardinals	300
Lights of four ounces for coffin and people	1005

The executors of the will of the aforesaid deceased cardinal were their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal Antonio, and Lord Aloysio de Maffei, apostolic writer.

When the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Vice-Chancellor first came to the church this morning, and, as executor, saw that the arms in cloth were small, and likewise the torches placed above them, he wished there to be other arms in cloth, as far as the choir of the altar on both sides and above the iron screen over the high altar, hung crosswise by a string, so that they should adorn the whole square of the church, as was done for the ninth day of the obsequies; and he had placed above these arms and then



PICCOLOMINI RECEIVING THE POET LAUREATE'S CROWN FROM THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III.
PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

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beyond the forty-seven torches, still another nine, so that there were in all sixty-six; this was done at once.

On the two Sundays intervening, namely 8th and 15th October, no masses of the dead were sung, but low masses were said; but on the other seven days intervening the Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres, celebrated high mass, and, after the mass, pronounced the absolutions, and the other ceremonies were as usual; wax lights were dispensed sparingly on these days.

On *Tuesday, 10th October*, after luncheon, there came to the city the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Puteoli, ambassador of King Ferdinand of Naples, who was received by some members of the cardinals' suites who were his especial friends, and escorted, as usual, to his residence.

On *the same day* there was a rising in the State of Aquileia, which had once been subject to the Church, but which King Ferdinand had taken once more under his rule; the Lord Vespasiano de Gaglioffi was slain, the leader of one faction, with several of his followers, as we learned from letters received at Rome on the following day.

On *Tuesday, 17th October*, were held the last rites in the obsequies of the Cardinal of Agria, of pious memory. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Recanati celebrated the mass; there were present the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Clemente, Conza, Siena, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio. After the mass, the absolutions were pronounced by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal-bishops the Vice-Chancellor, and Angers; the Cardinal-priests of S. Clemente and Conza, together with the celebrant. The other observances were as usual. In the chapel of the Savelli, not far from the choir of the cardinals, were stored the wax lights, which were distributed each day in the church.

On *Wednesday, 18th October*, in the larger chapel of the palace a bishop celebrated the public mass for the soul of Giovanni, Cardinal-priest of S. Sabina, commonly called Cardinal of Gerunda, of pious memory, in accordance with the custom of our chapel. The Pope and the Lord Cardinals of Recanati and Siena, S. Clemente and Conza, with six bishops and a few officials and chamberlains, were present.

The Pope came in cope and mitre; but after the mass, if I remember rightly, he did not pronounce the absolutions, but allowed the celebrant to do so. The other observances were as usual.

On *Tuesday, 24th October*, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, the Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, celebrated the public mass for the soul of Pietro, Cardinal of Padua, with the title of S. Nicola inter Imagines, otherwise called Cardinal of Fusaro, of pious memory, according to the custom of our chapel. The Pope was absent, and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Angers, Recanati, and S. Clemente were present. After the mass the celebrant pronounced the absolutions, and the other observances were as usual.

On *Saturday, 28th October*, there came to the city the ambassadors of the French king, and the Florentine lords, who were received by some intimate friends and escorted in the usual fashion to their place of entertainment.

On *the same day* our most Holy Lord signed the register of expectations, with prerogatives for the conclavists, but the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Auray, the datary, kept it in his hands for several days, after it had been so signed.

On *Tuesday, 31st October*, the Vigil of All Saints, there were pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, at which the Pope was present, and performed the office in the usual way.

On the following day, the Feast of All Saints, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated high mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, the Pope being present. The sermon was preached by the Lord Giovanni Puscha, chaplain of the Most Rev. Cardinal of St. Mark. All the other observances were as usual.

On the same day, about eight in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, wearing amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and scarlet cope without mitre, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, the Archbishop of Arles, the first assistant, bearing the train, came to the larger chapel of the palace, where were said the vespers and the vigils for the dead. The Pope said *Pater noster* aloud before the first, fourth and seventh lessons, and then completed it in a low voice. All the other observance were as usual. At the prayers after the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, acolytes in cassocks without cottas held candles before the Pope.

On Thursday, 2nd November, the Pope, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, red cope and plain mitre, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the larger chapel, where the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Recanati celebrated the public mass. After the mass, the Pontiff pronounced the absolutions, and acolytes in surplices held the censer, holy water and candles; and the other observances were as usual.

On Saturday, 4th November, about four in the afternoon, the body of Lord Lucas Leno, a Roman, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber and dean of the clerks, of pious memory, who died yesterday about the hour of vespers, was borne to the parish church, in the following order: There assembled in the Parish Church of S. Nicola, near the house of Cesarini, and hard by, the clergy and monks of the city, and the Congregations of the Saviour and of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the monks and clergy came in procession in due order. Then the brothers of the aforesaid congregations came from the church aforesaid to the entrance of the house of the deceased, and then retired towards the church, where he was to be buried. The body was in the house of his brother, Lord Pietro, where he died, and it was borne to the church by the members of the Congregation of the Saviour. The mourners followed in mourning garments, the first one behind the other, not walking two and two; then the minors, that is to say, those of lower rank; then two others, his nephews, minors in age, fifteen or thereabouts, one after the other; and next, the Lord Pietro, a Roman lay-citizen, walking between two clergy of high rank; after him, nine or ten other relatives, each walking between two clergy, with other clergy and legates between. When the deceased was borne into the church, all the mourners and the clergy and others following remained outside the door of the church, and these stood there in some sort of order. Friar Mariano of Viterbo preached the sermon in praise of the deceased, as is the custom. Meanwhile, the monks and clergy shut the door of the church, and sang the office of the dead proper to this day. A Roman distributed candles in his fashion. When the office, or sermon, was ended, the mourners were escorted to the house of Lord Pietro, brother of the deceased, in the order in which they had come; there, before the door of the house, a young scholar of four-and-twenty preached another sermon, while the mourners and clergy stood by, to whom he returned thanks in a good sermon, but a long one. There were present the clerks of the Apostolic Chamber, and the households of five or six cardinals and several clergy. His brother, the aforesaid Roman, a layman, succeeded to his clerkship. The obsequies took place in the church on Saturday, 11th November, in the Roman fashion.

On Tuesday, 7th November, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Giovanni, Bishop of Galinis, celebrated the public mass of the dead, in accordance with the custom of our chapel, for the soul of Giovanni, cardinal-priest, with the title of S. Sabina, commonly called Cardinal of Aragon. After the mass, he pronounced the absolutions in the usual way. The Pope was absent, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Naples, S. Maria in Portico, Recanati, Lisbon, S. Clemente, Conza, Siena, and Ascanio, were present.

On Wednesday, 8th November, there was the first despatch of anticipatory graces, and the whole despatch was for the members of the Pope's household only, about six in number. The Rev. Father in Christ, Jean, Lord Bishop of Tournai, master of the household of the Apostolic Palace, had last month drawn up a list for all members of the household who wanted letters despatched in this first despatch, and advised them to get their letters of anticipatory graces written in due form, with the two letters usually despatched by the Apostolic Chancellery, and to present them to him on the first of this month. These letters were duly presented to him, and sent on by him on the first day of the month to the Apostolic Chancellery. About eight in the evening one hundred letters in duplicate were sent to the Lord Abbreviators *de parco majori*, assembled there, especially to see them and reduce them to the form of the Chancellery, and every day, unless they were sent back to the said master of the household, they were all collected as to-day, despatched and sealed from the hour of the despatch until about the third hour of the night. Meanwhile, in the first, second and third halls of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's was assembled a large number of officials, awaiting the said despatch or the decree of sentences. When the third hour arrived, there came forth from the papal chamber their Most Rev. Lordships and Fathers in Christ the Archbishop of Benevento, the Bishops of Aleria, Capuccio, Tivoli, Auray, Trau, Gio. of Alexandria, Alcenò, Custodia, and Pienza, and Girolamo Balbano, secretary to our Most Holy Lord the Pope. All these came to the first hall of the aforesaid palace, where they took up their position upon the floor of the Pope's throne, where the Pontiff sits at a public consistory. When the great tumult had been silenced, the Lord Bishop of Aleria pronounced these words, or words to this effect:—

“Our Most Holy Lord, desiring to obviate the tumults and quarrels which have heretofore occurred at the despatching of the first anticipatory graces, and the disputes which have heretofore arisen in the pursuit of the letters enforcing these same forthcoming graces, has instructed me by word of mouth that all and each of the sentences upon all the graces despatched at Ostia, which are now in the sacristy of yonder chapel (pointing with his hand to the larger chapel), shall remain there for those absent and those present alike, decreeing and publishing censures: and thus by command of His Holiness do I decree and publish. Likewise do all the Lord Bishops, my colleagues, here present. Moreover, His Holiness orders, decrees and ordains that none the less may each and every judge in the matter of these bulls and letters of graces be deputed to give sentence in the usual and ordinary form, upon these same letters, given under their own names, surnames and proper seals, and dated this day, which sentence shall hold good and have its effect in all and through all if the sentence pronounced by them here and at this hour shall have existed. Upon all and each of which, all and each of the notaries here present are summoned, that they may and ought to subscribe to the said sentences if they are specially and expressly summoned so to do in each case.”

Whereat all the multitude exclaimed: *Viva Papa Innocenzo*, and all withdrew contented.

He ought, however, in the opinion of many, to have forbidden any one to name an hour for these sentences, lest he who named the hour should prejudice another in whose sentence the hour was not named. In this first despatch the conclavists could not have their graces despatched, although in this matter they acted in season and petitioned urgently.

On Friday, 10th November, about noon, graces were despatched by the Chamber for the conclavists, and sealed the same evening. They were brought to the apartment of the Lord Girolamo Balbano, secretary to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, who gave them to each of the conclavists to obtain the pronouncement of the sentence. The following day they were brought back to him.

On Monday, 13th November, after luncheon, the Rev. Father Antoniotto, Lord Bishop of Auray, datary to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, sent to the Register all the lists of anticipatory graces, signed by our Most Holy Lord the Pope, namely those of the Emperor, the Vice-Chancellor, and all the other cardinals, and of all princes and writers of apostolic letters. All these lists, which were entered the same day in the register, were that evening carried all together to the Chancellery, except the lists of the members of the Lord Vice-Chancellor's household, and the writers of apostolic letters, which were registered first and sent to the Chancellery, so that other lists could be sent to the Chancellery aforesaid; these despatched their own bulls; for the abbreviators *de parco majori*, and others, came to-day to the Chancellery about eight o'clock, and remained until four in the morning, or thereabouts. Yet, in the despatch of anticipatory graces, when the bulls for the aforesaid were despatched, there came to the Chancellery the lists of the other cardinals and princes, whereupon there were despatched bulls for all those named in the lists, who had their bulls prepared, without distinction. These bulls (that is to say, those of the household of the Vice-Chancellor) were despatched, and remained kept and guarded in the Chancellery until the morrow, for safe keeping, if I remember rightly. The same day, about an hour before midnight, there was a second despatch, in the chamber, of the anticipatory graces of the members of the Pope's household, to the number of about three hundred; all these were sealed the same night.

On Tuesday, 14th November, about four in the afternoon, in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, in the hall before the Apostolic Chamber, there appeared in person the Rev. Father in Christ A——, Lord Bishop of Tivoli. By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, as he stated, he decreed that the sentences upon all the graces in the second despatch be despatched in the same as is noted above in the case of the first despatch, alike for those present and those absent; and on the subject of the pronouncement of sentence, there was made by our Most Holy Lord a constitution which was registered in due order as a rule of the Apostolic Chancellery, among the other rules.

On the same day, from morning until noon, and from eight o'clock until night, the abbreviators *de parco majori*, and others, were in the Chancellery, despatching the graces upon the aforesaid lists. Upon all the bulls despatched yesterday, as to-day, and sent to-day for the seal, was written: *Expedita 18 kal. decembris anno tertio*.

Many had obtained their bulls from the sealing secretly, while others got their sentences secretly pronounced during the sealing. And others, by favour of the masters of the Seal, had their bulls from the seal, although



FICCOLINI RECEIVED BY POPE EUGENIUS IV. ON AN EMBASSY FROM THE EMPEROR
FREDERICK III., 1449. PISTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

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an order was issued on behalf of our Most Holy Lord that sentences were not to be pronounced during the sealing, and that those so pronounced were not valid. This order, however, was not carried out in the Registry of Bulls, which was first freed from the regulation. The writers were all given five carlinos without distinction, and the same for the registering of an executory bull for deciding sentences.

The same writers were expressly enjoined by the Lord Bishop of Arras, and, under pain of privation of all offices, forbidden to presume to take more than five carlinos for the registering of one grace in two bulls; and this they observed.

There was the greatest confusion in the seals in the registers for four days, so much so that the bulls were only found with great difficulty, since he who had a bull of graces did not provide the executory bulls and *vice versa*. I also saw one executory bull judged by B. de Muffei, attached to X., in which the name of the writer did not appear.

On the same day, 14th November, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter's, the Rev. Father Thomas, Lord Bishop of Cervia, celebrated the public mass, after the manner of our chapel, for the soul of Gabriel, cardinal-priest, with the titles of S. Sergio and S. Baccho, commonly called Cardinal of Agria, of pious memory, and after this mass, which was for the dead, he pronounced the absolutions. There were present the Pope and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Lisbon, Recanati, and S. Clemente, cardinal-priests, and the Cardinals of Siena and Ascanio, deacons.

On Saturday, 18th November, the Dedication of the Basilicas of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, of the city, in the morning our Most Holy Lord, wearing amice, alb, girdle, precious white stole, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the Basilica of St. Peter, where he prayed a little while before the altar, at the fald-stool placed in the usual position. Then he left the church, and on the space above the steps of the said basilica, mounted his mule in the place of the public Benediction, and rode to the Basilica of St. Paul without the walls of the city, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, and in the same vestments. When he dismounted there outside the portico of the principal doors, there were stationed there an abbot and two monks, vested in white copes, one of whom held a censer with incense, and the other a vessel of holy water with aspersorium, and the other friars of the monastery with their processional cross. When the cardinals entered the portico, I took the friars' cross from its staff, and handed it to the abbot, who had the *pannicellum*; he cleansed it and kissed the *pannicellum*. Then the Cardinal of Siena handed the cross to the archdeacon, in whose hands the Pope, with uncovered head, kissed it; he then restored it to the abbot, the abbot to me, and I replaced it upon its staff. Then the monks advanced in their order beside our procession, the abbot leading, while they sang the antiphon: *Ecce sacerdos magnus*, etc., and *Te Deum laudamus*, etc., continuing until the Pope was before the high altar; when he reached it, they ceased the singing, and the Pope, kneeling at the fald-stool, recited a prayer in the usual way. Then he rose, and the Lord Bernardino, the private chamberlain, threw upon the altar some ducats, offering them in the Pope's name. Then the Pope went to another altar of wood, made ready for celebrating the office, where were cantors and the deacon and sub-deacon of our chapel, with the Lord Giovanni, Bishop of Tournai, who was to perform the sacred office, all in their vestments. There the Pope, without another genuflection, assumed the precious white cope before the centre of the altar, and with the Bishop of Tournai, who came to his left, recited the *Confiteor*. Then he went up

to the throne prepared for him in the usual way on the gospel side, where he received the cardinals for the reverence. Only the deacons who were farther removed from the Pontiff, and were in their seat facing the Pontiff, came to form the circle. Then the bishops and priests, remaining in their places, assisted alone at the reception of the incense and the giving of the *par*; the senior priest came, when summoned, duly to perform his office. The mass ended, the Pope gave the benediction and a plenary indulgence, which the celebrant announced; the other observances were as usual. Only one prayer was recited, and wrongly, for there should have been the memory of St. Peter at the conclusion. When the indulgences had been announced by the celebrant, the Pope came to the fald-stool, where he prayed, then rose and removed the cope there, but retained the stole and other vestments; he then left the church, and mounted his mule, returning to his palace at St. Peter's in the same order in which he had come. For sitting in the choir or chapel, the following arrangement was observed: On the left of the Pope was a low seat for the assistant bishops; on the right, a number of seats for cardinal-bishops and priests; along and across, as in our chapel, on the opposite side, the Pope's seat for the cardinal-deacons. Between the cardinals were sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, acolytes, chamberlains, and on the steps of the Pope's throne a few nobles. The entrance to this part was on the side of the church next the altar, where outside and behind the bench of the deacons were seats for the clergy, at the head of which stood our cantors. In riding, the following order was observed: First were the cardinals' valets, then their squires who were Roman citizens, and other lay squires of the Pope, the last two of whom carried the Pontiff's two mitres. The acolytes, clerks of the Chamber, auditors, lay ambassadors and barons, the captain of the palace-guard with his men-at-arms, two valets of the Pope with the sword, the Pope's two white horses, the masters of the stables, myself the only sub-deacon, with the cross, between two other sub-deacons; all were dressed in their cloaks, with ordinary hoods. The cardinals, sixteen in number, rode in order of precedence, the junior deacons first and then the others. Two deacons, who assisted, rode, one behind the other, before the Pope, all in their robes; then the Pope, in stole, with a crimson hat upon his head; after him came the auditor of the mitre, between two private chamberlains; then the secretary, between two of the Pope's physicians; after them, the assistant clergy; then the clerical ambassadors, with archbishops, bishops, chief notaries, abbots, and the rest in order of precedence; and, last of all, other ambassadors. But the bishops of the palace did not wish the other clergy to precede, which I would not allow, but made each take precedence in accordance with his rank, because in these processions on horseback we keep the order of the chapel.

On Tuesday, 21st November, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Calvi, celebrated the public mass of the dead for the soul of Nelia, cardinal-priest, of the title of S. Nereo and S. Achilles, commonly called Cardinal of Tours, of the Order of Friars Minor, who died in the State of Tours, in the month of October or November of the year 1484; and, after the mass, he pronounced the absolutions after the manner of our chapel. The Pope was absent, and so were all the cardinals, until the Preface, but at the beginning of the Preface, the Cardinal of S. Clemente came, and was the only cardinal present, with a few clergy.

On Tuesday, 28th November, in the aforesaid chapel, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Tito, Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, celebrated

the public mass of the dead for the soul of Thomas, cardinal-priest, of the title of S. Cyriaco in Thermis, Cardinal of Canterbury, of pious memory. The Pope was absent; the Cardinal of S. Clemente was present at the mass, and the Cardinals of Lisbon and Recanati came about the Preface, and the Vice-Chancellor after the elevation of the Host, and all remained until the end of the office, with a few clergy.

On *Thursday, the last day of November*, the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the chapel of St. Andrew and St. Gregory, in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, the Rev. Father Bartolommeo, Lord Bishop of the State of Castille, celebrated the solemn mass. The Pope and the cardinals were present, in the usual way; there was no sermon. After the solemn mass, the Pope gave the benediction and plenary indulgence, which the celebrant announced. Then, the Pontiff being at the fald-stool, which was placed in its usual position before the high altar, but at a distance from the altar, the canons of the said basilica exposed the head of St. Andrew the Apostle to the Pontiff and the people in the usual way. Then the Pontiff returned to the palace. The aforesaid chapel was prepared in the following way: The Pope's seat was against the wall on the side for the epistle; on his left, in the corner, were low fourfold seats for the assistant bishops; from the corner to the entrance to the chapel, was a seat for the cardinal-bishops; on the other side of the door as far as the corner, and from the corner to the other door, which was closed, were seats for the cardinal-priests and deacons, adorned with coverings, as is the custom; on the Pope's right hand, seats for the ambassadors, and there, close by, were the servitors, private chamberlains and secretaries. On the floor of the chapel, between the cardinals, sat the sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber and chamberlains. The fald-stool for the celebrant was on the side for the gospel, and, behind it, his table.

The stool for the senior of the cardinal-priests was on the Pope's right; outside the chapel several benches were placed crosswise for the clergy, so that those of highest rank faced the altar on the nearest bench, and the others sat in order, with the chief notaries and abbots on the last. But I was not satisfied with the arrangement of the seats for the assistants, cardinals, and ambassadors in the chapel, for the seats for the assistants could have been placed at the Pope's right hand, and for the cardinals, bishops and priests at the left, and, for the ambassadors, from the corner across to the Pope's right hand; in this way the cardinals could have more easily come to form the circle.

After the elevation of the Host, the three canons of the basilica went to the reliquary of the altar, to expose the head of St. Andrew the Apostle, with one beneficiary who lighted torches.

On *Sunday, 3rd December, the First Sunday of Advent*, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Nicola Cibò, Archbishop of Coutances, celebrated the solemn mass of his first-fruits in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, the Pope being present. A friar of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon. The celebrant recited only three prayers: the first, the ordinary; the second, *Deus, qui salutis*, etc.; the third, *Deus omnium fidelium pastor*, according to the practice observed during the last two years, at my bidding. But the Lord Bishop of Pienza said that, in his time, there had always been added the fourth prayer, against the heathen, which was, as it were, joined to the one for the Pontiff, and so ought also to be said. The celebrant and ministers had cardinals' vestments by the order of the abbot of the sacristy, at which several of the clergy murmured.

On *Wednesday, 6th December*, the Feast of the Bishop of S. Nicola, the

Pope, wearing a hood over his stole and rochet, came to the small chapel of the Apostolic Palace, where he heard the solemn mass which was celebrated by the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Calvi. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples was the only cardinal present, with the clergy of the palace and others. Giovanni Maria performed the office of ceremonies, and ordered the altar to be censed before the Introit, and the censer and incense to be carried at the gospel, and everything else was carried out as in the solemn mass, the Pope being vested in full pontificals. The cardinal aforesaid held the thurible and censed the Pope. He handed the book to be kissed at the proper time, and gave the *pax* with the instrument of the *pax*. Three prayers were recited: one of the feast; the second, *Deus, qui salutis*; and the third, *Deus omnium*, etc. All the other observances were as usual.

I was summoned by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Savelli to serve as master of the ceremonies in the Church of S. Nicola in the Tulliano, where were the greater number of the cantors of our chapel, with our deacon and sub-deacon. The Rev. Father the Lord Bishop of Aleria celebrated the mass. There were present their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Marco, S. Angelo, S. Clemente, Conza, Ascanio, and Savelli, whose church it is. Only one prayer was recited, and the *Credo*, because the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco said it was an ancient custom that the *Credo* be said in the patronal church of the titles of the cardinals. The gospel ended, a young lad, a scholar, standing before the cardinals, began to make some sort of oration, of which I had no knowledge, but he could not finish it, on account of the arrival of other scholars. At the end of the mass, one of the cardinals, at my request, granted an indulgence of a hundred days, which, however, the celebrant, using his authority, would not announce.

On Friday, 8th December, the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, having a white stole over the rochet, and, above, a hood, and without cross, the Bishop of the State of Castille assisting, and bearing the train gathered up in his hand, came to the larger chapel of the palace at St. Peter's, where the Rev. Father in Christ, Thoma, Lord Bishop of Alcino, celebrated the solemn mass. The Pope made a prayer at the fald-stool, and recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant, then ascended the throne, and sat upon a low seat made ready for him there, having before him a fald-stool with the Missal laid upon it. When he was to say the Introit and Gradual, the Bishops of Castille and Aleria, who were assisting in the usual place, rose to their feet and then knelt on either side the fald-stool, with a candle, and said the proper words along with the Pontiff. I did not have the altar censed before the Introit, nor the incense and candles carried at the gospel, nor the Pope's foot kissed by the sub-deacon after the epistle was sung, nor by the deacon before the gospel. The Bishop of Castille handed to the Pope the book after the gospel, and the boat for taking incense, and the *pax* with the instrument. Only one prayer was recited. The deacon received the benediction from the Pope before the gospel in the usual way, and there were no indulgences granted; at the elevation of the Host, he knelt at the said fald-stool placed before him. None of the cardinals were present, but only the clergy and other members of the household of the palace.

On the Second Sunday in Advent, 10th December, in the larger chapel aforesaid, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lorenzo, Lord Archbishop of Benevento, celebrated the solemn mass in cardinal's vestments, as was done at the first; the Pope and the cardinals were present. Four prayers were recited: the

first of the day; the second, *Deus, qui salutis*, etc.; the third, against the heathen; the fourth, for the Pope.

The Procurator of the Order of Friars Minor preached the sermon, concerning which there was a great dispute between him and the Master of the Palace. For the Master of the Palace had told me not to allow him to preach, because he had not shown him the sermon first. He excused himself, saying that he had only returned to the city in the evening of the day before yesterday, and this morning, when he sought him at his house, he could not find him. The Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, protector of the Order of Minors, said to the Master of the Palace that the procurator was an approved man, and therefore he ought not to trouble. At length I asked our Most Holy Lord, who said that I should allow the procurator to preach; the master aforesaid had previously, however, come over to this view, in the opinion of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal aforesaid, although he did not give his consent. All the other observances were as usual.

I think that the procurator did not show his sermon to the master because of what he intended to say; for he said in it that the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin, which is in accordance with the doctrine of the Scotists, but contrary to that of the Thomists, to which latter party the Master of the Palace belongs.

On the Third Sunday in Advent, 17th December, in the aforesaid chapel, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Agria celebrated the solemn mass in violet vestments, the Pope being present: he recited four prayers, as on the second Sunday. The Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon. After the mass, I asked His Holiness whether, on the next Sunday, which would be the Vigil of the Nativity of Christ, he wished the usual mass to be celebrated on account of the vespers, or not, and what order he wished to be observed in reading the lessons in the matins of that night. His Holiness, after deliberating on the matter with the cardinals, ordered that on the next Sunday the mass of the Vigil of the Nativity should be said, as he decreed to ordain, and the lessons at the matins in the order observed in former years during his pontificate. The celebrant of the mass did not say *Pax vobis*, but *Dominus vobiscum*, as should be said.

On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Saviour, 24th December, the Rev. Father in Christ, Lord Antonio, Bishop of Auray, the datary, celebrated the solemn mass of the vigil in the ordinary vestments of the clergy. He recited four prayers: the first, of the vigil; the second, of the day; the third, against the heathen; the fourth, for the Pope; and the Preface of Advent.

The Pope came to the chapel with only four cardinals, the Cardinal of Naples and three deacons. The Cardinal of Naples held the boat for the incense, as there was no priest. Then the priests came and there were all the usual observances. The cardinals made the reverence, and wrongly, for they were to make it this evening, and it ought not to be made twice in a day; it was done, however, inadvertently. There was no sermon. The mass ended, because I was hindered with the *pax*, and my colleagues did not notice; no indulgence was asked for, nor was one granted by the Pope. No one noticed, however, and therefore there was no blame nor scandal whatever. The sub-deacon was vested in tunic, and the deacon in dalmatic.

Between eight and nine o'clock, on the same evening, our Most Holy Lord, preceded by the cross and by the clergy and cardinals, all in their vestments, came in procession under the baldacchino to the Basilica of St. Peter.

This was done by the arrangement of the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples and S. Marco, but was contrary to the proper ceremonies and the custom heretofore observed in the basilica. The cardinals only made the reverence to the Pope, although it was his intention that all the clergy who were in vestments should make it also. Still, because His Holiness asked for the opinion of the three cardinals aforesaid on this point of making the reverence, and they were against it, the clergy did not make it. All the other observances were as usual, except that the cardinals escorted the Pope outside the church after the vespers in their vestments, which was also contrary to the proper custom. The Count of Tendilla, ambassador of the King of Spain, and the Lord Maurizio Cibò, brother of the Pope, were censured before the assistant bishops.

On the following night, between nine and ten o'clock, our Most Holy Lord, wearing a crimson cape over the rochet, without amice, alb, girdle, or stole, because the sacrist had not brought it, came to the larger chapel of his palace. There, after all had been done at the fald-stool, he ascended the throne and said *Pater noster* and *Domine labia*, etc., in the usual way. He gave all the absolutions and benedictions from the book. I read the first lesson; Pio, the acolyte, the second; Egidio Durcap, the auditor, the third; the Cardinal of S. Clemente, the fourth; the Count of Tendilla, the fifth. He, when the response of the four lessons was begun, came behind the pulpit where the sermons are usually given, and there took a cape, and girded on his sword with it. When the response was ended, having and wearing his hat on his head, he approached the Pontiff, drew the sword, brandished it, and went through the other prescribed ceremonies. The Lord Girolamo Calagrano, the sub-deacon, then read the sixth lesson; the Cardinal of St. George, the seventh; the Cardinal of Siena, the eighth. The two cardinals, with Recanati the cardinal-priest, about the end of the eighth response approached the Pontiff, who read the ninth lesson, but not all, but said about the middle of it: *Tu autem, Domine, miserere*, etc. The Cardinal of Recanati, the senior priest, held the book, and two acolytes in their robes held candles in candlesticks. After the cantors had given the response, *Deo gratias*, the Lord Girolamo Calagrano, the sub-deacon, approached and pre-intoned for the Pope the *Te Deum laudamus*; the cantors then continued the *Te Deum*, etc.—not waiting for the Pope to intone it—by mistake. When the *Benedicamus Domino* and *Deo gratias* was ended, the Pope, standing on the throne, laid aside the cape, and took amice of white, girdle, stole, cope and precious mitre, and everything else was carried out as usual. He came to recite the *Confiteor*, and there were the other usual observances. There were present at the matins and the mass, until the gospel, nine cardinals: the Cardinal-bishops of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Angers; the Cardinal-priests of Recanati and S. Clemente; the Cardinal-deacons of Siena, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, and Ascanio. The Cardinal of Recanati said the mass, and the Cardinal of S. Clemente stood beside the Pontiff. After the gospel, the Cardinal of Angers withdrew, and at my bidding the Deacons Savelli, Colonna, and Ascanio came to the bench where sat the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, so that he might not be alone: at the beginning of the Preface they returned to their own bench, and the Cardinal of S. Clemente stood with him. No reverence was made to the Pope at this mass, and all the other observances were as usual. Twenty-four white torches were held by the Pope's squires, who stood in the usual way.

The mass ended at one o'clock a.m.; the Pope, the cardinals and all the clergy withdrew; the Abbot of S. Sebastiano, sacrist to the Pope, said

the second mass in the usual way. Meanwhile, the foresters removed all the branches [evergreens], even those that were strewn on the ground, which displeased me greatly. At this mass no cardinal or prelate was present, but only a few poor people.

On Monday, 25th December, the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Pope came in procession under the baldacchino to the Basilica of St. Peter. The clergy and cardinals preceded him, walking after the cross. The Lord Sinulfo, clerk of the Chamber, walking on the left of the cross, bore the sword and cap to the high altar on the side for the epistle, where it remained throughout the mass. The mass ended, our Most Holy Lord, sitting upon the seat on the throne, handed the sword and cap to the Count of Tendilla, saying, without book: *Accipe gladium, et sis defensor fidei et sancte romane ecclesie, in nomine Patris*, etc. The count took them, and kissed first the hand and then the foot of the Pope, and gave the sword to one of his soldiers, who bore it before him.

The Lord Girolamo Calagrano read the epistle, the Cardinal of Ostia the gospel, and after the mass he announced the plenary indulgence granted by the Pope, and the Lord Vice-Chancellor was the assistant. After the sword was given, the Pope came by the way of the Saviour, where he was shown the Sacred Head by the Lord Bishop of Trau, vicar of St. Peter's. The cardinals, some with their vestments and some without, escorted the Pope to the portico of St. Peter's, where he took leave of them all. The Count of Tendilla, preceded by his soldier with the sword, escorted the Pope to the papal chamber, then came away from the palace, and was escorted by the clergy of the palace and the Pope's household and the ambassadors to his residence in the Campo dei Fiori, riding between the Vice-Chancellor on his right and the Bishop of Alcono on the left. After him came an ambassador on the left, with one of the palace clergy on the right, then the other episcopal chamberlains; before him were the Pope's squires, and immediately in front the soldier with sword and cap. He thanked them all before his house, and went indoors.

On Tuesday, 26th December, in the larger chapel of the palace the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Milan, for the Feast of St. Stephen, celebrated the solemn mass, the Pope and cardinals being present. A Friar Serafio of Vico, of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon; he made a mistake and faltered twice. All the other observances were as usual.

On Wednesday, 27th December, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, precious white stole and crimson hat, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, rode at about four o'clock in the afternoon from his palace to the Church of S. Giovanni di Laterano. There, as he entered the church, the prior of the church, wearing a cope, and assisted by his canons, held the cross for the Pope to kiss. He would not take it, and it would have been well for the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, archpriest of the church, to offer the cross to the Pope to kiss. But the Cardinal of Siena took it and handed it to the Pope, saying that it was part of his office; but he said and did wrongly, although the Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinal of S. Marco, and the Bishop of Pienza were of the opposite opinion. The Cardinal of S. Marco said that, when Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory, came, he himself always handed him the cross to kiss. The prior entering first, the canons sang the antiphon, and the priests and the Pontiff the *Te Deum*, etc.

Meanwhile, the Pope prayed at the fald-stool before the high altar, below the heads of the Apostles, where the mass was to be celebrated.

Then he rose, assumed the cope, and recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant, then ascended the throne and sat there upon a marble seat, because the wooden altar generally placed in the tribune there, and used by the canons, had been removed. The cardinals were on either side in the usual way, the assistant priests on the Pope's right hand, all the clergy outside the choir of the Pope on the right between the choir and the high altar, except the assistants, who were on the left with the Pope; the lay ambassadors were in a lower bench behind the cardinal-priests, facing the Pope and back to the altar. The celebrant, who was the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, sat at the fald-stool on the side of the epistle outside the altar rail, facing the Pope. The table stood behind him. There was no sermon, by command of the Pope; it should have been preached by the Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony. The mass ended, the Pope gave the benediction and a plenary indulgence, which the celebrant announced. Then the Pope returned in the same order to his palace at St. Peter's; he came by the Campo dei Fiori, the Ghetto, and S. Maria della Consolazione; on the return journey, by S. Marco and the Via del Papa. But both coming and returning he went by the Colosseum, and the direct route, where is placed the image of a female Pope, a sign, as it is said, that Pope John VII., an Englishwoman, bore a son; along which route all say the Pope ought never to ride. I was blamed on this score by the Lord Archbishop of Florence, the Bishops of Massy and Hugo de Beneis, apostolic sub-deacon. I spoke with the Lord Bishop of Pienza upon the matter, and he said it was a folly and a heresy, to wit, that the Pope ought not to go by that way, since it was not found prohibited in any authentic book, or remarked as contrary to custom.¹

¹ The existence of the Popess Joan is to-day relegated to the number of those legends which the simple faith of the Middle Ages has handed down. But it cannot be denied that, from the eleventh until the close of the seventeenth centuries, this legend was admitted as a fact, and that in the ranks of the clergy themselves the most convinced partisans of the fable were to be found. Platina, in his *History of the Popes*, written by order of Sixtus IV., contributed to the support of this belief, although he is careful to point out that he only reports the general opinion (*De vitis ac gestis Sum. Pont.*, 1664, p. 258). It would need a whole volume to mention all the works which have been written for or against the existence of the Popess. Without entering into a discussion of the arguments brought forward on either side, it will be sufficient to quote three documents, which appear to be irrefutable, and to refer the reader for further details to the dissertation by the Cardinal Garampi, published in 1749: *De nummo argenteo Benedicti III.*, at Rome; to the excellent work of Bianchi Giovini quoted above (*Esame critico*, etc.); and to *La Papesse Jeanne* by Philomneste Junior (Gustave Brunet), 1 vol. in 12, Brussels, 1880. Anastasia the Librarian, who was present at the consecrations of Leo II., Benedict III., Adrian II., Nicolas I., and John VIII., makes no mention of the Popess Joan, and gives Benedict III. as the immediate successor of Leo IV. It is only in later MSS. that the mention of the Popess Joan is introduced. At the Roman Council, held in 863, Pope Nicolas I., who presided, speaks of his predecessors Benedict III. and Leo IV., and says nothing of the Popess, nor does he make the slightest allusion to her. (*See Murat., Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. ii., p. ii., col. 128.) Hinemar, Archbishop of Rheims, in a letter to Nicolas I., writes, that the deputies sent to Rome to demand the confirmation of the second synod of Soissons learned on the way of the death of Leo IV., and found, on their arrival at Rome, Benedict III. on the throne of St. Peter. (*See Hinemari, Archiep. Remensis Opera*, Paris, 2 vols. in fol., 1645, t. ii., letter xxvi., p. 293, edition of Siomondi.) Lastly, the Cardinal Garampi, in his dissertation quoted above, shows the impossibility of the existence of the Popess Joan, whose story, as says Muratori, is only "*Gestae et nugae barbarici aevi*" (*Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. iii., col. 293).

St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence in the fifteenth century, in his *Chronicle*, mentions Pope Joan as follows:—

"*Post hunc Leonem (Leo IV.) Martinus in chronica sua posuit Joannem, natione*

At this time there came to the city the Rev. Fathers William, Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Robert, Lord Bishop of Glasgow, ambassadors of the Most Illustrious James, King of the Scots, to pay homage to our Most Holy Lord. They were met at the Porta Viridarii by the households of the Pope and the cardinals, and escorted by him to the house of the Lord Mellino of Nola, which they hired for their residence in the usual way. They entered the city in long cloaks, and underneath small hoods of camels' hair with black hats lined with green, in the fashion of the Roman Court; but the hoods of camels' hair were not right.

1487.—THE FIFTH INDICTION.¹

On Sunday, 31st December, in the larger chapel of the palace at St. Peter's, there were pontifical vespers, the Pope being present and beginning.

On the following day, the Feast of the Circumcision of our Saviour, in the same chapel there was solemn mass, which the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated, the Pope being present. A young friar of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon, which was long and wearisome.

On Friday, 5th January, the Vigil of the Epiphany of Our Lord, there

Anglicum. . . . Hic, inquit Martinus, ut asseritur, foeminu fuit." He adds, on the authority of this Martin the Pole, that "a statue was erected to the memory of the Popess."

This statue evidently existed in the fifteenth century, for John Burchard mentions it three times in his Diary. It is said to have been destroyed by order of Pope St. Pius V., in 1568.

Don Alfonso, Bishop of Burfos, in his *Anacephaleosis Rerum Hispaniae* (1545), c. lvi., fol. 109, mentions the story in the same way, repeating the popular belief of the day in the fable of Pope Joan.

"Of Pope Joan. Moreover, near to the Colosseum, in the open place, standeth a statue which is called the Woman Pope with the boy, whose body is buried at St. Pitreus in bonio. Moreover, in the same open place is a Majesty of the Lord, that spake to her as she passed, and said: 'In comfort shalt thou not pass'; and when she passed she was taken with pains, and cast forth the child from her womb. Wherefore the Pope to this day shall not pass by that way." (*Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, an English version of the Mediæval Guide-book entitled *The Marvels of Rome, or a Picture of the Golden City*, by Francis Morgan Nichols, p. 139.)

In the Mantuan plan published by De Rossi in his *Piante di Roma*, the place of the parturition of Pope Joan is shown to the north of San Clemente, towards the end of the Via Labicana. But in Panvinius's note to Platina's *Vitae Pontificum*, 101 b, 104, it is implied that the *sacellum*, then still existing, where the female Pope was said to have been buried, was in the other road from the Colosseum to San Clemente, which ran between the Via Labicana and the road passing the SS. Quattro (Cencius, *Ordo Romanus*, c. 29, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, Vol. II.). When the legend was current, *i. e.* to the early part of the sixteenth century, the spot associated with it was purposely avoided by the Popes (*vide* Panvinius's note in Platina's *Vitae Pontificum*, p. 104).

¹ "The Roman indiction is the method of reckoning used by the Romans; it contains a period of fifteen years, and when this is finished, they return to the unit and continue again in the same way. This computation has no connection with movements of the heavenly bodies. . . . The Roman indiction, which is that used in the Papal Bulls, begins on January 1st. The Popes began to date their acts by the year of the indictions, after Charlemagne had made them Sovereigns. Before that time they dated them by the years of the Emperors, and afterwards by the years of their Pontificate, as appears in the synod held at Rome in 998 by Pope John XV." (*See Trévoux, Dict. Univers. franç.—lat.*, Paris, 1771, t. v., p. 443.)

The indiction is obtained by adding three to the year and then dividing by fifteen. If the year is entirely divisible by fifteen, the indiction is the fifteenth; if there is a remainder, this remainder is the required indiction.

See the dissertation of Du Cange in the *Glossarium mediae, et inf. lat.*, at the word *Indictio*; *P' Art de vérifier les Dates*, third edition, t. i., pp. 14 and 15; and the *DiCTION. de statistique religieuse*, t. ix., col. 907, of the *Nouvelle Encyc. relig.* published under the direction of Migne.

were solemn vespers in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being present and beginning the office.

On the following day, there was solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers, the Pope being present. A friar of the Order of the Servites of Blessed Mary preached the sermon.

On Friday, 12th January, in the first and larger hall of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, there was a public consistory, in which the Rev. Fathers the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Lord Bishop of Glasgow paid homage to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, in the name of the King of Scotland. The archbishop made a speech. The Lord Giovanni Battista Caccialupo brought forward a commission on behalf of the Counts of Nassau, who were ruined fifty years ago, the Archbishop of Cologne petitioning that they be restored to honour.

The Pope replied: "*Placet quod audeat Cardinalis S. Marci et referat secretariis.*"

The ambassador had left at home the letters which he ought to have waited for, but not without scandal, for the Lord Giovanni Battista, acting on my advice, when he brought the matter forward, multiplied the words of his commission in order to allow time, in which the letters came; these were patent and open, with the king's seal affixed. By these letters the king constituted as his procurators the archbishop and bishop aforesaid, and three other personages, one of whom was dead, while the two others had fallen ill and stayed behind on the way, to do homage, with a clause to the effect that the two could carry out the whole, provided that one of the two and the chief were the archbishop. Everything was carried out in the usual way.

On Sunday, 14th January, next before the Feast of St. Anthony the Abbot, which is celebrated on Wednesday next, the 17th inst., the Holy Face was exposed in the Basilica of St. Peter, as is the custom.

On Thursday, 25th January, the Feast of the Conversion of the Apostle St. Paul, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, precious white stole, with hat of crimson, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, rode, by the way of the Campo dei Fiori and the Ghetto, to St. Paul's; as he entered beneath the portico, the abbot stood there with the monks in procession, with the cross, which was wiped by the abbot with the *pannicle* and the *pannicle* kissed by him; then the Pope kissed the cross in the hands of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal, the first assistant. Then they sang *Ecce sacerdos*, etc., *Te Deum*, etc., and the Pope proceeded to the high altar, where he knelt and prayed at the fald-stool, and when he rose the Lord Bernardino, the private chamberlain, threw some money upon the altar. Then the Pope went to another altar prepared in the tribune, where he took the cope, then recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant, and ascended the throne, where the cardinals came for the salutation in the usual way. Two prayers were recited, the first of St. Paul with its conclusion, then another of St. Peter, also with its conclusion. The Rev. Father Leonardo, Bishop of Albenga, vicar of the Pope, celebrated the mass. The cardinals did not come to form the circle, but simply rose at the Introit, nor did the senior priest stand beside the Pope, because of the lack of space, but he came from his own seat to assist. The celebrant also said the *Credo*. At the close of the mass, the Pope gave the benediction and plenary indulgences, which the celebrant announced. There was no sermon. The places for every one, and the Pope's seat, were arranged as before at the Dedication of the Basilicas.

At this time there came to the city the Most Illustrious Lord the Prince of Salerno, who was received by the households of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Savelli, and Colonna, and escorted by them, as far as the Holy Apostles, to the house of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli aforesaid, where he was entertained. There arose this morning, between this Prince of Salerno and the Count of Tendilla, ambassador of the King of Spain, a dispute upon the question of precedence. Both were this morning in the Piazza di S. Pietro, and desired to escort our Most Holy Lord, but when I instructed the count to take, between himself and a senator of the city who was also present, the said prince, he refused, saying that he himself was the more honourable, because he was the more powerful and an ambassador to a king, and therefore he should take precedence. I replied that wealth and power ought not to be considered, but titles of honour. Therefore, a prince who was of higher rank than a count and a marquis, ought to precede even a duke, according to the custom of the kingdom; much more then ought he to precede him as count, not as ambassador of a king, for in that capacity even the senator of the city would take precedence of him. The Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal of Angers were of the count's opinion, but when they had heard my arguments they acquiesced. Afterwards, knowing that some said that I ought to inform our Most Holy Lord on this matter, as he was for the count, I said: "If the Pope is for the count, who will be for justice?" Meanwhile they rode in no order at all, both first as it were. When the count insisted upon keeping the first place in the Church of St. Paul, our Most Holy Lord, hearing my argument, ordered both to be instructed to absent themselves from the office, as was done. The mass ended, the Pope removed the cope before the altar, and in his stole entered the monastery, where he took luncheon, keeping some of the cardinals with him.

After luncheon, His Holiness restored the Castle of St. Paul, which had been taken in the recent war, and granted permission to the abbot to re-enter it. Then, about nine in the evening, in the same vestments and the same order, he returned by the same route to the palace at St. Peter's, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, and by the Prince of Salerno. The Count of Tendilla was not present; on the other side of the Ponte di S. Angelo the Pope took leave of the cardinals, who returned home.

On Saturday, 27th January, in the Church of S. Salvatore of the Orsini, were held the obsequies of Silvestro, Bishop of Chiusi, of pious memory. The Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Tito, Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, celebrated the mass. There were six mourners, the Lord Giacomo, brother of the deceased, his nephew and four members of his household, who stood on either side the bier. There were twelve torches, and two beside the tomb; the celebrant was given one, and for the elevation of the Host six were given of four pounds each.

There were present the households of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Marco, S. Clemente, and S. Angelo, three bishops, two bishops-elect, one chief notary, and a few other officials. Twenty candles were held, each of eight pounds of wax, thirty of half-a-pound, and fifty or sixty of three or four ounces. A friar, Mattia, of the Order of Preachers, preached the sermon after the mass; when it was ended the celebrant pronounced the absolutions, and the other observances were as usual.

On Thursday, 1st February, there was proclaimed by herald throughout the city, a treaty between the chief Pontiff and the Lords of Venice, their

allies and subjects, for twenty-five years, and then for as much longer as it shall please the contracting parties to continue it.

On Friday, 2nd February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, when taking the usual vestments in the papal chamber, instructed me to bid the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Glasgow, the ambassadors of the King of Scotland, to give a place above them to the Bishop of Sirmio, ambassador of the King of Hungary, because in the time of Pope Pius II., of happy memory, it had been decided and declared that the King of Hungary should precede the King of Scotland. Likewise, I was to bid the Lord Melchior Truchst, ambassador of the Illustrious Marquis of Brandenburg, or his brother, not to come to this chapel, in order to avoid a dispute between him and the ambassador of the Signory of Venice, who was to come to the chapel this morning on account of the publishing of the confederation. I gave the message, and the Lord Melchior acquiesced, but the others opposed it. For, as the Pope was going to the larger chapel, the aforesaid ambassadors of the King of Scotland complained bitterly to His Holiness, the Cardinal of Angers lending them his assistance. Therefore the Pope bade me instruct them and the other ambassador of the King of Hungary not to enter the chapel: this I did.

Then, as soon as His Holiness, after offering a prayer in the usual way, had ascended the throne, he had all the cardinals summoned, and as they stood before him in a circle, he set before them the affair of the complaint made by the ambassadors of the aforesaid kings, and asked for their advice; but the matter was not decided, and the cardinals returned to their places; they then made the reverence in their robes.

The Cardinals Savelli and Colonna remained with the Pontiff, while the Cardinals of St. George and Siena were taking their vestments with the others, but wrongly; for the Cardinals Ascanio and Colonna should have remained, who were the juniors. Meanwhile the Pope instructed me to give a place for this morning to the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Glasgow among the assistant bishops, and to the Bishop of Sirmio among the aforesaid ambassadors. The Bishop of Sirmio accepted, but the others refused and left the chapel.

When the cardinals and the clergy were vested, the Pontiff rose, and, standing without mitre, blessed the candles, which were arranged on his left hand in his wing of the chapel, sprinkled and censured them. Then he distributed the two large wax candles standing before him, and gave them to the Count of Tendilla standing on his right, and the Lord Maurizio, his brother, on his left, to whom, as to the despot of Morea, he gave white candles as to the cardinals. Then the procession was formed from the aforesaid chapel to the high altar of the Basilica of St. Peter, the clergy and others preceding. The cross, the cardinals and bishops remained in the hall until the Pontiff had thrown candles to the people, then in due order they advanced to the basilica aforesaid, where they removed their vestments at the high altar, and took their robes, and the Pope laid aside his plain red cope, and took the precious white one. The *Confiteor* was recited, and the mass begun in the usual way. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the mass, and the Pope gave him, at my bidding, only one candle. The cantors did not recite the Prose. When the gospel was being read, the Rev. Father Leonello, Lord Bishop of Trau, took the white cope and mitre near the chancel, and when the Pontiff had kissed and censured the book after the gospel, and was sitting with mitre on, he approached him, and, kneeling, kissed his right knee, saying nothing.

Then he came to the pulpit, which was made ready in a lofty position, where he made an able oration concerning the treaty between the Pontiff and the Venetians. He then read all the terms which were agreed upon in the ducal palace at Venice between the Illustrious Doge Agosto and the Signory of Venice on the one part, and the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Nicola Franco, Bishop of Treviso, and Ajulio Cesar of Varano, the chamberlain, on behalf of the Pontiff, on the 29th of December last, 1487 A.D. When he had read these he came down from the pulpit, and our Most Holy Lord, standing without mitre, began the *Te Deum*, etc., which the cantors continued. When it was ended, two acolytes approached with candles, wearing their robes, because they had no surplices, and the Pope, omitting the *Pater noster*, said :

℟. *Fiat pax in virtute tua* ; and the cantors responded : *Et abundantia in turribus tuis. Concede, quesumus, Domine, populo tuo ut sit ei cor unum et una fides et anima una.*

℞. *In observatione mandatorum tuorum. Non nobis, Domine, non nobis. Sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Domine, exaudi orationem meam. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.*

Oremus. Deus a quo sancta, etc., with the conclusion, Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen. Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. The cantors : *Benedicamus Domino. Deo gratias.*

Meanwhile, the cardinals came to form the circle. The celebrant recited the *Credo*, and the rest was as usual. At the close the Pope gave the benediction and plenary indulgences, which the celebrant announced. Afterwards, the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Glasgow protested before the Pontiff against the insult offered to their king yesterday, and besought him to have justice done to them. The same request and protest was made by the Cardinal of Angers, with the ambassadors of the King of France, the Count of Tendilla, the King of Portugal and the King of the Romans. The Pope replied that the said arrangements had been made by the cardinals, and that he would willingly do them justice.

On Sunday, 18th February, after luncheon, about eight in the evening, young Jews of not more than twenty years of age, ran a race from the Hospital of the Angelici to the Piazza di S. Pietro, for a red stuff of two cannes, which a Spanish Jew had by the favour of the Count of Tendilla ; for although he touched the stuff first, another had outrun him until near the stuff, when he was hindered by a horse, and fell ; therefore the race ought to have been run again. *On the same day*, the old men over fifty years of age ran for a similar piece of stuff, which was won by a German ; they ran from the Castello di S. Angelo to the Palazzo di S. Pietro.

On Monday, 19th February, after luncheon, young men between twenty and thirty ran from the Hospital of the Angelici to the Piazza di S. Pietro for a piece of blue satin of two cannes ; no one had it to-day, because there was not a fair start to the race. *On the same day*, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Colonna, masked on horseback, with three other cardinals also masked, as he was cantering across the piazza, fell heavily with his horse by the Church of S. Salvatore, not without danger to himself.

On Tuesday, 20th February, the aforesaid young men ran, as described above, for the same piece of stuff, which a man of Vicovaro, formerly *stafferius* to the Lord Gentile Virgineo Orsini, won. *On the same day, 20th February*, after luncheon, boys under fifteen years of age ran races from the Hospital of the Angelica to the Piazza di S. Pietro twice over, because the first race had not a fair start. The prize was a piece of blue satin of two cannes, which the valet of Federico of Lucca won. There was, on this

account, much complaining, for the next boy to the aforesaid was the servant of the custodian of S. Angelo, and when the governor with the prize and the apparitor and his other men wished to cross the Ponte di S. Angelo, the provisionati of the aforesaid castle wished to snatch it from him. The governor, foreseeing this, withdrew, with the prize and his men, by way of the Ponte Nuovo; several persons were wounded near the castle. The stuff was carried to the house of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Chamberlain, and was there assigned to the one who was favoured by the members of the Lord Chamberlain's household.

On Wednesday, 21st February, after luncheon, asses ran races from the Campo dei Fiori to the Palazzo di S. Pietro for a piece of blue cloth of about two cannes, fairly fine; they ran twice over, because the start of the first race was not good. The ass of a man named Pillicarolo, staying near Paradiso, won the prize, on Friday, 23rd February, because they ran then for the second time.

On Thursday, 22nd February, was the most beautiful feast in the carnival, in Roman fashion. There were eight triumphal cars adorned with various representations. In these days, as was commonly reported, the Cardinals of St. George, Parma, Colonna, and Ascanio, rode several times masked, sometimes all together, and sometimes in pairs; and when Colonna fell before with his horse, as related above, three of the others are said to have been with him, wearing masks.

On Friday, 23rd February, the asses ran after luncheon and had the stuff, as told above. Then also the buffaloes ran from the Campo dei Fiori to the Palace of St. Peter's for a piece of green cloth of about two cannes; they ran the race twice over, for in the first race neither a bull buffalo nor a cow buffalo came to the prize, but some remained on the other side of the gate; and when the others came to the Piazza di S. Pietro, some ran out of the Porta Viridarii, others out of the Porta Pertusa; I do not know who had the prize.

On Saturday, 24th February, in the morning the presentation of bulls took place in the Campidolio in the usual way, and it rained all day as well as all the night, before and after.

On Sunday, 25th February, of the carnival, it was finest on this and the following days of the carnival; near the Monte Omnis Terra the Barbary horses ran for a piece of stuff lined with gold brocade, which was won by the Barbary horse of the Lord Girolamo Calagrano, the apostolic sub-deacon, private chamberlain to our Most Holy Lord the Pope. Then the horses ran for a piece of crimson velvet, lined with green taffeta, which none of them won to-day, because they had not a fair start. Afterwards the mares ran for a piece of violet velvet lined with red taffeta, which was won by the mare of Ludovico Mathew, a Roman citizen. The bulls were at length killed, and several men were wounded, some of whom died; there was no contest there to-day.

On Monday, 26th February, in the carnival, there was a tourney in the Piazzo di S. Pietro in the Italian fashion, and *also on the following day*, the last of the carnival. The prize was a piece of silver brocade, three cannes long or more, lined with spotted material, which was won by a soldier from Colonna, on the same Tuesday evening.

On Wednesday, 28th February, the last day of the month, Ash Wednesday, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, red cope and plain mitre of pearls, came to the large chapel of his palace at St. Peter's, prayed at the fald-stool, ascended the throne, and received the cardinals for the salutation in the usual way. The last two cardinals remained with the

Pontiff after the salutation. Meanwhile, those who were to assist, and all the others, took their usual vestments, and when they were vested the first two went up to the Pontiff, and the other two came down and took their vestments in their places. When all were vested, the Lord Girolamo Calagrano, the apostolic sub-deacon, took from the altar the bowl which was full of ashes, and held it at the Pontiff's right hand. The Pope, sitting, recited the antiphon with mitre on; then laid aside the mitre, rose and recited the four other prayers, in accordance with the Ordinary, the cantors meanwhile chanting nothing, for this is right. The Lord Bishop of Pienza, having finished the prayers, the cardinal-priest held the boat, and the Pope, sitting without the mitre, blessed the incense. Then standing with uncovered head he sprinkled and censured the ashes; then the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was to perform the office, came from his fald-stool, wearing full vestments except the gloves and pontifical ring. He stood before the Pontiff, who sat without the mitre, and with uncovered head placed ashes upon His Holiness, saying nothing. Then the Pontiff took the mitre and gremial, and placed ashes upon them all, upon the celebrant first and then upon the others, the cantors meanwhile chanting: *Immutemur*, etc. After this the Pope washed his hands and recited the prayer, with the conclusion: *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*. Then he laid aside all his vestments and came to recite the *Confiteor*, and the office was continued in the usual way. When the Tract was begun, the deacon placed the book of the gospels on the altar, kissed the Pope's foot, and said: *Munda*, etc.; before he came to the genuflection before the verse, *Adjuva nos Deus*, etc., he received the benediction from the Pontiff, and when the verse was ended, before the Pope was seated upon the throne, he began the *Dominus vobiscum* before the gospel. A certain Aloysio of Venice, chaplain of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli preached the sermon. All the other observances were as usual.

On Friday, 2nd March, in private consistory the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Giuliano, Bishop of Ostia, commonly called the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, was named as degate *a latere* to the Marquisate of Ancona and to Venice. He was not escorted to his palace by the college of cardinals in the usual way—why, I do not know.

On the First Sunday in Lent, 4th March, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace the Rev. Father in Christ, Eustache, Lord Archbishop of Arles, assistant to our Most Holy Lord, celebrated the solemn mass, the Pope being present. He recited five prayers: the first, the ordinary of the day with its conclusion; the second . . .¹; the third, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui vivorum dominaris simul et mortuorum*, etc.; the fourth, against the heathen; the fifth, for the Pontiff. The sermon was preached by a friar of the Order of St. Dominic for the procurator of that Order. The other observances were as usual.

This morning, before our Most Holy Lord left the chamber, the Lord Bernardino Gambarà, private chamberlain to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, gave to the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Bishop of Pienza and myself, eight ancient books of ceremonies for our instruction and for the easier composition of the new Book of Ceremonies.²

On Wednesday, 7th March, the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, the cardinals held a solemn consistory in the Minerva, at which the Rev. Father in Christ, Stefano, Lord Archbishop of Patras and Bishop of Talecazzi, celebrated the

¹ There is here a *lacuna* in all the MSS.

² See the biographical notice of Burchard, Vol. I. of this edition.

solemn mass. He recited only one prayer, the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Credo*. The sermon after the gospel was preached by Martino of Nimira, clerk of the diocese of Albano, equerry to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena. There were present the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, S. Maria in Portico, and Angers, bishops; Savelli, a cardinal-priest; St. George and Colonna, deacons.

On the Second Sunday in Lent, 11th March, in the larger chapel of the palace, the Rev. Father in Christ, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Dole, an assistant, in the presence of the Pope celebrated the solemn mass with five prayers, as on the first Sunday in Lent. The Procurator of the Order of Minors preached the sermon.

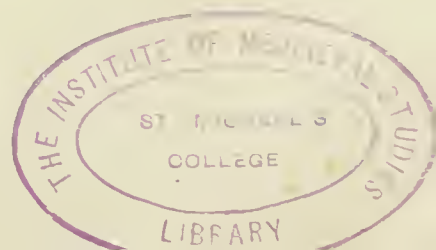
On the Third Sunday in Lent, 18th March, in the aforesaid chapel the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Bishop of Tournai, master of the household of the Apostolic Palace, celebrated the solemn mass, the Pope being present. He recited five prayers as on the first Sunday. The Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon.

On the Fourth Sunday in Lent (Mid-Lent Sunday), 25th March, in the aforesaid chapel the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Recanati celebrated the solemn mass in violet vestments and precious mitre; the assistants wore the dalmatic and tunic. The Pope was present, vested in amice, alb, girdle, stole, precious cope, without mitre. Standing before the table in the papal chamber, between the couch and the chimney, he blessed the Rose which the Lord Sinolfo of Castle Otherio, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, held in his hand, kneeling between the Pontiff's right hand and the table. After the benediction, the Cardinal of Siena took the Rose in his hands, and the Pope placed balsam and then musk upon it in the usual way; at length the Lord Sinolfo received the Rose and held it as before, and the Cardinal of Siena holding the *navicle*, the Pope took incense, then sprinkled the Rose, and then censured it, the Cardinal of Siena assisting each time, because no other cardinal was with him, for there were only two cardinals with our Most Holy Lord the Pope when he left his private apartment, Recanati and Siena. The Cardinal of Recanati went straightway to assume the vestments for mass, while the Cardinal of Siena alone vested the Pope, then the Pope took the Rose, wrapped its stem in a cloth, and bore it in his left hand, while with the right he blessed the people. The Cardinal of Siena bore the orphrey of the Pope's cope uplifted on the right, on the left there was no one. The ambassador of the King of Naples bore the train. Thus the Pope came from the chamber, and accompanied only by the Cardinal of Siena, proceeded to the chapel. In the first hall, the larger one of the palace, there came their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Naples and S. Clemente one after the other, and were followed by others. Before the fald-stool the Pope gave the Rose to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, and he to the Lord Sinolfo, who held it there until after the *Confiteor*, and wrongly. He ought to have laid it straightway on the altar. The *Confiteor* ended, he bore it to the altar, where I took it from his hands, and with the abbot the sacrist fitted it upon a candlestick, and placed it in the centre of the altar before the crucifix which was there, while the *pinnacle* remained close by. The celebrant did not say *Pax vobis*, but *Dominus vobiscum*, and rightly; he recited five prayers as on the first Sunday in Lent. There was no sermon, because the Procurator of the Order of Carmelites, who was to preach, said that he was ill. The mass ended, the Pope gave the solemn benediction and indulgences for seven years and as many quarantines, which the celebrant announced. Then the



PICCOLOMINI AT THE ESPOUSALS OF ELEONORA OF PORTUGAL TO FREDERICK III.
 PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

Facing page 166.





sacrist wrapped the *pannicle* round the stem of the Rose and gave it to the Lord Sinolfo, who, when the Pope had made a prayer at the fald-stool, handed both to the Cardinal of Siena and he to the Pontiff. He bore it as before to the chamber, because he intended to give it to the Noble Lord the Duke of Monopoli, who was last year in Rome: he is not of the number of the faithful.

On Saturday, 31st March, about nine in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, wearing amice, alb, girdle, and plain violet stole, preceded by the cross and ten cardinals, rode by the way next the river to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, where he made a prayer before the altar; then by the direct route to the Church of Santa Maria in Via Lata and the Campo dei Fiori, he returned to his palace in the order in which he started. He took leave of the cardinals by the Ponte di S. Angelo, and they returned to their homes.

On the Fifth Sunday in Lent, called the Sunday of the Passion, 1st April, the Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, celebrated the public mass in the large chapel, the Pope being present. He recited three prayers as in the Ordinary, and he himself preached the sermon in this way. The gospel ended, he laid aside his chasuble, and took the violet cope, retaining all the other vestments, including the ring and gloves. Then, when the book of the gospels had been kissed and censed, hat and mitre being borne before him, he made reverences, genuflecting to the altar and to the Pope, and, kneeling before the Pope, kissed his right knee and sought the benediction and indulgence. When these were granted, making reverences as before, he ascended the pulpit, and placing the mitre upon his head, preached the sermon, and after reciting the *Confiteor* he announced the indulgences. The other observances were as usual. I escorted the celebrant both going to the pulpit and returning thence to the altar.

On Tuesday, 3rd April, the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Tournai, by command of the Pope, given to him, as he asserted, in presence of the Bishops of Aleria and Auray, and Girolamo Balbano, the secretary, bade me order all clergy then at the Roman Court henceforth to come each day to the chaplain's chapel in proper attire, and not to wander through the Church of St. Peter or elsewhere at that time, and when the offices in the chapel were ended to escort the Pope to the chamber in their capes; and afterward, as far as I was able, I did this.

On Thursday, 5th April, about eight in the evening, there was a sudden storm of hail, which covered the ground to the depth of a palm: great hail-stones of the size of a dove's egg fell, and devastated my garden and the vines everywhere. The storm was confined to the city.

On the next day, about five o'clock, there was another storm, but not so heavy as yesterday.

On Palm Sunday, 8th April, our Most Holy Lord came to the large chapel about noon. The cardinals made their reverence to him, and they and all the clergy took their vestments, the cardinals in their benches and the clergy outside the chapel, and likewise the officials, except the Lord Mattia Cibò, the apostolic sub-deacon, who came first to the chapel to-day and bore the cross. He took amice, alb, girdle, maniple and violet tunic, in the sacrist's room near the altar of the chapel. The Pope, fully vested, with mitre laid aside, rose and blessed the palms, both those placed in the corner where the assistant bishops usually stand, and the others which private persons were holding in the chapel outside the chancel, which he also blessed with the prayers, and at the end sprinkled and censed them. He began the benediction from the prayer: *Auge fidem in te sperantium*,

Deus, etc., and recited it with the Preface and five collects. Then, sitting without the mitre on, he took incense, and, standing, sprinkled and censed the branches; then he recited another prayer: *Deus, qui Filium tuum*; when this was ended he sat down and took the mitre. Then the Vice-Chancellor came and gave the Pope two large palms in the usual way, one of which the Pope gave to the Count of Tendilla, the ambassador of the King of Spain, and the other to the Lord Blieters Souck, a doctor, the ambassador of the Most Serene Frederic the Roman Emperor, and Maximilian the King and his son. The gremial was then placed over the Pope's hands, and he distributed palms in the usual way. The cantors did not sing the antiphon *Hosanna* before the blessing of the palms, but as soon as the Pope sat down after blessing them, and took the mitre, they sang: *Pueri hebreorum*, etc. Afterwards the Pope distributed, washed his hands, and the aforesaid ambassador of the Emperor gave water to the Pope, who, when he had washed, recited a prayer, took incense before the procession which was formed, and the rest was as usual.

The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, who was to celebrate, as soon as he had received his palm, went to robe himself at the fald-stool, where he laid aside his chasuble, took his cape, sat down and took the sandals, and recited the psalm in the usual way before the first prayer. The celebrant began, with uncovered head, to say: *Pax vobis*, but without thinking. I corrected him at once, and he said: *Dominus vobiscum*. Everything was carried out as is ordained in the Book of Ceremonies.

Before the Passion, and at the elevation of the Host, our Most Holy Lord held his small palm in his hand; and the cardinals and all the others held their palms only before the Passion and at the gospel in the usual way. Meanwhile, while the Passion was being recited, I informed their Lordships, the assistant clergy and the other ambassadors and chief notaries who were present in the chapel, of whom there were about fifty, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, that they were to go in tonsure and habit such as was proper and becoming, and each day to come to the chaplain's chapel and not to walk about the halls and porticos and the Basilica of St. Peter, or elsewhere, and to accompany our Most Holy Lord, when the offices are ended, from the chapel to the papal chamber, in their capes which they use in the chapel.

On Wednesday in Holy Week, 11th April, between eight and nine in the evening there were begun the matins in the larger chapel. Our Most Holy Lord, vested in anice, alb, girdle, violet stole, and cope of scarlet, without mitre and without cross, followed by the cardinals, first the bishops, then the priests, and lastly by all the deacons, because none of them were assisting, and after them by the assistant clergy and others, came to the chapel. He prayed at the fald-stool, ascended the throne, sat down, then rose and said the *Pater noster*. Everything was done as is ordained in the Book of Ceremonies. Towards the end he came to the fald-stool, where, when the antiphon: *Christus factus*, etc., was begun, he knelt. He remained thus until the end, when the choir said: *Respice*, etc.; the Archbishop of Florence, an assistant, bore the train gathered up in his hand, both going and returning. On the altar and screen were placed torches and candles of common wax.

On Thursday in Holy Week, 12th April, before one o'clock, our Most Holy Lord, vested in precious white vestments, in the usual way, came to the chapel, prayed, recited the *Confiteor* and the rest as usual. The Most Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor performed the office throughout in accordance with the ceremonial. Our Most Holy Lord, with uncovered head, bore the Host

to the small chapel, then came in procession to the place of the public Benediction, where he laid aside the white cope and took the precious red one. Then the cardinals made the reverence, his seat was turned towards the people, and the sentences read, at the end of which the solemn benediction was given. The Lord Hugo Bencio, the sub-deacon, read the sentences in Latin, the Cardinal of Colonna in the vulgar tongue. The Cardinal of Siena announced the indulgences in Latin, and the Cardinal of St. George in the vulgar tongue. After the solemn benediction had been given, all the cardinals in their vestments escorted the Pope to the third hall, where the *mandatum* was to be performed; here some of them laid aside their vestments, the Cardinals of Naples, Parma, Milan and several others. The Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of S. Marco, Angers, Siena, St. George and many others retained their vestments, and all stood by at the washing of the feet. The Cardinal Ascanio of Vicenza recited the gospel standing facing the windows of the hall. Then the Pope washed the feet, and at the end recited a prayer standing in stole without a cope, because the sacrist had inadvertently sent the cope to the sacristy, which was very inconvenient. All was done in the usual way. The Count of Tendilla gave water to the Pope, after the washing of the feet.

In the evening, about eight or nine o'clock, he came to the matins in the large chapel in the same order as yesterday evening. The Bishop of Aleria bore the train when he went, and the Archbishop of Arles, also an assistant, on the return. Everything else was carried out in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies. There was both yesterday and to-day a stool placed before the crucifix and candlesticks, but there was no drapery before the altar. Torches and tapers of common wax were placed above the altar and the screen.

On Good Friday, 13th April, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, and cope of scarlet, and with his hood fastened on either side upon his shoulders with pins, and with plain mitre on, came to the chapel, and prayed at the fald-stool upon a violet cushion placed there as usual. The Vice-Chancellor, who was to perform the sacred office, prayed likewise, in full vestments, sandals and gloves excepted, for the space of one *Miserere*; the rest was carried out in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies until the Adoration of the Cross, to which they came in this order:—The Pope came escorted by the two cardinal assistants, with uncovered head, the mitre being laid aside on the throne; the auditors did not lift his robes because he was not barefooted, although the acolytes bore the train, and the private chamberlain acted as if he were taking off the Pontiff's shoes, which would have been seen had the auditors lifted the robes in the usual way. After the Pope came the Vice-Chancellor in dalmatic, having the Cardinal of Naples on his left; the Cardinal-bishop of Angers, with the Cardinal-priest of Milan, Recanati and S. Clemente, Monza and Parma, Siena and St. George, the deacon assistants, in whose place the deacons Savelli and Colonna stood, who, after Siena and St. George, came to the Pope, adored the cross with the Cardinal Ascanio, who was left alone, then the assistant and other bishops, in their order two and two. After the bishops, the Count of Tendilla, then the chief notary Colonna, an assistant and the chief notary Nigri, the Governor of the City; after them the lay ambassadors in order, the chief notaries *ad scabellum*, the sub-deacons and others in their order of precedence. After the Pope had made the adoration, the bishops and acolytes came to the train, and the Lord Bernardino, the private chamberlain, stooped down and pretended to replace the Pope's shoes; then the assistant bishops bore

the book and candles, and the Pope said, *Popule meus*, and the rest as in the Ordinary. The adoration ended, the Pope came to the small chapel for the Host, preceded by the officials, the cross and the cardinals in their order of precedence. The Vice-Chancellor, the celebrant, came wearing full vestments, immediately before the Pope, between the Cardinal-bishops of Naples and Angers and before the Host. He gave the key to the sacrist, who opened the tabernacle. The Pope placed incense in the two censers, censed the Host, which the Vice-Chancellor then removed from the tabernacle and handed to the Pope, who, with uncovered head, bore It to the altar of the larger chapel in the order in which he had come. The assistant bishops carried the baldacchino; but the chief notary Colonna, also an assistant, was placed amongst them by my colleague by an oversight. He ought not to have done this, because it was the duty of the bishops only to-day.

Before the high altar, the Vice-Chancellor took the Host from the hands of the Pope and placed It on the altar; the Pope blessed incense again, the cardinal-priest holding the *navicle*, and censed It in the usual way. He ascended the throne without the mitre. Then the Vice-Chancellor continued the office in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies. Everything else was done in the usual way. After the *Magnificat* the Pope recited the prayer *Respice* at the fald-stool.

This morning, before the Pope left the chamber, the sacrist had placed a covering of black velvet on the altar, and on the top a simple white cloth in the usual way. Similarly there was a plain white cloth upon the table hanging down a little at the ends. The assistants had black chasubles folded before their breasts. The Lord Girolamo Centregio, canon of Volterra, preached the sermon, if I remember right. In the evening, about nine o'clock, the Pope came to the chapel, vested as yesterday and the evening before, the Archbishop of Arles, the assistant, bearing the whole train. The sacrist had placed before the altar the cloth of *rascia* with the representation of the Passion of Christ, and upon the altar a clean cloth, all of which the Lord Bishop of Pienza had removed before the Pope left; but the altar remained bare as in the evening, and the Pope's seat also. All the observances were as yesterday.

On *Holy Saturday*, 14th April, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Parma performed the office about noon. The Pope came to the chapel, prayed, ascended the throne, and the cardinals made the reverence in the usual way; in the same manner the cantors recited the prophecies at the usual place. The Pope did not read the prophecies but only the tracts, each in their proper place in the Litany. The Pope knelt at the fald-stool, which seemed to me unfitting, since in all the consecrations the Pontiffs had their mitres; but the Lord Bishop of Pienza told me that, for such a day as to-day, it is fitting that the Pope kneel without the mitre for this office. The ancient Ceremonials, however, say that he should kneel with the mitre, and this is what I thought should be observed. The epistle ended, and the Pope's foot kissed by the deacon, the Lord Mattia, the apostolic sub-deacon, vested in full white diaconal vestments in the sacrist's chamber, made the reverences to the altar and the Pope; then standing before the Pope he said in the usual way: *Pater sancte*, etc.; after this was said, the Pope rose with mitre on and the celebrant chanted the *Alleluia* in the usual way. When it was begun, the Lord Mattia returned to the sacrist's chamber to disrobe. The sub-deacon ought, however, after saying the aforesaid words, to have gone to kiss the Pope's foot, but he forgot and omitted to do so. When the antiphon to the *Magnificat* was begun, the Pope took incense, and the

Cardinal of Parma, the celebrant, censed the altar, after the *Magnificat* had been begun in the usual way. Then the Pope himself was censed and the others. The Vice-Chancellor thought that the Pope himself ought to have censed, and that the cardinals ought to have made the reverence, not at the beginning of the office, but after the *Confiteor*, before they made the circle and before the *Kyrie eleison*. But he was wrong on both points, for it was quite rightly done, and ought not to have been done otherwise. Everything else was done in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies.

On Sunday, 15th April, Easter Sunday, the Feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the papal chamber in the usual way, came about eleven o'clock in procession to the Basilica of St. Peter. He was borne from the third hall in his chair, and stayed before the middle door of the basilica, where were kneeling four citizens of Bologna, naked, holding thongs on their necks and staves or rods in their hands; in the presence of the Pope, and by his special permission, the penitentiaries standing by them granted them absolution. One of them, after the *Miserere* had been said over them by the aforesaid penitentiaries, confessed publicly, for himself and his three companions, that they were doing this penance because they had had one priest and one friar hanged. For a priest and a monk had been recently seized as malefactors at Bologna, detained and likewise condemned to death by the chapter there; and these four had been the executors of the sentence.

Then the Pope entered the church, prayed before the altar, received all the clergy for the reverence, and carried out the other ceremonies in the usual way. In robing the Pontiff, the stole was put on him first, then the maniple, but wrongly. For the maniple ought to have been put on first and then the stole. The cardinal-bishop assisting, who was the Vice-Chancellor, did not put on the Pope's gloves, nor ought he to have done so, as it is the deacon's office. The Cardinal of Milan, the senior priest, held the *navicle* for taking the incense at the procession to the altar before reciting the *Confiteor* there. Water for washing the Pope's hands was given: firstly, by a senator; secondly, by the Emperor's ambassador; thirdly, by the Count of Tendilla; fourthly, by the Emperor of Constantinople.

The Cardinals of S. Clemente, Monza, and Parma, the junior priests, met the Pope as he went to recite the *Confiteor*, and kissed him first upon the mouth, then on the breast, not on the pectoral cross. The sub-deacon, after washing his hands and wiping them upon the towel on the altar, bore from the table a crystal chalice with the consecrated Hosts for the people, and above it a bag of corporals, a pyx, and a purificator. The Cardinal of St. George, who had read the gospel, laid the bag in the centre of the altar, and placed it on the side near the instrument on which the Pope's mitre is laid and the crystal chalice covered with a paten. Since there was no cloth there, he laid the corporals in front of it and near the crucifix. When the Pope said, *Offerimus tibi, Domine*, etc., before the offering of the Host, the Cardinal of St. George uncovered the crystal chalice and held it near the Pontiff until the prayer was ended, then returned it to its original place and covered it, while the Pope said: *Per omnia*, etc. Before the Preface, the Cardinal-deacons Colonna and Ascanio took their places on the sides of the altar, Colonna the senior on the epistle side, which is on the Pope's right hand, and Ascanio on the gospel side, also the assistant, that they might not hinder the censing of the Host. There they remained until the Pope ascended the throne to communicate. But they returned to their places after the Pope said *Per omnia secula*, etc., before the *Pater noster*. The cantors did not respond *Amen*, but the Pope continued:

Oremus. Preceptis, etc., and when, at the end of the prayer *Libera nos, quesumus, Domine, etc.*, he said *Per eundem Dominum nostrum*, he broke the Host into three pieces in the usual way, and before he said *Per omnia secula, etc.*, *Pax Domini, etc.*, he placed the third portion in the chalice by a mistake. Then when he said *Pax Domini*, he saw his mistakes, and made the sign with all the fingers of his right hand over the chalice as if he had the portion in his hand. When the prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe, etc.*, was said, he gave the *pax* to the cardinal-bishop assisting and to the Cardinals Colonna and Ascanio, who were standing at the sides of the altar, because they had communicated at home. But to the Cardinals of St. George, Siena, and Savelli, who were assisting the Pope and were to communicate, he did not give the *pax* then. Then the Pope, with uncovered head, went to his seat on the throne to communicate himself, and there also he communicated the Cardinal of St. George and the Lord Mattia Cibò, the sub-deacon, then purified himself, but did not wash his fingers; the portion of the Host was taken from the chalice on the altar by the deacon, and the Blood, and the purification was made by them there. The Cardinal of St. George went up to the step of the Pope's throne, and, with bowed head, said: *Confiteor, etc.*, the Pope also standing. When the *Confiteor* was ended, the Pope said aloud in the usual way: *Precibus, etc.*, and *Indulgentiam, etc.*, as the Lord Bishop of Pienza used to say. Meanwhile, the Cardinal of St. George came down from the altar, and after the Pope had given the benediction, went round with the crystal chalice, as he had done before with the Host and the chalice, then gave the chalice itself to the sub-deacon, who bore it to the Pope's left hand upon the throne, where he stood. After the sub-deacon two auditors bore a fair napkin for the Pope's knees. After the sub-deacon came, the Pope sat down, and the cap only was put upon his head, not the mitre; and the napkin was laid upon his knees and the two auditors aforesaid knelt upon either side and held it. The Pope, for his greater convenience, made the deacon with the chalice containing the Host kneel also upon his left hand, and the Cardinal of Siena bade me bring a dish, in order that the Pope might communicate the people the more easily; and after I had brought it he laid several Hosts upon it, and gave the dish to the Cardinal of Siena to hold, standing upon his right hand. Then there came to communicate the Cardinal of Siena, and after him Savelli. Before the communion the Pope gave them the *pax*, and they went to the altar, where, on the epistle side, the Cardinal of St. George presented them with wine for the purification and a napkin for wiping the mouth. When the two cardinals had communicated, they returned to assist the Pope, and the Cardinal of St. George gave the chalice to the Lord Giovanni of Venice, who had read the gospel in Greek, and the napkin to the Lord Demetrio, who had read the epistle in Greek. These two stood with their backs to the column before the epistle side of the altar, to give the wine for purifying to the ambassadors who communicated, and the sacrist had a carafe of wine upon the altar which he poured into the chalice for purifying when needed. The Cardinal of St. George, taking the stool, sat on the epistle side of the altar until the communion was ended in the usual way. They came to the communion in the following order: After the aforesaid cardinals came the Emperor of Constantinople, who kissed the Pope's hand only before the communion; likewise all the others, the Count of Tendilla, ambassador of the King of Spain, and the chief notaries of Colonna, the Pope's assistants, the senator of the city, and the lay ambassadors of princes; many other chief notaries *ad scabellum* followed in their order.

The Pope communicated all who came, and everything else was carried out in the usual way. After the elevation of the Host on the altar in the mass, by command of the Pope, in order that the people might leave the church, the Holy Face was exposed. When the mass was ended, and the benediction given by the Pope without indulgences, the Pope was borne in procession by the furtherest nave, where he was shown the Holy Face of the Lord for the second time. Then he went up to the place of the Benediction, where, with all the cardinals and clergy in their vestments standing by, the Pope solemnly blessed the people in the usual way and granted plenary indulgences, which the Cardinal St. George, who had read the gospel, published in Latin, and the Cardinal of Siena in the vulgar tongue. Then the cardinals and all the clergy laid aside their vestments without the place of the Benediction and some within, and the Pope took leave of all the cardinals, ascended to the palace, disrobed in his private apartment, and partook of refreshment.

On Monday in Easter Week, 16th April, the Most Rev. Giovanni, Lord Cardinal of Milan, performed the office in the large chapel in white vestments; the Pope was present with the Cardinal of Siena only and many clergy; he came from his chamber vested in the usual way. But before he came to the chapel at eleven o'clock he prayed before the altar and recited the *Confiteor*. Everything else was as usual. Only one prayer was recited, and there was no sermon. Everything else was performed in the usual way.

On Tuesday in Easter Week, 17th April, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon or Portugal, in the large chapel, performed the office in white vestments. The Pope was present, and came to the chapel again with the Cardinal of Siena only; as yesterday, only one prayer was recited in the mass, and there was no sermon. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Saturday in Easter Week, 21st April, the Rev. Father and Lord Archbishop of Ragusa performed the office in the large chapel in white vestments, the Pope being present. He recited the *Gloria in excelsis, Pax vobis*, and three prayers: the first, of the day, with its conclusion; the second, against the heathen; the third, for the Pope. With another conclusion he said the *Credo*, and there was no sermon. All the other observances were as usual.

After the mass, the Pope, in his private apartment, with stole over the rochet, created, as knight of St. Peter, the noble Bernardino . . . , in the usual manner and in accordance with the Ordinary.

There were present only the two Cardinals Savelli and Colonna, and the two Bishops of Aleria and Auray. The Lord Cola of Gaeta, a lay soldier, and the Lord Turchopellerius, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, put shoes upon the new knight, and after his creation the Pope gave him an order of the value of about fifteen ducats to wear on his breast. When it had been fastened on, he kissed the Pope's foot, thanked him, and retired.

On Wednesday, 25th April, the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, in the early morning, about ten o'clock, the Pope, wearing amice, alb, girdle, white hood and white stole with pearls, descended from the palace, mounted his mule, and, preceded by the cross and the cardinals and others in the usual way, rode to S. Marco. He dismounted and entered the church and prayed at the fald-stool in the usual way. He rose, and laying aside the white stole and hood, took the red stole and precious red cope and mitre with pearls. He knelt again at the fald-stool, and the cantors, both kneeling

behind the Pope, held the book before them on a stool placed ready there and began the Litany, which they continued to the end, the other cantors who knelt around the table or on the other side of the altar responding in the usual way. The Pope laid aside his mitre at the beginning of the Litany against my wish, and remained thus throughout it, although all litanies are usually sung with the mitre on. The Litany ended, the Pope rose and recited the *Confiteor* in the usual way.

He ascended the throne, and the cardinals came to make the reverence. The Pope took incense. The altar and the Pope were censed in the usual way. On the Pope's right hand stood the bishops and some of the cardinal-priests; the rest of the priests came on the Pope's other hand, while the cardinal-deacons stood at the head of the bench on the left. The auditor of the mitre, the secretary and the private chamberlain, stood or sat in the corner between the Pope's throne and the bench of cardinal-deacons which was placed on the floor of the chapel. The Pope's sub-deacons sat on the lowest step of the Pope's throne, with their backs to the Pope and facing the altar. The auditors of the clerk of the Chamber, acolytes, chamberlains and secretaries sat on the floor of the chapel in such a position that they had their faces and one hand turned towards the altar and the other towards the Pope, with a free passage between the altar and the Pope. The clergy sat on benches placed at the end of the bench for the cardinal-deacons, and behind it; those of higher rank were on the first bench nearer to the altar, the lay ambassadors were on their bench after the bench of the cardinal-priests, and some nobles on the steps of the Pope's throne in the usual way. The senior cardinal-priest did not stand beside the Pope, but remained in his own place, because of the lack of room. He performed his office at the proper time. The cardinals also did not come to form the circle, but simply rose. The Bishop of Albenga, the Pope's vicar, performed the office in red vestments; he recited the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Pax vobis*, one prayer only, the *Credo*, the Preface of the Apostles, and the rest in the usual way. At the end of the mass, the Pope gave the benediction and plenary indulgences, which the celebrant announced. After announcing these, he went to the sacristy, where he had assumed his vestments, to disrobe.

Before the mass, the celebrant sat at the fald-stool on the epistle side of the altar, with his face to the Pope and back to the people, as in the chapel of the Basilica of St. Peter. While the cardinals were making the reverence to the Pope, there came a senator with the conservators, made a reverence to the Pope and the altar only, and withdrew. Afterwards, when the communion was begun, all ranks began to go round the altar in procession as is done on that day, and this procession lasted long after the mass until the end of the *Agnus*, and the Pope waited upon his throne. The Vicar of S. Maria Maggiore, who was following the procession in his pontificals, did not lay aside his mitre when he passed the altar and the Pope; but the Vicar of the Church of St. John Lateran, who was also vested in pontificals, removed his mitre when he passed the altar and the Pope. The Abbot of St. George, also in pontificals, who accompanied the latter, did the same. The canons and all those of the nave of the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles did not enter the Church of S. Marco, because this is said to be their privilege. When all had passed the altar, the Pope's vicar, who was waiting in the sacristy, followed the procession to St. Peter's. Then the Pope rose, and as he was about to go up to the palace outside the door of the church, he took leave of all the cardinals, who returned to their palaces. The Cardinal of Angers alone remained with the Pontiff

and S. Marco in his own palace. The Pontiff went through the refectory to the palace, and through the halls and apartments to the garden, where he took luncheon and rested. Then about eight in the evening, vested as this morning, and preceded by officials, the cross and the cardinals, the Pope returned to the palace at St. Peter's, riding by the shorter way towards the Rotonda Minerva before the Hospicio della Cerasa and the house of the Cardinal of Milan, then straight towards S. Celso. The cardinals escorted him within the palace to the place where they usually dismount, then the Pope took leave of them, and they withdrew.

On Wednesday 8th May, about eight in the evening, there entered by the Porta Viridarii ten ambassadors of His Highness the King of England.¹

The first ambassador was the Rev. Father Thomas, Bishop of Hereford; the second, John, Bishop of Durham; the third, John, Bishop of Lismore; the fourth, the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem outside the walls of London; the fifth, William, prior of Canterbury, of the Order of St. Benedict, who, by special privilege, wears the mitre and other pontificals, and whose tithes from the priory amount to about seven thousand ducats, as is said; the sixth, a deacon of Salisbury; the seventh, a knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; the eighth and ninth, two lay soldiers; and the tenth, Hugh Spalding, rector of the Parish Church of Conington in the Diocese of York. They were received by the households of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals and our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and escorted by the Campo dei Fiori and the Via della Grotta, returning by the house of the Cardinal of Angers, beyond the hospital of the English, to a certain house there, where the first ambassador, the Bishop of Hereford, was entertained. There they left all the ten ambassadors before entrance, and the clergy and households all withdrew in the usual way. Then those of the ten ambassadors aforesaid, who were not entertained in the house aforesaid, rode to their own dwellings accompanied only by their suites.

The Bishop of Hereford, who is a monk of the Order of St. Benedict, rode in a long black cloak of camel's hair, without hood and capuce, because he had no hood, which, because he was newly come to the city, I did not permit him to wear. He had also a black hat on his head, as is the custom.

The Bishops of Durham and Lismore, because they had been in the city before, rode in long black cloaks, with hood across them, and hats in the usual way, the Prior of Canterbury in a black cloak with small hood and black hat. All the others I made to ride in the order of their precedence, the first two between four clergy of the palace on their right and the

¹ After the death of Richard III. at the battle of Bosworth Field (22nd August, 1485), Henry VII. resolved to put an end for ever to the dissensions of the Houses of York and Lancaster by his marriage with his cousin Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV. A dispensation was necessary, and this Innocent VIII. granted without difficulty. The wedding ceremony took place on 18th January, 1486, and on this occasion Innocent VIII. sent to England Giacomo Passarelli. (See Ughelli, t. ii., col. 436.) By the distinguished support which the Pope lent to Henry VII. (see in Rymer, *Fœdera*, t. xii., the bull *Ineffabilis Sedentis*, p. 294, and the bull, *Romanus Pontifex*, the same vol., p. 297), Innocent VIII., in thus consecrating the new monarchy, participated, as M. Balzani justly remarks, "in one of the most memorable events in English History" (*Archivio della Società romana di Storia Patria*, 1879, fasc. l., p. 175, "un' Ambasciata Inglese a Roma").

In recognition of this mark of favour, Henry VII. sent to Rome the solemn embassy of which Burchard speaks here, whose mission it was to thank the Pope. William Selling, prior of Canterbury, pronounced the oration, setting forth his obedience, of which Sir Francis Bacon has given an analysis (*History of King Henry VII.*, London, 1858, t. vi., p. 67). M. Balzani has published it almost in its entirety (p. 193) from a MS. in the Cottonian library.

ambassadors of Spain and Genoa on their left, the others each between two clergy of the palace, because none of the old ambassadors were in the company. Everything else was done in the usual way.

On Friday, 11th May, about eight in the evening, by the Porta Viridarii there entered the three ambassadors of His Highness King Wratisslas of Bohemia, to do homage to our Most Holy Lord the Pope. The first was the Noble Lord Putha of Ryzmberg in Ssvihovio, supreme justiciary of the Kingdom of Bohemia; the second, the Noble Lord Johann of Lobkwicz in Hassenstein; the third, the Venerable Lord Paul, provost of the Church of Prague and administrator of the same church, appointed by the Apostolic See. They were received by the households of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals and our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and escorted to the new house behind Minerva, near the Basilica of S. Marco, where they were to be entertained, in the usual way. The first two rode between four clergy of the palace, the third between one of the palace clergy on the right and the ambassador of the King of Hungary on the left. Everything else was as usual.

On the same day, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Pietro of Vicenza, general abbreviator of the Court of Causes of the Apostolic Chamber, was, by the advice of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, appointed by our Most Holy Lord bishop and pastor of the Diocese of Cesena, then without a bishop.

On Monday, 14th May, at the usual hour in the morning, in the first hall of the palace, was held a public consistory, at which the ten ambassadors of His Highness King Henry VII. of England and France paid the due, usual, and customary homage to our Most Holy Lord the Pope. I had them escorted from the secretary's hall before the Apostolic Chamber by nine of the clergy of the palace, the five assistants, the Archbishops of Florence and Arles, and the Bishops of Aleria, Volterra, and Dole; and four who were not assistants, the Archbishops of Coutances, and the Bishops of Glanda, Cumae, and Auray; nine of the ambassadors had, each, one of the aforesaid on his left.

At the entrance to the consistory, and in other places where two persons could not walk abreast, the Archbishop of Florence went first and the Bishop of Hereford followed him; then the Archbishop of Arles, and after him the second ambassador, and so forth.

I had given permission for the Archbishop of Coutances, who is a kinsman of our Most Holy Lord, to escort the second ambassador; but the Bishop of Aleria opposed it, saying that it was the duty of the assistants, and therefore the assistants should have the precedence, and others who had come because of the lack of assistants ought rightly to follow. So the Archbishop of Coutances had the first place after the aforesaid assistants, and in the same way the Bishop of Cumae came after the Bishop of Glanda, although he was the ambassador of the Duke of Milan, because I summoned him, not as an ambassador, but as a bishop only. The others came in the order of their precedence, and all the other observances were as usual. William, the prior of Canterbury, the fifth in the list of ambassadors, made the oration. They presented the letters and the royal mandate with a hanging seal: the letters first, and then the mandate was read.

On Friday, 18th May, in the morning, in the first hall of the palace, there was a public consistory at which the three ambassadors of Wratisslas, King of Bohemia, paid the due and usual homage as their predecessors, the Kings of Bohemia, had done. They were escorted by ten assistant clergy in the usual way; they presented royal letters or credentials and a royal mandate

with hanging seal, which were read publicly, the letters first and then the mandate. The Lord Paolo, the third ambassador, made the oration; he wore his hood crosswise as if an apostolic sub-deacon, by a privilege granted to the Church of Prague by the Apostolic See, of which church, as provost, he could wear all the pontifical insignia. When our Most Holy Lord had replied to the aforesaid ambassador, the said ambassador protested, but did not prejudice the opinion of any one in the matter, that the Most Serene King of Bohemia was entitled to take part in the election of the Roman Pontiff, and yet he had not been summoned for the election of His Highness Maximilian, King of the Romans; he therefore entreated that our Most Holy Lord would write to the princes of Germany, not to deprive him of his right, but to admit it. Now, because he had made a mistake in this statement of his, I told him that he had made a misstatement, and therefore should correct it. Thereupon the said Lord Ambassador straightway admitted it, and said that he was wrong in saying that the King of Bohemia was entitled to take part in the election of the Roman Pontiff, but he meant to say the election of the Roman Emperor; therefore he corrected his mistake. Our Most Holy Lord made no reply to this, but when the aforesaid protest was ended, the fiscal procurator, who at my bidding had already asked the chief notaries to draw up the instruments for the homage, required them, in the usual way. The first of the aforesaid ambassadors bore the border of the Pontiff's cope to the papal chamber.

Our Most Holy Lord, learning that the Illustrious Prince Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, had started to fulfil a vow made by him to visit the tomb of the Blessed Apostle James in Compostella, instructed the Illustrious Duke of Milan, through whose dominion he had to pass, to forbid his passage altogether. Therefore, when the duke aforementioned reached Milan, he received an apostolic brief, in which our Most Holy Lord commuted the vow aforesaid, instead of which he was to visit the churches of the Apostles. The command of His Holiness was, that the duke should retire, who had come thither with about three hundred horses and fifty mules with burdens, prepared to complete this journey with him. The duke desiring to obey this command of His Holiness, withdrew, and came in the same order and by a direct route to the city. When our Most Holy Lord heard this, His Holiness gave instructions to send some persons to Aquapendente to meet him; he sent four of his own equerries and the Rev. Father Bartolommeo of Moreni, Lord Archbishop of Vignola, his chamberlain, in the first place, besides the Rev. Fathers in Christ, Lorenzo, Lord Archbishop of Benevento, and Christoforo, Lord Bishop of Cortona, clergy of his place, who left the city on *Wednesday, 16th May*. They received the duke there, not in procession, but otherwise honourably, and escorted him thence to the city. The governor of the patrimony paid the expenses from the monies of the Apostolic Chamber.

On *Tuesday, 22nd May*, about nine in the evening, the aforesaid Illustrious Duke entered the city by the Ponte Milvio and the Gate of S. Maria del Popolo, and he was met about half a mile beyond the bridge¹ by a senator with conservators, and all the other officials and the Roman citizens. After they had received him, they preceded him, contrary to the arranged order; for it had been arranged that only the household of the duke should precede him, in the order of their precedence. There were about three hundred and eighty-five of these, all in tunics to the knee, on the right side of dark violet or grey cloth, on the left of black, with the sign of the pilgrim's staff

¹ See Muratori, *Delle antichità Estensi*, t. ii., p. 253.

upon the breast and an insertion of red cloth. The duke had a tunic of the same cloth, but without the staff upon it.

Between the bridge and the gate aforesaid, the duke was received by the households of the cardinals, and the ambassadors of the Kings of England, Spain, Naples, Hungary, Scotland and Bohemia, and of other princes, who were then in the city, in the usual way, some of whom made their greetings in Latin, others in the Italian tongue. The duke replied to each in Italian, saying only the words: *Gran mercè a Mons mio Reverendissimo*. Because there was a great dispute between the Bishops of Hereford, Durham, and Lismore on the one part, the ambassadors of the most Illustrious King of England, and the chief notary of Medina, the ambassador of the King of Spain, on a question of precedence, our Most Holy Lord ordered that the bishops should come to-day for the reception of the duke, and that the chief notary should not come; and at vespers, the chief notary should come and not the bishops; on Ascension Day, the bishops, not the chief notary, and so on, the one party coming while the other remained outside the chapel.

Hence the aforesaid bishops, with their other colleagues, attended the reception of the duke; after them came the Count of Tendilla with the chief notary of Medina, having with them a hundred Spanish foot-soldiers, to welcome the said duke in the king's name; and when the bishops saw them they withdrew to avoid a dispute. Thus they came in the usual order to the Porta del Popolo, not far from which the duke was honourably received by the household of our Most Holy Lord, among which were twenty-four clergy. The chief notary of Milan, the governor of the city, spoke for them all.

Outside the gate were their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal-priest of S. Angelo and the Cardinal-deacon Ascanio, who received the said duke on behalf of the College of Cardinals. When the duke approached them, they removed their hats and caps; the duke also laid aside his hat, but not the black velvet cap which he had on his head, and when I asked him to remove it, he replied that he could not do so, and therefore I made the cardinals resume their caps. So the cardinals, wearing their caps, received the duke for the kiss upon the mouth. Then all three standing without their hats, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Angelo explained that he had been sent by the College of Cardinals to welcome him, using the Italian tongue. The duke returned thanks in a few words, using the same tongue; this done, they resumed their hats, received the duke between them, and escorted him to the palace. The Archbishop of Benevento and the Bishop of Cortona, who had escorted the duke between them as far as the gate of the palace, then withdrew and laid aside their travelling cloaks and hats; they took fitting garments, and rode with the other clergy of the palace in their places. We rode to the palace from the gate to the Church of Santa Maria in Via Lata, by way of the Ponte de S. Angelo, in the following order: First the households of the cardinals and officials, then the household of the duke; after them the Pope's equerries, then several noble vassals whom the duke had in his train; Alberto, the duke's natural brother; the Lord of Corregio, the Lord of Carpi, the Lord Theophilo, Count Giovanni of Borano and several others, and with them the lay ambassadors of kings; Franceschetto Cibò, the Pope's nephew, son of the Pope's sister; a senator, the Count of Tendilla and all the vassals; men-at-arms, the cardinals with the duke, the governor of the city with one of the palace clergy, the Archbishop of Benevento with another, having on his left a clerical ambassador; thus, after the clerical ambassadors, the palace clergy

came two and two, after them the archbishops, bishops, chief notaries, abbots, chamberlains and other ambassadors, in their robes, both lay and clerical; the clergy rode before the cardinals, as I said above.

In this order we came to the small chapel of the palace next the robing-room, and here we halted. Our Most Holy Lord meanwhile, who had seen the duke coming with the cardinals from the hall of the loggia over the gate of the palace, came by way of the garden to the robing-room with the cardinals, where he placed a white stole over the rochet, and sat upon his seat while the cardinals sat around in a circle upon their stools, as if they were to hold a consistory.

Then the duke was summoned, and came to the papal chamber preceded by us and about eight lay ambassadors, and the Cardinal of S. Angelo, and followed by the Cardinal Ascanio, when the door was shut. He made the three reverences at the proper distances, laying aside his hat but retaining the cap, then approached the Pontiff, whose foot he kissed kneeling, then his hand and mouth, then kneeling again he excused himself for not removing his cap, because he could not do so. I wished to find out the truth of this matter, and I learned from his household that the duke was wounded and shaven upon the head and had some very ugly scar, and for this reason could not remove his cap. The Pontiff then ordered the duke to rise and a place to be given to him; I made him sit upon a cardinal's seat after the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio, the last deacon. As soon as the duke entered, all the cardinals rose and remained standing until a place was given to the duke. Then they all seated themselves with the duke, and his nobles, about sixty in number, were summoned, all of whom had gold chains on their necks; they each kissed the Pontiff's foot, after which all the cardinals rose, and our Most Holy Lord instructed the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Angelo and Ascanio to escort the duke to the apartment which had been prepared for him in the palace, usually occupied by the Most Rev. Lord Chamberlain; as was accordingly done. They took leave of the duke in the last private apartment, or the chamberlain's small room, and then retired alone without the duke, and with all the other cardinals returned to their homes.

The Pope's sacristan was blamed by the cardinals because he had put ready the cope and other vestments of the Pontiff; and I think it would have been more fitting for the Pope to receive him in stole than in the cope, seeing that he did not come at a consistory, nor was there a consistory, but the cardinals were assembled there merely to do honour to the Pontiff, and not to hold a consistory. All the halls of the palace, and both the halls before the apostolic chamber and the chamber itself, as well as the three next to it, were very beautifully adorned with hangings of Arras and others of great beauty until after the departure of the duke.

On Wednesday, 23rd May, the Vigil of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, at the usual hour there were pontifical vespers in the large chapel of the palace, the Pope being present in white vestments. The Pope sang the office, as he usually does at vespers; there was present also the Illustrious Lord Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, who, both on the way to the chapel and on the return from it, went before the cross alone in front of all the cardinals. In the chapel he stood next to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio, the last of the cardinal-deacons. On the lower step of the seat or throne of the Pope, by command of His Holiness I gave a place to the Noble Lords Alberto, natural brother of the duke; Correggio; Carpi; Theophilo; the Count Giovanni, of Borano; and the duke's secretary, who is also the Noble Lord of Castro. The households of the other knight and of the duke

aforesaid entered the chapel to the number of about fifty, all most honourably adorned, with gold chains on their necks; they stood behind the bench of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal-priests. Everything else was carried out in the usual way. When our Most Holy Lord began the verse: *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, before giving the benediction, I desired the Noble Duke aforesaid to kneel, in the same way as during the benedictions, when the Pope begins: *Preceibus et meritis*, etc., and after the mass: *Sit nomen Domini*, etc., and thus ought all laymen, even a king, to kneel.

During these past days, our Most Holy Lord instructed me to arrange the changes in the chapel of His Holiness, and to set them down in writing, as His Holiness intended to bring the matter forward and give his approval in a consistory.

Accordingly I had them registered in the Book of Ceremonies written by my own hand, fol. 90; and on Monday, 21st May, His Holiness had it read by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena in a private consistory, and he gave his approval, with the consent of the cardinals, word by word as is there written down and notified. Of these proposed changes I made an extract, and by command of His Holiness presented it this morning with my own hand to the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-bishop the Vice Chancellor and the Cardinals of Porto, Tuscolano, and Albano; the Cardinal-priests of Milan, Verona, Recanati, Turin, Monza, and Parma; the Cardinal-deacons of Siena, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, and Ascanio; it was word for word identical with the entry in the aforesaid book, fol. 90.

I was asked and commanded by our Most Holy Lord to instruct them to have it announced by the masters of their households to their households, and to have it carried out by them all; this they each said that they would do.

On *Thursday, 24th May*, the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente performed the office in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles in white vestments, the Pope being present. The Duke of Ferrara bore the borders of the Pope's cope to the steps of the palace, where the Pope ascended his chair, and was carried in state to the Basilica aforesaid in the usual way.

Before the entrance of the aforesaid basilica were kneeling naked two citizens of Bononia. One of these, several months before, when Officer of Justice of the State of Bononia, had caused two priests, one secular, the other a regular, member of the Order of St. Francis, who were condemned to die by his sentence, to be taken and hanged for their crimes. Because they were not under his jurisdiction, our Most Holy Lord had deprived him of this and all his offices, and had caused his officials to be punished with fitting penalties; of these, four have recently done penance, and one was here with his superior this morning. Around these two men there stood, vested in priestly vestments, all the penitentiaries of the aforesaid basilica, holding rods or staves in their hands, and smiting them whilst reciting the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, to the end. When it was ended one of these penitentiaries admonished them in the usual words. Then our Most Holy Lord laid upon the aforesaid penitents, as a penance, that of their own personal estate they should found, in Bononia, one chapel, and endow it for one benefice, and sufficiently for one priest, who should celebrate on each Sunday and Feast a mass in the chapel; this mass the first citizen should hear and be present at from beginning to end, kneeling and holding a lighted candle in his hand, and should pray and entreat God for the souls of the two priests whom, as told above, he had had hanged. This penance he accepted.

They both rose to their feet, and the Pope went on in the usual way to the high altar, where he afterwards recited the *Confiteor*, and the other observances were as usual. The sermon was to have been preached by the Lord Guglielmo Josef Brito, apostolic writer; but because the cardinals had not been informed who was to preach, the Pope permitted and decided that there should be no sermon; accordingly there was none. At the end of the mass, the indulgences were not published, but the Pope with the tiara on his head, which he had also worn this morning when he came from the chamber to the church, went through the furthest nave, that is the nave of the Face of Our Saviour, which was exposed, and thence to the place of the public Benediction. The cardinals and all the clergy wore their usual capes and no vestments. The Pope gave the benediction in the usual way, and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Siena and St. George announced the plenary indulgences granted by our Most Holy Lord to the people, the former in Latin, the latter in the Italian tongue. Our Most Holy Lord instructed me that I should give the border of his cope to the Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem to carry, the ambassador of the King of England, although it was not customary for the knights of that or any Order to carry it, but only distinguished laymen. So I gave the border to him when the Pope came down to the foot of the palace steps, and when he went to the place of the Benediction aforesaid.

During these days the Noble Duke of Ferrara visited each of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals in their houses; then, on other days, the cardinals returned the visits of the duke.

On Thursday, 31st May, the last day of the month, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio invited the aforesaid Noble Duke to the palace of Magliano, five miles from the city, across the Tiber, and hunting was arranged in the Campo Merulo, where a great number of officials assembled; there were present also several of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, namely the Cardinals of Parma, Savelli, Colonna, and Ascanio; only one stag was taken, however, and one roebuck.

On Saturday, 2nd June, the Vigil of Pentecost, there were pontifical vespers in the large chapel of the palace, the Pope being present in precious vestments. The Noble Duke aforesaid was also present. The Pope performed the office, and all the other observances were as usual.

On Sunday, 3rd June, the Feast of Pentecost, our Most Holy Lord, vested in precious red vestments, came to the Basilica of St. Peter in the usual way. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers performed the office also in red vestments. When the cantors began the second *Alleluia*, the Pope, interrupting the reading of the *Alleluia* and the gospel, came to the faldstool, where he knelt, and laid aside the mitre. The cantors began the verse: *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, because the Pope would not begin the verse himself, as he had begun the hymn at the vespers yesterday, although I had questioned him on the point at the beginning of the vespers. The Rev. Father Stefano, Lord Archbishop of Patras, preached the sermon, and published indulgences for seven years and as many quarantines, which the Pope granted to those present. The other observances were as usual.

On Monday, 4th June, and Tuesday, 5th June, there was no chapel, but on the same Tuesday, about seven in the morning, the aforesaid Noble Duke left the city to return to Ferrara by the March and Romagna. He was escorted, by command of the Pope, by the Rev. Father Lorenzo, Lord Archbishop of Benevento; Christoforo, Bishop of Cortona; and Bartolommeo, Archpriest of Vignola, the Pope's chamberlain, to prepare lodgings and pay his expenses. No cardinal escorted the duke on his departure.

On Saturday, 9th June, the Vigil of the Trinity, there were pontifical vespers in the large chapel; the Pope was present in white vestments, and performed the office in the usual way. By command of the Pope there was no commemoration of the day.

On Sunday, 10th June, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma performed the office in the large chapel, the Pope being present and wearing white vestments. Only one prayer was recited, and there was no commemoration of the day. The sermon was preached by Friar Adam Barbatius of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. All other observances were as usual.

I remained this morning to luncheon with the private chamberlains of our Most Holy Lord. Luncheon over, our Most Holy Lord desired to learn from me the order observed in the preceding year between the officials at the procession of the *Corpus Christi*. When I had read this to him, he ordered me to be present with the Most Rev. Lord Bishops of Aleria and Tournai, and the Lord Falco, chief notary of Sinibaldi, who had summoned the contending officials to them to hear and agree upon their cases. I then made a list, which I gave to the master of the heralds to be made known to the officials, which list is entered in Book A of Ceremonies, fol. . . .

On Monday, 11th June, at six o'clock, in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's in the apartment usually occupied by the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Tournai, master of the household of the palace, before him and the Bishop of Aleria and the chief notary of Sinibaldi, there appeared A. of Urbino, and L. of San Gemini, abbreviators *de parco majori*, on behalf of the said abbreviators; Antonio the auditor, B. of Bruno, and C. of Condulmario, writers of the Penitentiary, on behalf of the writers of the Penitentiary; N. Salmeron, Giovanni Martelli, and Giovanni Urthega, procurators of the Court of Appeal, on behalf of the procurators of the said court; Vincenzo of Giocchi, Giovanni Ferrara, and Giovanni Coppi, solicitors of Apostolic Letters, on behalf of the solicitors of the said letters; Giovanni N. Pugnolo of Castilio and Paolo of Reggio, notaries of the Court, on behalf of the office of notaries of the Court; and Giovanni Guglielmini, procurator of the Penitentiary, on behalf of the office of the procurators of the Penitentiary; no one appeared for the clerks of the Register of Petitions, and the office of the Collectors of Lead recently instituted. When these were present the Bishop of Aleria, aforesaid, informed them that our Most Holy Lord had entrusted them with the task of hearing and reporting their statements. Then the Lord Antonio, auditor of the Penitentiary, stated that the abbreviators *de parco majori* claimed that they ought to precede the writers of the Penitentiary in the procession. This they could not do, either by virtue of right, since it was not found there, nor of privilege, since there was no mention of that, nor of custom, since it was a new office, while the office of the writers was one of the oldest.

On the other hand, L. of San Gemini, on behalf of the office of abbreviators, claimed that they should take precedence by virtue of privilege, since their office had been founded with each and all of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the office of the writers of Apostolic Letters, who preceded the writers of the Penitentiary, as they also ought therefore to do. Again, A. of Urbino, abbreviator *de parco majori*, subjoined that they ought not to precede without any reason; for if on the score of antiquity, the office of writers was one of the oldest, while the abbreviators were of recent institution; if on the score of privilege, they ought not, since their founda-



PICCOLOMINI CREATED CARDINAL BY POPE CALIXTUS III (ALONSO BORGIA), 1456. .
FESTI RICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

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tion was equal in privileges to the office of writers, and if equal ought not to be preferred. To his remarks the answer was made by L. of San Gemini, on behalf of the abbreviators aforesaid, that they ought to be preferred by virtue of privilege, since their body was the same as the abbreviators *de parco majori* who took precedence of the writers, and that the words "equal to," which occurred in their bull, did not refer to precedence, but to prerogative in the attainment of benefices. The Lord A. of Urbino said that they were by no means one body with the abbreviators *de parco majori*, but a very different one. Also V. of Gioecchi, on behalf of the office of solicitors, said that they desired to take precedence of the procurators of the Court of Appeal, since the solicitors were of far higher dignity than these procurators, who only despatched letters of justice under strictly defined forms, and were mere notaries, which is the meanest of offices, while they, the solicitors, solicited certain apostolic letters concerning grace and justice, and therefore were of the household of the Pope, and had privileges equal to the office of apostolic writers.

To which the Lord Giovanni Urthega replied for the office of procurators that their office was the oldest, and privileged by common law, that they also could despatch their letters concerning some sort of grace, without stipulation, which the solicitors were not permitted to do; he brought forward several other arguments. Also the Lord Pugnolo, for the office of notaries, said, in reply to the solicitors, that their office of notaries was not a mean one, but of the highest consideration and necessary for all, and therefore they ought to be preferred to the solicitors and procurators of the Penitentiary; that the office of the solicitors was of no reputation; for an office of prestige and repute is given only to tried men suited for its duties, whereas among the solicitors were infants, children, laymen, mechanics, smiths, tailors, jobbers and workmen in several of the mechanical arts, from which fact the prestige of the office could be rightly estimated.

On the other side, the Lord G. Gugliemini, procurator of the Penitentiary, claimed that the office of procurators of the Penitentiary was of greater antiquity and prestige than the office of notaries of the Court; therefore it should take precedence. He also produced an instrument of a mandate delivered on the question of precedence, by the Lord B., Bishop of Cività Castello, which I entered in Book A of Ceremonies, fol. . . .

For the dispute was between the offices of apostolic writers and abbreviators *de parco majori*; also between the abbreviators and the writers of the Penitentiary, between the procurators and solicitors of Apostolic Letters; also between the procurators of the Penitentiary and the notaries of the Court, while the solicitors claimed the precedence over all the aforesaid officials, the clerks of the Register of Pleas and the Collectors of Lead or any others, but they did not appear, although all were summoned by the aforesaid commissaries.

When all had been heard, the commissaries replied that they desired to report what they had heard to our Most Holy Lord, and afterwards to certify the parties concerned, in accordance with the wish of our Most Holy Lord; so all withdrew.

On Tuesday, 12th June, our Most Holy Lord decreed that, in the next procession of *Corpus Christi*, the officials of the Roman Court and of His Holiness should go in the order of the institution of their offices, that is to say, the members of the office first instituted should take the place of honour. The Lord Bishop of Aleria desired to notify the respective clergy of the offices of this decision. But when he learned that many disturbances

and disputes would arise from this intimation, he acquiesced in the decision not to notify the same until the morning of the procession, when the procession was arranged by the Most Rev. Lord Chamberlain. This decision was carried out.

On Wednesday, 13th June, the Vigil of *Corpus Christi*, in the morning I gave to the master of the heralds a schedule of notice to be given to the officials of the Roman Court, to the effect that they come to-morrow to the procession under pain of punishment, and at the hour named, as is contained in the schedule entered in the first Book of Ceremonies written in my hand, fol. . . .

On the same day, there were the pontifical vespers in the large chapel of the palace at St. Peter's, the Pope being present, and performing the office in the usual way.

On Thursday, the Feast of Corpus Christi, 14th June, about nine o'clock in the morning, our Most Holy Lord, vested in full white vestments, came to the small chapel, where the Host was made ready on the altar by the small door, that is to say, the door which corresponds to the second hall. He laid aside his mitre before the altar, prayed at the fald-stool, then rose, standing without mitre, placed incense in both censers, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Milan, the senior cardinal-priest, holding the *navicle* on bended knees. On the steps of the altar he censed the Host. When It had been censed, there was placed by the cardinal-deacons a veil round the neck of the Pontiff, and another small veil at the foot of the casket in which the Host was enclosed, by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, who straightway handed the Host to the Pontiff as he knelt; the Pope then bore It with uncovered head outside the chapel, where he took his cap and ascended his chair, in which he is usually borne to the foot of the steps where the cardinals ride; the mitre was then placed upon the Pontiff's head. Meanwhile the procession was arranged outside the first door of the palace by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Chamberlain and myself, and his Most Rev. Lordship, or myself in his name, was instructed that each should walk in his proper place under pain of a penalty of five ducats.

They walked in the following order: collectors of lead, solicitors of Apostolic Letters, notaries of the Court of Auditors, procurators of the Penitentiary, procurators of the Court of Appeal, writers of the Penitentiary, abbreviators *de prima visione et parco minori*, apostolic writers, masters of both Registers, abbreviators *de parco majori*, keepers of the Seals, masters of the Seal, procurators of Orders, procurators of princes, secretaries and advocates together, chamberlains without the Chamber, ambassadors of princes and barons, cantors, acolytes without tapers, clerks of the Chamber, auditors of the Court, two acolytes with candlesticks, deacons with the cross which was borne by one of their number in their midst, penitentiaries, abbots, bishops, archbishops, clerical ambassadors in their vestments, the assistants of the Pope in vestments, the cardinal-deacons, priests, and bishops, two cardinal-deacons assisting the Pope, the Pope's esquires with torches, two acolytes with two candles, the Pope under the baldacchino, the auditor of the mitre between the secretary and the private chamberlain, chief notaries and generals of Orders, all in their habits; and although, by the decree of our Most Holy Lord, the abbreviators *de prima visione et parco minori* ought to have preceded the notaries of the Court of Auditors, since they were instituted before the notaries, yet because the Most Rev. Lord Chamberlain, to whom I gave the schedule with this arrangement first this morning, thought it unfitting that men in such a high office should take the lowest place, because there was no dispute between the notaries and all

who followed them, he obtained from our Most Holy Lord a grace to the effect that these abbreviators should go, as they did, immediately after the procurators of the Court of Appeal and the writers of the Penitentiary.

This procession came to the Castle of S. Angelo by the Via Lata and by another, the Via Santa, and returned to the Basilica of St. Peter. Meanwhile, by command of our Most Holy Lord, I instructed the undersigned chief officials of each of the offices that, under pain of a fine of fifty ducats, they should, by to-morrow, have handed in to the Most Rev. Lord Chamberlain a list of all persons or officials of their office present at this procession as well as those absent:—To the Lord Nicola Bregon of the *parco majori*; the Lord Agostino of Urbino, rescribendary for the apostolic writers; the Lord Goro Serafino, for the writers of the penitentiary; the Lord Nicola, *de prima visione et parco minori*; the Lord Nicola Salmeron, for the procurators of the Court of Appeal; the Lord Giovanni of Madii, for the abbreviators *de prima visione et parco majori*; the Lord Giovanni Vendersa, for the procurators of the Penitentiary, the Lord Giovanni Hagencher, for the notaries of the palace or Court of Auditors; the Lord Vincenzo of Gioechi, for the solicitors of Apostolic Letters; and the Lord Domenico of Altavanti, for the collectors of lead in the Basilica of St. Peter.

Our Most Holy Lord, before the high altar, gave the casket with the Host to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, who placed It in the centre of the altar above the throne prepared by the sacrist for the purpose; then our Most Holy Lord took incense in one of the censers, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Angelo holding the *navicle*, and kneeled upon the first step of the altar to cense the Host, then rose and recited the *Confiteor*; meanwhile, the cardinals and all the others laid aside their vestments. The mass was begun and continued to the end in the usual way. The Most Rev. the Lord Giovanni, Cardinal of Milan, celebrated the mass, and there was no sermon. All the other observances were in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies.

On *Thursday, 28th June*, the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, there were solemn pontifical vespers in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles. The cardinals and all the clergy came from the robing-room to the said basilica, in their vestments, and wrongly, for they ought to have come in their capes, and after the cardinals had made the reverence in their capes they and the clergy ought then to have taken their vestments.

But the cardinals desired to come in this way. I could not prevent this, but I would not allow them to bear the baldacchino over the Pontiff until they carried the censer and candlesticks into the basilica. The cardinals only made the reverence, and not the clergy, in the usual way. After the reverence, the Pope began the vespers. The other observances were as usual, except that some of the cardinals wished to come in their vestments and to escort our Lord, so that from the one unfitting circumstance several others resulted; they came outside the basilica, and there they laid aside their vestments and took their capes, and wrongly. Though I saw it I could not resist their pleasure, and passed the matter over in silence.

On *Friday, 29th June*, the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, our Most Holy Lord came to the church in procession under the baldacchino in the morning, escorted by the cardinals and clergy in their vestments and by the officials in white; this and everything else was carried out this morning in the usual way. Water was carried to the Pontiff for washing his hands: firstly, by one of the ambassadors of the King of England; secondly, by a senator; thirdly, by the Count of Tendilla, the ambassador of the King of Spain; fourthly, by the Emperor of Constantinople. The

Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Orsini read the gospel, and when the mass was ended he announced the plenary indulgences granted by our Most Holy Lord to those present, because the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, Bishop of Porto, who handed the Pope the book, and to whom therefore belonged the publishing of the indulgences, would not do so. All the other observances were as usual.

On Monday, 16th July, about one o'clock, at Rome, in the quarter of St. Peter, at her residence, of paralysis,¹ there died the Illustrious Lady Carola, Queen of Cyprus, whose body was escorted about eight on the same evening by the clergy and the households of our Most Holy Lord and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, from the house aforesaid to the Basilica of St. Peter. Here it was laid in the tomb not far from the chapel of St. Andrew and St. Gregory in the Vatican. May her soul rest in peace.

On Tuesday, 30th June, the last day of the month, when all necessary preparations for the obsequies had been made, and the coffin made of the usual shape and the arms affixed in the naves of the Vatican, there was celebrated in the chapel of St. George, in the Basilica of St. Peter, the mass for the obsequies of Carola, Queen of Cyprus, of pious memory. There were present the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, and the Lord Cardinals of Milan, Portugal, Recanati, Monza, Parma, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio. Torches were given to the cardinals, large tapers to the clergy and others, in the usual way. The Rev. Father Leonello, Lord Bishop of Trau, vicar of the said basilica, celebrated the mass. A friar of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon. After the mass the absolutions were pronounced by the Rev. Fathers the Lord Thomas, the Lord N. Christoforo, Bishop of Cortona, Francesco, Lord Bishop of Volterra, and Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Tournai, with the Lord Bishop of Trau the celebrant. The coffin, with the bier beneath, prepared in the usual way, was placed outside the chapel of St. George aforesaid, not far from it, three or four cannes within the Vatican, and the obsequies were held on this day only. The rest was carried out in the usual way. At the elevation of the Host, before the mass, eight torches were lighted.

On Thursday, 4th October, the Feast of St. Francis, our Most Holy Lord rode to the Church of S. Francesco in the Trastevere; whether he was present at the mass there, I do not know.

On Thursday, 11th October, our Most Holy Lord rode in the morning to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, where the Rev. Father Pietro, Lord Bishop of Urgel, celebrated the mass to the glory of God for the victory of the King of Spain over Granada.

Our Most Holy Lord was present at the mass in pontificals, and also their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals. The mass ended, our Most Holy Lord began the *Te Deum laudamus*, which the cantors continued to the end. Then our Most Holy Lord recited the verses, and at the end a prayer, but which or what it was I do not know, because my colleague who was present was unable to report. When these were said he returned to his palace at St. Peter's.

¹ *Ex parali.*—Wanting in Rinaldi. (See, on the Queen of Cyprus, the note by Mansi, in Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 144, No. 7.) Innocent VIII. had her buried with solemn obsequies. Her remains were laid in one of the crypts of the Vatican, upon the arch of which may be read the following inscription:

HIC HUMI EXISTUNT SEPULCHRA CARD. STEPHANI NARNI
ET CAROLÆ REGINÆ JERUSALEM CIPRI ET ARMENIÆ.

See in Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 144, the note by Mansi.

On Wednesday, the last day of October, about six in the evening I returned from Strasburg to the city.

On the same day there was the change of capes, and there were pontifical vespers in the chapel of the palace at St. Peter's, at which our Most Holy Lord was present and performed the office in the usual way. It was the Vigil of All Saints.

On Thursday, 1st November, the Feast of All Saints, our Most Holy Lord came to the Basilica of the Apostles, where he was present at the mass and sermon at the high altar. The Most Rev. Giovanni, Lord Cardinal of Milan, celebrated the mass and . . . preached the sermon.

On the same day, about nine in the evening, our Most Holy Lord came to the chapel preceded by the cross and the cardinals, and wearing a scarlet cape and without mitre. The assistant bishops, contrary to custom and the best rule of ceremonies, and against my wish, on the persuasion of the Bishop of Aleria, the deacon among them, came to the chapel in cloaks, with trains, some of them long and trailing behind them on the ground to a length of four or five palms, wearing their hoods, not in the fashion of chamberlains, but on the head, with peaks, as the Pontiff sometimes wears his at this season for the matins.

The Archbishop of Florence, the chief assistant, vested as I have described above, carried the whole train of the Pontiff's robe gathered up behind. The vespers were said in the chapel, and then the vigils of the dead, in the usual way.

At the close of the vespers the Pontiff said the *Pater*, the versicles, and the prayer, *Fidelium Deus omnium*, etc. ; when he had said this, through my mistake, instead of saying *Requiem eternam* as he ought, he said *Dominus vobiscum*. I made this mistake because there is no notice about it in the Pope's book, and also because I was altogether put out by the absurd behaviour of the Bishop of Aleria aforesaid. At the close of the matins, I . . . All the other observances were as usual.

On Friday, 2nd November, the Commemoration of all the Departed, our Most Holy Lord, wearing amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, and cape of scarlet, as yesterday evening, came to the large chapel, where he was present throughout the mass. No reverence was made by the cardinals. The two cardinal-deacons only assisted. But the senior of the cardinal-priests was summoned to hold the *navicle* for taking incense for the censuring of the Host, and held the *navicle* for the Pontiff, after the offertory ; then he returned to his place amongst the others, and when the altar and the celebrant had been censured, he was again summoned and censured the Pontiff, and after censuring him returned to his place amongst the other cardinals. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Giorgio of Lisbon celebrated the mass. At the gospel the deacon sought and obtained the benediction from the Pontiff, by a mistake on my part, for he ought not to have asked for it. However, no one noticed this mistake. After the mass, our Most Holy Lord pronounced the usual absolutions in the cape aforesaid. The assistants, who had come yesterday evening after the vespers and matins in cloaks and hoods as told above, shamelessly and ridiculously returned this morning in the same fashion, by command again of the Rev. Father the Bishop of Aleria, who said that he had never seen the Pontiff in cloak and inverted hood, and that the Master of Ceremonies of the time of Pope Pius II. was far more learned than we. The Archbishop of Florence carried the whole border of the Pontiff's cope gathered up behind both on entering and returning from the chapel : he was vested in the monstrous fashion described above. All the other observances were in the usual order.

On Saturday, 10th November, there was made a public proclamation throughout the city to the effect that henceforth Florentine *grossi*, not having the due weight, would not be received or circulated; and those having the due weight would be worth four quatrains and a half and no more; and more to the same effect.

On Tuesday in the month of November, about ten in the evening, through the Porta Viridarii there entered the city, Maddalena, the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici, citizen of Florence, who had before been wedded to Francesco Cibò, the son of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, but known as his nephew,¹ with her mother and many women and retainers. She was received several paces beyond the gate by three or four clergy of the palace and some ambassadors, and escorted to the house of the said Francesco in the quarter of St. Peter, the house which was formerly occupied by the Lord Antonio of Forli, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber.

The following was the order observed: First rode the households of the clergy and the ambassadors aforesaid, then the household of the bride; then Francesco Cibò, the bridegroom, between Pietro, son of Lorenzo, and brother of the bride, on the right, and Giacomo of Salviate on the left; then followed the bride between their Lordships the Archbishop of Coutances on the right, and the Bishop of Auray on the left; then Clara (or Clarix), the mother of the bride, between the Bishop of Rovereto, ambassador of the Duke of Milan, on the right, and the Bishop of Volterra on the left; these were followed by the clergy and women, and others of lesser rank, without any order; none of us was summoned, nor were we present.

On Sunday, 18th November, the Dedication of the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, our Most Holy Lord, wearing amice, alb, girdle, stole and cope of white, and precious mitre, came to the chapel preceded by the cross and the cardinals in the usual way. He was present at the solemn mass which was celebrated by the Rev. Father Pietro, Lord Bishop of Urgel. Only one prayer was recited, of the dedication. There was no sermon, although one was announced by the heralds by mistake. The other observances were as usual.

On Wednesday, 21st November, about ten in the evening, by the Porta Viridarii there entered the city two knights, men of learning, and ambassadors of the Illustrious Doge and Signory of Venice, to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, the Noble Lords Sebastiano Baduccio and Bernardo Bembo, doctors, knights and nobles of Venice. They were received outside the gate, at the foot of Monte Mario, by the households of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals and our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and escorted in the usual order to the house of Romano, behind or near the Minerva, where they desired to be lodged.

There came first to meet them before the households of the cardinals, Francesco Cibò, the Pope's "nephew," also the Duke of Sora and a senator. Therefore, when the ambassadors had been received by the Pope's household, in accordance with my arrangement, Francesco Cibò rode behind the household of the Pope, having in front of him several barons and lords and nobles who were escorting the ambassadors; then behind him came men-at-arms and ourselves. The first of the two ambassadors aforesaid rode between the first two of the palace clergy, then the second between two

¹ Out of respect for the Holy Father. The proverb: *Filii presbyterorum nepotes vocantur* ("the sons of priests are called nephews"), is a familiar one. (See Marini, *Gli architri Pontificii*, t. i., p. 221.)

other clergy, and after them the Duke of Sora, having on his right one of the palace clergy, the senator having on his right one of the palace clergy, and the ambassador of the King of Naples also having on his right one of the palace clergy; then the ambassadors of the Duke of Milan, of Florence, and of Mantua, having, each, one of the palace clergy on the right. Notice that the Duke of Sora and the senator ought not to have ridden in this order, but to have preceded the newly arrived ambassadors, as did Francesco Cibò, because all nobles who have a place in the chapel on the steps of the Pope's throne ought, in this reception of ambassadors, and when riding in similar processions, to precede newly entering ambassadors, and not to escort or be escorted by them. The ambassador of King Ferdinand withdrew when we were about to enter the gate of the city, and would not ride further in this company.

On Saturday, 24th November, about eight in the evening, all the cardinals present in the city came, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, to the palace. When they were assembled with our Most Holy Lord in the papal chamber, the two ambassadors aforesaid came, and were received there by our Most Holy Lord in consistory, but in private, and they expounded in general terms their mission. This done, all the cardinals withdrew, and the ambassadors were dismissed. This reception, as I heard, displeased many, since it seemed, and was, lacking in honour and fittingness that none of us should be summoned or take part in this reception; but it was done without us.

On Friday, 30th November, the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, our Most Holy Lord, vested in red vestments, came to the Basilica of St. Peter, where he was present with the cardinals at the solemn mass in the chapel of St. George. The Rev. Father Pietro Paolo, Bishop of St. Agatha, celebrated the mass; only one prayer was recited. After the mass, no indulgences were granted or announced, although I asked the Pope for them, for the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena thought it should be done. There was no sermon, but the mass ended, the celebrant went up above the altar, or *ciborium*, and when the benediction had been given by the Pope, exposed the head of St. Andrew the Apostle; then the Pope returned to the chamber.

On the First Sunday in Advent, 2nd December, our Most Holy Lord came to the larger chapel at the usual hour, and was present at the mass which was celebrated by the Most Rev. Lord Archbishop Raynaldo of Florence, the first of the Pope's assistant bishops. He recited four prayers: the first, of the day, with its conclusion; the second, *Deus, qui de beate Marie*, etc.; the third, against the heathen; the fourth, for the Pope. Friar Mariano of Viterbo, of the Order of Preachers, preached the sermon. The other observances were all as usual.

On Thursday, 6th December, the Feast of the Bishop St. Nicolas, our Most Holy Lord came to the small chapel in cape and red hood over the rochet. The Bishop of Aleria, the first of the assistants, bore the train gathered up; he was to hear the public mass which was celebrated by the Lord Thomas, deacon of the chapel. The Lord Antonio Trebiano, sub-deacon of the chapel, read the gospel, and the Lord Demetrio the epistle, both in sacred vestments. There were present the two Cardinals of Lisbon and Recanati, and several clergy. After entering the chapel, the Pope knelt at the fald stool, and prayed before the centre of the altar, then rose, and the Lord Thomas assisting on the right, he recited the *Confiteor*. When he had recited it with him to the end, the Pope seated himself upon the seat prepared for him on the right of the altar. The Lord Thomas went up to

the altar. The altar was not censed at the beginning of the mass, nor were lights carried at the gospel, nor incense. The sub-deacon and deacon did not kiss the Pontiff's foot before the epistle and the gospel. When the gospel was ended, I handed the Book of the Gospels to the Cardinal of Lisbon, who bore it to the Pontiff to kiss. After the offertory the altar was censed, also the Pope and all the others. At the blessing of the incense, the aforesaid cardinal held the *navicle*, and the Pope censed; when the Lord Thomas was to be censed, the censer was swung once. At the elevation the Host was censed, and the sub-deacon held the paten in the usual way. After the *Agnus Dei* I took the *pax* on the instrument from the Lord Thomas, and handed it to the aforesaid cardinal, who gave it to the Pontiff. I then gave it to the cardinals, and to all the others, not to each individually, but to the chief of each rank, who afterward passed it to his colleagues. Throughout the mass the Pope had before him the Missal upon the fald-stool before him, where also he knelt at the elevation, but with a stool placed before him. He remained kneeling until the *Agnus Dei*. The Bishop of Aleria and the chief notary of Sermoneta, the assistants, remained on the Pope's left hand, sitting upon the small step between the altar and the Pontiff (on the upper step, if there are two).

The Bishop of Aleria only handed the candle to the Pope at the proper time, when he had said the Introit and other prayers; after the mass, the Pope gave the benediction in the usual way and no indulgences. When the Pope gave the benediction, the Bishop of Aleria on the right, and the chief notary on the left, raised the cope over the arms of the Pontiff. I blamed them for this, for it is not their duty to touch the cope, but only the train; that is the duty of the assistant cardinals. But there is no need to raise the cloak, nor is it usual to do so when it is of light weight, though it is otherwise with the cope. Before the Pope gave the benediction, my colleague moved away the fald-stool, and replaced it before the centre of the altar. Then the Pope returned to the chamber, the Bishop of Aleria bearing the train as before. Before the gospel the deacon received the benediction from the Pope in the usual way, and before the prayer, *Deus qui humane*, etc., the Pope blessed the water in the usual way.

On Saturday, 8th December, the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Pope came to the large chapel, vested in the usual way, and was present at the solemn mass which was celebrated by the Rev. Father Jean, Bishop of Tournai, with the deacon and sub-deacon assisting in sacred vestments. In this mass all the observances were as on the Feast of St. Nicolas, except that the altar was censed in the beginning of the mass, as also were the celebrant and the Pope in the usual way. Candles and incense were made ready at the gospel. But the Pope was not censed after the gospel through my mistake, because the chaplain who held the censer had withdrawn before the time with the censer.

After the *Agnus Dei* the cardinal did not take the *pax* from the celebrant at the altar to bear it to the Pontiff, but gave it to him with the instrument as before, because this seemed to be more fitting, since the Pope does not sit upon a raised seat, nor has he any assistants to whom to pass the *pax* as in the solemn mass and when in full pontificals. The other observances were as I have described above, except that at the benediction the assistants did not hold the Pontiff's cloak. The Pope did not grant indulgences when he gave the benediction.

On the Second Sunday in Advent, 9th December, the Rev. Father and Lord Archbishop of Arles, assistant to the Pope, said the solemn mass in the large chapel, the Pope being present. After the prayer of the day he

recited three others as on the first Sunday, and all the other observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of Minors preached the sermon.

On the Third Sunday in Advent, 16th December, the Most Rev. Lord Giovanni Giacomo, Cardinal of Parma, celebrated the mass in the large chapel, the Pope being present. He recited four prayers as on the two preceding Sundays. The ministers wore dalmatic and tunic. Friar Mariano of Gemazzano, of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, preached the sermon. He won general commendation for the sermon, which was excellent. All the other observances were as usual.

On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, 23rd December, the Rev. Father Henri, Lord Bishop of Cambrai, who a few days before had come or returned from Jerusalem, celebrated the solemn mass in the large chapel of the palace, the Pope being present. He recited four prayers as before, and the other observances were as usual. A friar of the Order of Mt. Carmel preached the sermon for the procurator of that Order.

On Monday, 24th December, the Vigil of the Nativity of Christ, our Most Holy Lord, vested in white vestments, came to the Basilica of St. Peter, but not in procession, although the abbot of the sacristy, striving, in his usual manner, to upset all correct ceremonies, had given notice that the cardinals and clergy in their vestments ought to come in procession with the Pope to the said basilica, the cross and the cardinals preceding and the clergy following in their capes in the usual way. There the reverence was made by all the cardinals in capes; the junior deacons in their capes remained with the Pope, while the assistants and all the others took their proper vestments; then, when vested, the assistants took their places, and these two cardinals took their vestments in their places. When all were vested, the Pope began the solemn vespers: the first antiphon, the hymn, and antiphon to the *Magnificat* were intoned by the Pope; the second, by the Cardinal of Siena; the third, by the Vice-Chancellor; the fourth, by the Cardinal of Milan; and the fifth, by the Chamberlain. The Lord Mattia Cibò, the sub-deacon, pre-intoned the antiphons, and the Lord Francesco Brento, the auditor, the hymn. All the other observances were as usual. The vespers ended, the cardinals and clergy laid aside their vestments and escorted our Most Holy Lord in their capes to the chamber, as is the custom.

On the following night, before eight or nine o'clock, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, white stole and a crimson cape, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the larger chapel. The two cardinal-deacons who robed him took their places behind the cross, and before the cardinal-priests, because no one was to assist the Pope. At these matins in the chapel, the Pope prayed at the fald-stool. The Bishop of Aleria, an assistant, held the train of the Pope's cassock; the Pope's assistants came in capes, as is the custom, although other persons less well-informed in the matter of ceremonies said that they ought to come as they had done, and wrongly, at the matins of the dead on the Feast of All Saints; but when they learned the custom, they acquiesced. After making a prayer the Pope went up to his seat. The Lord Bishop of Aleria took the train. The two deacons who usually assist escorted the Pope to the throne, and then returned to their bench. The Pope sat down, then rose and said the *Pater noster*, beginning it aloud and ending in a low voice. All the other observances were as usual. I read the first lesson; the Lord Apollonio of Valentini, the acolyte, the second; the Lord Egerard Durcap, auditor of the Court, the third; his Most Rev. Lordship a Cardinal-priest, the fourth; the Lord G. Gerones, clerk of the Chamber, the fifth; the Lord Mattia Cibò, the

Pope's sub-deacon, the sixth; the Cardinal of St. George, the seventh; the Cardinal of Siena, the eighth; and the Pope, the ninth. The Lord Mattia Cibò, the sub-deacon, pre-intoning in his cape, the Pope then intoned the *Te Deum laudamus*. When it was ended and he had said a prayer he came down from his seat to the floor of the throne, where he laid aside his cape and took cope and mitre. He then went down to the ordinary place, where, with the Cardinal of Recanati, the celebrant, he recited the *Confiteor*. All the other observances were in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies. There were present at these offices nine cardinals, namely the Cardinals of Angers, S. Clemente, Recanati, Parma, Siena, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, and Orsini. The mass ended, the Pope gave the benediction, but no indulgences, and then returned to the chamber.

The second mass was celebrated by the sacrist, and sung with the usual ceremonies. He had no assistants or chaplains, except two clerks to ring the bells, and the Lord Agostino Ferrerio. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Savelli was present at this mass, and stood in the place of the deacon-cardinals; he alone was censed after the offertory and the celebrant, and he alone received the *pas* after the *Agnus Dei*; it was handed to him by the deacon, who, in default of an assistant, took it from the celebrant: all the other celebrations were in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies.

Our Most Holy Lord celebrated the third mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, to which he came in procession, the clergy and cardinals being present in their vestments in the usual way. When the clergy were making the reverence to His Holiness, His Holiness held his hand beneath the cope and offered it to them to kiss. The Cardinals of S. Marco and S. Maria in Portico noticed this and blamed me for it, saying that the Pope should offer his hand to kiss to the cardinals only, while the clergy should kiss the cope upon the right knee, and that without the Pope's offering it to them, which is true. I replied that it had been the Pontiff's pleasure so to do. By my arrangement water for washing his hands was offered to the Pope, firstly, by the ambassador of Florence; secondly, by the Venetian ambassador; thirdly, by the ambassador of King Ferdinand; fourthly, by the ruler of the Morea, once Emperor of Constantinople.

The mass ended, the Pope gave the benediction and a plenary indulgence, which was announced by the Cardinal of Siena, who had chanted the gospel in the mass, because the vicar who assisted the Pontiff in the mass, and therefore ought to have announced the indulgence, would not do so. Then the Pope recited the Gospel of St. John, *In principio erat Verbum*, etc., and wrongly, because it had been said in the mass; he ought to have recited the gospel of the second mass. In the meanwhile the cardinals and clergy laid aside their vestments and took their capes. Afterward the Holy Face was exposed, contrary to custom. When it had been seen, the Pope returned to the palace. Everything else was arranged and carried out in accordance with the instructions of the Book of Ceremonies. The two cardinals aforesaid, seeing the three last cardinal-priests who received our Most Holy Lord as he went to recite the *Confiteor* kiss him, first upon the mouth and then upon the breast, again upbraided me, saying that they ought first to kiss the cross that hangs upon his breast, and then the Pope upon the mouth. I replied that according to the instruction given in all our books of Ceremonies they should kiss, not the cross, but the breast; and that the mouth being the more honourable, they should kiss it first. The cardinals, however, persisted in their opinion, and said that the books should be understood not literally, but in accordance with the sense, and



therefore it is the cross before the breast, rather than the breast itself, that is to be kissed.

Yesterday, at the vespers, our Most Holy Lord took to be assistants, and added to the number of his assistants, the Rev. Fathers Henrico of Bergae, Bishop of Cambrai, and Girolamo of Conza,¹ Bishop of Massay. By command of His Holiness I gave them a place among the other assistants at the vespers.

On Wednesday, 26th December, the Feast of St. Stephen the first Martyr, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Milan celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel; the Pope and the cardinals were present in the usual way. The Lord Pietro Martio, trainbearer of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. George, preached the sermon.

On Thursday, 27th December, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, vested in white vestments, celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel of the palace; the Pope and the cardinals were present in the usual way. A Spaniard, a secular priest, preached the sermon.

On Monday, 31st December, there were solemn vespers in the larger chapel of the palace, at which our Most Holy Lord was present with the cardinals; he was vested in white vestments and began the vespers; the other observances were as usual. The vespers ended, the names of the new officials of the city, who took the oath of fidelity in the usual way, were published. Then our Most Holy Lord returned to the chamber.

1488.—*On Tuesday, 1st January*, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel of the palace in white vestments. Our Most Holy Lord and the cardinals were present in the usual way. The Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, preached the sermon.

On Saturday, 5th January, there were the pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the palace. The Pope was present in white vestments with the cardinals; the Pope began the vespers, and the other observances were as usual. Notice was given to the cardinals that the Lord Carolo of Cesena would preach to-morrow at the solemn mass; this notwithstanding, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Angelo, protector of the Order of the Servites of Blessed Mary, claiming that the sermon of the morrow belonged to a friar of the aforesaid Order, obtained leave from our Most Holy Lord for a friar of that Order to preach.

On Sunday, 6th January, the Feast of the Epiphany, the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Albano, Cardinal of Angers, celebrated solemnly, in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, the Pope and the cardinals being present. A friar of the Order of the Servites of Blessed Mary preached the sermon, contrary to the arrangement of the master of the palace, who had given the sermon of this day to the Lord Carolo of Cesena, abbreviator and solicitor of Apostolic Letters. All the other observances were as usual.

In the private consistory of *23rd January*, our Most Holy Lord, in the morning, discussed the arrival and reception of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix, who was created cardinal by Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory, together with their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Lisbon, Tarazona, Urbino and one other, and has never before, since his creation, been to this city. It was especially arranged that on the day of his reception at the public consistory, and not before, he should be visited in

¹ See Ughelli, t. iii., col. 725.

the cloister of Santa Maria del Popolo, where he would spend the previous night, by all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and escorted by the College to the Apostolic Palace. Some of the cardinals, his special friends and compatriots, claimed that they should meet him in person or send their households to meet him a mile beyond the city, or as many miles as they pleased, and then, as was before arranged, escort him in the morning to the palace. Our Most Holy Lord then decided to send for us, and learn from us what was written in our books concerning the reception of new cardinals, as to what had been hitherto observed.

On 24th January, therefore, the Rev. Father in Christ, Agostino, Lord Bishop of Pienza, and prefect of the office of Ceremonies, and myself, were summoned and brought into the presence of His Holiness. We reported to His Holiness what had been the ancient observances, and what had fallen into disuse in the time of Pope Sixtus, of happy memory. For, according to our books, which were almost all composed in Avignon or some part of France, they report that in ancient times a new cardinal or legate *de latere*, coming or returning to the city, should advance to within a few miles (four or five, for example) of the city, and in the morning continue his journey towards the city; that all the cardinals should assemble in some piazza hard by the gate, where the new cardinal or legate would make his entry, and there await him on horseback; that, when he drew near, they should go out and receive him on horseback, and he should be escorted by the College on horseback to the palace. But that several years later the cardinals broke through these restrictions, and when new cardinals or legates came to the city, the cardinals would go to meet them singly some five, six, or more, miles away, and others one or two miles from the city, before the day of their entry to the consistory; others sent their households, which was not without a sign of gravity. In the time of Pope Pius II., of sacred memory, when the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Siena, and Rainutius, of pious memory, then newly created cardinals, were to enter the city, none of the cardinals or their households met them until the morning; but in the morning, when they were to be received in public consistory, all the cardinals accompanied them. The same arrangement was observed in the case of the Lord Oliviero, Lord Cardinal of Naples, in the time of Paul II., and Giovanni, Lord Cardinal of Milan, in the time of Sixtus IV., the Pope aforesaid, when they came to the city; but when, in the month of February, 1486, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers returned in the evening from his embassy in France, several of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals met him without the city, and escorted him to the S. Maria del Popolo. The same course was taken, as I learned from several sources, in the time of Pius II., on the arrival of the Bishops of Arras and d'Albret, who came together from France, and standing in the public hall behind the bench of the cardinal-priests, as do all the Kings of France, in public consistory made a speech, and renounced the Pragmatic Sanction. Then the consistory standing, they were given their hats by Pius II., aforesaid. The same course was taken at the arrival of the Cardinal of Constance from the same parts, and in several other cases, also in the time of Nicolas V., as the Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco informed us.

When our Most Holy Lord had learned these facts, His Holiness declared it his pleasure that the first ancient ceremonies should be observed. Nevertheless, His Holiness desired that we should notify their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, Angers, Milan, Lisbon, and Savelli, who had been previously

summoned, of his decision, and should then report their opinion to His Holiness. Their Most Rev. Lordships, the eight cardinals, all approved the decision of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, which they accepted, and thanked His Holiness for giving this matter his consideration. But the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers added that, in full consistory, it had been decided that he alone, as the compatriot of the aforesaid Cardinal of Foix, should go to meet him, and therefore he wondered that our Most Holy Lord should so easily revoke a decision of the consistory, and he made several other remarks.

Therefore, by command of our Most Holy Lord, notice was given by heralds, on *Sunday, 27th January*, to each of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, that none of them should go or send his household to meet the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix, who was coming that evening to the Cloister of S. Maria del Popolo, because such a practice is contrary to the ancient and best ceremonies; but that on the following day, early in the morning, they should all go to the said Cloister of S. Maria del Popolo, and there receive the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix aforesaid, and conduct him to the public consistory, as is the custom.

On the same day, 27th January, about midnight, the aforesaid Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix entered the city in cardinal's cape and hat, by the gate of S. Maria del Popolo, and there dismounted at the steps before the church; he first entered the church, knelt before the altar and prayed, then kissed the altar and offered a golden shield; he then entered the cloister, laid aside his cape, and went to the apartments set aside and prepared for him.

Some of the clergy went to meet his Most Rev. Lordship one mile beyond the Porta Æmilia, and many went two miles, as well as the Archbishops of Arles and Messina and several bishops, with the chief notary of Medina, ambassador of the king, and several others. I also went about three miles beyond the city to meet him. When he was about half a mile on this side the Ponte Æmilio, he took off his travelling cloak of red, his beaver hat and hood, and put on the cardinal's cape and hat, and in these made his entry into the city. I took his cloak and hood and kept them for myself and my colleagues, in accordance with a custom hitherto observed. The two Bishops of Segorbe and Urgel, Spaniards, of the household of his Most Rev. Lordship the Vice-Chancellor, met the aforesaid Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix beyond the gate aforesaid, where they received him; but whether on their own account or in the name of the Vice-Chancellor I did not know. None of the other cardinals came.

On Monday, 28th January, about two o'clock in the afternoon the cardinals began to come to the cloister aforesaid to receive the Cardinal of Foix.

The small chapel was made ready for the cardinals, to which they went through the chapter of the said cloister by the portico; tapestries were spread upon the benches, but no carpets were laid upon the floor, which was wrong. First there came the Cardinals Savelli and Colonna, then the Cardinal of Angers alone, next the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of S. Marco, S. Angelo, Lisbon, and Recanati, and a little later Conza; then the Cardinals of Siena, St. George, and Orsini. When they were assembled in the aforesaid chapel, they all went out and mounted their horses to proceed to the palace; when they were outside the cloister there came on horseback the Cardinals of Milan and Parma together, then Naples alone, and last of all S. Maria in Portico and S. Clemente. These each in turn as they sat their horses gave their hands to the Cardinal of Foix, and kissed him.

They rode to the palace in the following order: First the Vice-Chancellor

and the Cardinal of Naples; after them the other Cardinal-bishops of S. Marco, S. Maria in Portico, and Angers together; then Milan and S. Angelo; Lisbon and Recanati; S. Clemente and Conza; then Parma, the junior priest, with Orsini, the junior deacon, on his left; Savelli and Colonna; and last, Siena and St. George, with the Cardinal of Foix between them. After these came the clergy, and ambassadors who were archbishops or bishops, in the usual way; the lay ambassadors and clerks who were not clergy went before, and we came by the direct route, near the river, to the Castle of S. Angelo. When we had crossed the bridge, the Cardinals of Siena and St. George, who had the Cardinal of Foix between them, retired, and the Cardinals Colonna and Orsini, the junior deacons, rode on either side of him, and in this way they came to the palace. When they reached the large hall before the door of the small chapel, all the cardinals went in to the Pontiff, except the Cardinals of Foix, Colonna, and Orsini, who entered the small chapel, where a bench was put ready on the left of the entrance, and a tapestry and cover laid upon it; a large carpet was also spread upon the floor. There they waited. Meanwhile, after the arrival of the cardinals, our Most Holy Lord came in his vestments to the third hall, which was made ready for the consistory, where he received all the cardinals for the reverence in the usual way. There was a dispute between the Rev. Father Ulrich Fuendesperger, Lord Bishop-elect of Trent, ambassador of the Most Illustrious Sigismund, Archduke of Austria, the two ambassadors of the Doge and Signory of Venice, and the conservators of the Chamber of the City. For the ambassadors of Venice refused to recognize the ambassador of the archduke, and the conservators would not give place to either. But our Most Holy Lord pledged his word that the bishop-elect was the ambassador of the archduke, and when the Venetians were informed of this, they willingly gave way to him, and yielded him the first place; and our Most Holy Lord commanded the conservators also to give way for this time, but they refused to submit to his commands, and left the consistory.

After the cardinals had made the reverence, all took their seats, and the advocate of Perugia brought forward a certain motion against a decision of the Parliament of Paris; when this was ended, the Lord Giustiniani, advocate of the Treasury, brought forward another similar motion. At the beginning of his speech the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena and the Lord Chamberlain, the first deacons, made their reverences and left the consistory, trailing the trains of their capes behind them. They went outside the door of the hall of the consistory and entered the small chapel where were the three cardinals. The Cardinals Colonna and Orsini then went to the consistory, made the reverence to the Pope, and sat down in their places. When they were seated, there entered at once the Cardinal of Siena and the chamberlain, with the new cardinal. At the entrance of the consistory they made the reverence, with their heads, all bowing profoundly; they did the same at the lowest step of the throne. The Cardinal of Siena advanced first, and was followed by the new cardinal, while the chamberlain remained below the lowest step of the throne. When the new cardinal was upon the floor of the throne before the Pontiff, he knelt and kissed his foot, then his hand, and last his mouth. The Pontiff bade him welcome, and he returned thanks. Then the Cardinal of Siena came down from the throne, and the new cardinal followed, and all three together made the reverence to the Pontiff as before. When this was done, the Cardinal of Siena led the way, and the new cardinal came next followed by the chamberlain, and the new cardinal was received by all the cardinals standing in their places with uncovered heads, first by the senior or doyen of the cardinals, the Vice-

Chancellor, and then by each of the others. After he had been received by all the cardinal-bishops and priests, the Cardinal of Siena and the chamberlain went to their places, where they stood and received him then, the deacon-cardinals following. Afterwards they all escorted the new cardinal, who rode between the Cardinal of Siena and the chamberlain, in the last place, as they had come, to his place of residence, the Palace of the Orsini in the Campo dei Fiori. When they had taken up their positions, the bishops being nearest to the door, and then the priests and the deacons on the other side, the new cardinal, with uncovered head, thanked them all, beginning with the bishops. Then he rode before the entrance to the palace, and taking up his position there, with his face toward them, and with uncovered head, he awaited their departure; then he entered the house for luncheon.

On Tuesday, January 29th, about nine in the evening, by the Porta Viridarii there entered the city the four ambassadors of the Most Serene Maximilian, King of the Romans, the Rev. Father in Christ and Lord Bishop of Sirmio, Bernardo of Pothaim, Gregory of Tours, and Friar Johann, prior of the Convent of Antwerp, of the Order of St. Dominic. They were received as ambassadors of the King of the Romans by the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals. For the matter had been, long beforehand, discussed in consistory, and it had been at length decided that they ought to be thus met, and escorted by all to their place of residence, the house near the Piazza of the Rotonda of S. Maria, which had been built by the late Lord Sinibaldo of Spato, apostolic writer, and where the aforesaid bishop was entertained, while his colleagues were lodged in other houses near by.

On Saturday, 2nd February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the morning, at the usual hour, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, preceded by the officials in white, and by the cross, and followed by the cardinals in their capes and by the clergy likewise in capes, came to the larger chapel of the palace. When he had made a prayer at the fald-stool, and ascended the throne, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals came to make the reverence. The two last deacons, the Cardinals Colonna and Orsini, after making the reverence, stood beside the Pontiff, while the first assistants and likewise all the other cardinals took their vestments in their places. All the clergy did the same outside the chancel of the chapel, and when the first assistant cardinals were vested, they returned to assist the Pontiff, and the other two who were not vested went to their places, where they too took their vestments. When all were vested, our Most Holy Lord stood, and with uncovered head blessed the candles made ready in the corner, on his left hand, in accordance with the Ordinary. He blessed the incense, standing without his mitre, while the senior cardinal-priest held the *navicle*, then sprinkled and censed the candles. He sat down with mitre on, and the Vice-Chancellor kneeling before him (he ought, however, to have stood), gave three candles to the Pope, two large and one small one. The Pope gave the two large ones to the Duke of Sora on his right, and to the elder son of the Prince of Bissignano on his left, to hold, then took his cope, and distributed tapers in the usual way, first to the Vice-Chancellor and then to the others, while the cantors sang *Lumen ad revelationem*. The procession was then made to the corner of the large hall, where the Pope threw candles to the people from the lobby, and then returned to the chapel in procession under the baldacchino, which was borne by the ambassadors. Before the altar steps the Pope laid aside his plain red vestments and took the precious white

ones; he then recited the *Confiteor*. The Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the mass, and the Pope gave to him two wax tapers; at the gospel, the Pope, the celebrant, the cardinals and all the clergy held their lighted tapers until the end of the gospel; at the elevation of the Host the Pope and all the aforesaid, except the celebrant, held lighted tapers and let them burn until after the communion. All the other observances were as usual; there was no sermon.

On *Sunday, 3rd February*, the Noble Lord Paolo, . . . and knight, senator-elect of the Mother City, who was to enter upon the office of senator, came, after the hour of vespers, to the palace. Our Most Holy Lord was seated upon a low chair or stool in the papal chamber, and the clergy and vice-chamberlain of the palace standing round. He knelt before our Most Holy Lord, who said that because of his virtues he entrusted to him this office; he then handed him the staff of office, and commanded him to act justly. He took the staff, and replied that he knew that dignity and prestige of which the staff or sceptre was the emblem; he thanked our Most Holy Lord, and promised that he would dispense justice. He then took the usual oath of allegiance, which was read by the Lord Francesco Londo, notary of the Chamber, kissed the foot of the Pontiff, and retired.¹

On *Monday, 4th February*, there was a public consistory in the first and larger hall of the Apostolic Palace, at which the four ambassadors aforesaid of the Most Serene King Maximilian did homage and reverence to our Most Holy Lord in the name of the king and his son Philip, for the dukedoms of Austria and Burgundy, and other of his principalities and dominions.

Two commissions were brought forward, the first by the Lord Francesco of Padua, advocate of the poor, the other by the Lord Giovanni Battista of Caccialupi of S. Severino, who [represented] the Duke of Monopoli in the matter of the erection of a collegiate church in the diocese of . . .² In the midst of this business the ambassadors entered the consistory, escorted by eight clergy, the Archbishops of Florence and Arles, the assistant Bishops of Aleria, Dól, Massay, and Ligmerica, and the Bishops of Tournai and Auray, and were received for the kiss upon foot, hand and mouth. They presented their letters patent to the Pope, and went to the usual place behind the seat of the cardinal-priests. When the commission was read and had been opposed by the Lord Giustiniani, advocate of the Treasury, to whom the aforesaid Lord Giovanni Battista made a most happy reply, and signed by the Pope, the Bishop of Sirmio made a speech in the usual way. After our Most Holy Lord had replied to him, the fiscal procurator of Parma required that all the chief notaries should attest the instrument concerning the homage paid by the ambassadors on behalf of the Most Illustrious Maximilian, elected King of the Romans. Thus, at the bidding of our Most Holy Lord, to call him king-elect, as I have designated him before.

This done, the two deacon-cardinals came to assist our Most Holy Lord, while all the other cardinals and clergy remained in their places. There then entered the consistory and passed on to the second hall about a hundred Moors, each with large iron rings on their necks, and all bound together with a long chain and ropes, and dressed all in the same costume. These were followed by an ambassador of the King and Queen of Spain, who

¹ This paragraph is missing in the Chigi MSS. and 5153, 5159.

² Same *lacuna* in all the MSS.



PICCOLOMINI CROWNED AS POPE PIUS II., 1458. PINTURICCHIO.
(CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

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knelt before our Most Holy Lord, kissing his foot only, and presented the letters of the aforesaid king and queen, written in the Spanish tongue. The Rev. Father Antoniotto, Lord Bishop of Auray, the datary, read these letters aloud, to the effect that the King and Queen of Spain were sending to His Holiness a hundred Moors, a part of the spoils taken in their victory of the preceding summer over the King of Granada, which Moors they presented as a gift to His Holiness, and offered, moreover, to send others should it so please His Holiness.¹

When the letters had been read, the ambassadors made a short statement kneeling before the Pontiff, to which the Pontiff replied. There then came the households of the ambassadors of the King of the Romans and the King of Spain, and kissed the foot of the Pope. The Pope then rose and returned to his apartments, the said Bernardo of Pothaim bearing the border of the Pope's cope in the usual way. This morning the Rev. Father Giovanni, Bishop of Tournai, master of the household of the Apostolic Palace, with some of the Pope's chamberlains and equerries, escorted the aforesaid ambassadors from their place of residence to the apostolic chamber in the palace, where they waited. The same thing has been done in previous years by the ambassadors of the French king sent to do homage, but it is contrary to the ancient custom. I think, however, that it was done at the instance of the Bishop of Tournai, who desired by this means to please the Kings of the Romans and the French, in whose dominions the church and diocese of Tournai are situated, of which church the said Lord Bishop of Tournai had not as yet been able to take possession.

On the Second Sunday before Lent, which was from 10th February to the carnival, our Most Holy Lord exposed in the chamber of the city the stuffs of various kinds for those wishing to take part in the races, as for example the Jews.

On Wednesday, 20th February, Ash Wednesday, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon performed the office in the larger chapel of the palace. The Pope was present and blessed the ashes after the cardinals had made him their reverence in the usual way. Then the aforesaid Cardinal of Lisbon, who was to celebrate, standing upon a stool before the Pope, placed ashes upon his head, saying nothing; then upon the cardinals and others in the usual way. Now, because the old Books of Ceremonies ordain that the senior of the cardinal-bishops ought to place ashes upon the Pope's head, before the Pope blessed the ashes I asked His Holiness from whom he desired to receive the ashes. His Holiness referred me to the senior cardinals, the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, and Angers, and they said that the office belonged to the celebrant rather than to any other, as it had now been observed for many years, and our Most Holy Lord acquiesced in their opinion.

To-day, when our Most Holy Lord was robing in the papal chamber, His Holiness instructed me to give a place to the Bishop of Sirmio, the first ambassador of the King of the Romans, amongst his assistants, which I thereupon straightway did.

The reason of this was that the Bishop of Leskar, the ambassador of the King of France, desired to dispute the question of precedence with the aforesaid Bishop of Sirmio, or rather desired to take precedence of him,

¹ The Pope divided these unhappy creatures into several lots, and distributed them as presents to the cardinals and chief citizens of the city. (Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 138, No. 15, and the *Diario di Roma del Notajo*, etc., in Murat., *Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. iii., second part, col. 1106.)

saying that the King of France was the first and most Christian king, and ought to yield to the Emperor only, and not to another, not heeding the fact that the King of the Romans, the future Emperor, has the same rank as an emperor, and that they both are at the head of an empire, and so considered. Solely with the object of doing away with these disputes, a place was given to the aforesaid Bishop of Sirmio among the assistants of the Pontiff.

On Sunday, 24th February, the First Sunday in Lent, the Rev. Father Pietro, Lord Archbishop of Messina, assistant to our Most Holy Lord, celebrated the mass in the larger chapel of the Pope; he recited five prayers, and all the other observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of St. Dominic preached the sermon.

On Sunday, 2nd March, the Second Sunday in Lent, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Orso d'Orsini, Lord Bishop of Teano, assistant to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, celebrated the mass in the larger chapel of the palace, the Pope being present. He recited five prayers, and the other observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of St. Francis preached the sermon.

On Sunday, 9th March, the Third Sunday in Lent, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Thomas, Bishop of Dôl, assistant to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, celebrated the mass in the larger chapel of the palace. The cardinals were present and the Pope was absent. He recited five prayers. The other observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon.

On Wednesday, 12th March, the Feast of St. Gregory the Pope, in the morning, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, and over it a white hood, preceded by the officials and the cross, and followed by the cardinals, the assistant bishops and other clergy, rode in the usual way to the Monastery of St. Gregory by the Septisolio, where he heard the mass, which was read at the high altar by the abbot of the monastery. The Vice-Chancellor carried the book to the Pope to kiss after the gospel, and, after the *Agnus Dei*, the *pas*, which I then presented to him and to the other cardinals and assistant bishops only, because all the others were standing in the order of their precedence. The mass ended, the abbot who celebrated inadvertently blessed the people and the Pope; but this notwithstanding, the Pope went up to the centre of the altar, and standing with his face turned towards his own cross, which was carried before him by the sub-deacon, he blessed the people, chanting the *Sit nomen*, etc. The benediction given, the Pope returned to the palace in the same order as he had come, and when he was close to the Church of S. Celso he took leave of the cardinals, because of the flooding of the river, so that they might each return home. The Pope, however, rode to the Castle of S. Angelo and remained there that day.

This morning, when we rode to the palace to escort the Pope to St. Gregory's, there was no water anywhere on the way, but when we rode from the palace with the Pontiff, the water was in the street by the Hospital of St. Michael's in the Quarter, up to the horses' knees. And when we returned from St. Gregory's, the water from the river was up to the horses' flanks by the Church of S. Celso, and to-day it has gone on rising so that the meadows are everywhere flooded, and throughout the city the water is pouring in with a great rush by the castle aforesaid, and it has risen so that it has come within about one palm and a half of the sign which was placed in the wall and marked off in divisions at the house of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma (then the Pope's), to mark the

height to which it rose before, in the last Jubilee year. The following night it went down, so that by the 13th inst. all the streets were open to traffic as usual.

On Sunday, 16th March, the Fourth Sunday in Lent, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, stole, precious cope and mitre, came from the robing-table to a small table made ready for the purpose, where he stood, laid aside his mitre, and blessed the Rose, which stood upon the table as ordained in the Ordinary. When it had been blessed and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena had placed on it musk and balsam, the first assistant held the rose on the right hand before the Pope. The Pope then bore it in his left hand to the large chapel, and after the mass bore it back to the chamber from the chapel. There the Lord Bernardino, the private chamberlain, took it from him and bore it to the private apartment. The Most Rev. Girolamo, Lord Cardinal of Recanati, celebrated the mass and said five prayers, and before the first he said *Dominus vobiscum*, not *Pax vobis*. All the other observances were as usual.

There came to-day to the chapel a Neapolitan layman, an ambassador of the King of France. He would not stand below the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, but besought our Most Holy Lord through me to give him another place, and by command of our Most Holy Lord I gave him a place on the second step of the throne, above the Count of Altamura, son of the Prince of Bissignano, where he stood throughout this mass.

On Sunday, 23rd March, the Fifth Sunday in Lent, which is called *Passion Sunday*, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel, where, in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, the Rev. Father Ardicino della Porta, Lord Bishop of Aleria, assistant to the Pope, celebrated the mass. He recited three prayers, and the rest of the office as usual. A friar of the Order of the Servites of the Blessed Mary preached the sermon.

On Tuesday, 25th March, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, precious white stole and white capuce, preceded by the cross and followed by the cardinals, assistant bishops, clerical ambassadors and other clergy, rode that morning to S. Maria sopra Minerva, where he knelt before the altar and prayed at the fald-stool, then rose, laid aside his capuce, and, retaining the stole, put on the precious white cope and recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant in the usual way. The cantors standing behind the altar said the Introit; the cardinals then made the reverence to the Pope, who was seated upon the throne. The Rev. Father Stefano, Lord Archbishop of Patras, celebrated the mass. He recited the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Pax vobis*, and the *Credo*, with the other usual prayers, and there was no sermon. The Pope's throne was arranged on the gospel side of the altar, as it were opposite to it. On his left were prepared the seats for the cardinal-bishops and priests, which extended to the entrance of the said chancel. Opposite were prepared the seats for the cardinal-deacons, and from the end of their seats to the entrance aforesaid, there were lower seats for the lay ambassadors. On the Pope's left were low seats for the assistant bishops, and outside the chancel, on the floor of the chapel, from the chancel to the friars' choir, were seats or benches for the clergy, covered with drapery. The sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, acolytes, private chamberlains and advocates, sat within the chancel on the floor. The cardinals formed the circle in the usual way; but the senior cardinal-bishop did not sit in the place where he was to assist, but remained in his own place amongst the cardinals, and came to assist at

the proper time, as is customary. The mass ended, and the benediction given by the pontiff, no indulgences were announced, because plenary indulgences had been announced by a bull. Our Most Holy Lord sat, and the fald-stool of the celebrant was placed on the floor of the chapel, as it were before the centre of the altar, but more towards the epistle side, where the celebrant was seated. An official of the Society of the Annunciation offered to the celebrant a bowl with ten purses full of carlinos, for dowering maidens. One of the purses was opened, and the carlinos were scattered in the bowl, so that they might be seen; I then replaced them in the purse. There then approached the maidens to be married, each between two matrons, and dressed in white; they knelt before the celebrant, and took from his hands a purse and kissed his hand. They then approached the Pontiff, and both maidens and matrons kissed his foot. This done, the Pontiff rode to the Church of S. Maria del Popolo in the same order in which he had come here; from the Piazza della Minerva, where he mounted his horse, to S. Marcello, thence to the left, straight to the church aforesaid. Here he made a prayer before the altar, and rode in the same order by way of the river to his palace at St. Peter's. He took leave of the cardinals near to and upon the Bridge of S. Angelo, whence they retired and returned to their palaces.

On Sunday, 30th March, Palm Sunday, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the chapel, where he prayed at the fald-stool. He ascended the throne, where the cardinals made the reverence in their capes in the usual way; when the two last deacons, the Cardinals Colonna and Orsini, had made the reverence, they remained to assist, while the first assistants and all the other cardinals took their vestments. When all were vested, our Most Holy Lord, without the mitre, and sitting for his greater comfort, though he ought to have stood, blessed the palms arranged on his left hand in the corner of the chapel, the cardinals and all the clergy standing without their mitres. He then sprinkled, censed and distributed them in the usual way. When the Cardinal of S. Clemente, who was to celebrate, had taken his palm, he went to the fald-stool near the altar to vest; he had only one palm. The procession was then formed, and everything else was as usual. The deacon and sub-deacon wore folded violet chasubles, and the three cantors who were to sing the Passion were vested in albs, violet stoles and maniples; but one of them had a red stole because there was not a violet one. All the other observances were as usual.

The Pope's two large palms were held by the Count of Altamura, son of the Prince of Bissignano, on the right, and the Count of Mirandula on the left, of the Pope. After the mass, when our Most Holy Lord was removing his vestments in the robing-room, I asked His Holiness in what order he wished to come to the matins upon Wednesday next. His Holiness replied that he would wear the cloak and hood. I therefore advised the assistant bishops that they should come on that day in their cloaks with hoods, and not in their capes.

On Wednesday in Holy Week, 2nd April, about eight in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, red cloak, and above it a red hood, without the cross, and followed by the cardinals and others in the usual way, came to the larger chapel, prayed, seated himself, rose, recited the *Pater noster*, and went through all the other observances in the usual way, and in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies. The train of the Pope's cloak was borne, both going and returning, by the Rev. Father Philippe, Lord Archbishop of Arles, assistant to the Pope;



PICCOLOMINI CARRIED INTO ST. PETER'S IN THE SEDIA GESTATORIA AFTER HIS CORONATION AS LOPE PIUS II. PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

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both he and all the other assistants had mantles and hoods after the manner of chamberlains, and not capes.

On *Thursday in Holy Week, 3rd April*, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, white stole and cope, and precious mitre, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the chapel. He prayed, recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant, and ascended the throne; no reverence was made by the cardinals, but I straightway took incense. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, Bishop of Porto, celebrated the mass, recited the *Gloria in excelsis, Pax vobis*, one prayer only, the *Credo*, and the rest as in the Ordinary.

He consecrated two Hosts, one of which, after his communion, he replaced in the chalice to be reserved for to-morrow's communion. Then, standing at the epistle side of the altar, and turning towards the people, he washed his hands. Meanwhile, candles were distributed by my colleague to the Pope, the cardinals and the clergy. The mass ended and the benediction given by the Pontiff, the cardinal-priests and the clergy took their vestments. The celebrant also laid aside his sacred vestments at the fald-stool, and took rochet and cope, and the procession was formed to the small chapel. The celebrant remained at the altar to hand the Host to the Pope, who, after censuring It, bore It to the small chapel beneath the baldacchino, which was carried by the Pope's assistants; the Pope and all the others had their heads uncovered. The orphrey of the Pope's cope was borne by the cardinal assistants, and the train by the ruler of Morea, Emperor of Constantinople; in the small chapel by the altar, the Vice-Chancellor, who celebrated, took the chalice with the Host from the hand of the Pope and placed It in the casket prepared for the purpose; the Pope censed It again, and the casket was then closed by the sacrist, and the key handed to the aforesaid Vice-Chancellor, who was to celebrate on the morrow. The Pope laid aside his white stole and cope, and took the precious red ones, and all, with mitres on, left the said chapel in procession, and came to the place of the Sentences and the Benediction, where the cardinals made the reverence to the Pope. The Pope then went to a place where he could be seen by the people, and there he remained standing upon his feet until the end, and would not sit down. The bull was read without the sentences, and the Pope gave the solemn benediction and granted plenary indulgences. The bull was read in Latin by the Lord Mattia Cibò, apostolic sub-deacon, and in the vulgar tongue by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Colonna. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena published the indulgences in Latin, and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. George, the chamberlain, in the vulgar tongue. When this was ended, all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals laid aside their vestments there, except the Cardinal Colonna. He was to recite the gospel before the *mandatum*, and retained his vestments, as also did the sub-deacon aforesaid. They accompanied the Pope to the place of the *mandatum*, the third hall of the palace, where everything had been prepared for the *mandatum*, and the thirteen beggars were ready to be washed, whose feet our Most Holy Lord washed in the usual way. The Cardinal Colonna aforesaid read the gospel. The Pope's throne was covered with a violet cloth, and the desk for the gospel with one of white and gold, and rightly; besides the usual vessels, the table had on it two large silver ones, which were superfluous, and ought not to be used in a rite like this. The master of the household and the other clergy had on their capes, as is usual, as also the auditors, but the two clerks of the Chamber were in albs, which was less fitting, but had to be allowed, so that they might be less

hampered. The *mandatum* ended, the cardinals withdrew, and the Pope entered his apartments.

On the same day, about nine in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and cape of scarlet, without the cross, and followed by the cardinals, came to the larger chapel to the matins, which were throughout in accordance with the Ordinary. The Bishop of Aleria bore the train, and he and all the other assistants wore capes, and not cloaks, as yesterday evening, as is ordained in the Book of Ceremonies.

On Friday in Holy Week, 4th April, about eleven or twelve o'clock, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole with scarlet cape, and plain mitre without pearls, came to the chapel, prayed at the fald-stool, ascended the throne, and sat upon the bare seat, with a violet cushion only placed upon it.

The two deacons assisted, and the office was begun and continued in the usual way. The Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, Bishop of Porto, celebrated the office. The three cantors who sang the Passion were vested in albs and violet stoles because there were not so many black ones in the chapel. The deacon and sub-deacon had black chasubles, folded before their breasts; at the Adoration of the Cross, when our Most Holy Lord, after making the adoration, rose and was about to return to the throne, he made the reverence to the cross with a genuflection, but the cardinals, after their reverence, merely bowed their heads, and wrongly, for they ought to have made a genuflection on that day, although at other times they are accustomed merely to bow the head. Our Most Holy Lord offered twenty ducats in gold by the arrangement of the Lord Bernardino, the chamberlain, but after the end of the office the Lord Datary, by command of the Pope, gave us five more in addition, in order to make up the usual sum. Then our Most Holy Lord came to the chapel for the Host, preceded by the Vice-Chancellor, who was celebrating, between the last two cardinal-bishops. He handed the chalice with the Host to the Pope in the small chapel, and took it from him by the altar in the large chapel. The Rev. Father the Lord Chief Notary Colonna, assistant to the Pope, bore the train of the Pope's cope, gathered up together, both going to the chapel and returning from it, and rightly, because he was the first assistant. All the other ceremonies were arranged in accordance with the Ordinary.

The office ended, the Vice-Chancellor laid aside his vestments at the fald-stool, took the cape, and, with his train trailing behind him, went to his place among the other cardinals, while the antiphon was being repeated. After the *Magnificat*, the Pope came to the fald-stool, where he knelt and recited the prayer, *Respice*, etc.; he then returned to the chamber. The Lord Girolamo Scotto, Bishop of Siena, equerry of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, preached the sermon.

On the same day, at the close of the office, such heavy rain fell that the cardinals would not return home. The Pope invited them all to luncheon with him, but they would not remain, so he gave them permission not to come back to the matins in the evening. But there remained in the apostolic chamber at the palace their most Rev. Lordships the Chamberlain, the Cardinals Colonna and Orsini, while the Cardinal Savelli remained in the apartment of the Lord Evangelista of Sutrio, the chamberlain, and these four cardinals, with our Most Holy Lord, came about nine in the evening to matins in the larger chapel, where they stood in their own, the deacons' stall. At the end of the first nocturn there came the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, a cardinal-priest, and the four deacons

aforesaid came to the other stall, that of the cardinal-priests and bishops, and remained there throughout the matins in their capes, as the assistant bishops and the priest yesterday did.

On *Saturday in Holy Week, 5th April*, about eleven o'clock, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and red cope, with plain mitre, came to the larger chapel, prayed and ascended the throne. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals made the reverence to him, and the other observances were as usual. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Parma celebrated the office. The epistle ended, the Lord Girolamo Calagrano, sub-deacon of the Apostolic See, vested in amice, alb, girdle, maniple and tunic of white, stood before the Pontiff and announced to him the great joy which is *Alleluia*; he then kissed his foot, laid aside his vestments in the abbot's chamber, and resumed his cape. The Pope would not begin the *Alleluia*, but rose with mitre on while the celebrant said *Alleluia* three times in succession, and the rest as in the Ordinary. The cantors recited the eleven prophecies and the celebrant censed the altar at the *Magnificat*. All the other observances were as usual.

On *Sunday, 6th April*, the Feast of the Resurrection of Our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, our Most Holy Lord came in procession to the church about eleven, vested in the usual way, and with the tiara upon his head, preceded by all the clergy and the cardinals in their vestments. In the church the reverence was made to him by the cardinals and clergy in the usual way. The office of Terce was then said, and the Pope took his vestments in the usual way. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of St. George, the chamberlain, read the gospel in Latin, the Lord Mattia Cibò, the sub-deacon, the epistle in Latin. The Lord Giovanni Lorenzo of Venice read the gospel in Greek, the Lord Demetrio, beneficiary of the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, the epistle in Greek. Water for washing the Pontiff's hands was brought, firstly, by the Florentine ambassador; secondly, by the first ambassador of the Signory of Venice; thirdly, by the Lord Bernardo of Pothaim, ambassador of the Most Serene King Maximilian; fourthly, by the Emperor of Constantinople. Our Most Holy Lord communicated the three cardinal-deacons, Siena and two others, then the ambassadors, etc.; when I summoned their Lordships Bernardo of Pothaim and George of Tours, the ambassadors of the Most Serene Maximilian, King of the Romans, to communicate in their turn, the Chief Notary of Medina, ambassador of the King of Spain, who had placed himself ready also for the communion, blamed me, saying that I ought to have summoned him first, since this Maximilian had not yet been confirmed by the Roman Church, and therefore I ought not to consider him a king. To whom I replied that the ambassadors aforesaid had been received and admitted by the Pope and the College, as ambassadors of the King of the Romans, and therefore were to be considered as such, and other such points I represented in reply. Wherefore, that he might not seem to give place to these ambassadors, the chief notary aforesaid preferred to omit the communion, and did not communicate. Further, the Lord Paolo, a senator of the city, who came to communicate after the said ambassadors of the King of the Romans, came down from his place to the steps of the throne in order to make the proper reverence to the Pontiff, and went to the altar, where the Lord Bishop of Pienza and the Greek deacon, who was giving the wine for purification to those who had communicated, thinking that the senator had communicated, offered him wine from the chalice for purification, and he drank it, and then immediately went up to the Pontiff to communicate. The Lord Bishop of Aleria, who

saw that he had drunk, said that he ought not to take the communion when he had drunk; but the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, seeing that it had come about through the good faith and purity of the said senator, obtained thereon by word of mouth from our Most Holy Lord a dispensation for him,¹ and permission to communicate notwithstanding that he had drunk the wine as aforesaid. Our Most Holy Lord communicated all who came.

He then came down to the altar and performed the office; meanwhile, because the Pope communicated the people, he ordered the Holy Face to be exposed to them, so that, having seen it, they might leave the church; this was done. At the close of the mass the Pope gave the benediction and no indulgences. He retained his cope and took the tiara, then went in procession beneath the baldacchino, the clergy and cardinals preceding him in their vestments, by the nave of the Holy Face, which was again exposed. When he had seen it he went up to the place of the Benediction, where he solemnly blessed the people, who were present in large numbers. After giving the benediction, he returned to the palace and took leave of the cardinals in the court.

On Monday, 7th April, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the large chapel, where the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Milan celebrated the mass, in accordance with the Ordinary; there was no sermon.

In this year a calculation was made by the astronomers, and it was found that the Feast of Easter was wrongly to be celebrated on the 6th inst., while others said that they were mistaken. They stated that according to the proper course of the moon, this Feast should be celebrated on *30th March*, while the others would not agree to this. Some persons, therefore, proposed that, on account of the mistake in the reckoning, our Most Holy Lord should order the Feast to be celebrated on *30th March*. But because our Most Holy Lord was informed of this mistake, if mistake it was, too late, that is to say, in the middle of Lent, it seemed better to permit Easter to be celebrated on *6th April*—since the mistake, though known only to a few, was common to all—than to anticipate it and thus shorten Lent. The mistake, however, was made known to every one.²

On Tuesday in Easter Week, 8th April, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel, where the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated the office in the usual way, and there was no sermon. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli wrote that he would return to Rome from Ostia to-day, and therefore, after luncheon, several of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals rode to meet him. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, S. Angelo, and Foix, awaited him at the Monastery of S. Paolo, outside the city, from about eight in the evening, while their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Lisbon, Recanati, S. Clemente, Savelli, Colonna, and Orsini rode out several miles in the direction of Ostia to meet the cardinal aforesaid.

The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers, who had been indisposed, but wished, nevertheless, to honour the said cardinal when he came, rode to the house of the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and there awaited his coming.

¹ *i. e.* he, having broken his fast by inadvertently drinking the wine, could not be admitted to receive holy communion without the Pope's permission.

² The astronomers were mistaken, for, as a matter of fact, Easter did fall upon the 6th April. See the tables of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*, t. i., pp. 22 and 51; and the observations of Arago on the fixing of the date of Easter, *Astronomie populaire*, t. iv., p. 702.

Their Most Rev. Lordships the other Cardinals then in the city, the Cardinals of S. Maria in Portico, Milan, Conza, Parma, Siena, and St. George the chamberlain, did not go to meet him. About midnight the cardinal aforesaid reached S. Paolo with those cardinals who had gone to meet him, and was there received by the other cardinals who had awaited him in the monastery; he was escorted by them all to his residence in the city, riding in his place with the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco behind the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor and Nuples. The other cardinals rode in the order of their precedence behind him, and when they came before the house of the newly arrived cardinal aforesaid, close to the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, they took up their positions in order. When the cardinal had ridden to each in turn and proffered his thanks to each, they all withdrew, and he entered his house, where he was received by the Cardinal of Angers, who also shortly withdrew and returned home. There came also to meet the cardinal aforesaid the ambassadors of the Most Serene Maximilian, King of the Romans, and of the King of France. The Lord Bishop of Lesear, ambassador of the King of France, when riding behind the cardinals, desired to have the first place, but the Lord Gregory of Tours, ambassador of Maximilian, admonished him to give place, and when he would not, he rushed in upon him with his horse. Still the Bishop of Lesear would not yield, and at length the other seized him by hood and mantle and dragged him out of the ranks, and secured the place for himself and the Bishop of Sirmio and his other colleagues, the ambassadors of the King of the Romans; this place they kept as far as the house of the cardinal aforesaid. But this morning, at the mass, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, when incense was being given, I arranged that it should be distributed to each in the usual order (the Vice-Chamberlain was absent), and that incense should be given first to the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, who stood in the laymen's place, and afterwards to the ambassadors of the Kings of France and Spain, who stood in the places reserved for the clergy, as being of less prestige. I observed the same arrangement in the handing of the *pax*, and the aforesaid ambassadors of the Kings of France and Spain were aggrieved at this, and claimed that because the King of the Romans was not yet approved, he ought not to be considered as a king. After the mass they complained to our Most Holy Lord of me; but on this occasion our Most Holy Lord said nothing to me.

On Friday, 11th April, our Most Holy Lord told me that several of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals had blamed me because I had not observed the right order in giving the incense and the *pax*, and had given them to the ambassadors of the King of the Romans before those of the King of France, although the order of the chapel is that they be given to ambassadors who are clergy before the lay ambassadors. I replied to His Holiness that the order of the chapel is, and for some time has been, that when the Vice-Chamberlain is in the chapel, since he is considered the first of all the ambassadors, we give both the incense and the *pax* first to him and then to the other clergy who stand behind him, even if they are the ambassadors of a prince or community of lesser rank, then to the lay ambassadors. But if the Vice-Chamberlain is absent, as he was on this occasion, we then begin to give the incense and the *pax* to the ambassador of the king or prince of higher rank, and give it to all the ambassadors standing in his rank, to avoid seeming to wander to and fro so often in the chapel; then we give it to the other ambassadors standing in another rank. Now, because the Vice-Chamberlain was not present in the chapel, we had begun

first with the ambassadors of the King of the Romans as being of higher prestige. His Holiness commanded me henceforth to give the incense and the *par* to the clergy among the ambassadors before the laymen, stating that the ambassadors of the Kings of France and Spain would not consider Maximilian as King of the Romans, because, they said, he was not yet approved by the Roman Church.

On Saturday in Easter Week, 12th April, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel, where he was present at the solemn mass, which was celebrated by the Rev. Father Christoforo, Bishop of Cortona, master of the chapel. There was no sermon.

At this mass, when our Most Holy Lord had ascended the throne, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix, the assistant, at the instance of Bishop N., complained that Gregory of Tours, ambassador of Maximilian, had laid violent hands upon the Bishop of Lescar, ambassador of the King of France, for which he was excommunicated, and therefore should be expelled from the chapel.

Our Most Holy Lord told me that he suspended the excommunication for this mass, and so the Lord Gregory could remain for it, but that I should then come to an agreement upon the matter with the bishop, and advise the Lord Gregory of it in a suitable way. While our Most Holy Lord was telling me this, their Lordships Bernardo of Pothaim, Gregory of Tours, and Johann Prior, left the chapel and returned to their lodgings.

On Tuesday, 15th April, the Noble Lord Girolamo of Riario, Count of Imola and Forli, was murdered in the State of Forli by some of his followers who plotted for his destruction. May he rest in peace.¹

On Friday, 25th April, the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, white capuce and red stole, preceded by the cross and followed by the cardinals and the clergy, rode to the Church of S. Marco in the city. When he had dismounted, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco took the cross which the canons of the church brought out from the church in procession, and handed it to the Pope to kiss. He entered the church, prayed at the fald-stool, rose, laid aside the capuce, and took the red cope and precious mitre, then knelt while the cantors chanted the Litany. The Litany ended, the Pope laid aside his mitre, rose and recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant, who came from the sacristy at the end of the Litany. The Pope then ascended the throne and received the cardinals for the reverence in the usual way. The cardinals came to form the circle before the Introit and the *Gloria in excelsis*. But at the *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* they did not come, but remained standing in their places, because of the lack of space; for the same reason the Cardinal of Milan, senior priest, did not come to assist, but remained

¹ Girolamo Riario, Count of Imola and Forli, fell beneath the dagger of conspirators, Monday, 7th April, 1488, after a life of crimes and debauch. Lorenzo de' Medici was spoken of as having a share in the plot, on the authority of Fabroni, who gives no proof of his statement: "Truly it was an unworthy crime committed against Girolamo, Count Riario, and many say that Lorenzo was concerned in it, and that it was perpetrated by him to avenge past injuries" (Fabroni, *Laurentii Medicis Magnifici Vita*, t. i., p. 175). Roscoe has refuted this imputation (see *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 1825, t. ii., p. 170, n. 60). The name of Pope Innocent VIII., who received graciously the envoy charged to inform him of the murder of Girolamo Riario, was also mixed up in this assassination, without any proofs being brought forward in support of the charge (see *Infessura in Ecard*, t. ii., col. 1981). See, in the Appendix (Nos. 29 and 30), a despatch addressed by the conspirators to Lorenzo, where it can be seen at the outset that the latter had no knowledge of the plot, and the following despatch addressed to the same Lorenzo by Stefano of Castrocaro, his agent, where, on the contrary, it is seen that the Pope had been advised of it (*Consiglio Pontifice*).

in his place with the other cardinals, and when summoned at the proper time, came to the Pontiff to hold the *navicle* and give him the *pac*. Note that, after the Cardinal of Milan had censed the Pontiff after the offertory, he returned to his original place, where he stood, and was first censed himself, then the other two cardinal-deacons assisting. Meanwhile, all the other cardinals sitting above, below and behind him sat down, and he alone was left standing among them. Then, when these two assistant cardinals had been censed, they all three sat down, while the other cardinals rose and stood until the end of the censuring. And the Cardinal of Milan sat there alone, and rightly and properly, by which means the three assistants could see one another best. The Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Aleria celebrated the mass. He recited only one prayer, the *Credo*, and the Preface of the Apostles. After the elevation of the Host, there came the monks and clergy of the city in processions in the usual way. When the bishops in their vestments saw the Pope, and when they were near the altar, they removed their mitres and bowed to the altar and to the Pope; they turned first to the Pope and then to the altar, and when they had passed the altar they resumed their mitres. The mass ended, the Pope gave the solemn benediction, as is customary, and plenary indulgences, which the celebrant announced; he then returned to the sacristy, where he laid aside the sacred vestments. The Pope waited for the end of the procession seated upon his throne, as in the mass, and the cardinals and others all sat as was described last year. After the Pope had recited the *Confiteor*, a senator and the conservators, with their followers, passed round the altar and offered a torch or large wax taper in the usual way. The procession ended, our Most Holy Lord laid aside cope and mitre at the altar and went up to the palace through the refectories. He took luncheon there in the upper balcony of the garden, and with him the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Angers, and Siena. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco took luncheon with the clergy; all the other cardinals withdrew.

About ten o'clock in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, vested as this morning, preceded by the cross and followed by the cardinals, came by the Via Pelliciarina before the house of the Massimi by way of the Campo dei Fiori, where he turned to the right and returned thence to the palace; he took leave of the cardinals near the Church of S. Celso.

This morning he went by another way, for by the church of S. Celso he turned to the left, and by the Tower Sanguinea to the right, towards the Hospital of the Germans, to the Pario, and by the Via Pelliciarina, straight to S. Marco, where he stayed, as we have related above.

On Saturday, 26th April, about nine in the evening, the Most Illustrious Lady Dorothea, Queen of Dacia, entered the city with . . .¹ horse or thereabouts belonging to her household.

She was received beyond Monte Mario by a senator and three conservators of the Chamber of the City; then near the second bridge from the city, by the park of the Rev. Father Falco of Sinibaldi, apostolic chief notary, she was met by the clergy of the palace and the household of our Most Holy Lord; and last of all outside the Porta Viridarii by the College of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals.

The master of the queen's court, a layman and a soldier, a man lacking both manners and culture, a veritable rustic, replied for the queen to them all. There were present the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor

¹ The same *lacuna* occurs in all the MSS.

S. Marco, Angers, Lisbon, Parma, Siena, Foix, Savelli, and Colonna; the Vice-Chancellor spoke for them all. Both he and all the other cardinals removed their hats, retaining only their cups; but as the queen, who was wearing a hat above the veil upon her head, did not remove it as a mark of courtesy, nor otherwise show herself graciously or kindly disposed, the cardinals immediately replaced their hats upon their heads. The Vice-Chancellor then spoke words befitting the occasion, and the queen's spokesman replied in rustic fashion, in accordance with the character given to him above. After the reply the Most Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor rode on, with the Cardinal of S. Marco on his right and Angers on his left; after them came the Cardinals of Lisbon and Parma, then Savelli and Colonna, and next the queen, with Siena on her right and Foix on her left. After her came four of her women and maid-servants, on one side of them the interpreter aforesaid; the rest of the queen's household rode before the Pope's household, and there was no man of any rank among them. The queen was lodged in the house in which the late Lord Antonio of Forli, of pious memory, lived and died. When their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals came before the said house, not in the Via Santa but in another street, by which they usually go to the palace, they ranged themselves there, and I bade the queen remove her hat a little and go before the cardinals and proffer them her thanks individually. But as she would not understand me nor show herself courteous at her own discretion, I bade her ride before the entrance to her house and there thank the cardinals. She rode up to the entrance, dismounted, and entered the house without so much as looking towards any of the cardinals. They then withdrew and returned home. The queen has come to Rome upon a pilgrimage, whence she goes to visit the tomb of Our Saviour at Jerusalem. When I learned before her coming that it had been determined in consistory that the queen should be received with the same honour as has been shown her before, I addressed the following words to our Most Holy Lord, while at S. Marco, upon the course which seemed fitting in this matter:—"Most Blessed Father, your Holiness has previously instructed the Lord Bishop of Pienza to reduce the ceremonies to proper order, and in so doing it is found that a king and a queen ought to be received with equal honour. In the matter of the arrival of the Queen of Dacia, I have learned that it is arranged that she be received in the same manner as she has been before. Now, she was then awaited by their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals beyond the gate of the city, and escorted thence by the College to the house of the late Cardinal of Mantua, of pious memory, by whom she was entertained. This course seems to be in no wise befitting to the status, honour and prestige of the College of Cardinals, but rather that after she has been received by the College beyond the gate, she be escorted by them to their head, which is your Holiness, and to the place of their college in the Apostolic Palace. Further, because she has come upon a pilgrimage, that they conduct her first to the church, and thence to your Holiness, as is ordained in the new Book of Ceremonies, seems to be the course most suitable for this occasion; and I have desired to lay the matter before your Holiness, as Master of Ceremonies, that you may command what you desire to be done." Our Most Holy Lord took counsel with some of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and then replied that the queen should be received by the cardinals beyond the gate of the city, and escorted by them simply to her house. He said this at the persuasion of the Cardinal of S. Marco, who stated that the Illustrious Leonora, wife of our Most Serene Emperor Frederic III., was received in this way when she came to the city. But he



PICCOLOMINI HOLDING A COUNCIL IN MANTUA TO PROMOTE THE CRUSADE.
PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

Facing page 220.

was wrong in his statement, because the said Empress came with the Emperor, and was received with him with such honours as are ordained in the Book of Ceremonies.

On Thursday, 1st May, the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, the Vice-Chancellor, S. Marco, Angers, Milan, S. Angelo, Lisbon, Recanati, Conza, Parma, Siena, Foix, the Chamberlain, Savelli, and Colonna, came in succession to honour the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who is in residence there, received them all graciously, as is customary, and in the church placed himself behind them all and took the last place. The Rev. Father Marcus, Lord Archbishop of Kolocza, celebrated the mass in red vestments, and there was no sermon. The assistant gave the *par* to the first bishop, the first priest, and the first cardinal-deacon, then to the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, alone, and afterward to the others in the usual way. No indulgence was announced at the close of the mass, by the desire of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Then the chief cardinals remained to luncheon with the aforesaid cardinal, and the others withdrew and returned home.

On Thursday, 8th May, the Lady Dorothea, Queen of Dacia, left the city to return home; for our Most Holy Lord, at the request of the Illustrious Johann, King of Dacia, son of the queen aforesaid, made by letters to His Holiness, granted the queen a dispensation not to visit Jerusalem, but allowed her to return to her kingdom. When she was about to leave the city, she requested the Rev. Father Jean, Lord Bishop of Tournai, master of the household of the Apostolic Palace, to arrange that their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals or their households and the clergy should not trouble to escort her, as was customary, because she had come upon a devotional errand, and would not be a burden to any one. So, by command of our Most Holy Lord, it was thus arranged in accordance with the queen's pleasure. But the heralds, being misinformed, yesterday evening gave notice to all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals to come in person to-day at noon to escort the queen from the city; and in compliance with this their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Angers, and Colonna, came to-day at the aforesaid hour to the Apostolic Palace, and the Cardinals of Siena, Parma, Foix, and Orsini to the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles. When they learned the above arrangement of our Most Holy Lord, they returned home, and the heralds were punished for their mistake. The queen was escorted a little way on her departure from the city by the Bishop of Tournai only, with a few of the Pope's chamberlains and squires.

On Wednesday, 14th May, the Vigil of the Ascension of Our Lord, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel of the palace and performed the office as usual.

On Thursday, 15th May, the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles, where he was present with the cardinals at the solemn mass, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente vested in white vestments. The Lord Girolamo of Trau, chaplain to the Most Rev. the Lord Datary, preached the sermon; he did not announce any indulgences after the sermon; but, when he had recited the *Confiteor*, the Pope immediately pronounced the absolutions and the benediction. After the elevation of the Host, our Most Holy Lord, at my request, gave permission for the Face of the Lord to be exposed to the people, so that they might then leave the church to receive the public benediction, as was

done. The mass ended, and benediction given by the Pontiff, he went up by the nave of the Saviour, where he saw the Holy Face exposed for him, to the place prepared for giving the public benediction to the people. Standing there, he solemnly blessed the people, and granted a plenary remission of all sins, which was announced by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena in Latin, and by Colonna in the vulgar tongue.

Then, having dismissed the cardinals in the court, the Pope went up to his apartment. This morning the Pope went from the chamber to the church, and also from the church to the place of the Public Benediction, beneath the baldacchino, as usual. All the other observances were as usual.

On Saturday, 24th May, the Vigil of Pentecost, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel of his palace for the vespers. He performed the office in the usual way, but did not begin the hymn.

On Sunday, 25th May, the Feast of Pentecost, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came without the baldacchino to the Basilica of St. Peter, where he was present at the solemn mass, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco, Bishop of Praeneste, vested in red vestments. The sermon was preached by . . .¹ and our Most Holy Lord granted a plenary indulgence, which was announced by the preacher. The other observances were as usual.

On Saturday, 31st May, the Vigil of the Holy Trinity, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the larger chapel of the palace for the vespers, and performed the office in the usual way. When I questioned His Holiness as to whether he desired to recite the commemoration of the day in accordance with the regulation of the Breviary, he gave orders that this commemoration, which is not usually made, should not be; and thus it was.

On Sunday, 1st June, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the larger chapel aforesaid, where he was present at the solemn mass which was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma vested in white vestments. At the close of the *Confiteor*, there came to the chapel the Lord Gregory of Tours, the ambassador of the Most Serene Prince Maximilian, King of the Romans, and stationed himself in the first place among the lay ambassadors, and not the clergy. Not seeing this, the Lord Bernardino of Carvajal, ambassador of the King of Spain, and another, the ambassador of the King of Naples, who were earlier in the chapel, and were kneeling, refused to rise lest they should be seen to stand below him. They complained to me that the Lord Gregory was improperly standing above them, and therefore I should make him leave the chapel; this I refused to do, as being unlawful. They then asked me to speak to the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, which I did; but he replied that he could not decide anything in the matter. When, therefore, the two ambassadors aforesaid saw that I gave them no reply, they rose and left the chapel. My colleagues, although the chamberlain was not in the chapel, gave the incense and the *pax* first to the clerical ambassadors, of whom the Bishop of Lescar, the ambassador of the King of France, was the first, and the chief notary of Medina, the ambassador of the King of Spain, the second, in accordance with the arrangement made by our Most Holy Lord the Pope on 11th April, as recorded above, and then to the aforesaid Lord Gregory, ambassador of the King of the Romans. This the Lord Gregory

¹ The same *lacuna* occurs in all the MSS.

took amiss, and refused to accept the *par*, saying that he would complain to our Most Holy Lord of this.

The Lord Stefano, nuncio of the Rev. Lord Archbishop of Cologne, was to preach the sermon, and he waited in the large hall to be summoned, but my colleagues sought for him outside the chancel of the chapel, where those who are to preach usually wait. They reported that he could not be found, and so, after the gospel was ended and they had waited a little while for the preacher, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma, who was celebrating, without being instructed to do so by our Most Holy Lord or any of us, recited the *Credo*. After it had been begun and continued a little way, the aforesaid Lord Stefano, who was to preach the sermon, entered the chapel, and although their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal of S. Marco thought that the sermon might be after the *Credo* or the mass, our Most Holy Lord gave command that it should not be, and dismissed the preacher, saying that he did not think that the order of the chapel should be altered; so he retired. Only one prayer was recited and not the prayer of the day.

On Wednesday, 4th June, the Vigil of *Corpus Christi*, the Pope, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel of the palace, where he was present at the vespers, and performed the office in the usual way. The vespers ended, I entered the private apartment of our Most Holy Lord with the Governor of the City, to learn what order was to be observed in the procession of to-morrow by the officials of His Holiness. His Holiness instructed us to observe the order followed in this procession last year. These instructions were given this morning to the officials and entered in the Book of Ceremonies written by my hand, fol. . . .

On Thursday, 5th June, the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, about ten o'clock or a little later, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the small chapel. He prayed, rose, took incense, censed the Host, then took It, and with uncovered head bore It to the court of the palace where the cardinals mount, and there took the mitre. Meanwhile, beneath the first gateway of the palace, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix and the vice-chamberlain arranged the procession in accordance with the list which I then gave to them, and the vice-chamberlain instructed the officials individually that, under pain of a fine of a hundred ducats, they should go in the order aforesaid, which order was that observed a year ago, without any change. In the piazza of St. Peter there were standing to answer to their names all the cardinals and orders of monks in the city, also the clergy of the Basilica of St. Peter, and these seemed to hinder and delay our procession, because they themselves were not yet formed in order, and those of St. Peter wished to go immediately before the cross of the Pope; I ordered them, therefore, to retire from St. Peter's, and not to hinder our procession nor come with us.

But I made all the monks draw up along the way, and stand there, until the Pope passed with the Host. This was not well done, for they ought to have gone on before our procession a little way, which they did not do, because the Pope's vicar had not been advised to instruct them to this effect.

Let it then be seen to beforehand in future years, and let the vicar be forewarned on the vigil to have the procession of the clergy of the city arranged for the hour before the hour of the Pope's procession. The Via Recta and the Via Santa were decorated with hangings by the servants of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and in several places covered with them by the new arrangement of the Abbot of S. Sebastiano, sacrist

to the Pope. The procession came by the Via Recta to the Castle of S. Angelo, and thence by the Via Santa to St. Peter's. Here the solemn mass was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Milan in the usual way; he did not come in the procession this morning. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals and the officials, on their way to the palace did not go by the Via Recta and the Via Santa, in order not to disturb the decorations; but they came by way of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit. All the other observances were as usual.

On Saturday, the last day of May, the Lord Giovanni Maria and myself received as our colleague the Lord Aldello Piccolomini in the stead of the Lord Bishop of Pienza, in accordance with the Apostolic Brief.

On Thursday, 12th June, the week following *Corpus Christi*, the Rev. Father Cesare, Lord Bishop of Amerina, celebrated the solemn mass in the Church of S. Marco. There were present seven of their Most Rev. Lordships, the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, Angers, S. Angelo, Savelli, and two others. After the offertory was announced by the celebrant, there came a senator with the conservators, and made an offering into the hands of the bishop, who was seated at the fald-stool with mitre on. The senator removed his gloves, and he then offered a chalice with a paten of silver-gilt, while the conservators offered a large wax taper. The senator and conservators then wished to take their seats upon the benches for the cardinals, on the right of the Pope's seat, because the cardinals were sitting upon other benches on the left of the said seat, and wrongly, for the bishops and clergy ought to have sat upon the right of the throne. I would not permit this, and said that they could take their places upon the steps of the throne, or on the benches prepared for the ambassadors in the usual place, and where there was no one. Adalta da Nigri, a Roman citizen, was aggrieved at this, and replied rudely. They would not take the places aforesaid, but retired when they had been communicated by the celebrant. The procession was arranged in the usual way, and the mass ended, the celebrant laid aside chasuble, tunic, dalmatic and sandals in the sacristy, and took the cope and a veil round his neck. He took incense before the altar, censed the Host, and bore It to the procession; outside the church he took the mitre. All the cardinals aforesaid followed the Host, except the Cardinal of Naples, who retired. After the cardinals, the clergy, and the squires of the cardinals and clergy, each carried a torch beside their masters, following the Host. When the Host was brought back to the altar, and the celebrant had censed It without mitre, saying first the verses, *Sit nomen*, etc., he blessed the people with the Host. He had blessed the people before without mitre on, at the close of the mass, but also without the Host.

On the Vigil of the Feast of St. John the Baptist there was no chapel, but the Pope was on that day at the Castle of S. Angelo.

On Saturday, 28th June, the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, there were solemn pontifical vespers in the Basilica of St. Peter in the city, to which the Pope came, vested in the usual way. The cardinals made the reverence in their capes, then took their vestments, and the Pope began the vespers. When they were ended, the cardinals and the clergy laid aside their vestments and escorted the Pope to the palace as usual.

On Sunday, 29th June, the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, and preceded by the cross, the clergy, cardinals and others, came in person to the church beneath the baldacchino. After the usual ceremonies before the altar he took his accustomed seat, and received the cardinals and clergy for the reverence in their vestments.



NICCOLOMINI AT THE CANONIZATION OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA. PINTURICCHIO.
(CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

Facing page 225.

He then began the office of Terce, and the other observances were in accordance with the ceremonial. The mass ended, the Pope returned to the palace, where, in the hall of the Pontiffs, I kissed the foot of His Holiness, and obtained leave of absence to go to my native land and return in the month of October next.

On Monday, 30th June, I left the city about midnight to visit my native land, by the grace of God.

On July, . . . , the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Pietro of S. Cosma and S. Damiani, commonly called Cardinal-deacon of Foix, left the city to go to Naples on a visit to the King of Naples, who had for him a special friendship.

On Wednesday, 13th August, the Rev. Pietro Paolo, Bishop of S. Agatha, at Rome, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, celebrated the mass of the anniversary of the death of Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory. The Pope and the cardinals were present, and after the mass the Pope pronounced the absolutions as usual, but in the cape which he had worn at the mass, and not in cope.

On Friday, 15th August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Rev. Father Jean, Bishop of Tournai, performed the office in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, not, however, vested in pontificals, but only in cloak.

On Friday, 29th August, the Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the anniversary of the assumption of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma celebrated the office in the larger chapel, the Pope and the cardinals being present, in the usual way.

On Monday, 8th September, the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Rev. Father Cristoforo, Lord Bishop of Cortona, celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace. The Pope and the cardinals were absent, if I was rightly informed.

On Friday, 12th September, the anniversary of the coronation of our Most Holy Lord, Pope Innocent VIII., in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace the Most Rev. the Lord Jean, Cardinal of Angers, celebrated the solemn mass, the Pope and the cardinals being present in the usual way.

On . . . the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Malitia, Bishop of Rapolla, nephew of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Naples, and master of the household, died at Rome. His body was honourably escorted by the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals and the Court clergy, to the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and placed in a tomb in the same church. May his soul rest in peace.

On Thursday, 2nd October, the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Giovanni Arcimboldo, cardinal-priest, with the title of S. Prassede, commonly called Cardinal of Milan, breathed his last, about the fourth hour of the night, in his own house. His body was honourably escorted to the Church of S. Agostino, preceded by the monks and clergy of the city, on the following Friday, about ten in the evening, after the vigils had been first said in the hall of the house, where the body was laid, in presence of the cardinals, and with the other usual observances.¹

¹ Giovanni Arcimboldo of Milan attracted the attention of Galeas Sforza by his talents. Having become a widower, he was made apostolic chief notary, then Bishop of Novara, and was entrusted by his master with important negotiations. The duke recommended him to Sixtus IV. for the cardinal's hat, but the fear of losing so valuable a servant soon made the duke regret the request he had preferred in favour of his

In the month of September last, as was afterwards written to the city, there died in France the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Charles, by the divine compassion cardinal-priest with the title of S. Martino ai Monti, commonly called Cardinal of Lyons. May his soul rest in peace.¹

On Wednesday, 8th October, the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Ascanio, Cardinal-deacon of S. Vito in Macello, Viscount Sforza, returned to the city from the parts of Lombardy and his legation at Bononia, with a great company. He was received by their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals then in the city at various points beyond the gate, and honourably escorted by them to his house. They went to meet him in a private capacity, not as a college. He left the city about eleven o'clock, on 10th November, 1487, to go to Milan.

On Wednesday, 15th October, the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Cardinal-deacon of S. Cosma and S. Damiani, commonly called Cardinal of Foix, returned from the kingdom of Naples. He was received by their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals who were in the city, and others beyond the gate, but in a private capacity, not as a college; he was honourably escorted by them to his house.

On Thursday, 23rd October, about nine in the evening, I returned to the city from Strasburg. May my return and the time be prosperous.

On Sunday, 26th October, the Most Rev. Father in Christ and the Lord Raphael of St. George, cardinal-deacon of the Golden Veil, chamberlain of our Lord the Pope, returned from Imola and Forli to the city; no cardinal went to meet him.

On Wednesday, 29th October, were held the obsequies of Giovanni Arcimboldo, priest, of the title of S. Prassede. The usual preparations had been made in the Church of S. Agostino in the city; the coffin-lid was too flat, and in comparison with the whole and the arrangement of the church, it was poor and mean: there were arms erected upon the four walls of the whole centre nave and above the high altar by the cornice; one hundred and three torches around above the arms, and about six candles of a pound and a half about the coffin, and nine torches, and forty-eight torches beside the coffin, that is to say on either side, and a bier which measured thirteen of my palms by nine by six, with other things proper to the occasion. The Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated the mass. Their Most Rev. Lordships, Juliano, Bishop of Ostia, Giovanni, Bishop of Albano, the Cardinal-priests Giovanni of S. Vitalis and Giovanni of S. Stefano in Monte Celio, together with the celebrant, pronounced the absolutions after the mass, and the sermon was preached by

protégé. The Pope, however, supported by Girolamo Riario, whom Arcimboldo had won over by a gift, paid no heed to the letters addressed to him by Galeas on the subject. Arcimboldo was made cardinal. He came to Rome, and was appointed legate to Perugia, where he distinguished himself especially. On the death of Sixtus IV. he was present at the conclave, where his name appeared among the aspirants to the Papal dignity, as is made clear by the despatch of 20th August, 1484, of Brando di Castiglione to the Duke of Milan, and that addressed to the Duke of Ferrara by the Bishop of Reggio, his ambassador at Rome. (See Petrucci della Gattina, *Histoire diplomatique des Conclaves*, Paris, 1864, t. i., pp. 304, 306, and the despatch of Loeti, Appendix, No. 28.)

¹ Charles of Bourbon was Archbishop of Lyons and Administrator of the Church of Bordeaux; he was made cardinal in 1476, then Legate of Avignon and of the Comtat Venaissin. He died at Lyons on 13th September, 1488, and "was buried in the cathedral, which, having been begun in his lifetime, was then finished by the orders of his brother, Pierre of Bourbon." (Aubery, *Hist. gen. des Card.*, 2 vol. in 4to, Paris, 1642, t. ii., p. 470; Severt, *Archid. Lugd.*, No. 114, parag. 7.) In 1470 he had administered to Charles VIII. the sacrament of baptism.

the Procurator of the Order of St. Augustine. The mourners were, first, the Noble Lord Aloysio Arcimboldo, the illegitimate son of the deceased cardinal; after him four bishops, the Bishop of Interamna, master of the household to the Cardinal of Parma, and the Bishops of Adria, Ajaccio, and Venafro, the Abbot of Corvario in the diocese of Bononia, and a hundred others, with chaplains, esquires and other members of the household. There were present, besides the cardinals aforesaid who pronounced the absolutions, their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinal of Naples, bishops; the Cardinals of Siena, Foix, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio, deacons. The executors are their Most Rev. Lordships the Deacon-cardinals Savelli and Ascanio, and the Lord Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, secretary to our Most Holy Lord the Pope. The cardinals sat upon benches placed on either side, but I had them pulled out a little towards the centre of the church, so that the wax of the tapers might not flow over them. At the end of the bench for the bishops and priests sat the clerical and lay ambassadors, and on a lower bench, next the bench of the deacons in the same line, sat the clergy on six long benches—on the first, near the centre of the church, the clergy of the palace, and then the others, with the chief notaries and auditors on the last. The cantors stood behind the high altar in the friars' choir. The pulpit for the preacher stood at the head of the bench of the cardinal-bishops, but, as it were, behind the pilaster which was between the bench and the pulpit. The mourners sat near the coffin in the usual way, and the last crossway bench was threefold.

The wax was beautiful, and well fitted with cotton wicks. The tapers for the cardinals and the elevation of the Host were about five pounds; the others about four. Those for the clergy, ambassadors and mourners were of two pounds, and others still smaller, in the usual way.

The obsequies were held on this day only by permission of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and not for nine days as usual. The other observances were as usual. Of the wax given to the presidents of the Chamber, and of our presents, I will make a note on the other side of the following page.

On Friday, 30th October, there was the change of capes and the pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the palace, the Pope being present and beginning.

On the following Saturday, 1st November, the Feast of All Saints, there was the pontifical mass in the Basilica of St. Peter celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon; the Pope was present. A friar of the Order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel preached the sermon. All the other observances were as usual.

On Sunday, 2nd November, the Commemoration of all the Faithful Departed, which is ordained in accordance with the Breviary, was transferred to the Monday. The Pope, robed in cloak and inverted hood, came to the vespers and matins of the dead held in the larger chapel of the palace. The Archbishop of Florence, the first assistant, bore the train gathered up.

On Monday, 3rd November, there was held, in the same chapel, the mass for the dead, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Julio, Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Bishop of Ostia, chief penitentiary to our Lord the Pope. The Pope was present vested in cope and mitre, and having beneath a white amice, girdle and violet stole. In the same way the assistants had yesterday evening their mantles, and on their necks hoods, in the fashion of chamberlains, and this morning their capes. The Archbishop of Florence bore the train and draperies of the cope this morning also. The Pope pronounced the absolutions after the mass in his cope. All the other observances were as ordained in the Book of Ceremonies.

On Wednesday, 5th November, there was a private consistory, at which the Most Rev. Father the Lord Francesco, Cardinal-deacon of S. Eustachio, commonly called Cardinal of Siena, was appointed legate *de latere* to Perugia. The consistory ended, he was escorted by all the cardinals who were present at the consistory, the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and Angers, bishops; S. Angelo, Lisbon, Conza, and Parma, priests; Foix, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio, deacons. He rode between Foix and St. George, in the last place, to his usual place of residence. Facing the entrance to his house, but towards the house of Caffarelli, the bishops and priests ranged themselves, while the deacons were on the other side between the entrance and the corner of the house towards the Campo dei Fiori. The Vice-Chancellor was the first towards the house of the Caffarelli, and the Cardinal of Foix towards the entrance, and the others after them in the order of their precedence. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena thanked them individually as is customary; they all withdrew, and he entered the house.

On the same day, about nine in the evening, there entered the city the noble knight, Domenico of Treviso, ambassador of the Venetians, by the Porta Viridarii. He was met by the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope and of those cardinals who were his intimate friends, and by many clergy of the Court and ambassadors of princes, and was escorted by them, between the Archbishop of Coutances and the Bishop of Cortona, to his residence or lodging, in the usual way. Notice was not given to the cardinals to send their households to meet him, for such notice ought not to have been given; for only ambassadors coming to pay homage are to be met, and not others.

On Tuesday, 11th November, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena left the city about two in the afternoon to go as legate to Perugia. He was escorted only by the members of his household, not by any of the cardinals.

About the 29th October last I gave to the Lord Cristoforo of Latua auditor of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Ascanio, the following list of the wax tapers for the Lord Chamberlain and the presidents of the Apostolic Chamber:—

Waxen tapers to be ordered for the Lords of the Apostolic Chamber :

For the Lord Chamberlain	20 pounds
For the Lord Vice-Chamberlain	10 „
For the Treasurer	10 „
For each Clerk of the Chamber, of whom there are seven, 8 lbs.	56 „
For the Auditor of the Chamber	8 „
For the Fiscal Advocate	4 „
For the Fiscal Procurator	4 „
For the Advocate of the Poor	4 „
For each Notary, nine in number, 3 lbs.	27 „
For each Clerk of the College, two, 6 lbs.	12 „
Total	155 pounds

And all these tapers are to be of those which their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals usually use on the table, and all are to be sent together to the Rev. Father and Lord, Simulfo, clerk of the said Chamber, who will distribute them in the manner described above.

I then gave another list, which the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Savelli took, for their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals Savelli and Ascanio, to this effect:—

Below are found written the monies in the account of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Milan, of pious memory, hitherto adhered to with praiseworthy exactness:—

To the Masters of Ceremonies of the Chapel of our Most Holy Lord the Pope	25	gold ducats
To the Deacon and Sub-deacon of the said Chapel	2	” ”
To the Cantors	10	” ”
To the Heralds of our Most Holy Lord the Pope	10	” ”

On Wednesday, 12th November, in the chapel of the Blessed Maria delle Febbre in the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles of the city, about four in the afternoon were held the obsequies of the Lord Bartolommeo Mararda of Mantua, Bishop of Cività Castello, who died in the discharge of his episcopal office at Perugia. His body, or bones, were brought thence to Rome by special permission of the Pope, which the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Aleria obtained by word of mouth in my presence, since, without such permission, the bodies of the dead may not be removed from their tombs. It was brought in by the gate of Santa Maria del Popolo, on Saturday last, the 8th inst., where it was laid until night in the Church of the said Blessed Mary without any ceremony.

On the same evening, preceded by a few torches and without ceremony, it was borne to the said Basilica of St. Peter, and buried in the chapel of the Blessed Maria delle Febbre, where his tomb is to be seen.

The Rev. Father and Lord, Pietro Paolo, Bishop of S. Agatha, celebrated the mass. There were present the Governor of the City, the Bishops of Aleria, Tournai, Melfi, and several others attached to the palace, the Pope's chamberlains and esquires, the cantors of our chapel, and the deacons and sub-deacons. The sermon after the mass was preached by Gaspar —, and when it was ended, the celebrant pronounced the absolutions alone in the usual way. Above the tomb was placed a large high chest with the pall of the Cardinal of Constance, and on either side pillars with fourteen torches. None were placed at the head and feet, because there were no candlesticks nor place prepared for them. There were nineteen torches for the tomb, the altar and the celebrant; tapers of one pound for the altar and the forty clergy; of half-a-pound for the chamberlains, esquires, and canons of St. Peter; and of four ounces for the beneficiaries of St. Peter and others, one hundred and fifty. The stalls for the clergy and chamberlains were placed on the right of the entrance, and on the left, opposite them, others for the canons of St. Peter, and at the head there was a pulpit for the preacher, who stood facing the celebrant and the clergy. The cantors stood in the chapel, near the chapel of the Immured Woman, and their desk with the book was outside the chapel. Before them were the mourners, but the Lord Giovanni Francesco and Ludovico of Maraschi, nephews of the deceased, apostolic acolytes, sat in their places as acolytes after the clergy. All the other observances were as usual.

On Thursday, 13th November, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, the Rev. Father and Lord, Pietro Paolo, Bishop of S. Agatha, celebrated the public mass of the dead, in accordance with the custom of our chapel, for the soul of Charles, of the title of S. Martino ai Monti, cardinal-priest, commonly called Cardinal of Lyons, and after the

mass he pronounced the absolutions in the usual way. The Pope was absent, and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal-bishops of Naples, S. Maria in Portico, S. Pietro in Vincoli, the Cardinal-priests of Lisbon, Conza, and Parma; the Cardinal-deacons of Foix, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio were present.

On Sunday, 16th November, before luncheon, in the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, in the hall beyond the park, immediately after the hall of the Pontiffs, a marriage was contracted, by the form of words now prescribed, between the daughter of the Lady Teodorina, daughter of our Most Holy Lord, Pope Innocent VIII., the wife of the Lord Gerardo Usumare, merchant of Genoa, and depositary of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and the Lord Alfonso del Carretto, Marquis of Finale, and the bridal ring was put on in the presence of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and St. George, the Archbishops of Coutances and Benevento, the Bishops of Aleria, Volterra, Tournai, Auray, Cortona, Melfitano and others, the Lord Falco Sinibaldi, Rigeto, Bruno and other clergy. After the ceremony our Most Holy Lord left the hall aforesaid and came to the hall of the Pontiffs with all the personages aforesaid, where three tables were prepared for luncheon, of which they partook. At the first table sat our Most Holy Lord, with the two said cardinals; at the second the clergy aforesaid and others, also the Lord Mattia Cibò, apostolic sub-deacon, the Lord Ilario Gentile, and certain others; at the third table, either opposite or at right angles to this, sat, first, Francesco, the Pope's son, also illegitimate,¹ as was Teodorina, mother

¹ This explicit statement by such a witness as Burchard is fatal to the theory that Innocent's children were the offspring of a legitimate marriage contracted before he became Pope (de Bréquigny, *opus cit.*, t. i., p. 93); also to that of Ciacconius, who claims that they were legitimate, but offers no proof of his statement (*Vitae et Res Gestae Pont. Rom.*, t. iii., col. 95).

Raphael Volterran, on the subject of the children born to the Pope in his youth before he was in orders, writes:—

“He was also the first of the Popes to acknowledge openly his illegitimate children, and, setting aside all established usage, to load them with riches; for to the one, Francesco, he gave several towns close to the city, and married him to the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici. The other, a daughter, Teodorina, he gave in marriage to Gerardo Usumare of Genoa, with a princely dowry.” (*Hist. de quat. Rom. Pont.*, Venice, 1511, f. 165, V.)

To the same effect Giovanni Stella writes:—

“. . . Upon his relations and kinsfolk he was hardly able to bestow any sign of favour (except upon his children Francesco and Teodorina). For, before he was made Pope or Cardinal, like St. Augustine, while he was one of the lesser clergy, he had two illegitimate children, a son Francesco, and a daughter Teodorina, for whom he had a great affection, and both of whom he strove with all his might to make great. For his daughter he arranged a distinguished marriage and gave her a large dowry, while to his dearly-loved son Francesco he gave, as wife, the daughter of the great Lorenzo Medici of Florence, and to him, on his death-bed, he left, with the consent of the cardinals, great treasures; nevertheless Francesco, while his father the Pope still lived, removed these secretly and sent them to Medici, his wife's father, at Florence. (*The Lives of Two Hundred and Thirty of the Sovereign Pontiffs, from St. Peter the Apostle to Julius the Second, Vatican, 1507 A.D., 20th Feb.*)

Palatius, who quotes this passage, wrongly attributes it to Filippo of Bergamo, for it is not in the Venice edition, 1486, in fol. (*Supplement to the Chronicles of Friar Giacomo Filippo of Bergamo.*)

Garimberto insists on the number of the Pope's children and the nature of their birth:—

“Franceschetto and Teodorina, his only children, and illegitimate” (*opus cit.*, p. 202; see also the despatch of Vespucci, App., No. 26).

According to Infessura (*Eccard*, col. 1948), the Pope had seven children; according to the epigram, attributed to Marullus, he had sixteen:—

of the bride aforesaid; next sat the bride, then the bridegroom, and after him the Lady Teodorina, mother of the bride aforesaid, and others in order. And at this third table were present among others, beside the aforesaid, Leonardo Cibò, commissary to the Pope, with his wife and son; the wife

*Quid quaeris testes sit mas an foemina Cibò?
Respice uatorum, pignora certa, gregem:
Octo nocens pueros genuit totidemque puellas,
Ilic merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.*

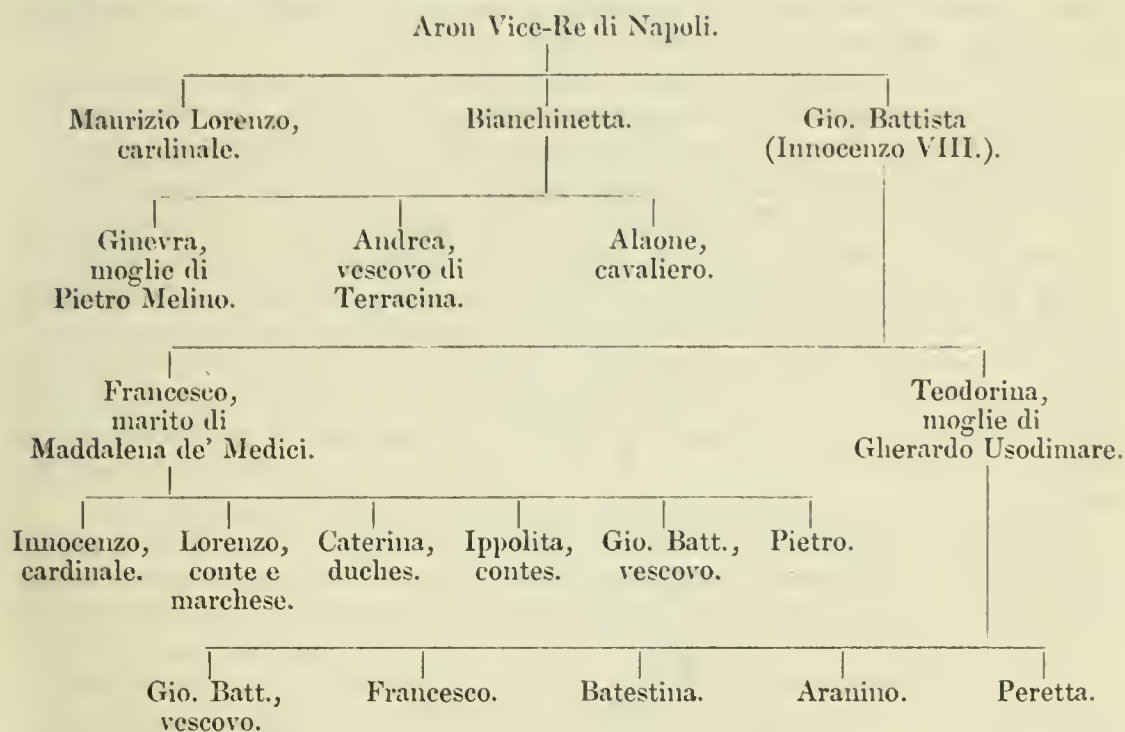
(Why do you seek witnesses to prove whether Cibò is man or woman? Look at the number of his children, sure proof; in guilt he begat eight sons and as many daughters: justly may Rome call this man a father.)

Cardinal Egidius of Viterbo speaks of "several children," but does not give the number. (Gregorius, *The History of Rome*, t. vii., p. 321, note 1.)

To the same effect Viani writes:—

"That Pontiff had, in the flower of his youth, and precisely at the time of his stay at the Court of Naples, by an illegitimate union, several children, only two of whom survived at the time of his Pontificate, Francesco and Teodorina, wife of Gherardo Usodimare, a citizen of Genoa." (*Le Mememorie della famiglia Cibò*, 1808, pp. 18, and 76, 77.)

The witness of Burchard, Volterran, Stella, and Garimberto is confirmed by the genealogical table of the Cibò family, drawn up in 1546, and preserved in the National Library at Florence. (*Magliabecchi*, cl. xxvi., No. 16.)



It is clear that while contemporary writers differ as to the number of the Pope's children, they are in agreement upon the subject of their illegitimacy.

It is necessary, however, to correct the error of de Bréquigny, who wrongly claims that Innocent VIII. was father of two other daughters, Martina and Peretta. (*Extracts and Notices*, etc., t. i., p. 93.)

The latter was Teodorina's daughter, and therefore grand-daughter of the Pope. As to Martina, de Bréquigny relies on the authority of MSS. 5521 (t. iii., f. 167), the only one that mentions her name; but it is a copyist's error, for the name of Martina does not appear in any other MSS., nor in the documents quoted above.

Further, it should be noticed that in the time of Burchard the word "bastard" was far from bearing the unfavourable sense that it has at the present day, as Philippe de Comines observes (Book VII., chap. ii. of his *Memoirs*):—

"In Italy they make no great distinction between a legitimate and an illegitimate child." (*See Du Cange, Glossarium, bastardus.*)

of Franceschetto, the Pope's son; the Lord Domenico Aurea and his wife, sister of the Archbishop of Benevento; the sister of the Lord Guglielmo, private chamberlain to our Most Holy Lord, nephew of Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon and private chamberlain to our Lord, and several others.

When luncheon was over, after a short interval, the ladies retired with several of their children, and then the others; the matter was not kept secret, but was published abroad and known throughout the city. I was not present myself, but when the brother of Guglielmo, the private chamberlain, reported it to me, I made a note of it, because it was contrary to the prescribed rules of our ceremonies, which expressly forbid women to sit at table with the Pope.

On Tuesday, 18th November, in the larger chapel of the Palace of St. Peter's, for the Feast of the Dedication of the Basilicas of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Rev. Father Stefano, Lord Archbishop of Patras and Bishop of Talecazzi, celebrated the solemn mass, in the presence of the Pope and the cardinals. Only one prayer was recited and the *Credo*; there was no sermon. After the cardinals had made their salutation, and the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* had been sung, the Pope instructed me to give a place upon the steps of the throne to a certain ambassador of the Emperor of Russia, sent to His Holiness to pay homage. This I did, and assigned him a place below a senator and above the conservators of the Chamber of the City. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Wednesday, 19th November, before the time and place of audience, upon a platform erected in the space above the steps, before the Rev. Father in Christ, Pietro, Lord Bishop of Cesena, auditor of the Chamber, the confession was read and the case brought against one Giacomo Pietro Romero, a priest of the diocese of Lerida,¹ in Spain, a regular canon of the Order of St. Augustine. Instructions for his actual degradation being given, the bishop thereupon degraded the said Giacomo, in accordance with the form prescribed by the Pontifical, and, having degraded him, gave him into the charge of Ambrosio, the apparitor; and in the presence of the Lord Giustino, the advocate, and the keeper of the purse of Parma, all the people standing by and witnessing, he was led away by the apparitor to the Castle of Soldano. The Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor obtained for him from our Most Holy Lord a reprieve from the death penalty.

On Thursday, 20th November, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Ascanio took luncheon with our Most Holy Lord. After luncheon they hunted in the park, and the following night His Holiness was taken seriously ill, and this illness gave rise in many minds to the belief that he was dead.

On the following night, Friday, 21st November, when there was a rumour that the Pope was dead, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal-chamberlain Orsini, as was afterwards said, straightway armed the whole of his household, to be ready, if such an event occurred, for emergencies; afterwards, on the night of *Friday, 28th November*, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Savelli, and Ascanio, met together about midnight, with the Lord Cardinal Colonna, and in his house, to make plans in view of the rumour that the Pontiff was in danger, as was publicly reported the next day by many persons in the city.

On Monday, 24th November, our Most Holy Lord entrusted to the Rev. Father Ardicino, Lord Bishop of Aleria, his private referendary, the work of setting his signature to instructions and petitions that had to be drawn

¹ In Catalonia.

up, since the illness of His Holiness still continued, and on the same day this bishop began to sign what documents he pleased.

Sunday, 30th November, the last day of the month, the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, was the first Sunday in Advent. The Rev. Father Giovanni Nicolini, Lord Archbishop of Athens and Bishop of Verdun, celebrated the solemn mass of the day in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace; seventeen cardinals were present; some were not in the city, and the Pope was absent. He recited only three prayers: first the ordinary prayer of the day, then another of the Blessed Virgin, and a third for the Pope. The prayer against the heathen was omitted, through the mistake of the Lord Thomas, deacon of the chapel, and Giovanni Maria, who had arranged it thus in my absence; for after the celebrant had said the *Confiteor* I went to ask for an indulgence from our Most Holy Lord on behalf of those present at the mass aforesaid, through the medium of the Lord Bernardino, his private chamberlain. I found him in the private garden, and he replied that our Most Holy Lord granted the usual indulgence, namely, for five years and as many quarantines. Meanwhile, the prayers aforesaid were recited. A certain friar of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon; everything else was carried out in the usual way.

After the sermon was begun, there came into the chapel the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Parma and Ascanio, and upon their entrance, the preacher stopped until they had made the usual prayer and taken their seats; then he continued his sermon.

In the Basilica of St. Peter the solemn mass was sung in the chapel of St. Andrew, of the Feast, and another high mass of the day in the choir. After the mass, as is customary, the head of St. Andrew the Apostle was exposed.

The same morning, Francesco Cibò, son of our Most Holy Lord, commanded the guards at the gate of the private garden not henceforth to admit the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Capuccio, the Pope's physician, and he, under pain of severe penalty, was commanded not to leave the said palace without the special and express permission of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, which permission was given to him after a space of four or five days.

The Pope's illness still continued and only the Bishop of Auray, the datary, had free access to the Pontiff; except the Lord Girolamo Calagrano and the Lord Bernardino Gambarà, private chamberlains, the Lord Guglielmo Calagrano and the doctors, also the Lord Bishop of Aleria, who came only occasionally.

On the Second Sunday in Advent, 7th December, the Rev. Father in Christ, the Lord Jean, Bishop of Tournai, master of the household, solemnly celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel aforesaid, because none of the assistants were willing to do so. The Pope was absent, fifteen cardinals were present; the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Angelo, and S. Clemente were absent. He recited the four usual prayers: the first, of the day; the second, *Deus, qui de beate Marie*; the third, against the heathen; the fourth, for the Pope. Everything else was carried out in the usual way. The Procurator of the Order of Friars Minor preached the sermon.

On the same day, about nine o'clock at night, there entered the city, by the Porta Viridarii, the Illustrious Lord Philip, of the Dukes of Cleves, and of the Diocese of Strasburg, with about ——— horses in his train. I went to meet him with more than a hundred German troops; the Bishop



of Alatria, Cardinal Savelli, the nephew, and a few members of the same cardinal's household, also came and met his Lordship and escorted him as far as the house hard by the gloomy abode which he had hired for his residence.

On Monday, 8th December, the Rev. Father in Christ, Paolo, by divine grace Lord Cardinal-priest of S. Anastasia, commonly known as of Genoa, came to the city through the gate of Santa Maria del Popolo. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal-bishops of Naples and of S. Pietro in Vincoli; the Cardinal-priests of Lisbon, Recanati, and Conza; Savelli and Colonna, the cardinal-deacons,—went to meet him about one mile outside the gate; within the gate there met him the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, and close to the church their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Parma, St. George, and Ascanio. When each in turn saw him with head uncovered, they, also with heads uncovered, exchanged greetings. He was escorted by all the cardinals aforesaid as far as the principal house near to the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, which the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli had prepared for the residence of the aforesaid personage, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Genoa. This Cardinal of Genoa rode in the order of his precedence, sometimes on the right of the Cardinal of Conza, sometimes on the left of the Cardinal of S. Clemente, as their rank demanded. The cardinals rode two and two, until the last place, where they rode three abreast, in the middle the Cardinal Savelli, having on his right the Cardinal Colonna and on his left Ascanio. When they were before the aforesaid house, all the cardinals ranged themselves in order on one side facing the entrance; then the Cardinal of Genoa, with uncovered head, rode before them one by one. Thanking them individually, he gave his hand to each, and again kissed each one according to my instructions; for I had told him to thank each one, the first in a few words and the others by bowing. This done, he placed himself before his door with uncovered head and awaited their departure; at length he entered the house. Perchance that cardinal had been in the city before, otherwise he would not have been met in such a fashion.¹

On Thursday, 11th December, the Rev. Father Gabriele, Lord Bishop of Ajaccio, celebrated the public mass for the soul of Giovanni, of pious memory, Cardinal of Milan, priest of the Church of S. Praxede, after the manner of our chapel, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace. After the mass he pronounced the absolutions in the usual way. The Pope was absent; the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-bishops of Naples, S. Maria in Portico, Angers; the Lord Cardinal-priests of Recanati, Conza, Parma; the Lord Cardinal-deacons of Foix, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio were present. After the epistle I questioned the aforesaid cardinals by the command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, delivered to me by the Lord Bishop of Auray, the datary, as to when it would please their Most Rev. Lordships that a like mass be celebrated in the same chapel for the soul of James, the Illustrious King of the Scots, of pious memory, who died last summer. They all replied that they left the matter to His Holiness, and since His Holiness ought to celebrate a mass of this kind, they begged that he would have notice of it sent to them; they would all willingly be present, as was their duty.

On the Third Sunday in Advent, 14th December, the Most Rev. the Lord

¹ This is certainly a note made by Paris de Grassis in the margin and interpolated by a copyist in the text.

Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace; the Pope was absent; fifteen of the cardinals were present. He recited four prayers: the first, of the day; then, *Deus, qui de beate Marie*, etc., *Deus omnium fidelium*, and *Ecclesie tue*, which he said against my will; but he said that, in accordance with the custom of our chapel, he would say, thirdly, the prayer against the heathen, and fourthly, the prayer for the Pope. But it was his pleasure so to speak.

The Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, 21st December, the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, the Rev. Father Tiberio, Lord Archbishop of Siponto, celebrated the public mass of the day in the aforesaid chapel, with four prayers according to the order of service. The Pope was absent; thirteen of the cardinals were present. A friar of the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mt. Carmel preached the sermon. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On the same day, in the Church of St. James's Hospital of the Spaniards, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Angers, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, the order having been given to him by word of mouth, assisted by the Rev. Fathers in Christ the Lord Ardicino, Bishop of Aleria, and the Lord Antoniotto, Bishop of Auray, the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor also being present, consecrated the Rev. Father in Christ, Bernardino Carvajal, Lord Bishop of Astorga, in the kingdom of His Most Serene Highness the King of Spain, and his ambassador in the city. To him he gave the consecration offering in the usual way. He said the high mass of¹

On Wednesday, 24th December, the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, vested with amice, alb, girdle, pectoral cross, stole, cope embroidered with pearls, mitre and pontifical ring, in the Basilica of St. Peter, the Pope being absent, the cardinals present, sang the vespers in the usual order.

On the following night, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Recanati, in his cardinal's robes, seated upon the fald-stool in the usual manner, which was placed on that side of the altar from which the epistle is read, officiated at the office of matins. The Pope was absent; their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal-priest of Parma, the Cardinal-deacons of Foix and St. George, were present.

The cantors, standing in the choir of the cardinals, recited eight lessons, to which the Cardinal of Recanati pronounced the benedictions; the cardinal himself read the ninth, standing in his place by the fald-stool aforesaid, to which the Cardinal of Parma pronounced the benediction, standing in his place in the cardinals' bench. After the ninth lesson, the Cardinal of Recanati, standing in the same way, began the *Te Deum*, which the cantors took up in the usual way.

1489.—*On Thursday, 25th December*, the Feast of the Nativity of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor celebrated the public mass in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope was absent; the cardinals were present. At the close, he announced that a plenary indulgence was granted by the Pope, as was usual, to those present. There was no sermon; everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Friday, 26th December, the Feast of St. Stephen the first Martyr, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma celebrated the public mass in the

¹ Words illegible in the MS.

larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace. The Pope was absent; the cardinals were present. A certain friar of the Order of Carmelities preached the sermon; he it was who had also preached upon the fourth Sunday in Advent. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Sunday, 27th December, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated the public mass in the aforesaid chapel. The Pope was absent; the cardinals were present. A certain priest of Trau, secular chaplain or other member of the household of the Bishop of Auray, the datary, preached the sermon.

On Wednesday, 31st December, the last day of the month, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, vested in amice, alb, girdle, stole, pectoral cross, cope, without pectoral, mitre and pontifical ring, performed the vesper office in the usual way. The Pope was absent, and the cardinals were present.

On the following day also he celebrated the public mass in the same chapel. The Pope was absent; the cardinals were present. The Rev. Lord Carola of Cesena, abbreviator *de prima visione*, and chamberlain to the Pope, preached the sermon. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Saturday, 3rd January, our Most Holy Lord, restored to his former health, had his beard shaved.

On Monday, 5th January, the Vigil of the Epiphany, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Angers, vested with amice, alb, girdle, pectoral cross, stole, cope with pectoral of pearls, mitre and pontifical ring, performed the vespers in the larger chapel aforesaid. The Pope was absent; the cardinals were present, as usual.

On the following day, the Feast of the Epiphany, the same cardinal celebrated the solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter. The Pope was absent; the cardinals were present. A certain friar of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Mary preached the sermon, and the other observances were as usual.

On Sunday, 18th January, there assembled in the larger room next to the hall in the house of Aciajole, in the quarter of St. Peter, in which used to live the Lord Antonio of Forli, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, of pious memory, about seven in the evening, the clergy of the Apostolic Palace and the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and their Most Rev. Lordships the six Cardinals who held benefices in the kingdom of Florence. These were to escort the body of Orsino di Lanfredo, son of Giovanni di Lanfredo, citizen, and first ambassador of Florence. The deceased, who was about fifteen years of age, had been stricken with fever, brought on by too much sexual indulgence, about the 22nd of November last, and died: *Nam, ut quidam asserabant, idem quamdam juveniculum septies una hora, alii quod undecies una nocte cognovit.*

There were assembled in another room next to the room aforesaid, with the father of the deceased, the ambassadors of King Ferdinand, Venice, and the Duke of Ferrara. In the centre of the hall aforesaid, upon a table, was laid the body of the deceased, clothed from head to foot in the garb of the Society of the Black Bare-footed Battuti. Two squires stood by, holding in their hands two lighted torches, weighing about two pounds. Thence, when torches and candles had been made ready according to custom, preceded by the friars of Arauceli, S. Augustino, S. Maria del Popolo, and certain others summoned for the purpose, and by the beneficiaries and clergy of the Basilica of St. Peter, the body was borne to the said

basilica, where it was to be buried. Twenty poor men bearing torches preceded the clergy; after them the solicitors of Apostolic Letters, of whose college the deceased was a member, bore the body; six of the aforesaid Society of the Battuti, and four of the aforesaid solicitors, also placed their hands to the bier; six of the Society wished to follow the body, as was their custom, but I ordered them to precede; and immediately behind the body rode the ambassadors aforesaid, among whom Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, had the first place; after them and with them were the clergy of the palace, and others not in order because it was raining, and the way was short. At the door of the basilica candles were distributed to the friars and clergy in the usual way. The body was borne through the fourth door, namely the one between the middle door and that next the chapel of St. Andrew, and was placed, as it were, in the centre of the basilica, the feet turned towards the door, and the head towards the altar, as is the custom. But the clerk of the basilica, carrying the crucifix, held it at the head of the deceased; he should have held it at the feet in the usual way.

Meanwhile, the ambassadors and clergy aforesaid sat in the seats of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the choir of the said church, and Friar Mariano of Viterbo, of the Order of Preachers, standing on the lowest step, went up to the said altar, turned to face the aforesaid ambassadors and clergy, and made the funeral oration, as is customary; this ended, all withdrew and returned each to his home. Meanwhile during the sermon, when the clerks had finished the responses and prayers, the deceased was borne to the chapel of S. Maria delle Febbre, where, in a corner on the left of the entrance, he was buried. It was the opinion of certain Florentine merchants attached to the Roman Court that the father of the deceased should accompany the body to the church, wearing dark violet garments, but this seemed to me unfitting, as he held public office; and the father was of my opinion, and therefore did not follow.

On Monday, 2nd February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, candles were prepared as usual in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, by the door of the sacrist's room, and our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the said chapel, preceded by the cross and the cardinals. When he had said a prayer at the fald-stool, and received the cardinals for the customary salutation, they all took their vestments, as is the custom; then the Pope laid aside his mitre, and sitting on account of his weakness, blessed the candles, in accordance with the Ordinary, sprinkled and censed them.

Then the Vice-Chancellor handed to the Pope two large wax candles, one of which was held on his right hand by Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, the other on his left by the eldest son of Prince Bissignano. Then the Pope took the gremial, and distributed candles to the others in the usual way. After the assistants and all the clergy in vestments, the penitentiaries, Colonna and Seron, assistants, and di Vignola, governor of the city and first notary, the said Lords Francesco Cibò and the son of Prince Bissignano received their candles, then the others, in the usual way. Then the Pope recited a prayer, took incense, and a procession was formed through the great court. In the porch the Pope distributed candles to the people, then returned in procession to the aforesaid chapel, and the mass began. Note that very few candles were given by the Pontiff, and further, that to about half the persons who approached the Pope, after the esquires, candles were given, instead of being taken from them; after these were given,

the Lord Joham of Stade, a most distinguished doctor and soldier, ambassador of the great new German league, gave water to the Pope for washing his hands, the Most Rev. the Vice-Chancellor assisting until the gospel. The Pope and cardinals, the celebrant and all the clergy, held lighted candles, which, when the gospel was ended, the servitors extinguished, and lighted again before the elevation of the Host, and when lighted, the servitors held them until after the communion. The Pope alone held his before the elevation of the Host, then the Lord Bernardino, his private chamberlain, held it until after the communion. The Most Rev. the Lord Girolamo, Cardinal of Recanati, celebrated the mass, and there was no sermon. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Wednesday, 4th March, Ash Wednesday, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel of his palace aforesaid, where the cardinals made their usual salutation in their robes, and they took their vestments, the cardinals in their places, and the clergy outside the chapel, as is customary. Then the Lord Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon, in his vestments, held, on bended knee, the bowl of ashes at the Pope's right hand, and the Pope, sitting on account of his weakness, blessed the ashes, the cantors meanwhile singing, *Exaudi*, etc. When they were blessed, sprinkled and censured the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the chief penitentiary, who was to celebrate, vested in all the sacred vestments, pontifical ring, gauntlets, and mitre laid aside, with head uncovered approached the Pontiff, and, standing before him, placed ashes upon the Pope's head, saying nothing; then taking mitre and gremial, the Pontiff himself gave ashes to the first celebrant, and afterward to the Vice-Chancellor and all the others in the usual way. After these were given, the Pope washed his hands, the Venetian ambassador pouring the water, and the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Angelo, prior of the cardinal-priests, assisting and helping him. Then the Pope, standing without mitre, recited the usual prayer; then, with the celebrant, he said the *Confiteor*, and the office was continued. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli celebrated the mass, and there was no sermon, for the reason that, as was then said, the Master of the Palace had entrusted the sermon to the Lord Pietro, caudatory of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco, and then had taken it from him and given to another, the chaplain of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico, and he was to preach a less important sermon, or pretended that he was ill. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Naples, protector of the Master of the Palace, who was absent, said that the sermon depended upon the choice or arrangement of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the chief penitentiary; he had deputed no one for this purpose, because never hitherto has such an arrangement been observed, but it depends solely upon the Master of the Palace to arrange for this and all other sermons. Everything else was carried out as it is ordained in the Book of Ceremonies. Mass ended, our Most Holy Lord, at my request, granted us an indulgence for visiting the seven altars of the Basilica of St. Peter, and permission to choose a confessor to give us absolution.

On the First Sunday in Lent, 8th March, the Rev. Father Nicola Cibò, Lord Archbishop of Casena, celebrated the solemn or public mass in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being present. He recited five prayers, and everything else was in accordance with the ordinary rule. The Procurator of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon.

On Monday, 9th March, our Most Holy Lord, in private consistory,

created five new cardinals. All the Most Rev. the Cardinals then in the city were present, except one, namely the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico. They were eighteen in number:—the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinal-bishops of Naples, S. Marco, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and Angers; the Cardinal-priests of S. Angelo, Lisbon, Recanati, S. Clemente, Jena, Conza, and Parma; the Cardinal-deacons of Foix, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Aseanio. The five new cardinals were: the Most Rev. Fathers in Christ André of Lyons, formerly of Bordeaux,¹ Lorenzo of Benevento,² archbishops; Ardicino della Porta of Aleria,³ Antoniotto Gentile of Auray,⁴ bishops; and Pietro Paolo, grand-master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.⁵ The first and fifth of these were away from the

¹ André d'Espinau (not Louis, as several of the biographies of the cardinals call him) superior monk of Saint Martin-in-the-Fields, of the Order of St. Benedict, Archbishop of Bordeaux, and then of Lyons, obtained the cardinal's hat upon the recommendation of the King of France (*vide* Cardella, t. iii., p. 26).

² Lorenzo Cibò, nephew of Innocent VIII., "attained the cardinalate by an excess of favour" (Garimberto, p. 246). As he was an illegitimate child, they passed him as legitimate, illegitimate sons being excluded from ecclesiastical dignities. He was an estimable man, and his election was favourably received (*vide* Cardella, t. iii., p. 229).

³ Ardicino della Porta of Novara was made bishop of this town at the request of his fellow-citizens. Afterwards he became Bishop of Aleria and then cardinal. He enjoyed the favour of all the Popes; he took part in the most delicate negotiations, and always acquitted himself so as to win honour. As legate to Hungary and Germany, he had the distinction of making peace between Matthias Corvin and the Emperor Maximilian, an enterprise in which many had failed.

Scarcely two years after his elevation to the cardinalate, disgusted with the life of his generation, Ardicino resolved to leave Rome and become a monk (Garimb., p. 482). Having obtained, though not without difficulty, the Pope's permission, Ardicino retired to a Monastery of the Olivetans (*vide*, Infessura in *Eccard*, t. ii., col. 2001), and not to the Monastery of Camaldoli as Petrus Delphinus claims (*Epist.* 92, *lit.* 2), a theory which Mansi has refuted (Rinaldi, *Ann. Eccl.*, t. xxx., p. 192, note 1).

The cardinals represented to the Pope that a cardinal could not withdraw from the Sacred College without the consent of his colleagues. The Pontiff gave way, and recalled Ardicino, who wrote him a letter (App., No. 31) remarkable alike for the sincere sentiments of piety which it expresses, and for the ideas set forth by its writer upon the rights of the Pope and the cardinals in such a case. Ardicino returned to Rome, and subjected himself to the censure of the Sacred College. He died soon afterwards, in 1493, as will be seen hereafter.

⁴ Antoniotto Palavicino began to make himself known in the office of datary, which he filled with such modesty and ability that he won the sympathies of the Papal Court. His wonderful talent for conciliation won for him the name of "the enchanter." Innocent VIII. had suppressed the guard of Stradiots, and had dismissed them without indemnity. The latter filled the city with their complaints, and wearied cardinals and Pope with their grievances. He put their case in the hands of Palavicino who "with his wonted graciousness received them in suchwise that, as if charmed, they were compelled by him to leave the city" (Garimb., p. 246. See Cardella, t. iii., p. 233).

⁵ Pierre d'Aubusson, grand-master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Charles VIII. secured his nomination to the College of Cardinals as a reward for having delivered to him Djem, brother of the Sultan Bajazet II. Besides these five cardinals created in private consistory, Innocent VIII. created three others *in petto*: Maffeo Gherardo of Venice; Federico Sanseverino of Milan; Giovanni de' Medici of Florence.

To this list of cardinals we must add, on the authority of Vialard (*opus cit.*, p. 71, 72), Frédéric Jagellon, Archbishop of Strigonia, and Pantalco Cibò (*vide* Ciacconius, t. iii., col. 144, and Cardella, t. iii., p. 244 *seq.*).

On the same day, the Cardinal of Anjou wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici (*Ex orig. in Arch. pub. Reip. Florent.*):—

"To the noble and powerful Lorenzo de' Medici as to our dearly loved brother.

"To our noble and powerful brother dearly beloved, greeting.

"May all good, happiness and prosperity be to your Most Rev. Son, to your Lordship and to the State of Florence! At this hour your son, the Most Rev. Lord Giovanni

city, the other three, the Cardinals of Benevento, Aleria, and Auray, were assembled in the apartment of the Cardinal of Auray in the Apostolic Palace, awaiting the happy event.

After their election, as told above, the three were summoned by our Most Holy Lord to the consistory, where His Holiness told them that they were elected cardinals, without receiving the communion. Then they were escorted by all the College of Cardinals from the consistory to the apartment aforesaid, the cardinals walking two and two.

The Cardinal of Benevento was between the Cardinals of Foix and St. George in the last place; the Cardinals of Aleria between the Cardinals of Savelli and Colonna in the last place but one; and the Cardinal of Aleria between the Cardinals Orsini and Ascanio. The aforesaid newly created cardinals walked in their ordinary cloaks and dark violet caps, as they used to do before.

When, as is told above, our Most Holy Lord had announced their election to the newly created cardinals, it was said by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco and others, that they made no reply, and it was further added that they removed their signet and other rings from their fingers, and did not wait until our Most Holy Lord handed them their rings and titles in the consistory in the usual fashion. When these new cardinals had been escorted to the apartment aforesaid the old cardinals withdrew, and the new cardinals escorted them to the door and then remained in the same apartment, and there joyfully took luncheon together.

After luncheon, in answer to their questions, I told them not to change their caps and garments until they had to go to the public consistory, to receive the cardinal's hat, and not in the meanwhile to leave their houses; and as they said that they were then going to our Most Holy Lord, I reminded them to go in their ordinary cloaks and caps, and not to allow their train to be carried until they received the hat, as is said above.

The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco approved this opinion of mine, when afterwards he learned it from me. I further enjoined them, both at the receiving of the hats, and when visiting, to go in robes of camel's hair, because it was Lent, and also because it is more fitting to go with all humility in the beginning: they could, however, I said, have the bridles of their mules covered with scarlet or . . .,¹ as they preferred. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco aforesaid wholly approved this, and stated that Pope Paul II. of happy memory desired and permitted him to ride about the city for several months without . . .,² after he had made him a cardinal, and for about two years before he gave him permission to wear the scarlet robe.

On Tuesday, 10th March, the Rev. Jean, Lord Bishop of Aubusson, Cardinal of Angers, with others, brought it about that Zizim, brother of the

de' Medici, has been made cardinal, an event which has given us the greatest pleasure possible.

“Yours,

“G10., Cardinal of Angers.”

“Rome, 9th March, 1489.”

(Letter quoted by Roscoe: *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, 1828, 4 vols. in 8vo, t. iii., App., p. 393, No. VIII.)

Giovanni de' Medici was in his fourteenth year when he was created cardinal. He was subsequently elected Pope, taking the title Leo X.

¹ Word illegible.

² *Idem.*



PICCOLOMINI ARRIVING AT ANCONA TO HASTEN THE DEPARTURE OF THE CRUSADERS.
PINTURICCHIO. (CATHEDRAL, SIENA).

Facing page 240.

great Turk, came to Rome.¹ This Zizim, fleeing from the wrath and persecution of his brother, came in the year 1480, or thereabouts, under the safe conduct of the Grand-Master of the Knights of Jerusalem to the Island of Rhodes.

Hence, because his brother had sought in many ways, and was daily seeking, to take his life, for his own greater safety Zizim had been sent into France by the Rev. Lord Pierre of Ghent,² grand-master of the knights aforesaid, first to Bouillon then to Bourgneuf, the castle which he had inherited from his father. However, under the escort of Guido de Blanchefort, his nephew,³ Prior of Alvernia, the prince came to Rome.⁴ He had come the day before to Civita Vecchia by sea,⁵ and the Cardinal of Angers rode out from the city to Civita Vecchia aforesaid to meet him, accompanied by the Most Rev. Lord Archbishop of Cesena; but on what account the cardinal and archbishop aforesaid rode to Civita Vecchia, whether to receive the Turkish prince, or to certify the guards who were waiting to learn that the Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of Lyons and the Grand-Master of the Knights aforesaid had yesterday been promoted to the rank of cardinal, or for some other reason, I do not know.

The said cardinals and the archbishop returned to the city on *Friday, 13th March*, about four in the afternoon.

On *Friday, 13th March*, about eight o'clock, Zizim, brother of the Sultan of Turkey, entered the city on one of the white horses called *chinei*, with all

¹ Zizim, or Djem, the younger son of Mahomet II., was defeated by his brother, whom he strove to drive from the throne, and took refuge with the Knights at Rhodes. Bajazet used in turn both promises and threats to get the fugitive into his hands. The latter for greater safety passed over into France under a strong escort, and d'Aubusson undertook, on consideration of a pension of 45,000 ducats of gold, payable on the first of August in each year, to defray all the prince's expenses, and prevent his flight to reopen the struggle against his brother. In violation of his pledged word, d'Aubusson treated the young prince not as his guest but as a prisoner, and this treachery is a stain upon the memory of a career hitherto glorious. Treachery in our eyes it was, but was by no means so esteemed in the fifteenth century, when the principle of the claims of the State, a principle which, even in our days, numbers many advocates, was all powerful. Machiavelli, who merely reduced to a theory the practical politics of his day, writes in chapter xviii. of the "Prince":—

"It is not possible for such a prudent man, nor ought he, to observe treaties, when such observance turns against him, and the causes which made him form them are past." (*Vide* chapter xviii. : *In che modo i Principi debbiano osservare la fede.*)

The princes of Europe insisted that Zizim should be put into their hands, and especially Matthias of Hungary, who wished to make him serve his own designs against Bajazet II. The grand-master refused, and excused himself for his inability to deliver up Zizim, whom he was detaining in the Pope's name. (*See* Rinaldi, *Ann. Eccl.*, t. xxx., p. 148, note 1 of Mansi.)

Upon the representations of Innocent VIII. the King of France permitted the prince to be taken to Rome. Thereupon Turkish ambassadors came to Paris (to Riez, in Provence, according to Comines, *Memoires*, Book VI., chap. x.), and made the most alluring offers to Charles VIII., if he would undertake to keep Zizim a prisoner. The king would not go back upon his word, and the Turkish ambassadors withdrew. (*See* G. de Jaligny, *Histoire de Charles VIII.*, in Godefroy, p. 691; Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Book XIX.; and the study of M. de Bougy in the *Revue Contemporaine*, 1862 (June), p. 762: *Un prétendant turc au XV^e siècle*, written in part after the narrative of the Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes, Guillaume Caoursin, published in the Appendix, No. 34. *See also* *The Life and Adventures of Djem Sultan*, by A. H. Mathew.)

² *Vide supra.*

³ *See* in the Appendix, No. 33.

⁴ There occurs in all the MSS. a *lacuna* of several words. M. Gennarelli supplies *vohuit ut*, "he wished to" (*Joh. Beroch., Diary*, p. 116).

⁵ Appendix, No. 34.

those of our Most Holy Lord such as are wont to be led before the Pontiff when he rides, by the Porta Portese, across the Tiber.

By command of the Pope he was met by the households of the cardinals without the clergy, that is to say, the chaplains and esquires only, of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, Conza, Parma, Foix, St. George, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and, if I remember rightly, S. Clemente. None of the other cardinals sent, if I remember rightly, although the Pope had instructed them all to send their households, except the clergy: in the same way with the Pope's household came only the chamberlains and esquires. Within the gate they all received him in their midst, removing and immediately replacing their caps. But the Turkish prince, who had his head covered after their fashion with a large white turban, uncovered to nobody, but merely bowed slightly. The first of the household of each cardinal received him in some such words as these:—"The Most Rev. My Lord the Cardinal by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope has sent to meet Your Highness, this his household, rejoicing at your safe arrival," except the Lord Pietro, Spanish caudatory to the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco, who welcomed him in some such form of words as this:—"Most Serene Prince, the Most Rev. My Lord the Cardinal of S. Marco was filled with joy when he learned that Your Highness would come to the city: wherefore to show the pleasure which he feels, he has sent his household to honour your entry. His Rev. Lordship prays God, the all-good, all-great and all-powerful, that Your Majesty's coming here may be happy and prosperous, and may have such result as all good men desire, and to this end he congratulates Your Highness upon your safe arrival, and at the same time places himself and all that he has, at your free disposal." The Turkish prince aforesaid, after this reception, rode between Francesco Cibò, son of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, who was on his right hand, and the Prior of Alvernia, nephew of the new cardinal, on his left: and although a senator and several lay ambassadors, namely the Ambassadors of King Ferdinand, Venice, and others, also kinsmen of the Pontiff, received the said Turkish prince, yet because the Prior of Alvernia, who claimed to be the ambassador of the King of France and to have the charge of the said prince, would not give place to the senator and ambassadors, they all withdrew except the senator, who rode before us. In this order we came to the Apostolic Palace, where in the Apostolic Apartments in which the Emperor and Kings and other great Princes are received, he also was entertained. The route was across the Bridge of S. Bartolommeo, or the Island by the Ghetto, and the Campo dei Fiori, straight to the aforesaid palace: a great crowd of people stood around and watched his entry.

First rode the households of the cardinals, then the households of the knights, and the knights who had escorted the Turkish prince from France; the household of the prince, about ten in number, excluding those who were following the prince, the chief of whom had on his right hand the ambassador of the Sultan, of whom we shall speak below: the esquires of the Pope, the senator with certain nobles, the men-at-arms, the herald of the French king, of the masters of ceremonies. On my left was the interpreter of the Turkish prince, and the prince himself, who rode between Francesco Cibò and the prior aforesaid, the *Turchopellerius* of Rhodes, four of the nobles in the household of the prince, the Pope's chamberlains, and all the Rhodians after the chamberlains.

The prince dismounted at the palace in the court, where the cardinals

ride, and from there he went up through the great hall, and was conducted to the apartments aforesaid where he was entertained and guarded by the troops aforesaid.

During the past months, there came to the city an ambassador from the Grand-Turk sent to the Pope on account of the Turkish prince received to-day. When he learned that the prince would make his entry into the city to-day, he went on horseback to meet him, with his household on foot, of whom there were about ten, outside the Porta Portese.

For the Turkish prince was waiting on horseback close to the city walls and the river outside the said gate for the hour appointed for his entry.

The prior and *Turchopellerius* aforesaid went to meet this ambassador, who was waiting outside the said gate, to prevent his approaching the prince; but when Francesco Cibò learned that the ambassador wished to approach the prince, he gave orders that he should be allowed.

Thereupon the prior and *Turchopellerius* aforesaid commanded the retainers of the ambassador, who were holding their bows taut, though not with arrows to them, to lay aside their strings and so to approach unarmed, which they did. Then they approached, the ambassador on horseback and his men on foot, and when he was within sight of the prince and about forty paces away, the ambassador got down from his horse, and with a very noble carriage, approached to within fifteen paces. Then coming forward about five paces, he bowed himself to the ground, touching it with his head upon the right side; then rising and coming forward three or four paces more, he knelt upon his right knee, touched the ground with his right hand, and then kissed his own hand. Then, rising again, and coming as many paces forward to the prince, before whom he knelt, he embraced his horse, by the right or left foot, and the prince's right foot, and at the same time he kissed the prince's foot. Then rising he kissed his right knee thrice, and when the prince stretched out his right hand to his neck he kissed his garments in the same way. All this the ambassador appeared to do so sincerely that he seemed to all to be weeping. But the prince made him no sign, but waited for him as a prince unmoved, and neither spoke a word to the other, but when the ambassador had made his salutations in a single word as he stood there before him, the prince bade him mount his horse; his own horse was first brought for him to mount, and then he retired a whole pace from the prince to mount, and returned on horseback before the prince. Meanwhile there came one of the prince's household, who embraced in turn each member of the ambassador's household, while they knelt one by one before the prince, touched the ground with the right hand, and kissed their right hand; then kneeling they embraced the horse's foot, and the prince's right foot; then kissed first his foot and afterward his knee. In the fewest possible words, the Turkish prince and the ambassador made peace, and thus afterward the prince made his entry into the city in the order given above.¹

¹ Matthæus Bossus confirms the account given by Burchard. See, in the Appendix, No. 33, the letter in which he describes the solemn entry into Rome of the Ottoman prince, of whom he gives a lively portrait. The clear account given by Burchard, Bossus, and Petrus Beneficiatus (these two last in Appendix, Nos. 33 and 36) renders more improbable the statement made by J. Bosio (*Dell' Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustris Militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitana*, 2 vols. in fol., Rome, 1594, Book XIV., p. 412), who claims that Zizim kissed the Pope's foot, as well as that of Sponde, who makes the same assertion, but somewhat indignantly (*Continuat. des Ann. de Baronius*, 1489, No. 2).

There is as little foundation for the theory of those who have seen Zizim in the medal representing a man kneeling before the Pope. See Palatius, *Gesta Pontificum*,

On Saturday, 14th March, notice was given of a public consistory in the first great hall of the Apostolic Palace for one o'clock. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento came early in the morning from the Castle of S. Angelo by the corridor to the apartments of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Auray in the palace; likewise also the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria came from his house to the same apartment, in which they assembled to await the hour at which they were to go to the consistory. As soon as they were assembled there, they took off their ordinary caps, and for the first time, assumed the scarlet robes belonging to the cardinals.

Meanwhile there came to the palace the old cardinals, and our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the place of the consistory, where he received all the old cardinals for the salutation, as is customary. Then, when all were seated, the Lord Domenico, Roman advocate to the consistory, brought forward a case, and when this had been dealt with, our Most Holy Lord made one short speech giving his reason for creating the cardinals, and announcing the names of those whom he chose: he would not, however, give the admonition usually given to new cardinals, saying that that should be done in a private consistory. The Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor and the Lord Chamberlain agreed to this, but the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco and myself alleged the opposite. Meanwhile their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Foix and St. George, escorted to the consistory the Cardinal of Benevento; after them came the Cardinals Savelli and Colonna with the Cardinal of Aleria, and lastly the Cardinals Orsini and Ascanio with the Cardinal of Auray.

When they were in the entrance of the consistory, the Pope ended his address, and so without delay they approached the Pontiff with the accustomed salutation, which they made before the steps of the throne.

The first to approach the Pontiff was the Cardinal of Benevento with his conductors, and the Pope received him for the kiss upon foot, hand and mouth; they remained upon the throne while the Cardinal of Aleria approached with his conductors, and he was received in the same way, as also the Cardinal of Auray. When they had all been received by the Pontiff, they approached all the cardinals in turn, the Vice-Chancellor first, and then the others, and were received by all of them with a kiss upon the mouth; then they were taken to their places, next to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Parma. When they were seated the Lord Paolo Planca, the advocate, brought forward another document, and when this had received the Pope's assent, the cantors began, and continued the hymn or canticle, *Te Deum laudamus*; after beginning the hymn, the cantors entered the small chapel singing, and all the cardinals except the Cardinals of Foix and St. George, who went to assist the Pope, followed two and two, the Vice-Chancellor first, then the others in the order of precedence. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Conza and Parma, cardinal-priests, had between them the Cardinal of Aleria, in default of cardinal-deacons; and in the last place walked the Deacons Savelli and Colonna, with the Cardinal of Benevento.

The old cardinals formed a circle, sitting at the sides of the altar facing the principal door of the said chapel: the six bishops on the side for the

t. iii., col. 698, and Bonanni, *Numismata Pontif. Rom.*, 2 vols. in fol., 1699, t. i., p. 108, and in the Appendix the narrative of Caoursin (No. 34). Baluze, in his *Miscellanea*, t. i., pp. 517, 558, has given a letter from the Sultan to the Pope relating to Zizim, and the Sovereign Pontiff's reply.

epistle, six priests on the side for the gospel, and after them the other priests and deacons on the side of the epistle, if I am not mistaken, but that was at their pleasure. The new cardinals prostrated themselves before the altar on the floor of the chapel upon a great carpet prepared there, the Cardinal of Benevento in the centre, on his right Aleria and on his left Auray. They remained until after the prayer.

When the *Te Deum laudamus* was ended, the Vice-Chancellor, standing beside the altar on the side of the epistle, his face turned towards the side of the gospel, with uncovered head, recited from a book placed upon the altar the *Pater noster* and other prayers according to the Book of Ceremonies. When these had been said the new cardinals rose and all returned to the consistory in the order in which they had come to the Pontiff, before whom they formed a circle, the new cardinals on the floor of the throne beside the Pontiff, below bishops on the right, priests on the left, and deacons last of all. All the three new cardinals knelt together before the Pontiff. Then he took a new red hat with its trimmings from the hand of Pietro di Valle, and placing it upon the uncovered head of the Cardinal of Benevento, said: *Accipe*, etc. Having thus said, the Pontiff gave the hat back to Pietro to hold as before; then he took another hat from some one else's hand, and placed it upon the head of the Cardinal of Aleria, saying as before; he did the same with the third hat for the Cardinal of Auray. Then the new cardinals rose, and with the old cardinals took their places, except the Cardinals of Foix and St. George, who remained with the Pontiff to assist him, in anticipation of the entrance of the Turkish prince to the consistory, and his reception.

Meanwhile Francesco Cibò went with the lay ambassadors from the Pontiff's presence at his command to escort the prince from his apartments. Escorted thus by Francesco and the Prior of Alvernia, preceded by men-at-arms and followed by his fourteen servitors and soldiers, the prince came to the consistory into the presence of the Pontiff. Now though it was said that the prince would do reverence to the Pontiff in the Turkish fashion, by touching the ground with his hand and then kissing his hand, he refused to do so; but, at the entrance of the consistory, in the centre and before the steps of the throne where it is customary to make the genuflection, he refused to do so; indeed he merely bowed his covered head very slightly to the Pontiff, so slightly that the bow could scarcely be seen or recognized as such. He went up to the Pontiff and, standing erect, embraced him and kissed him lightly upon the right arm, all the time keeping his head covered. Then, standing before the Pontiff, he said, by means of his interpreter, that he was glad to have come into the presence of the Pontiff, and asked him to be mindful of the fact and to afford him protection; adding that when a time and place were appointed, he would tell him of other matters in private. The Pontiff replied that he had already taken the measures by which His Highness had been brought to Rome for his safety and welfare, and that His Highness ought in no wise to doubt, but to live happily, seeing that all things are ordered for a wise end. For these words the prince thanked His Holiness, stating that he was confident in this.¹

¹ "Some say, and it is true, that he wished to kiss the Pope upon the cheek, and the Pope drew back, and yet he kissed only the shoulder" (Infessura in *Eccard*, col. 1987), for in the text of Muratori (*Rer. Ital. Script*, t. iii., p. ii, col. 1239) we read: "Some people say, but I do not know." See Appendix, Nos. 34 and 36, the narrative of Caoursin and that of Beneficiatus inserted by Bonanni in t. i., p. 109, of *Numismata Pont. Rom.*

Then the prince withdrew from before the Pontiff and embraced all the cardinals as they stood in their places and kissed them on or about the right shoulder. Meanwhile the other members of his household came into the presence of the Pontiff, and one after the other, in turn, knelt upon the throne, and touching the ground with the right hand kissed it; then embraced the feet of the Pope, also his cope and vestments, and on bended knee kissed these and followed the prince their patron. He, having embraced all the cardinals except the two who remained with the Pontiff to assist him, without bearing himself in any other fashion, or making any other sort of salutation to the Pontiff, returned to his apartments, escorted as before. Then the Pontiff rose and returned to his apartment in the usual way; when they had laid aside their vestments, the new cardinals sought and obtained his permission to visit the old cardinals after luncheon, asking His Holiness to consider that he had been visited, as he ought to be visited first: so it was done. The Pontiff retired to his private apartment, and after him all the cardinals old and new, and after a short stay there they all withdrew, and the old cardinals escorted the new to the Castle of S. Angelo, where the three new cardinals took luncheon together. They rode in the following order: first the bishops, then the priests, the Cardinal-priest of Parma on the right, the Cardinal-deacon Ascanio on the left; the Cardinals of Auray, Orsini, and Colonna, Aleria, St. George, and Foix riding last; they had the Cardinal of Benevento among them. Before the small door of the said castle the old cardinals ranged themselves; the bishops and priests on the right of the entrance, and the deacons on the left; the new cardinals, riding one behind the other with uncovered heads, thanked them in the usual way. Then the old cardinals took their departure, and after all the clergy and officials had gone the new cardinals dismounted from their mules, and went into the said castle, where they took luncheon in the larger hall. At the head of the table sat the Cardinal of Aleria, on his right hand the Cardinal of Auray, with Benevento next; there was no one on his left, but the servants stood there. Next to the Cardinal of Benevento, were the Bishop of Imola, the chief notary of Pinelli, Gerardo Usidomare, governor of the city, Domenico Auria and myself. After luncheon, about eight in the evening, the three new Cardinals aforesaid, escorted by the clergy of the palace, the Pope's household and their own, rode out to visit their Most Rev. Lordships the old cardinals, and first they visited the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, who desired them to remove their robes after dismounting from the mules before they went up the steps, which they did, but wrongly. Then they visited the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, S. Pietro in Vincoli, Genoa, S. Angelo and Colonna.

On the Second Sunday in Lent, 15th March, the Rev. Father Thomas, Lord Bishop of Dôle, assistant of the Pope, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace. The Pope was absent, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals were present, the three new cardinals also. Everything was carried out in accordance with the ordinary. The Procurator of the Order of Friars Minor, who was deputed, preached the sermon. After luncheon the three new cardinals, escorted as before, visited the cardinals whom they had not visited yesterday; of these they did not find at home the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Lisbon, Savelli, Orsini, Ascanio, and the Lord Chamberlain, and therefore did not visit them.

On Tuesday, 17th March, their Most Rev. Lordships the old cardinals began to visit the new cardinals, and first, this morning, they visited the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals Savelli and Foix; then the other old

cardinals came, and a feast was given to the households of the old cardinals in the houses of the new, as is customary.

On Saturday, 21st March, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Auray, when talking to me upon various topics, told me, among other things, that for a week now he had subscribed himself as "priest of S. Anastasia," by express permission of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, because he did not intend to change his title, and did not like to sign himself *Auray*, and, moreover, the Latin title did not sound well with the vulgar.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, 22nd March, the Rev. Father Stefano, Lord Archbishop of Patras, celebrated the public mass in the chapel aforesaid (the Pope being absent), with the usual ceremonies. The Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon.

On Monday, 23rd March, was the first consistory after the public announcement of the names of the new cardinals aforesaid, in which our Most Holy Lord, at the beginning of the consistory, closed the lips of the new cardinals; but at the close of the same consistory he opened their lips, and gave to these new cardinals rings and titles, both to them and to the two not present:—to the Most Rev. Cardinal of Lyons, the title of S. Martino di Monti; to the Cardinal of Benevento, S. Susanna; to the Cardinal of Aleria, S. Giovanni e S. Paolo; to the Cardinal of Auray, S. Anastasia; to the Cardinal of Rhodes, S. Adriano.

On Wednesday, 25th March, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; in the morning, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, stole of red embroidered in pearls, white cape, and on his head a red cap, preceded by the cross and cardinals, the two deacon-cardinals riding after the last bishops, immediately before the Pope, rode, by the Via del Papa or Pario, to the Church of the Blessed Maria sopra Minerva. There, having offered a prayer before the altar, he laid aside stole and cape, and took the precious white cope and stole, recited the *Confiteor* before the altar with the celebrant, then received the cardinals for the salutation, and everything else was carried out in the usual way. The chapel was arranged as described last year; the prior of the cardinal-priests did not come to assist, because there was no stool for him; he could, however, have been provided with one well enough.

At the *Introit, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, the cardinals came up to form the circle. The Rev. Father in Christ Tito, Lord Bishop of Castro in the Patrimony, celebrated the mass, and there was no sermon. Mass ended, and the benediction having been given by the Pope, there came by his permission, two of the Friars of the Annunciation with a torch, bearing before the Pope a bowl to collect offerings. Whereupon the Lord Bernardino, the private chamberlain, threw into the bowl about fifty ducats. Then they approached the cardinals, some of whom gave a ducat and some nothing. Then the Pope went up to the centre of the altar where he laid aside the precious cope, mitre and stole and took the red stole and cap which he had worn before, and, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, rode to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, and thence to the palace. After he had crossed the Bridge of S. Angelo, he took leave of the cardinals, who left the Pontiff and returned to their homes.

This morning I had a long conversation with the Pontiff. I told him it was not right to wear a white cape, but he ought properly to wear a red cape with a violet stole, not a red; also, that the cardinals should follow, and not precede, His Holiness. But His Holiness said that Sixtus IV., his predecessor, used to ride at this season with a white cape, and the Most Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor, listening to no argument, said the cardinals

should precede; and this was done, as is told above, although not fittingly.

On the Fourth Sunday in Lent, 29th March, Mid-Lent Sunday, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel aforesaid; the Pope was present, and having blessed the Rose in the papal chamber in the usual way came to the chapel, where everything was observed as is customary. The Procurator of the Order of Carmelites preached. Mass ended, the Pope carried back the Rose in his left hand, blessing with the right, to the papal chamber, where he removed his vestments, and in his private room deliberated with the cardinals upon giving the Rose, and decided to send it to the Illustrious Lord Johann, Duke of Cleves; afterward, when the time was past, he gave it to the Illustrious Lord Philip, head of the Diocese of Strasburg, brother to the said Duke, who was then in the city, to send to his brother aforesaid; and this Lord Philip gave to the two private chamberlains of His Holiness a hundred ducats, and to the chamberlains of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento about three hundred ducats, as their colleagues afterwards told me.

On Sunday, called the Fifth Sunday in Lent, or of the Passion, 5th April, the Rev. Father in Christ Bernardino, Lord Bishop of Bya, ambassador of the Most Illustrious King of Spain, celebrated the public mass in the chapel aforesaid. The Pope was absent, the cardinals were present, and there were all the usual observances. The Master of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Mary preached the sermon.

On Wednesday, 8th April, our Most Holy Lord, in his private consistory, as is customary, preferred the Rev. Lord Eggerdus Duerkoop, doctor of decrees, auditor of cases to the Sacred Palace, to the See of Schleswig, then deprived of the consolation of a pastor. Two candidates had been elected to it, one of whom had the consent of the King of Dacia, and commendatory letters to our Most Holy Lord in his favour; while a third candidate, affirming that the place had not the right of election and that the See aforesaid was not included in the concordats of the German nation, urged his own appointment to the diocese. The Lord Heinrich Meyer, private chamberlain to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, was sent from the consistory to announce his preferment to the Lord Eggerdus, and his colleagues and subordinates seated in court, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope.

The audience ended, the said Lord Eggerdus removed his rochet, and in his ordinary dress as auditor, returned to his house; he was accompanied by three of his colleagues, Francesco Brevio, Felino, and Pietro d' Accolyti, among whom he had the place of honour in the middle. Before his house he thank them and me, and the other officials who accompanied him, and then went indoors.

After luncheon I went to the aforesaid Lord Bishop-elect, at his summons, and he asked me what he should do. I replied that first he must be tonsured, and assume the bishop's rochet, then, on the morrow or some other day, at his pleasure, he must visit our Most Holy Lord the Pope in the cardinal's robe, and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and thank them according to custom. Having learned this, the Rev. Father stated that he did not understand his promotion, and was therefore unwilling to assume it, but begged me to approach the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor on his behalf, and learn from him the nature of his promotion and what he ought to do.

I learned from the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor that our Most

Holy Lord had chosen the Lord-elect aforesaid, of his own desire, and appointed him to the said See; that he reserved for him all his emoluments without exception, and his position as auditor, until he came into peaceful possession of the said See; further, that His Holiness said there was a suit between the Lord Bishop-elect and a chamberlain of His Holiness upon a certain revenue, which suit His Holiness desired to undertake; nevertheless he gave him permission, in drawing up the schedule of this promotion, not to make an exception of this revenue, but to reserve all emoluments. When this was reported to the Lord Bishop-elect he permitted his election to be consummated.

On Thursday, 9th April, about eight in the evening by the Porta Viridarii, there entered the city two laymen, ambassadors of the Most Serene King of Spain, one an officer, the other a doctor, who had been sent at the instance, as it was said, of the Pope to the King of Naples, to conclude a treaty and set at liberty two hundred nobles. They were received by the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and their most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, in the same way as if they had come to do homage to His Holiness: the households of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Angers, Benevento, Conza, and the Lord Vice-Chancellor, rode out beyond Mt. Mario, and the others to this side of it, as did the Pope's household. They were escorted from the palace of Spinelli to the house of the Cross, beyond the Campo dei Fiori, where they were entertained, and before which they returned thanks in the usual way. The officer rode between two clergy of the palace, then the Lord of Astorga and the ambassadors of the said king, residing in the city, on the left of another of the palace clergy, and the others in their customary order.

On Palm Sunday, 12th April, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aleria, who was to celebrate, came to the larger chapel, where, before our Most Holy Lord arrived, he put on all the vestments, except the gauntlets and pontifical ring. Then the Pontiff came, and, after a prayer, received the cardinals for the salutation, in their cappas.

After the salutation, the cardinals and all the clergy took their vestments, and the Pope sitting, on account of his weakness, without the mitre, the cardinals and others standing, blessed the palms put ready in a corner of the chapel at his left hand, then sprinkled and censed them. After they had been censed, he said, in a loud voice as before, the prayer *Deus, qui filium tuum*, according to the Ordinary. Then he sat, took the mitre, and the Vice-Chancellor handed to the Pope three palms, two large and one small; the first the Pope gave to the chief Spanish ambassador, who came on the ninth of this month, the second to a nephew of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples, to hold on his left, the third to Lord Bernardino, his private chamberlain. Then taking the gremial, he distributed to all, in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies. After the distribution, the ambassador of the King of Naples gave water, the Most Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor assisting. At the blessing of the palms the cantors sang nothing, but at the distribution only. Three cantors, vested in white maniples, and white, black, and red stoles respectively, in the usual fashion, sang the Passion from the sacred beast; on which man had never sat. At the Passion, at the gospel, and at the elevation of the Host, our Most Holy Lord held his palm, and the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals and the greater part of the clergy did the same. Everything else was done in the usual way; there was no sermon.

On Wednesday, 15th April, in Holy Week, before eight in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, and scarlet

cope without cross, followed by the cardinals, came to the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace aforesaid, where he was present at the office of matins in the usual way. The first of the assistant bishops bore the train both going and returning, and the antiphon, after the *Benedictus*, was repeated. Before the verse, *Christus, pro nobis*, etc., at a sign from me the Pope came to the fald-stool, where he knelt through the whole of that verse; the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco afterwards blamed me for this, quoting the ordinary Breviary, that after this verse the *Pater noster* should be said kneeling. I replied that it had always been observed in this way in my time, and was so ordained in the new Book of Ceremonies. It seems, however, very fitting that they kneel after the verse has been said, and not before it, though the opposite has been the custom hitherto in the chapel.

On *Thursday in Holy Week, 16th April*, in the morning, about noon, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the larger chapel aforesaid, where, after he had said a prayer, he recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant, in the usual way. He ascended the throne and took incense, and no salutation was made then by the cardinals. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Vice-Chancellor celebrated the public mass, in accordance with the Ordinary. After he had made the communion, the clergy took their vestments outside the chapel. The mass ended, and the benediction given by the Pontiff, the Vice-Chancellor laid aside his vestments, the cardinals took their proper vestments in their order, and also the Vice-Chancellor took his vestments at the fald-stool. Meanwhile my colleagues distributed candles to the Pope, cardinals, and clergy, as is customary, and the cantors sang the vespers contrary to custom and wrongly. Therefore I enjoined them not henceforth to sing the vespers on this day at this hour. When the *Magnificat* was said the Pope rose without his mitre. At the *Christus factus*, the Pope came to the fald-stool, and after the *Pater noster* and the *Miserere*, the Pope said there the prayer, *Respice, quesumus*, as in the matins office. The prayer ended, the Pope standing there without mitre, placed incense in two censers, then went up to the highest step of the altar, where he knelt and censed the Host with one of the censers, swinging it thrice; then, as he knelt, a silken veil was placed around his neck by the two assistant deacons, and the Host was raised by the Vice-Chancellor. Preceded by all the clergy in their vestments, and the cardinals without mitres and copes, but with uncovered heads, and by twelve torches carried by the six officiating chaplains, the Host was borne beneath the baldacchino, which five assistant clergy and three ambassadors, who were bishops, bore, because there were only five assistants apart from the chief notaries, who were not allowed to bear It: the Lord Francesco Cibò, son of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, bore the borders of the Pope's cope in the procession to the small chapel, where, on the highest step before the altar, the Pope knelt, and gave the Host to the Vice-Chancellor, who placed It in a sepulchre prepared for It; then, still kneeling, without taking incense afresh, he censed It as before. After It had been censed, the sacrist shut the sepulchre, and gave the key to the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was to celebrate on the morrow. The Pope then rose, and preceded by the clergy and cardinals, all with uncovered head, as also the Pope himself, left the aforesaid chapel, outside which he was vested, and all took their mitres. They came in procession to the Place of the Benediction, where, before a seat prepared for him, he took off the white cope and stole, and put on the precious red ones, and the usual salutation was made by the cardinals. When this was done, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco thought

it would be more fitting for the Pope to have changed cope and stole after the salutation, and not before it. Then the indulgences were read out by the Lord Ilario Calagrano, the sub-deacon, in Latin, and by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Colonna in the vulgar tongue. Afterward the solemn benediction was given by the Pontiff, and a plenary indulgence, which the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Colonna pronounced in Latin, and Orsini in the vulgar tongue. After these were pronounced, all the cardinals, except the Cardinal-deacons of Foix and St. George, who were assisting and retained theirs, laid aside their vestments, and in their robes escorted the Pope as far as the court, where he took leave of them. Then the Pontiff went up to the third hall, where were waiting thirteen beggars, wearing albs, seated, as is their custom, and a table made ready with basins and other things in the usual way, except that two large and splendid vessels had been placed upon it, contrary to the proper order, since this should be a Lenten rite, and not an occasion for pomp. There the Pope laid aside his precious cope, and took one of plain red; the gospel was read. The Pope washed the feet of the beggars, and said the prayer, as ordained in the Book of Ceremonies. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-priests of Parma, Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia, the Cardinal-deacons of Savelli, Colonna, and Orsini were present in their robes, standing behind the Cardinals of Foix and St. George, the assistants, and Ascanio, who read the gospel, and all three wore their vestments. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma held the boat for the taking of incense, and the Pope was censured at the gospel and after the gospel. After the washing of the feet the Lord Johann of Forseheim, Imperial ambassador, gave water for the Pope's hands, the aforesaid Lord Cardinal of Parma assisting. The Pontiff said a prayer, and gave the benediction to the people, saying nothing; then returned to the chamber, where he laid aside his vestments in the usual way.

On the same day, about eight in the evening, there was the office of *Tenebrae* in the larger chapel aforesaid: the Pope was absent, most of the cardinals were present. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was to celebrate on the morrow, said at the close the prayer, *Respice*, etc., in the usual way.

On Friday, 17th April, Good Friday, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, scarlet cope and plain mitre, came to the chapel, prayed in the usual way, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli the celebrant, kneeling at his left hand; and the office was begun and continued according to the Ordinary. The celebrant recited the prayers appointed for feasts, but wrongly. The three cantors who sang the Passion were robed in albs and stoles, and wore white, black and red maniples respectively, in the fashion of our sacrist the abbot, who does not give up his foolish ideas.

The Lord Mattia Canale of Ferrara, servitor and preceptor of the Lord Mattia Cibò, apostolic sub-deacon, preached the sermon, without great credit. The celebrant did not come with the Pontiff to the small chapel for the Host, but gave to me the key of the sepulchre in which the chalice and the Host had been shut, and he himself waited in the large chapel by the fald-stool, and when the Pontiff brought the Host, the celebrant himself took the Host from the hands of the Pope, who knelt before the high altar, and placed It upon the altar: everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On the same day, after eight in the evening, *Tenebrae* was sung, the Pope being present, with the usual ceremonies.

The Pope was present in rose-coloured cappa as on Wednesday, and not in his mantle.

On the same day, after luncheon, there came to the city the Rev. Father in Christ Matthias, Lord Bishop of Seecaw,¹ ambassador of our Most Serene Lord the Emperor, escorted only by his suite; he had fifteen servants, who were all mounted.

On Saturday, 18th April, the Eve of Easter, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma performed the office in the larger chapel aforesaid. The Pope was present, and having said a prayer at the fald-stool, he received the cardinals for the salutation in the usual way. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Naples and S. Pietro in Vincoli, said that the salutation ought not to be made here, but after the *Kyrie elcison*. But when I said that it ought, and persisted in my statement, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli said that he would abide by the opinion of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco, who was then absent from the chapel. While the *Exultet jam Angelica* was being said by a deacon of the chapel, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico came; on account of his weakness and illness, the Pope took his mitre and sat to receive the said cardinal for the salutation, then laying aside the mitre he rose and stood again, the deacon continuing his chant meanwhile. When the epistle was ended, the Lord Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon, vested in the usual way, said before the Pope the *Alleluia annuncio*, etc., but the Pope would not say the *Alleluia*, and entrusted it to the celebrant, who said it, and at the *Magnificat* the celebrant censed the altar; the other observances were as usual. The cantors read all the twelve prophecies.

On Easter Sunday, 19th April, our Most Holy Lord was vested in the papal chamber, and came in procession in the usual way to the Basilica of St. Peter, beneath the baldacchino, to perform the office. The water was handed, firstly, by a nephew of the Cardinal of Naples; secondly, by the Venetian ambassador; thirdly, by the Spanish ambassador; fourthly, by the Lord Johann Forseheim, the Imperial ambassador. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Foix read the gospel in Latin, and the Lord Girolamo Calagrano the epistle, which the Lord Demetrio read in Greek; while the gospel was read in Greek by the Lord Girolamo Scotto, Bishop-elect of Siena, who, before he said the *Munda*, kissed the foot, not the knee, of the Pope, at my bidding, because he was not consecrated. After the elevation of the Host, by command of the Pontiff, the Holy Face was exposed, so that the people might go the more readily to the Place of the Benediction. The Pope communicated all who came to him, and no one was preferred, among them the Lords Jacob Crouffal, Cornelius and Johann Aable of my household. After the mass, the Pope was carried in procession to the Place of the Benediction, through the furthest nave, where he saw the Face of the Lord in the usual place. He gave the solemn benediction to the people who were waiting in the largest and densest crowd that has ever been in the time of this our Pontiff Innocent VIII. Zizim, brother of the Sultan of Turkey, stood at the windows of the upper porch, above the principal entrance to the palace, that he might see the people, and witness their devotion to the Vicar of Christ. After the benediction had been given by the Pontiff, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of St. George and Colonna announced to the people, the former in Latin, the latter in the vulgar tongue, that a plenary indulgence was granted by the Pope. The

¹ In Styria.

Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Vice-Chancellor acted as assistant, both during the mass and when the Pontiff was robing.

Meanwhile, while Terce was being said, by command of our Most Holy Lord I gave a place among the assistants to the Rev. Lord Archbishop of Coutances and the Rev. Lord of Birago, apostolic chief notary. Everything else was carried out in the usual way. When the Preface was begun, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-deacons Orsini and Ascanio assisted, the former on the side of the altar for the epistle, the latter on the gospel side, facing one another, to represent the two angels. Several consecrated particles were left over, and these we laid upon the altar in a chalice. The Pope came to the Place of the Benediction with the cope and tiara, which he wore from the robing-room to the church.

On Tuesday in Easter Week, 21st April, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the solemn mass in the chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present, with one prayer and the usual ceremonies. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli questioned the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco as to whether the salutation of the cardinals to the Pontiff on the Vigil of Easter should be made at the beginning of the office or after the *Confiteor*, and the latter replied that it should be made at the beginning of the office and not after the *Confiteor*.

On Wednesday, 22nd April, about eight in the evening, the body of Eustace, Lord Archbishop of Arles, assistant to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, a prelate of pious memory, who died yesterday evening, was carried to the Church of the Blessed Maria Maggiore, to be buried, honourably escorted by the households of the Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and by the other bishops and archbishops assistants. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Savelli, and the Lord Guglielmo di Perreri, auditor of the Court, were named executors of his will. May he rest in peace.

On Friday, 24th April, there was a private consistory, in which the Rev. Father in Christ Nicola, Lord Archbishop of Cesena, nephew and assistant of the Pope, was transferred from the See of Cesena to Arles; but some said that the Apostolic letters concerning his promotion of to-day were despatched yesterday. But I saw the letters of his promotion, sealed, registered, and made ready by the Lord Adriano, notary of the Apostolic Chamber, a little after luncheon to-day, kept back by our Most Holy Lord in order that he might give instructions for them to be presented to the aforesaid Lord Nicola. On the same day after luncheon the Lord Matthias Bishop of Seccaw, had a private audience of our Most Holy Lord, and laid before His Holiness the commands of the Emperor

On Saturday in Easter Week, 25th April, the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, the Rev. Father Nicola, Lord Archbishop of Arles, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel aforesaid. The Pope was present, and all the cardinals except the Cardinal of S. Marco. He recited three prayers, and there was no sermon: everything else was carried out in the usual way. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco was in his Church of S. Marco, where he performed the office, as is customary, but the procession was only through the church, on account of the heavy rains to-day. It was said, however, that the usual solemn procession was arranged to take place on the morrow; it did not take place, because the rain continued.

On Friday, 1st May, the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, stole of red embroidered with pearls over a white cape, preceded by the cross and, wrongly, by the cardinals, rode to the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles by the way near and

next to the Minerva, etc. Having made a prayer before the altar, he laid aside the cape, took the cope, and recited the *Confiteor*, went up to the throne, and received the cardinals for the salutation; everything else was carried out in the usual way.

The Rev. Father Girolamo, Lord Bishop of Chios, celebrated the mass; he recited only one prayer, and the Preface of the Apostles, and there was no sermon. All the clergy, archbishops and bishops, chief notaries, sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber and acolytes were present, in their robes, and others in the usual dress worn by each in the chapel. The cardinal-bishops and priests sat in the mural stalls on the right of the Pope's throne, which had been placed on the left of the entrance to the choir; among them sat the prior of the priests, who came thence when summoned to assist. The deacons sat on the Pope's left beneath the tribune of the altar, in the same mural stalls, behind the assistants and near the clergy, who were sitting in the lower stalls on the left of the Pope, and on the floor of the chapel to the right of the entrance to the choir aforesaid.

At right angles to these had been placed wooden benches for the clergy, and in the first, that is to say the front row of these, sat the chief notaries; the clergy of higher rank, that is to say ambassadors, and others, sat in the last row next the wall; and the rest in front of these, as in our own chapel. The sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, acolytes, chamberlains and procurators, sat in the space between the Pope's throne and the benches for the clergy, facing the Pope. The lay ambassadors sat on a seat by the wall next the door, on the right of the entrance, their faces to the altar and their heads by the door. The cardinals at the proper time came to form the circle. The Pope's esquires had not a place, but stood outside the choir. At the close of the mass the Pope gave the benediction and plenary indulgence, which the celebrant announced; then His Holiness knighted Sexto, nephew of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli; and at the end put upon him the garb of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Then he took off, before the altar, mitre, cope and stole, and put on a cape and another stole, and was carried to the palace of the cardinal aforesaid, close to the said basilica, where he took luncheon, and several cardinals with him.

On the same day, about eight in the evening, the bishop who celebrated the mass of the day exposed the relics which are kept in the basilica aforesaid: the Pope sat, while the cardinals stood in the organ-loft, where the cantors sang the office this morning, opposite the people; after the relics had been exposed, the Pope returned to the Palace of St. Peter, in the order in which he came this morning, because the cardinals were minded to go thus before the Pope, and not after him as they ought. On his return he rode through the Campo dei Fiori and before, or close to, the Castle of S. Angelo; after crossing the bridge he took leave of the cardinals, who returned thence to their homes.

On Wednesday, 6th May, His Highness Prince Otho, Duke of Bavaria, who came to Rome on Holy Saturday last, not being received by any one, withdrew from the city, escorted by the household of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco, to return home. He is the brother of My Rev. Lord Albert, Bishop of Strasburg, and during the time he was at Rome he never came to the chapel. Our Most Holy Lord, who thought that he would come on the Saturday in Easter Week, had sent word to the cardinals to give him a place on the cardinals' bench after the last deacon; but when I was summoned and questioned by His Holiness, I said that he

must be given a place on the highest steps by the Pope's throne, because this was the especial wish of the cardinals. The said duke, with twenty-nine horses, was entertained in the Hospice of the Campagna, near to the Campo dei Fiori. He was on his way to Naples, to negotiate with the king, and he left the city to go there on Monday, 27th April, and returned on Sunday, 3rd May,—if I remember rightly.

On *Thursday, 27th May*, on the Vigil of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, there were papal vespers in the larger chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present and beginning the office; and on the following day the solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, which the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-priest of Benevento celebrated with the usual ceremonies, the Pope being present. There was no sermon, because the Lord Alexander of Cortes, who was appointed for this, was ill. When the mass was ended the Pope gave the benediction but no indulgences. When the Pope went to the Place of the Benediction, by the fifth title of the said basilica, namely, the Face of Our Saviour, as soon as he entered the nave, the Face aforesaid was exposed by the Bishop of Agde, vicar of the basilica; for the time he was blamed, and rightly, for he should have waited until the Pope had reached the middle of the nave, or gone even farther.

Then the Pontiff went up to the place aforesaid, where he solemnly gave the benediction in the pontifical mitre, not in the tiara, the cardinals and clergy assisting him in their robes, and not in vestments, as is the custom. After the benediction he granted plenary indulgences, which the Most Rev. the Cardinals of Foix and Colonna announced in the usual way, the former in Latin, the latter in the vulgar tongue.

On *Saturday, 6th June*, the Vigil of Pentecost, there were pontifical vespers in the larger chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present and beginning the office; on the following day, which was the Feast of Pentecost, there was the solemn mass in the basilica aforesaid, which the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Angers, Bishop d'Aubusson, celebrated, the Pope being present. Our Most Holy Lord was unwilling, yesterday, to begin the hymn, and to-day in the mass the verse *Allluia, Veni sancte Spiritus*, but on both occasions the cantors began, and continued in the usual way.

The Rev. Father in Christ Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres, preached the sermon, and announced that plenary indulgences were granted by the Pope to those present. On the same day, the Feast of Pentecost, in the evening, our Most Holy Lord fell dangerously ill with the flux.

On *Saturday, 13th June*, the Vigil of the Holy Trinity, there were solemn vespers in the larger chapel aforesaid; the pope was absent, the cardinals were present. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma, vested in the usual way, performed the office, and I told him that he should recite a prayer for the commemoration of the day. He replied that there had been no such commemoration for two or three years, and therefore he would not make it. I replied that it had been omitted previously by express command, and it ought not to be omitted in the absence of the Pope, since it was in the Ordinary; nevertheless he would not depart from his opinions, and omitted the commemoration.

On *Sunday, 14th June*, the Feast of the Trinity, there was solemn mass in the chapel aforesaid, which the same cardinal celebrated in the absence of the Pope. The sermon was preached by the Lord Girolamo Scotto of Sena, Bishop-elect of Siena. The same cardinal, when celebrating, said before the prayer, before the epistle, *Dominus vobiscum*; when he had said it, immediately before the cantors could respond, he added, *Pax vobis*.

On *Monday, 15th June*, the Feast of S. Vito and S. Modesto, the Rev.

Father Carolo, Lord Bishop of Ostia, celebrated the solemn mass in the Church of S. Vito in Mascello, which is the church of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio: all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals then in the city were present, except the Cardinal of Angers, who was ill: everything was sung in the usual order, and the *Credo* was said because of the patronage of the church. The sub-deacon, deacon, and cantors of our chapel officiated, and sang the office.

On Wednesday, 17th June, the Vigil of *Corpus Christi*, there were papal vespers in the larger chapel aforesaid, the Pope being absent. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia performed the office in the usual order. In the hymn, when the verse, *Tantum ergo Sacramentum*, was being sung, the Lord Thomeo of our chapel, who was standing, made a genuflection to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia, and also made the cardinal kneel, and called me to him. I, not noticing, went to him and knelt, not thinking of his mistake; but when I saw the mistake I rose and no one else knelt; still our mistake was noticed by every one. In all churches, generally speaking, a genuflection is made at that verse, and rightly, because in these churches the Host is placed upon the altar, but in our chapel this is omitted because it is not convenient for the Host to be placed upon the altar at the vespers.

I gave notice to the Rev. Bishop of Agde, vicar of the Basilica of St. Peter, to instruct the aforesaid clerk of the basilica and the canons not to walk in our procession on the morrow, but with or after the clergy of the city, or not to come at all. Likewise, this morning, I advised the Lord Raynald, notary to the vicar of the city, to instruct the clergy of the city to begin their procession at eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and end it before ours began: and he said he would do this. I also caused notice to be given by heralds to the officials of the Roman Court that they may be present at nine on the morrow at the Apostolic Palace, by notice to the following effect, which I gave to the Master of the Heralds:—

“By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, be it known to the officials under-mentioned that all and each, on the morrow, the Feast of the Most Sacred Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, do be present at the ninth hour, at St. Peter's, in the Apostolic Palace, within the first gate, in the court; there let each appear with a goodly torch, and thence they shall go in procession in such order as the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, or his vice-chamberlain, shall command, under penalty to be imposed at the discretion of our Most Holy Lord the Pope—

The Masters of both Registers.

The Masters of the Mint.

The Keepers of the Seal.

The Collectors of the Mint.

The Apostolic Clerks.

The Abbreviators *de parco majori*.

The Abbreviators *de parco minori et prima visione*.

The Solicitators of Apostolic Letters.

The Notaries of the Court of Auditors.

The Clerks of the Penitentiary.

The Procurators of the Penitentiary.”

On Thursday, 18th June, the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, in the morning the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia, who was to celebrate, took, in the small chapel of the palace, sandals, amice, alb, girdle, pectoral cross, stole and cope. Thus vested, he awaited the arrival of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, who assembled in the papal chamber, then





CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE (AFTERWARDS POPE JULIUS II.),
MELOZZO DA FORLÌ. (VATICAN).

Facing page 157.

waited for their vestments in the robing-room, and came to the small chapel, from which the processions started. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia took incense, without the mitre, knelt, in the mitre, and censed the Host, then took It, and without covering upon his head, bore It beneath the baldacchino, to the first court of the palace, where the cardinals dismount, and there he took the cap and the mitre: the chief nobles present bore the baldacchino. Next to the cardinal walked, on the right, his chaplain, assisting in cope, and the deacon of the chapel, on the left, in dalmatic, his two chaplains raising the orphreys of the cope, and walking before him in surplices; they censed continuously, and a third chaplain bore the incense-boat. Two other chaplains went before them with candles after twelve of the Pope's esquires, the twelve bearing white torches. This procession started about eleven o'clock, although it had been announced for nine, and went by the Piazza di S. Pietro, that is to say in a direct line from the palace towards S. Martinello, before whose church or palace it turned, and, before the taverners, turned towards the Basilica of St. Peter. They walked in the following order:—First, the solicitors of Apostolic Letters, then the notaries of the Court of Auditors, the procurators of the Penitentiary, the apostolic clerks, the masters of both Registers, the abbreviators *de parco majori*; the keepers of the Seals, the masters of the Mint, and the abbreviators *de parco minori*; the procurators of Orders, and the rest, in order of precedence. The collectors of the Mint and abbreviators *de prima visione* were not present, and paid no heed to the order given to them to come; and although I had yesterday given instructions that the clergy of the city should take their procession before ours, yet it was not done; but when ours started, they also were immediately in front of us, and hindered us: there were, however, only a few monks and clergy there. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Naples and Conza did not take part in the procession, but waited in their robes, in the choir of the aforesaid basilica, for the arrival of the procession and the Host. When the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia reached the high altar, he placed the Host upon it, which a sacrist took from his hands. With mitre on he took incense, and then laying it aside knelt and censed the Host. Then without mitre he went to the fald-stool, where he laid aside his cope, and took tunic, dalmatic, gauntlets, chasuble, mitre and ring; and having gained, through me, the formal permission of the cardinals, he went up to the altar and recited the *Confiteor*: everything else was as usual; there was no sermon. At the close, the celebrant announced that an indulgence of seven years and as many quarantines was granted by the Pope to those present. In the procession, the sub-deacon of the chapel, fully vested, except the maniple, bore the crucifix with image turned towards him, between two chaplains bearing candles and wearing surplices.

On Wednesday, 24th June, the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, on which there was no chapel, nor did our Most Holy Lord go out in public, except to the Castle of S. Angelo, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals were present yesterday at the vespers, and to-day at the mass, in the Basilica di S. Giovanni Laterano.

On Saturday, 27th June, the Noble Lord Nicola Orsino, Count of Pitigliano, Siena, and Nola, who was to be Captain-General of the Holy Roman Church, and to make his entry into the city with his own household and intimate friends, but not with the households of the cardinals, entered by the Viridario of the Apostolic Palace to our Most Holy Lord, by whom he was graciously received; then the said count who, by studying the stars,

had conceived the idea that he might assume the insignia of his captaincy under favourable auspices to-day, sought and obtained from our Most Holy Lord permission for the said insignia to be given to him in the following way. Our Most Holy Lord, in the Hall of the Pontiffs, with cope above stole and rochet, blessed both standards, in accordance with the Ordinary. The count knelt before him, and he handed him in order first the tunic, reciting the words of the said book, and then the staff at the words, as I shall relate below. After receiving these in order, he kissed the foot of the Pontiff. Standards and staff all remained with our Most Holy Lord. The household of the count, after he had been dismissed from the palace, came to the curial house of Martelli, situated beyond the river, close to the Via della Beata Maria del Popolo, which house had been set apart for the count.

On Sunday, 28th June, early in the morning the aforesaid count rode with his household to Monte Mario, whence he came about noon, and by command of our Most Holy Lord was received in the usual way by the households of the most Rev. the Lord Cardinals and our Most Holy Lord, and honourably escorted to the aforesaid house, his residence; he entered by the gate of the city close to the Viridario of the Pope. The Pope's household awaited him close to the Church of S. Pelegrino, outside the said gate, the households of the cardinals beyond the bridge close to the Palace of Spinelli: there came also to meet him Matthias, the Lord Bishop of Seccaw, the Imperial ambassador; he received him in the usual fashion, and I made him ride on the count's right hand, because on the left of the count was Francesco Cibò, his nephew.

After the Pope's household received him the said Francesco remained at the count's left hand, and at his right I placed the Rev. Nicola Cibò, Lord Archbishop of Arles, the first of the clergy of the palace; after them, on the right, the Bishop of Cortona, and, on the left, the Bishop of Seccaw aforesaid, then the other clergy of the palace and others two and two: in this order we came by the Via Romadore¹ to the Campo dei Fiori Maggiore, by the house of Maximi, before the house of the Cardinal Ascanio, whence turning to the right, to the count's residence aforesaid, before which the count thanked them individually in the usual way, and after all the clergy had departed, entered the house. The households of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples, Conza and others, were not present, nor any ambassador except the aforesaid Bishop of Seccaw.

On the same day, the Vigil of the Apostles Peter and Paul, there were pontifical vespers in the Basilica of St. Peter; the Pope being absent, the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli officiated by express permission of the Pope, by a bull given to him in the accustomed place of the column, affixed publicly to the altar on the side of the epistle, in which bull permission was also given to him to celebrate the mass of to-morrow there.

The said bull was registered in my first Book of Ceremonies, written by my hand, fol. 148, in the presence of the cardinals. In these vespers everything was carried out in accordance with the instructions given in the Book of Ceremonies.

On Monday, 29th June, the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the Noble Lord Nicola Orsini, Count of Pitigliano, in the morning after nine o'clock, came to the palace with his men, who were unarmed. They returned thence to their quarters, where they armed, except, however, the

¹ All the MSS. give *Via Romadore*(?): MSS. 5158, fol. 152; 5159, p. 788. *Via Romadori*: Chigi, f. 503, v.; Gennarelli, p. 123. Only MS. 5521, t. ii., fol. 280, ii., gives *Via Commodiori*.

nobles, who remained with the count unarmed to take arms in due course : then our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the Basilica of the first of the Apostles, the Count Nicola aforesaid bearing the train from the papal chamber to the third hall, where the Pope took his seat in the chair, in which he was then carried. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli celebrated the solemn mass, in red vestments, in the usual way. After the elevation of the Host, when our Lord returned to the throne, the said count, with the nobles in his suite, left chapel and went to the apartments of the Rev. Celso de Mellini, Lord Bishop of Feretra, where they donned their armour : thus clad, they returned to the chapel, but too late, for the mass had ended long before. At the end of the mass, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was celebrating, announced that plenary indulgences were granted to the people by the Pope. After the return of the count to the chapel, the Lord Giovanni Geroma, with the standard of the arms of the Pope, and the Lord Simulfo, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, with the banner of the Church on their arms, and the white staff placed crosswise upon them, because this was the pleasure of the Lord Bernardino, the private chamberlain (at whose desire I allowed it to be done, though it was not right to carry the staff in that way since it was not to be blessed), went up to the Pontiff, who blessed these in accordance with the Pontifical, then took incense, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Angelo assisting, and sprinkled and censured them in the usual way. Then the count, kneeling before him, he handed to him each in turn, first his own standard, then the standards of the Church, at the words so marked in the Pontifical, lastly the white staff aforesaid, which was about four palms long. As he handed it to him, without book, the Pope pronounced words to this or similar effect :—"Take the staff of authority, power and correction, to the terror of all enemies of Christ, for the help of the Holy Roman Church, in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen." And he kissed the Pope's foot. But, after the standards were blessed and before they were handed to him, he knelt before the Pontiff, and took the oath of fidelity in the form prescribed in my book ; after this he was dismissed by the Pope in the chapel, with his suite, and with the cardinals left the chapel, and at the gate took leave of the cardinals and went up to the palace. The cardinals mounted before the steps of St. Peter's, and with their households returned to their homes.

Meanwhile the count, preceded by the members of his household, drummers and others, his esquires walking immediately before him in armour bearing the standards of the Church, mounted his horse before the aforesaid steps, and, escorted by the household of our Most Holy Lord, by the said chamberlains and esquires in the usual order and by us in the order usually observed at such times,—the Count between the Bishop of Arles on the left and the Lord Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, on the right ; for, contrary to what was right and against my wish, he would take that place about the said archbishop,—rode by a route which we also followed to his place of residence ; before which he thanked us in the usual way, and then entered the house. But there was a great dispute between the nobles in arms and myself because I resisted their desire to have the standards amongst them, as if they had been entrusted to their custody, as is the rule in camp. I maintained that on this occasion the banners were carried as a mark of honour and sign of office, and not for warfare, and therefore they ought to be so carried that the nobles should go before the banners, and the banners be carried immediately before the captain ; at length they acquiesced in my arrangement, and rode as I wished and ordained.

On Thursday, 13th August, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and plain red cope, and plain mitre with pearls, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the larger chapel of the palace, and having made a prayer he recited the prayers in the usual way. The Father and Lord Paolo, Bishop of S. Agata, celebrated the mass for the soul of Pope Sixtus IV. of happy memory. He said only the one customary prayer. There were present seven cardinal- and two deacon-assistants, the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Benevento, Conza, Aleria, and S. Anastasia. After the Cardinal of Conza had censed the Pontiff after the offertory, he returned to the other cardinals on their bench, and not to the assistants' seat, because he had not come to be censed. After the mass the Pope gave the absolution in the usual way, and after the said Cardinal of Conza had handed to the Pope the boat, censer and aspersion for the absolution, he again returned to his seat with the other cardinals and did not wait on the Pope's throne until the end of the absolution. The borders of the Pope's cope when he came from the chamber to the chapel were borne by our Rev. Lord the Archbishop of Arles, the first assistant present, because no nobleman was present. But from the chapel to the chamber on the Pontiff's return they were borne by the Lord Paris, nephew or kinsman of the Pope. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

During these past days, namely on the 20th of July last, the Rev. Father Raymundo of Periardi, chief notary, and Francesco Sforza, wrote to our Most Holy Lord that on 20th July, about the first hour of the night, peace was concluded and subscribed by oath, in his hands as apostolic nuncio, by His Most Serene Highness Maximilian, King of the Romans, and the ambassadors of the French king, to be observed for ever between the said kings; the articles of which peace they promise shall be sent with all speed.¹ These despatches were presented to our Most Holy Lord on Friday, 30th July, before luncheon; on receiving them His Holiness ordered all the cardinals in the city and the ambassadors of kings and princes to be summoned for five o'clock of that day. When he had held a short conference with the cardinals, there were summoned to the presence of the Pontiff all the ambassadors, namely of the Emperor, the Kings of France, Spain, Naples and Hungary, the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara, and the Republic of Florence; these knelt in the presence of the cardinals, who were seated in a circle, and His Holiness laid before them the notification of the peace, that they might notify the same to their respective Lords; but when they asked for a copy of the aforesaid despatches, it was refused.

In the evening, in the Apostolic Palace and in the Castle of S. Angelo, and before the houses of the principal cardinals and officials, bonfires were lighted as a sign of rejoicing.

May God in his goodness be pleased to direct all things happily.

On Saturday, 15th August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, having a mantle over the rochet, came without the cross to the larger chapel of the palace, where, after the customary prayer at the fald-stool, there came to him the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of S. Agata, who was to celebrate, and with him recited the whole of the *Confiteor*; this ended, the Pope ascended the throne and sat upon a seat of the chamber, ornamented with gold brocade, and made ready for him there in a prominent place, and before him was placed the fald-stool with his cushion, and upon the fald-stool the Missal. The celebrant, with

¹ The articles of this treaty, as well as all the circumstances connected with it, are to be found in *l'Histoire de Charles VIII.*, by G. de Jaligny, published by Godefroy, pp. 78-89.

the deacon and sub-deacon, went up to the altar and waited there; after kissing the altar and the Book of the Gospels, the Archbishop of Arles, the first assistant, held the incense-boat, and the Pope took incense and the celebrant censed the altar; then he himself was censed in the usual way, as was the Pope by the said archbishop, who knelt on the lowest step of the throne at the Pope's right hand; the office was continued, as usual. After reading the epistle the sub-deacon did not kiss the foot of the Pope, nor did the deacon before the gospel. After the reading of the gospel, I took the Book of the Gospels from the hands of the sub-deacon and handed it to the archbishop aforesaid, who gave it to the Pontiff to kiss, standing on his right hand. At the elevation the Pontiff knelt at the fald-stool on the throne, with the book beneath his elbows, and remained kneeling until after the communion. After the *Agnus Dei* I took the instrument of the *pax* with the cloth, and holding the *pax* extended with it, I knelt on the right of the celebrant, and waited for the end of the prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe*; at the end of it he kissed the *pax*, saying, *Pax tecum*, to which I replied, *Et cum spiritu tuo*: I handed the instrument to the archbishop aforesaid, who gave it to the Pontiff to kiss, saying, *Pax tecum*. The instrument of the *pax* was first kissed by him before the table, then I took the *pax* again from the hands of the archbishop, and gave it to him to kiss after he had gone back to his place, then to the first of each Order among the others: I gave it to the first ambassador, the first prelate, the first sub-deacon, and so on to the others, who gave it to those next in order in the usual way. When the Pope recited the Introit and all the other prayers, he sat all the time, and the aforesaid archbishop kneeling on his left, held a small candle in the usual way. At the gospel candles were brought and incense, and then the Host and the altar, the celebrant, the Pope and all the others were censed in the usual way, the archbishop aforesaid always holding the boat, and the Pope censing in his turn. After the mass, the Pope, standing at the throne with covered head, chanted the benediction, saying, *Sit nomen*, etc., as is customary. He granted no indulgences, nor were they attached to the benediction of the Pontiff. He returned to the chamber, the said archbishop carrying the train gathered up in his hand both coming and returning.

On *Tuesday*, the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Pope came to the large chapel in cope, in the same order as on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Rev. Father Jean, Lord Bishop of Tournai, celebrated the mass; there were present the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia. The Cardinal of Benevento held the incense-boat, while the Pope took incense, and then censed His Holiness and handed him the book to kiss after the gospel, and also gave him the *pax*. All else was done as on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary, described above. The aforesaid Archbishop of Arles bore the train of our Most Holy Lord, both coming and returning.

On *Saturday, 29th August*, the Anniversary of the Decollation of St. John Baptist was celebrated. Our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel and was present at the solemn mass, which was celebrated by the Lord Cardinal of Aleria. At the verse *Alleluia*, to *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, the Pope knelt at the fald-stool, the cantors beginning and continuing it. Then the cantors sang the Prose. Everything else was observed in the usual way.

On *Friday, 11th September*, there was a consistory, to which were summoned and introduced all the ambassadors of all princes then at the

Roman Court, also the Rev. Father and Lord Giovanni, Bishop of Alexandria, one of the auditors of the Court of the sacred Apostolic Palace, and the Lord Felino Sandeo, auditor of causes of the said palace, and the Lord Nicola di Parma, fiscal procurator. At this consistory the said Bishop of Alexandria made the first speech concerning the disobedience of King Ferdinand of Sicily and the clemency of the Pontiff, and the administering of justice, at length; then in a few words the Pope declared him excommunicated and deprived. Afterwards the Vice-Chancellor rose, and standing in his place read the bull which was drawn up to this effect; after the reading of it the Lord Nicola of Parma, fiscal procurator, made some sort of protest, and the Lord Antonio of Alexandria, ambassador of the aforesaid king, also protested. The seats of the cardinals had been placed before the entrance to the consistory as is done in a private consistory; all the personages aforesaid, with several others, knelt before the Pontiff. I do not report the proceedings in greater detail because I was not present, but I have understood from others that it was as I have described.¹

On Saturday, 12th September, the anniversary of the coronation of the Pope, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the chapel aforesaid, where he was present at the public and solemn office celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento: at the verse *Alleluia* aforesaid, the Pope came to the fald-stool, and the cantors then chanted the Prose; everything else was carried out as before. At this mass was present the Lord Antonio, ambassador of the King of Naples, standing in his accustomed place, the sentence against his Lord the King, as told above, notwithstanding.

On Sunday, 13th September, at or about eight in the evening, by the Gate Viridarii, there entered the city the Noble Lord Guillaume of Poitou, knight and ambassador of His Highness the King of France. He was met by the households of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Naples, Angers, Foix, and Savelli, and of our Most Holy Lord the Pope; the ambassadors of the Kings of France, Spain, Naples, of the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara, and of the Marquis of Monteforte. They received him and escorted him in the usual way; he rode between the Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop of Tournai to the Hospice set apart as his residence, namely the Tavern of the Sun, near the Campo dei Fiori.

On Monday, 14th September, the aforesaid Francesco of Husio, master of the Register of Apostolic Letters, writer of the same letters and rescribendary, who breathed his last about seven o'clock last night, was borne to the Basilica of St. Peter, first of the Apostles of the city. He was escorted by writers and others, and was buried in the same church not far from the altar of the Blessed Mary of the Poor. When the said Francesco fell ill, the Lord Antonio of Munacelli performed for him the office of rescribendary, writing and sealing the bulls in the usual way, and after the death of the same, without any other deputation, he continued to fill the office until the end of this month of September.

At this time, namely on the Sunday night following, in this month of September, Signor Domenico Gentile of Viterbo, apostolic writer; Francesco Maldente, canon of Forli and Conrado; also Battista of Spell, notary of the Apostolic Chamber; Lorenzo Signoretto, writer in the Register of Bulls; and Bartolommeo Budello, procurator of the Penitentiary,—were successively taken and detained in the Castle of S. Angelo on a charge of forging

¹ See *Infessura*, in *Eccard*, col. 1991.

apostolic letters. The Lord Domenico aforesaid confessed that he had forged about fifty apostolic letters or bulls, containing various matters, in the following way:—The Lord Francesco would discover matters to be despatched and agree with the parties upon the sum which they were to pay after the despatch of letters; when the agreement had been made and a bank named by the party for paying the sum agreed upon, when the letters were despatched and presented to the bank, then he would despatch one that was expected, or some matter that would pass easily through all the offices by the royal way; when this was despatched, the Lord Domenico aforesaid washed out all the writing of the bull, or that part which he did not want, with a certain fluid, restored the paper with flour and stiffened it again, afterward he wrote on it the matter concerning which Francesco had agreed with the party, leaving in the bull the names of the rescribendary, computators, and other officials. More often he changed the stamp, and put on another, according to the nature of the matter. He had also a different ink; that with which he wrote the first matter to be despatched in the proper way was made of gum or some other material, but certainly indelible; but the other, with which he used to write over the bull that had been erased, was ordinary ink; in this way they gave to the parties forged bulls. In about two years, they despatched divers matters. For example: dispensations to one or two benefices, for Friars of the Orders of Mendicants; unions of many benefices to the incomes of certain abbots, with permission to rule these in an order changeable at pleasure; a dispensation for a certain priest of the Diocese of Rouen, who had married a wife, to the effect that he might lawfully keep her; and many others for which they had received sometimes a hundred, two hundred, two hundred and fifty and two thousand ducats, as is related in the process instituted against them. The said Francesco also made confession, and they both on *Sunday, 18th October*, about nine in the evening, were led from the Castle aforesaid to the Castle of Soldano, and until they reached that place they believed that they were condemned to death. For the auditor of the Chamber, the Bishop of Cesena, and the Lord Bartolommeo Deolpito, first apostolic notary and governor of the city, who in their official capacity had prosecuted them, told the said Francesco that if he named his fellow-accomplices our Most Holy Lord would be pleased to bestow the office of abbreviator upon and set him at liberty; which he believed that he would do, and accused the above-named and several others. On behalf of the Lord Domenico, his father, who had attended our Most Holy Lord in the first illness of his pontificate, and his two brothers, interceded most earnestly with the cardinals and other powerful men in the city for his life. But no one could turn our Most Holy Lord. After they were established in the said castle, they were told that they were to die on the morrow; and therefore were bidden to take heed to the salvation of their souls, and priests were sent to them to hear their confession and strengthen them in the faith.¹

¹ With regard to these forged bulls, de Bréquigny makes the following remark:—

“Burchard, who relates the whole affair at length, does not tell us that they had brought to them all the documents which they had forged, and which it was important to destroy. How many similar cases occur in which this wise precaution has been neglected, and, in consequence, how many forged documents must thus have come down to posterity! It is not, then, without good reason, that diplomatists are on their guard against the documents presented to them, for, independently of those that modern forgers continue to fabricate, there is ground for suspecting that there exist a large

On Monday, 19th October, there was a consistory, and the auditor of the Chamber aforesaid, with the governor, came to the Castle of Soldano, where they passed definite sentence against the said Domenico and Francesco, degraded them, deprived them of office and emoluments, and handed them over to the secular court. Then mass was celebrated in the said castle, at which the said Domenico and Francesco were present, and at the close they received the holy communion from the hands of the celebrant; after this they were led to the Piazza di S. Pietro, to a platform erected there, in a space not far from the lowest of the steps, four cannes long, three wide, and one high, or thereabouts, where the said Francesco, who was a priest, was robed in full vestments in the usual way; then the summary of the process was read by the notary, Antonio of Paimpol; after the reading of it, Francesco was degraded and given over to the secular court in the hands of Ambrosino, the apparitor. After he had been given over, Domenico, who had only the first tonsure, was robed in a surplice and degraded from that rank by the Rev. Father Pietro Paolo, Lord Bishop of S. Agata, who, upon the said platform, vested himself in stole and cope, and had before a plain alb over the rochet; after his degradation Domenico was given over to the court and the said apparitor. Their heads were not shaved otherwise than they had been before, nor were they stripped of the clothes in which they came from the castle, because of their office and because such was the pleasure of the Bishop of Cesena, the auditor.

After this the aforesaid, having been degraded, were placed upon a chariot which stood ready there, Domenico on the right and Francesco on the left. Before them were seated a friar of the Order of Minors, their confessor, in accordance with the observance in parts of France, and another of the Society of the Misericordia, who held a crucifix and was robed in the garb of that society with his face covered. Behind the degraded persons were erected two rods, and to the top of them cords were fastened, on which were hung four of the bulls despatched and forged by them. In this way they were taken by the Bridge of S. Angelo, before the Castle of Soldano and hard by the house of the Cardinal of Ascanio, before the Hospital of the Germans, close to the house of the Lord Faleo by the Pario, straight to another street, thence by the bridge to the Campo dei Fiori, where, towards the corner by the steps, and the Taberna Vacca, so-called, the place of execution had been prepared in the form of a hut, having a wooden pillar erected in the centre, and surrounded by piled-up faggots. To the upper part of the column had been fixed two ropes; below the ropes there were placed upon the ground two stools for the accused, and on the other side of the column another for the lictor, and around the shed outside many piles of logs.

When the aforesaid degraded persons reached the said place of execution, they got down from the cart, and entered the hut, where in the guise and clothes in which they were brought there, they ascended the two stools prepared for them. The lictor put ropes upon their neck, of which they were scarcely conscious, for the confessor and the other friar who bore the crucifix were continually strengthening them in Christ; and when the ropes had been placed in position, the lictor's assistants drew away the stools

number of those that their predecessors forged" (*Notices and Extracts from MSS. of the King*, t. i., pp. 89-90). This event is reported in Infessura. The names of the accused persons, wrongly given in the text of Eccard (col. 1991), are corrected in that of Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. iii., p. ii, col. 1229.

from beneath their feet and thus they were hanged and gave up the ghost. After they were dead they were taken down from the pillar, stripped to their shirts, and placed in a sitting position upon the said stools, propped against the pillar, and bound to the column with the chain beneath their arms. Then fire was kindled and their bodies burned. The licitor heaped up the logs many times until after the hour of vespers, that the bodies might be entirely consumed; and thus the fire lasted until the following morning.

On the following day, about the hour of vespers, the ashes, in which many of the bones were still found, were collected by certain of the Society of Misericordia with a broom, placed in a sack in a new chest, and with the cross and the usual procession were borne by the said society to the church appointed for this purpose . . .¹ buried.

The bishop who degraded them wished at the end of the degradation to omit the sentence, *Pronuntiamus*, etc., saying that it had not been delivered to him by the Pontiff; instead of which he said, *Domine, iudex*, etc., and because the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Cesena, auditor of the Chamber and the governor of the city, here present, pronounced that these poor men ought to be handed over to the secular court, *rogamus vos*, etc., he ought and might have pronounced the words found in the Pontifical, for he had been expressly instructed so to do by the Pontiff, as is more fully set forth in the instructions delivered to him.

On Thursday, 15th October, at about seven in the evening, there came to the city the Illustrious Lord Giacomo from the Marches of Baden, eldest son of Cristoforo, Marquis of Baden, whom Signor Giovanni Langer, abbreviator of the Apostolic Letters, and myself, went to meet. We received him with honour by the park of the Rev. Lord Falco, or thereabouts, and he came with our escort to the Hospices of the Campagna, near the Campo dei Fiori, with . . . horses, where he was entertained.

On the same day, about nine in the evening, there entered the city and was received into the office of senator, His Worship the Lord Augustino Onigho of Trivigi,² doctor and knight, who was escorted to the Capitol with ceremony in the usual way.

¹ The same *lacuna* occurs in all MSS.

² The MSS. give this name incorrectly: 5521, 5158, 5159, "Unigho"; Chigi, "Unighe"; 147, "Onigia." See Vitale, *Storia diplomatica di Roma dalla decadenza dall' imperio di Roma sino a nostri tempi*, Rome, 1791, 2 vols. in 4to, t. ii., p. 477: "He (Andreas Alatrius Verulanus) was succeeded in the same year (1489) by Agostino d' Onigo da Trivigi. . . . He distinguished himself both as a soldier and a man of letters, especially in law."

Page 480: "That in the service of the Holy See he laboured with the greatest zeal, is established without a doubt by the bull, in which Innocent VIII. destined him to be a senator of Rome, declaring that he had elected to that office a man 'distinguished for great learning, a lover of right and justice, and one who had won honour by other long and arduous labours in the service of the Apostolic Sec.'"

Now the aforesaid bull bears the date 1487, "June 14th, in the third year of our Pontificate"; whereas the Knight Agostino di Onigo did not enter upon the office before 1489, with his colleagues; under which is found the following note: "On October 15th, 1489, in the presence of our Most Holy Lord, there took the oath the Lord de Attavanti of the Apostolic Chancellery."

N.B.—To this bull is added a note signed "August 17th, 1489, the fifth of our Pontificate."

"Under the same year, on September 24th, the Governor of Venice, named Agostino Barbarigo, who was their Doge, addressed a full passport 'to all and each, both friends and subjects,' praying his friends and commanding his subjects to afford help and favour to the doctor and knight, senator-elect of the city, and our beloved citizen the Lord Agostinus de Vonico, who is at present setting out to take up the said magistracy."

Page 481: "From these documents which are preserved in the original by Monsig.

On Saturday, 31st October, the last day of October, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, where he was present at the public vespers, which His Holiness began in the usual way. At these vespers I gave a place to the Marquis of Baden aforesaid, who came in clerical garb, in the stalls of the cardinals' caudataries, at the head above all the caudataries of the deacon-cardinals and the physicians; elsewhere a place could not fittingly be given to him, an ecclesiastic, as it were, and yet having no rank, as if he had come in non-clerical garb.

On Sunday, 1st November, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia celebrated the public mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, chief of the Apostles, at which our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, was present. At his command I gave a place at the head of the bench of the caudataries of the cardinal-bishops to the chancellor of the King of Poland, an ecclesiastic, who came yesterday evening from Jerusalem to Rome on a pilgrimage.

At the same mass the ambassadors of the Marquis and of the Republic of Siena disputed together for a place; and before I could bring the dispute to the notice of our Most Holy Lord they each surrendered the place on the score of age, and left the chapel. The Rev. Father Girolamo, Lord Bishop-elect of Siena, vested in plain cope and mitre, preached the sermon. Before receiving the benediction he kissed the Pope's foot, not his knee, because he was not yet consecrated.

I had instructed him to preach without a mitre, but on this point I took the advice of the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor and the Lord Cardinal of Naples. They considered that after the bishops-elect had used them in public processions by special permission of the Pope, the aforesaid bishop-elect should use his: and so it was done, and in this mass all the observances were as usual. At the close, returning to the papal chamber, I wished to learn from the Pontiff in what dress he wished to appear in public this evening, and he decided to wear the usual robe of scarlet.

By special command of the Pontiff I remained to luncheon with his private chamberlains, and I was present at his luncheon from beginning to end, answering the questions of His Holiness.

On the same day, about nine in the evening, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and cope of scarlet, preceded by the cross

Vincenzo de Conti di Onigo, archidiacono della Cattedrale di Trivigi, descendant of the said senator, it clearly follows that he took the senatorial toga towards the beginning of November 1489."

He died in 1490. His body, carried to Trivigi, was buried in the Church of the Preachers, where a monument was raised to him with this inscription—

DEO MAXIMO.
 AUGUSTINO VONICO V. C. PILEI F. JURISC. EQUITI
 COMITIQ. CUNCTIS IN REBUS CASTE INTEGRÆ QUÆ
 VERSATO
 DE PATRIA OPTIME MERITO QUI QUOM. HONOR.
 SUMMIAM IMPLESSET
 ANN. AETATIS LXIII. MENS. IX. D. XXII.
 SENAT. MAGISTRATU PUNGENS VITAM QUOQUE IPSAM
 TERMINAVIT ANNO GRATIAE MCCCXC. POSTRI. SEX.
 INNOCENT. VIII. POST. MAX.
 PILEUS AURELIUS HIERONYMUS F. PISSIMI
 REVECTO IN PATRIAM CORPORE
 H. M. H. S. S.

and followed by the cardinals, came to the larger chapel aforesaid, where he was present at the vespers and at the matins, said in their order, for the dead; and he recited the *Pater noster*, etc., and the prayer, in the usual way. Before the beginning of the vespers I advised the cantors not to begin the *Invitatorium*, except after the Pontiff had privately said the *Pater noster*, and they had received the signal to begin from me; but they did not follow this advice, and after the Pontiff had privately said the *Requiescant in pace* before the vespers, sitting, they began the said *Invitatorium*, and continued it. The Pope made two mistakes in the verses and the prayer after the *Benedictus*, for at the *Requiescant in pace* before the prayer, he said, *Requiem eternam da eis, Domine*, and after the prayer he said, *Qui vivis et regnas, Spiritus sancte Deus*, etc., leaving out the words *cum Deo patre*: everything else was carried out in the usual way. The train of the Pontiff's robe was gathered up and carried both to and from the chapel to the papal chamber by the Rev. Lord Cardinal of Arles, the first of the assistants present. The same evening, about five or six o'clock, the Lord Giovanni de Aurethemi, cantor of the Church of S. Florens of Hasslach, of the Diocese of Strasburg, procurator to our Lord the Pope for the hearing of despatches that are appealed against, and collector of taxes of the Lord Chief Notaries, died at Rome. His body, clad in the Roman fashion, was carried publicly from his residence on the following evening, about eight, to the Hospital of the Germans, of which he was the procurator or master or rector, escorted by other procurators of the aforesaid offices, by Germans and officials, where he was buried in the church within the door: may he rest in peace.

On Tuesday, 3rd November, the Commemoration of All the Faithful Dead, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole and red cope, with mitre of plain pearls, came to the larger chapel, where he was present at the office. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated the mass, and at the end the Pope pronounced the absolution. Two cardinal-deacons assisted the Pontiff in the mass, and not the first of the priests: this seemed to me fitting, for the altar had not to be censed at the beginning of the mass, nor made ready for the gospel. I received the offertory. The Cardinal of Recanati, the first of the cardinal-priests, held the incense-boat for the Pope, and then stood in the accustomed place until after the censing of the offerings, the altar and the celebrant. Then he censed the Pontiff, and returned to his place among the cardinals. After the mass, before the absolution, the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon held the censer and the other vessels, and afterward remained standing on the Pontiff's right hand until the close of the absolutions. Everything else was carried out in the usual way. After our Most Holy Lord had returned to the papal chamber, I petitioned our Most Holy Lord that I might hold the cantorship of Hasslach and the chaplaincy at Basel, in the churches which Johann de Aurethemi, who died last night, had formerly held. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Angers, Lisbon, Benevento and Foix added their entreaties on my behalf; but His Holiness replied, that this morning he had assigned both these benefices to another, upon which His Holiness was pleased to condole with me, saying that he would bestow far greater benefices upon me, for which I thanked His Holiness.

On Saturday, 7th November, when His Lordship di Carvajal, of the household of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal, Bishop of Porto, vice-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, in the name of the said Lord Cardinal, prefect and commander of the Castle of Suriano, had admitted Pietro Paolo of Nardini, Count of Julianello, nephew of the Cardinal-priest of S. Maria in Trastevere,

commonly called of Milan, of pious memory, who came to petition in the matter of salary, to the Castle of Suriano, the said Pietro Paolo, accompanied by tried retainers chosen for the purpose, had three of these summoned to him and admitted, and when the commander's servants had been sent to prepare wine, a collation and a feast, the said Pietro Paolo and his retainers fell upon the said commander and basely slew him. When the men of the castle saw it, without delay they came to the said citadel and hurled Pietro Paolo and his three retainers from the walls of the citadel, but a fourth retainer who had not yet entered the citadel they seized as he was making his way out, and threw him into chains, that they might perhaps learn about the affair from him. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal held the citadel again.¹

Wednesday, 11th November, or about that date, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Marco returned from Palestrina, where he withdrew last summer after his departure from the city.

Saturday, 14th November, the Most Rev. the Lords Bartolommeo Morense, first notary of the Apostolic See, the governor of the city, and Leones of Vincentia, of the court of the Bishop of Cesena, general auditor of the Chamber of Cases, in the Castle of S. Angelo brought definite sentence of condemnation, privation of offices, etc., against Battista di Spello, notary of the Apostolic Chamber, and Lorenzo de' Signoretti, Roman writer in the Register of Bulls, originally imprisoned in the said castle in the month of September last. I could not have a copy of the sentence, because the notary and witnesses were bound, under penalty of excommunication, not to reveal the purport of it to any one

On Sunday, 15th November, in the morning, our Most Holy Lord rode, and with him the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia and others, to the further bank of the river, where he went on board ship to go to Ostia for a holiday.

On the same day, at eleven in the evening, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, who left the city in November of last year to go to Perugia, where he had been appointed legate, and whence he had come to Rome for a holiday in or about August last, returned with a few of his household, because he had promised all before. He was not received or escorted by any one, for no one had known the day of his return. On Monday, the 16th inst., he was visited by the Cardinal of Aleria and then by the Cardinal of Naples after luncheon.

On Tuesday, 17th November, also after luncheon, there visited him the Cardinals Savelli, Jaen, Foix, and Benevento, who came one after the other but left all together, and by other cardinals on other days, among them the Cardinal of S. Marco. The Cardinal of Siena met each in a short cloak over the rochet and above it the capuce; and made them all lay aside their robes when they dismounted or when he first received them, except the Cardinal of S. Marco who would not remove his robe until he came to the cardinal's apartments, when he laid it aside, and not before. The Cardinal of Siena retained his cloak all the time.

On Wednesday, 18th November, our Most Holy Lord returned by boat from Ostia, where he had been for a change; and with him the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, the Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, of Angers, and of S. Anastasia and several clergy: he took luncheon at the Magliana and then came in the same boat to the further bank, where he disembarked, mounted his horse and returned to his palace at St. Peter's.

¹This tragic event is given by Infessura, under the date of 8th September 1489. (Mur., t. iii., p. ii, col. 123.)

On Friday, 20th November, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena came before the hour of the consistory to the palace to do reverence (*veneraretur*)¹ to our Most Holy Lord.

On the same morning the Rev. Father in Christ, Tiberio, Lord Archbishop of Seponto, son of the Pietro Paolo of Nardini about whom I wrote on the seventh of this month, was summoned by our Most Holy Lord and came to the palace, where he was detained for very many days in the apartments of the master of the household, because, as was said by some, he refused to consign silver vessels, the property of the said Pietro Paolo, to the value of about five thousand ducats, which were in his keeping, to our Most Holy Lord, who claimed that they belonged to him as property of the Treasury. The men of the palace guard and of the governor were armed this morning, so that if the archbishop refused to come of his own accord to the palace, they might bring him by force and hand him over to the guard.

On the First Sunday in Advent, 29th November, the Rev. Father Nicola Cibò, Lord Archbishop of Arles, assistant, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, the Pope being present. He recited four prayers, and everything else was carried out in the usual way. The Procurator of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon.

On Monday, 30th November, the Feast of St. Andrew, the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Talecazzi, celebrated the solemn mass in the chapel of St. Gregory and St. Andrew in the Basilica of St. Peter, in the presence of the Pope and the cardinals. He recited only one prayer, and the rest was as usual; there was no sermon. Mass ended, three canons of the said basilica, who had gone up to the altar after the communion, exposed the head of St. Andrew after the Pope had pronounced the benediction. The Pope remained at the fald-stool placed within the said chapel before the door.

I did not ask for indulgences from the Pope, because plenary indulgences had been granted to those who came to visit by Pope Pius II. of happy memory, of which our Most Holy Lord told me. When the aforesaid relics had been exposed our Most Holy Lord returned in his chair to the palace, taking leave of the cardinals in the porch of the said basilica.

The chapel aforesaid was arranged as on previous occasions, except that the seats for the assistants of the Pontiff were on the right of the Pope, between him and the high altar, yet above or behind the altar; behind the assistants were seats for the ambassadors against the wall. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon, in place of the first of the cardinal-priests who was assisting, would not assist upon the usual seat which I had placed at the Pope's right hand, but sat among the other priests in his usual place, coming from it to hold the incense-boat for the Pontiff when it was time for the censuring.

The cardinal-bishop and priests who were on the first bench beyond the door of the chapel did not come to form the circle but simply moved down, from the benches, while the priests who were on the next bench with the deacons came and formed the circle in the usual way with those from the first bench. The sub-deacons, auditors and acolytes sat in the bench of cardinals upon the floor near the centre of the chapel: and when the cardinals came to form the circle, they withdrew outside the circle. The private chamberlain, the auditor of the mitre, certain acolytes and secretaries sat on the Pope's right hand by the assistants on the steps of the

¹ All the MSS. have *veneraretur*, except the MS. at Florence, which has *inveniret*.

altar to the rear and behind the altar. Everything else was arranged and carried out as before.

On the Second Sunday in Advent, 6th December, the Feast of St. Nicholas, the Rev. Father in Christ, Giovanni, Lord Archbishop of Athens, assistant to the Pope, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the palace aforesaid in the presence of the Pope and the cardinals. He recited four prayers as on the first Sunday, and the other observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of Minors preached the sermon. No cardinal was present at the mass in the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Tulliano, not even the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Savelli, whose chapel it is.

On the Third Sunday in Advent, 13th December, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the public mass in the chapel aforesaid in the presence of the Pope; he recited four prayers, but wrongly. The first two he said rightly, the third for the Pontiff, and the fourth *Ecclesie, quesumus, Domine, preces placatus admitte*, etc., which he said by the instructions of the Lord Andrea of . . . ,¹ his chaplain, who was absent, and wrongly; for which I reproved the chaplain; everything else was carried out in the usual way. The Procurator of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon.

On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, 20th December, the Rev. Father in Christ, Nicola, Lord Bishop of S. Agata, prelate of the Apostolic Palace, celebrated the public mass in the said chapel, the Pope being present. He recited the four usual prayers, and the other observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel preached the sermon. Mass ended, our Most Holy Lord returned to the hall of the papagalli, where I asked His Holiness whether he intended to come to the matins of the night of the Nativity of Our Lord, and whether he intended to give a preference to any one present in the court, in order that I might be able to help him in saying the lesson and the other ceremonies. I asked also what lesson among those to be said at these matins he commanded to be used. His Holiness replied that by God's grace he would come to the matins, that he would not give preference, and that he wished the same arrangement in the lessons to be observed as had been observed hitherto during his Pontificate; which is, that the clerk of ceremonies say the first, an acolyte the second, an auditor the third, the prior of the cardinal-priests the fourth, a clerk of the Chamber the fifth, a sub-deacon the sixth, the deacon assisting on the Pope's left the seventh, the other deacon assisting on the Pope's right the eighth, the Pontiff himself the ninth. They were arranged, therefore, for the office in the following way: Myself for the first; the Lord Giovanni Botonto of Viterbo, an acolyte, for the second; the Lord Felino, auditor, for the third; the Cardinal of S. Anastasia for the fourth; Giovanni Gerona, clerk of the Chamber, for the fifth; Mattia Cibò, sub-deacon, for the sixth; the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Foix for the seventh, and of Siena for the eighth; the ninth the Pontiff was to say.

On Thursday, 24th December, the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Saviour, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the Basilica of St. Peter, preceded by the cardinals and followed by the clergy in their robes. After the reverence had been made, the Cardinal-deacons Orsini and Ascanio went to assist the Pontiff. Meanwhile the other cardinals all took their vestments, as also the clergy who had not taken them before; and when vested, the assistants, the Cardinals of Foix and Siena, went to assist the Pontiff

¹ Word omitted in all MSS.

in the usual way, and the Cardinals Orsini and Ascanio went to their places and took their vestments. Then the Pontiff rose and began the vespers, and the other observances were as usual.

The Lord Mattia Cibò, apostolic sub-deacon, performed the office of intoning first. Our Most Holy Lord intoned the first antiphon and hymn—which was first intoned for him by the Lord Francesco Brevio, auditor of the Court—and the antiphon to the *Magnificat*; the second antiphon was intoned by the Cardinal of Siena, the third by the Vice-Chancellor, who were both assisting, the fourth by the first of the cardinal-priests, the Cardinal of S. Angelo, and the fifth by the Cardinal of Foix; the others were arranged as before.

The same evening, after the vespers, the sword which is usually borne before our Most Holy Lord at the matins of that night was sent privately to the sacrist's room, and I was told by Bernardino Gambarà, the private chamberlain, that our Most Holy Lord would not come to-night to the matins: this, however, I was to keep secret. That night I remained in the Apostolic Palace, close to the stairs which lead from the robing-room to the private garden, alone. After it had struck nine (*post pulsam*),¹ the Pontiff being absent, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Recanati, wearing his robe, stood at the fald-stool made ready on the epistle side of the altar, in the usual place near the altar in the larger chapel of the palace, and turning to the altar, said, *Pater noster*, then *Domine labia*, etc., *Deus in adjutorium*, and other prayers in the usual way, his chaplain and certain others assisting. The cantors said eight lessons in the choir of the cardinals: the ninth was said by the cardinal celebrating in the usual way; he, sitting at the beginning of the nocturn, took the sandalia, saying, *Quam dilecta*, etc., and blessed the cantors of the lessons as in the Ordinary. Before the ninth lesson he was blessed by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento, the first of the cardinal-priests who were present. When the ninth lesson was ended, the celebrant himself began the *Te Deum laudamus*, which the cantors took up. At the beginning of this he sat down, washed his hands, and took all the vestments in their proper order, so that he was fully vested before the *Te Deum* was ended. At the end of it, he said *Dominus vobiscum*, and a prayer, his two chaplains holding two candlesticks with candles beside him. The deacons and sub-deacons of the chapel took their vestments while the ninth lesson was being said. Twelve esquires of the Pope held twelve white torches, six behind the bench of the cardinal-priests and six at the head and behind the bench of the cardinal-deacons. Eight cardinals were present beside the celebrant, namely, the Cardinal-priests of Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia; the Cardinal-deacons of Siena, Foix, St. George, Colonna, and Ascanio; they all, except the Cardinal of Aleria, remained that night in the palace. In the mass, everything was carried out in the usual way, and it ended between ten and eleven o'clock. When it was ended the said cardinals and all the others left the chapel, and the cantors said the Lauds, reading in a low voice. The second mass was said by the Abbot of S. Sebastian, a sacrist of the palace, who was helped in the office of ceremonies only by Giovanni Maria, my colleague, because the Lord Adello and myself returned home after the first mass. The foresters took down and removed the green boughs from the chapel before the second mass began, in order to make ready the choir of the Basilica of St. Peter, and wrongly, for they could have done it after the mass.

On the Feast of the Nativity of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, Friday, 25th

¹ *Post prandium*.—Chigi, fol. 528

December, the year 1490, beginning from His Nativity, in the morning, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came in procession under the baldacchino to the Basilica of the first of the Apostles, where, after making the usual prayer at the fald-stool, he went up to the low seat prepared for receiving the vestments, where he received the cardinals and all the clergy in vestments for the reverence. Then he began the office of Terce, and the other observances were as usual. The Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor performed the office of assistant, and the Cardinal of Siena said the gospel, while the epistle was said in Latin by the Lord Mattia Cibò, apostolic sub-deacon, the short gospel by the Rev. Father in Christ, Alexander, Lord Bishop of Arcadia, and the epistle by Giovanni Lorenzo of Venice, apostolic secretary. The water was given, firstly, by Sforza, nephew or cousin of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio; secondly, by the Venetian ambassador; thirdly, by the Lord Johann of Stade, knight and doctor, German ambassador of the League of St. George, once senator of the city. Mass ended, the Cardinal of Siena announced that plenary indulgences were granted by the Pontiff to those present. Then the Pontiff, removing the *pallium* at the altar, returned to the palace, escorted by the cardinals in their robes as far as the gate of St. Peter's, where he took leave of all the cardinals except those of the palace.

On Saturday, 26th December, the Feast of St. Stephen the first Martyr, the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace aforesaid, the Pope being present: and everything was carried out in the usual way. There was no sermon, because the Lord Domenico Calvo of Brescia, who had been appointed to this duty, was not in the city, but at Brescia.

On Sunday, 27th December, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the solemn public mass in the chapel aforesaid: the Pope was present, and all the observances were as usual. There was no sermon, although notice had been given to the Rev. Father in Christ, Bargio, Lord Bishop of . . . , to have the sermon: for this bishop said he was most astonished at a notice of this kind, and excused himself to the Lord Cardinals who spoke to him upon the subject, saying that the sermon of the day before had been first given to him, and therefore he would not accept it.

1490.—The Eighth Indiction, *Friday, 1st January*, the Feast of the Circumcision, in the sixth year of our Lord Pope Innocent VIII., the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria celebrated the solemn public mass in the aforesaid chapel, our Most Holy Lord being present: he recited only one prayer, and the rest was as usual. There was no sermon, because the Spaniard to whom it had been entrusted was absent.

Yesterday there were the solemn vespers in the same chapel, the Pope being present and performing the office in the usual way: when they were ended our Most Holy Lord told me that on the next Sunday he would go publicly to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo for the solemn mass, to thank God for the victory won by His Highness the King of Spain over the King of Granada. So he bade me look after what must be done. For on the morning of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ the ambassadors of the said king announced to our Most Holy Lord that the said King of Spain had obtained from the King of Granada by the present treaty on the 4th of December last, two large states and two towns, namely, Baza, Tabernas, and Seron.¹

Therefore, for the satisfaction of His Holiness, I collected the verses

¹ See Mariana, *De rebus Hispan.*, Book XXV., chap. xiii., p. 135.



CARNIVAL SPORTS.—RACE BETWEEN HORSES, ASSES, OLD MEN, AND COURTESANS, PALAZZO SCHIANOIA, FERRARA.
CONTEMPORARY FRESCOS FROM LUCREZIA BORGIA'S RESIDENCE AS DUCHESS OF FERRARA.



and prayers written below, which seemed to me suitable for the purpose, to show them to His Holiness that he might choose from them.

When the mass was ended, after the *Te Deum laudamus*, before he blessed the people, he publicly recited these, namely, *Pater noster*, etc., and *ne nos inducas in tentationem*.

V. *Magna et mirabilia sunt opera tua, Domine.*

R. *Iuste et vere vie tue, Domine Deus.*

V. *Operuit celos gloria tua.*

R. *Et laude tua plena est terra.*

V. *Date magnificentium Domina Deo nostro.*

R. *Dei enim perfecta sunt opera et omnes vie ejus judicium.*

V. *Levarunt oculos suos in montes.*

R. *Unde venit auxilium eis.*

V. *Auxilium suorum a Domino.*

R. *Qui fecit celum et terram.*

V. *Non det in commotionem pedes eorum.*

R. *Neque dormiet qui custodit eos.*

V. *Quia non dormitabit neque dormiet.*

R. *Qui custodit sanctum populum suum.*

V. *Dominus custodit sanctos suos.*

R. *Dominus protector eorum in seculum seculi.*

V. *Dirige, quesumus, Domine, gressus nostros.*

R. *Ad defensionem populi electi tui.*

V. *Ad nihilum redige inimicos nostros.*

R. *Gentes que non noverunt nomen sanctum tuum.*

V. *Convertere humiliter quesumus.*

R. *Domine, ad gentes que opprimunt nos.*

V. *Qui gloriantur superbia sua.*

R. *Dirige, quesumus, Domine, brachium sanctum tuum.*

V. *In adjutorium servorum tuorum.*

R. *Disperde eos de terra viventium.*

V. *Quia non noverunt Te, Domine, Deus noster.*

R. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis.*

V. *Sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*

R. *Domine, exaudi orationem meam.*

V. *Et clamor, etc.*

R. *Dominus vobiscum, etc., etc.*

Oremus. Protector in te sperantium, Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum, multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut, te rectore, te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia et non amittamus eterna. Omnipotens sempiternus Deus in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium jura regnorum, respice in auxilium christianorum ut gentes paganorum que in suo feritate confidunt, dextere tue potentia conterantur.

Deus in te sperantium fortitudo, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris, et quia sine te nihil potest mortalis infirmitas, presta auxilium gratie tue ut in exequendis mandatis tuis et voluntate tibi et amore diligamus.

Protector noster aspice Deus et ab inimicorum nos defende periculis, ut omni perturbatione remota, liberis tibi mentibus serviamus.

Deus, refugium nostrum et virtus, adesto piis ecclesie tue precibus, auctor ipse pietatis et presta ut ab omni exuamur bellorum nequitia et in tue protectionis securitate letemur. Ecclesie tue, quesumus et erroribus universis, securi tibi serviat libertate. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.¹

¹ The author (Burchard) adds that the form of prayer was composed by him, and

On the same day, 1st January 1490, I took luncheon with the private chamberlain; and after luncheon I showed the aforesaid prayers and verses to our Most Holy Lord, who chose from the verses the first *Magna et mirabilia*, etc., the third, tenth, eleventh and fourteenth, and the second prayer, namely, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus in cujus manu*, etc., to be said as above; because the Lord Bernardino,¹ Bishop of Beja, ambassador of the Spanish king, who was to celebrate the mass on the appointed day, informed me that our Most Holy Lord had agreed that, in the said mass—which I arranged should be taken from the Eighth of St. John the Evangelist, with the commemoration of Innocent VIII. and the prayer, *Deus, qui salutis eterne*, as in the Ordinary—there should be said a fourth prayer for the Pontiff himself, and a fifth for the King and Queen of Spain. I told our most Holy Lord in the chapel that it was altogether unusual and contrary to reason to pray for any king, whether emperor or any other, in a special prayer, except in the office of Good Friday, and therefore it was not fitting that the said prayer for the King of Spain be said. His Holiness replied that he thought so also, and had not agreed that it should be said, but had instructed all to be guided by me in this matter, and also that the custom of the chapel should be observed, and not broken through—about which he had said nothing.

After I had left our Most Holy Lord, there came to His Holiness the Cardinal of S. Anastasia, and the ambassador-bishop aforementioned, who gained leave from His Holiness for the mass of the last Sunday of the Holy Spirit to be said without any commemoration; and because this seemed to me most unfitting, and I opposed it in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and the said cardinal, and maintained that a mass of this kind was most

that it was repeated after the *Te Deum* had been sung. There was also delivered in the presence of the Pontiff and cardinals a panegyric, which was printed, upon the sacred theme: *Hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum fides nostra*. (Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 167, No. 17.)

The orator, recalling the different phases of the struggle which ended in the defeat of the Moors, comes to the taking of Baza, besieged by the Spaniards without result, but soon reduced to submission by the arrival of the queen with reinforcements:—

“That they might not delay the victory” said he, “with the consent and by the advice of the Most Christian King Ferdinand, the Most Serene Lady, Queen Elizabeth, determined to come down from Giennium to join him with reinforcements, and reached the camp on 8th November. Her arrival gave our men heart to endure through the winter, while it took from the enemy all hope of raising the blockade by which they were surrounded: hence it came about that the enemy, thrown into consternation and rendered incapable of further effort by her arrival, turned their thoughts from arms to treaties and compacts, and on 11th November, three days after the queen’s arrival, they began to make terms of surrender, and on 4th December, in the year 1489 A.D., they surrendered the State of Baza, once the home of war and cruelty, freely and unconditionally into the hands of the king. The royal clemency granted to the citizens of Baza liberty, under the royal dominion, to inhabit the villas and cultivate the fields in the neighbouring plains; to those who desired to lay down their arms, to make their way to Africa or other places, with such only of their goods as they could carry on their shoulders, he freely gave an opportunity to do so. The State, moreover, of Purchena, numbering two thousand citizens, the State of Tabernas, with one thousand, and the famous town of Seron, the ancient university of Granada, with all the hill country of Vacares and Filabres, and the whole bank of the river Almanzora, with many towns, castles and fortresses situated upon it, all these, which in number are many and in extent great, and taken together very great, between 1st and 8th December came under the royal dominion.” (Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 168.)

¹ Bernardin of Carvajal, born at Piacenza, in 1456, came to Rome when young. He was chamberlain to Sixtus IV. Ambitious and active, he was appointed by his sovereign Spanish ambassador to the Court at Rome. Later, in 1493, he was made a cardinal by Alexander VI.

unsuitable for the event on account of which it was to be said, the Cardinal of S. Anastasia said that our Most Holy Lord could order a new mass: whereupon he ruled that the mass of the Holy Spirit be not said for this event, and the Vice-Chancellor instructed the said bishop to celebrate only the mass of the Holy Spirit and no other.

On Sunday, 3rd January, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle and precious stole of red, about four in the afternoon mounted his horse in the portico beneath the Apostolic Chamber, since it was rainy weather, and was preceded by the cross and cardinals, the two deacon-cardinals who were assisting riding in their place after all the other cardinals, but contrary to my wish. For I wished all the cardinals to ride behind the Pope, as they ought, but which they refused to do.

The Pontiff rode in the usual way to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, by a direct route, alongside the river before the Castle of Nona, the house of the Cardinal of Parma.

When the Pontiff entered the church the crucifix was not handed to him to kiss, although I had forewarned the friars. He prayed at the fald-stool before the altar, then took the precious cope of red, taking off only his capuce, and with the celebrant recited the *Confiteor*. After the *Confiteor* he ascended the throne, and received the cardinals for their salutation, and everything else was carried out as usual. The Cardinal of S. Angelo did not assist, owing to the lack of space, but came from his place among the other cardinals, held the censer and gave the *pax* to the Pontiff. There were present all the cardinals then in the city, except only the Cardinal of Angers, who was ill. The Pope came to the fald-stool, at which he knelt at the verse, *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, which was, however, begun by the cantors themselves. Prose was recited, the *Ite missa est* being said by a deacon, and the response, *Deo gratias*, by the cantors: the cantors themselves began, and all continued to the end the *Te Deum laudamus*, etc., the celebrant meanwhile standing in his vestments on the epistle side, turning towards the middle of the altar and the Pontiff.

The *Te Deum* ended, the Pontiff said in a clear voice, *Pater noster*, etc., which he continued secretly; then in a loud voice that could be understood he said, *Et ne nos*, etc.; the cantors responded, *Sed libera nos*, etc.

V. *Magna et mirabilia sunt opera tua Domine.*

R. *Iuste et vere vie tue, Domine Deus.*

V. *Date magnificentiam Deo nostro.*

R. *Dei enim perfecta sunt opera et omnes vie ejus judicia.*

V. *Ad nihilum redige inimicos nostros.*

R. *Et gentes que non noverunt nomen tuum sanctum.*

V. *Convertere petimus, Domine, gentes que opprimunt nos.*

R. *Que gloriantur in superbia sua.*

V. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis.*

R. *Sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*

V. *Domine, exaudi*, etc.: *et clamor*, etc. *Dominus vobiscum*, etc.: *et cum*, etc.

Oremus. *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium jura regnorum, respice in auxilium christianorum ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt, dextere tue potentia conterantur, per Christum Dominum nostrum.*

R. *Amen.*

Then the Pontiff said, *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, and blessed the people in the usual way. After the benediction the celebrant announced that indulgences for five years and as many quarantines were granted to

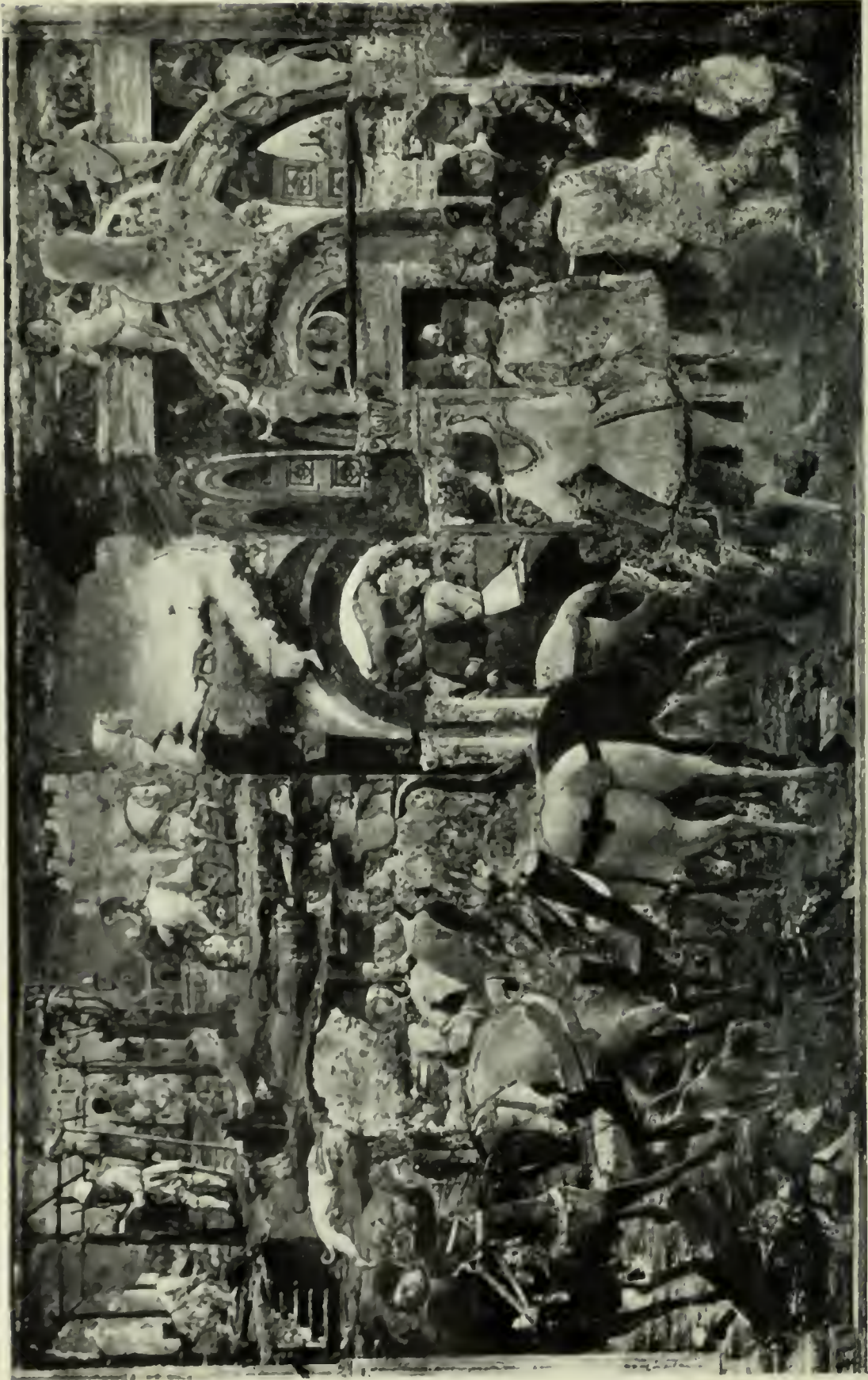
the people by our Most Holy Lord. Then the Pontiff returned to the fald-stool, where he laid aside the cope, and resumed the white capuce, and returned to the palace in the same order and by the same route as he had come. He dismissed the cardinals after he had crossed the bridge of S. Angelo. The Rev. Father Bernardino Carvajal, Bishop of Beja, ambassador of the King and Queen of Spain, celebrated the mass of the Holy Spirit, which was said with only one prayer.

The Pontiff's choir was arranged as follows: Before the altar of the tomb of the late Archbishop of Salerno was the Pope's throne, but without steps except the steps of the said altar. On the right of the Pope were seats for the cardinal-bishops and priests, on the left for the deacons and the rest of the priests, of whom four were standing there, for there were twenty cardinals present—namely, five bishops, the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Naples, S. Marco, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria in Portico; twelve priests, namely, S. Angelo, Lisbon, Recanati, S. Clemente, Jaen, Conza, Parma, Benevento, Aleria, S. Anastasia; and seven deacons, namely, Siena, Foix, the Chancellor, Savelli, Colonna, Orsini, and Ascanio. Behind the bench of deacons and those four cardinal-priests was a seat without a step for the lay ambassadors. On the Pope's left were two low seats for the assistant clergy, and behind him stood the Lord Bernardo, private chamberlain, with the secretary.

The sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber and acolytes sat outside the step and the first red cord of the Pope's throne, and when the circles were formed by the cardinals, they sat behind towards the altar outside the circle, where were the chamberlains outside, with the secretaries and advocates. On the other side of the altar, round the sacrarium and altar, were six long benches for the clergy; the first nearest to the altar for clergy of higher rank, ambassadors, etc.

The cantors stood in the chapel behind the altar. The esquires stood in the lower space on the gospel side of the altar, next to the chamberlains, among whom also stood a prefect, who held the Pope's hat in his right hand throughout the mass.

*On Monday, 4th January, at Rome, in the Church of S. Salvatore, near Monte Jordano of the monks who wear the white habit, was baptized the daughter of Francesco Cibò, son of our Most Holy Lord, and his wife, born on Sunday, 13th December last, by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal the Vice-Chancellor, and in the presence of twelve other cardinals, namely, Naples, S. Marco, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria in Portico, S. Angelo, Lisbon, Benevento, S. Anastasia, Foix, St. George, Orsini, and Ascanio. Several of these were sponsors, others stood near as kinsmen. I could not, however, distinguish the sponsors from the others in the confusion; but I think all except Benevento and Orsini had been summoned to stand as sponsors. The prior of the monastery of the said church, wearing a cope, in the presence of two other friars of the same Order in copes over their tunics, who assisted him, performed the whole office of baptism outside the door, and near the place arranged for the baptism, which took place in the centre of the choir as far as the words, *Vis baptizari*, which the Vice-Chancellor, said; he then baptized the girl and then continued the office to the end, word for word in accordance with the new composition written by my hand; for the father wished me to perform the office as far as the baptism; therefore I thoroughly revised, and clearly arranged the office, but the friars said the duty was enjoined upon them by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Orsini: I wished to maintain, for my part, that the office be duly performed. The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco drew up a*



15th CENTURY FRESCO REPRESENTING PREPARATIONS FOR THE CHASE, ETC. FROM THE PALAZZO SCHIFANOJA AT FERRARA.

Facing page 477.

certain form written with his own hand, beginning, *De cant. IIII. R.*, etc., in which is contained what should be enjoined in baptism, and why: of which form I have made an exact copy, in the book of the same, to serve in the future to call to mind and honour the said cardinal. The name of Lucrezia was given to the girl: the ceremony was arranged as follows:—

In the sacristy were brought together from different places thirteen seats of velvet of various colours for the cardinals, where they assembled in the centre of the choir, but nearer the high altar. A table, or small abacus, about a cubit in length, on it a large silver shell from a Pope's table, for baptizing a child, adorned with flowers, stood in the corner of the church on the right of the entrance, outside the choir. A table with two vases and as many basins for the cardinal sponsors, and as many napkins for washing and drying the hands, and one pair of gilded basins and other vessels of silver-gilt, a piece of bread and a cellar of salt—all of which one of the Pope's credentiarics had arranged, and was superintending; also the vestments for the Vice-Chancellor who was baptizing, namely, surplice, stole, white cope and plain mitre, all of which seemed fitting to him for this ceremony; the Most Rev. Cardinal of S. Marco agreeing with me, but leaving it to the judgment of the Lord Vice-Chancellor, as is usually done in matters of this kind. The child to be baptized (when the cardinals were all assembled) was carried by an old woman to the door of the church, where she was put into the arms of her ladyship, the wife of Prince Bisignano, who held her all the time, until after the baptism: again, outside the church, the Lady Teodorina, daughter of the Pope, and several other noble ladies, stood by the said princess. The Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor, standing in the said choir to perform the office, put on, above the rochet, surplice and white stole only, laying aside cope and mitre only, in which he baptized; then and there, with the two vessels, he washed his hands, and laying aside this vestment, he came to the sacristy with other vessels and basins arranged for each of them, as is told above; the Vice-Chancellor in baptizing made the sign of the cross only once with water on the head of the infant, saying, meanwhile, *In nomine Patris*, etc.

After the office the baptized child was carried back to its father's house, and all the cardinals returned to their palaces, except three, Cardinals Benevento, Orsini, and S. Anastasia, who, if I remember rightly, before they returned home visited the said Franceseo Cibò, whose daughter was baptized, in his palace.

On *Tuesday, 5th January*, the Vigil of the Epiphany of Our Lord, there were pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter's, the Pope being present, and on the following day, the Feast of the same, the solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples, the Pope being present: a certain friar of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Mary preached. Our Most Holy Lord informed me before he left the robing-room, after having taken off his vestments, that he had ordained as his assistants the Rev. Fathers Benedict, Lord Archbishop of Nicosia; Antonio de Grassis, Lord Bishop of Tivoli, private referendary to His Holiness and *locum tenens* of one of the auditors of cases of the Apostolic Palace; the Lord Ibleto de Flisco, chief notary of the Apostolic See; and instructed me to take them to the other assistants and order them to be received by the other assistants: which, at the beginning of the epistle, I did.

On the *Feast of the Epiphany, 6th January*, about nine in the evening, there was carried to the Basilica of St. Peter the corpse of Giovanni di Lanfredo, ambassador of the Republic of Florence, long since appointed to our

Most Holy Lord, who died yesterday afternoon. The body was embalmed and the remains buried; but after the body had been carried to the church, and the office and sermon ended, it was placed in a coffin covered with a black pall, and the coffin was laid in or near the chapel of S. Maria dei Fiori, because in a few days it was to be carried to Florence, as it actually was. There were present the households of our Most Holy Lord and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals and the ambassadors now at the Roman Court: the clergy and ambassadors assembled in the first room next the hall, in which were also seated the three mourners, his son, his daughter's husband and his wife's brother: the body lay upon a table in the hall in the usual way, and round it on either side were seated about ten members of his household, dressed in mourning apparel.

There were present four friars of the Convents of S. Maria del Popolo, Araceli, Minerva, and S. Augostino, the beneficiaries and clerks of the said Basilica of St. Peter. The canons of the said church came to meet the body at the steps of the basilica. After the corpse there came forty torches, borne by Florentine merchants, chosen by their own number. The members of the household walked singly: first was the lowest in rank, then the others in their order. After the last of the household came the son of the deceased, between two clergy of the palace on his right, and the ambassadors of King Ferdinand of Sicily on his left; then the brother of the wife of the deceased, also between two clergy of the palace on the right, and an ambassador on the left; then other clergy and ambassadors in their order. Candles were given to the monks at the door of the said basilica, in the centre of which was laid the body in the usual place, and by the son and other mourners standing round was sung, *Libera me, Domine*. Meanwhile the clergy and ambassadors went to the choir of the canons before the altar of the Blessed Mary, and as they stood there before the altar, the Lord Pietro Marco, chaplain of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of St. George, turning to the clergy, preached the sermon upon the life of the deceased in the usual way: it would have been more convenient to have begun the sermon when the response was ended, because their singing hindered the preacher.

The sermon ended, the mourners, escorted by their friends, not the clergy or ambassadors, returned to their homes. Then the body was carried and laid to rest, as I have told above. He died in the house of Aciagole, in the quarter not far from the Piazza di S. Pietro, in which the Lord Antonio of Forli, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, lived, and from that house was carried to the said basilica.

At this time there arose some contention and difference between the Noble Lord Johann of Stade, soldier and doctor, ambassador of the Suevic League,¹ or of St. George, and the Lord Peter Zuich, ambassador of the Noble Lord Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate, appointed to our Most Holy Lord, upon a question of precedence.

Both agreed to refer their differences to me, that I might ordain, in accordance with the custom and justice of the Court, which should have the precedence; I did not wish to take the responsibility, but proposed to lay the matter before our Most Holy Lord, and then abide by his decision; nevertheless, for the day on which they told me of the matter, they agreed

¹ The League was so named "from the banner which, by order and authority of the Kaiser Friedrich, from the time of its constitution all Princes and Electors, Counts and Barons, Knights and Societies, and all included in that society provided they were of noble descent, carried when they marched to battle." (Wegelin, *Thesaurus Rerum Suevicarum*, t. iii., p. 227.)

that the Lord Johann should take precedence, without prejudice; then, on another day, the Lord Peter should take precedence of the Lord Johann, without prejudice: this arrangement they observed several times in the chapel, when the Pope was present.

The case between them was as follows: The said Lord Johann was representative or ambassador of the League of St. George, confirmed and established between their Highnesses the Emperor and the King of the Romans, instituted for the defence of those lands in Germany which were subject to the Holy Roman Empire, in which League are the Marquis of Baden, Count of Württemberg, and other counts, barons, knights and nobles, the towns of Utze and several others. There are also connected with this League the Rev. Lord Archbishop of Mentz, His Highness Sigismund, Archduke of Austria, and other princes: and since the Lord Johann was not only ambassador of the said League but also of the said Archbishop of Mentz and of the archduke, who before their departure arranged for his ambassadors to take the place to which he had been appointed when ambassador to the city, and together with the League had instructed him that as Mentz should take precedence of the Palatine, so he ought to take precedence of the Palatine ambassador. The Lord Peter denied that the Rev. Lord Archbishop of Mentz preceded his Lord the Count Palatine: nevertheless, since the Lord Johann was not an ambassador in the city of the Palatine, but of the League, he alleged that the first place was due to him. On this point I took the opinion of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, to whom I said that in my opinion the Lord Johann ought to have precedence. His Lordship replied that he thought I was wrong, and that the Lord Peter ought to have first place, since the Lord Mentz was not in the League as Elector of the Kingdom of Mentz, but as prelate and prince: nevertheless it seemed to him that I should take advice of two auditors of the Court or other clergy who were doctors, so that neither of the two aforesaid should suffer. I consulted upon the matter the Lord Felino Sandeo, auditor of the Court, whose opinion was that after the League had been instituted for a just cause, and by a superior, namely the Emperor, proved not to be an illegal compact, and since there are several members of it, even if none be greater than a Count Palatine, it seemed to him that the ambassador of the League and count should be legally preferred to the ambassador of the Count Palatine, since greater dignity and prestige are due to several in the person of one: the same was the conclusion of the Lord Giovanni, Bishop of Alexandria, one of the *locum tenentes* to the auditors of cases of the Sacred Palace, but he did not give me his reasons; he said, however, if I wished, he would state his reasons to me at home. I reported their decisions to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, who said that the Lord Johann would shortly withdraw, and therefore I should leave the matter undecided: this was done, if I remember right. I think, however, that I laid before both the ambassadors the decision of the said Lord Bishop of Alexandria and the Lord Felino.

On Monday, 11th January, there came to the city the Lord Bernard Stich of Baden, herald of the Most Serene Emperor Frederick and of the always August Emperor of the Romans, who, on the following day, Tuesday, 12th January, before luncheon, escorted by the Illustrious Lord Jacob, eldest son of the Illustrious Lord Christopher, Marquis of Baden, by his household and myself, rode to the palace of our Most Holy Lord, of whom he had an audience straightway, in the presence of the said Marquis and myself: with our Most Holy Lord were the Cardinal of

Benevento, the Bishops of Tournai, Cortona, and Tivoli, Girolamo Balbano, and Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, secretaries.

The herald presented the letters of the Most Serene Maximilian, King of the Romans, to our Most Holy Lord, who handed them to the Lord Giovanni Arrivabene there present, to read, and he straightway read them: the purport of the letters was as follows: He had always been mindful as a Christian king ought to be of the defence of the faith Catholic and the Roman Church; he learned that the Sultan was preparing a great fleet against the Roman Pontiff, to set free his brother, who was then at the Court of our Most Holy Lord; and therefore he would, as soon as possible, come to the help of the Roman Church, and if it were possible he would have more quickly convened the Diet in the town, where they were treating for peace between the Most Serene Emperor of the Romans and his father, and the King of Hungary: after this was held he would turn his speedy attention towards Italy; wherefore he had written to the potentates of Italy, to give a free passage to his men, and provide them with necessaries, as was contained in the copy of the subjoined despatch; therefore he prayed the Pontiff to make peace between the Emperor and the King of Hungary. The said copy was addressed to the Doge of Venice, and its contents were similar to those of the Pontiff's letter, except that he did not ask a favour of him, but commanded him to give a passage to his contingents, and to provide necessaries. After the letters had been read our Most Holy Lord told the herald that he understood the letters, upon which he desired to deliberate, and return an answer to the prince; I interpreted the words of the Pontiff, because the herald had no knowledge of the Latin and Italian tongues. Then the herald asked for an anticipatory grace, on behalf of Matthew, his son, which the Pontiff graciously granted him. We withdrew from the presence of the Pontiff, and because he had letters from the Emperor and King to the College of Cardinals, the Bishop of Tournai announced to the herald, by command of our Most Holy Lord, that on the next Friday there would be a consistory, to which His Holiness would not come until after the herald had presented the aforesaid letters to the College of Cardinals and the letters had been read by them. He also offered to the herald an apartment in the palace, and entertainment, for which the herald thanked our Most Holy Lord, speaking through me, saying that he was well entertained by the Illustrious Marquis of Baden: so we returned home. The herald came to the city with one mounted retainer.

On Wednesday, 13th January, the Lord Heinrich Meyer, chamberlain of our Most Holy Lord, in the name of His Holiness presented to the said herald, in the house of the Lord Jacob, the said marquis, one cask of Corsican wine, ten measures of barley, one heifer of six or seven months old, twenty capons, twenty-two chickens, four pheasants, four hares, six torches, two bundles of candles of about six pounds, and four boxes of confections, all of which the palace servants carried. The wine and barley were carried by horses and carts by the said servants, to whom the herald gave a ducat, but they did not wish to receive it.

On Friday, 15th January, the said herald was summoned and came to the private consistory, and with him the said marquis and myself. In the consistory sat the Pontiff and the cardinals in the usual order. Having made a salutation to the Pontiff outside the seats of the cardinals and a little behind the cardinals, the herald advanced to the Vice-Chancellor, the first of them, to whom he presented the imperial and royal letters: then he retired, and we returned between the door and the cardinals' seats, when we

knelt, facing the Pontiff. The Vice-Chancellor took the letters and gave them to the Cardinal of Naples to read, who handed them to the Cardinal of S. Marco, and thus they were handed on in order, until they came into the hands of the Cardinal of Siena, and he, the chief and first of the cardinal-deacons, opened the letters, and sitting with covered head read them; we continued to kneel until the end of the reading.

The letters read, our Most Holy Lord informed us that he would deliberate upon the contents of the letters with his colleagues the cardinals, and would give us a reply: then we withdrew. The contents of these were much the same as those presented to our Most Holy Lord.

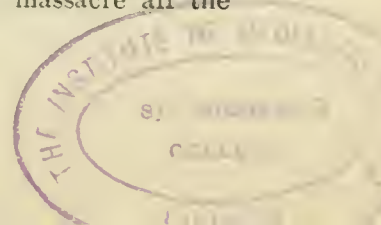
On Sunday, 17th January, the Feast of St. Paul, the Rev. Father Jean, Lord Bishop of Tournai, master of the household of our Most Holy Lord, by the instruction of our Most Holy Lord gave to the said herald a long robe that reached almost to the ground, of crimson and gold brocade lined with the skins of martens; it was said to have nine eames at thirty ducats the eame, and that sixty ducats were paid for the lining; but I do not believe it, for the Lord Bernardino Gambarà, private chamberlain, told me that a hundred ducats were paid for the robe and its lining; the said herald straightway put on the robe, and in it heard the mass in the Basilica of St. Peter. He saw the sacred image of Our Lord which was publicly exposed, and then rode home, and was again escorted by the said marquis and myself.

On Tuesday, 19th January, the said herald rode to Naples with letters from the Emperor and King of the Romans, and from Albert, Duke of Bavaria, to the King of Naples. With him rode the Lord Nicola of Barche, and two other ecclesiastics and his retainer; and also three arbalists, from the guard of our Most Holy Lord, as far as Terracina.

He presented the letters to the King of Naples, from whom he had nothing, not even a kindly word. He returned to the city from Naples on the evening of *2nd February*. The letters of the Emperor had this superscription: "To the Most Serene Prince Ferdinand, King of Sicily, our dearly-beloved brother"; the letters of the King: "To the Most Serene Prince Ferdinand, King of Sicily and Jerusalem, our dearly-beloved kinsman and brother." The letters of Duke Albert were thus addressed: "To the Illustrious Prince Ferdinand, King of Naples, our Lord and dearest friend." The three letters aforesaid were given to me by the Lord Girolamo Balbano, secretary to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, to be consigned to the herald and carried and presented by him to the King of Naples: they were all bound up together in one packet, on which was this inscription: "Letters of the Most Serene Emperor and King of the Romans, and of the Illustrious Lord Albert, Duke of Saxony, who has taken to wife the daughter of the Emperor, to be carried to the King of Naples by the Emperor's herald."

On Saturday, 23rd January, in the morning there was a convocation of all the cardinals in the Apostolic Palace, with our Most Holy Lord, and there was notified to them by His Holiness the peace made by the King of Spain with the King of Granada, who yielded to the King of Spain the State and all the Kingdom of Granada, reserving for himself a certain territory in Spain. This news was announced to His Holiness yesterday evening by the ambassadors of the King.¹

¹ The successes of Ferdinand irritated and disturbed the Mahometan princes of Asia and Africa. The most powerful of them, the Soldan of Egypt, sent an ambassador to Ferdinand to warn him that unless he abandoned the siege of Granada and the war he had undertaken against the Moors, he would give the order to massacre all the



It was therefore decreed in the congregation that, on the Monday immediately following, which would be the Feast of the Conversion of the Apostle Paul, the solemn mass of the Holy Spirit be celebrated in the Basilica of St. Paul, without the walls, by some prelate, the Pope and cardinals being present, to the glory of God, a mass like the other low mass in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, celebrated with the same verses, and other two then said at the end of the mass. The said Basilica of St. Paul was therefore arranged and prepared as at other times, when our Most Holy Lord was publicly present there at the mass, except that I had the Pontiff's throne made wider and of a better shape.

On Tuesday, 2nd February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, vested as usual, came to the larger chapel of the palace, and with him the cardinals and clergy in their usual robes. The cardinals made the salutation, and all took violet vestments; then the Pope, standing, blessed the candles placed in a corner of the chapel on his left, and all the others which were brought to the said chapel, both within and without the chancel, making the sign of the cross at each place for the sign of the cross in the benediction, first towards the candles in the chapel, then towards the others outside the chancel. The benediction ended the Vice-Chancellor gave three candles to the Pope, two large and one small. Then the Pope distributed candles to the Vice-Chancellor and the others in the usual way, two to each; to the celebrant he gave only one. The distribution ended, he washed his hands, Lord Alexander of Alexandria pouring the water and the Vice-Chancellor assisting. Meanwhile the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Recanati, who was to celebrate, went to the fald-stool to receive the usual vestments. Then a procession was formed to the door outside the large hall of the palace, where the Pontiff threw candles to the people. When he had thrown these he returned to the chapel, where the cardinals and clergy laid aside their vestments and the mass was said in the usual way; there was no sermon. Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son above named, held two large candles on the right hand, and Antonio, Count of Merandula, on the left. At the gospel the Pope, the cardinals and others held their candles; likewise at the elevation of the Host: in the meanwhile, however, they were put out by a mistake on the part of the esquires; but from the elevation until after the communion of the celebrant the esquires held the candles alight: then they extinguished them.

When the blessing of the candles was ended this morning I gave a place to the Venerable Lord Eroaldus of Senenbroder, head of the Church of Elsenor, ambassador of the Most Serene King of Dacia, in the said chapel, next to the ambassador of the King of Poland, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, by the advice of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor, Naples, and S. Marco; and Eroaldus accepted this place, although he had previously told me that his place was immediately after the ambassador of the King of France.

On Tuesday, 9th February, there came to the city the Lord Robert Blesus, doctor and knight of Cologne, ambassador of our Most Serene Emperor, and accompanied by the Lord Raymund of Periardo, apostolic chief notary and nuncio to the same Emperor; he entered about seven in

Christians in Egypt and Syria, of whom there was a large number, he would pull down the temples and utterly destroy the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Ferdinand did not give way, and the next year Granada fell into his power. (*Vide* Mariano, *De rebus Hisp.*, Book XXV., chap. xv.)

the evening by the Porta Viridarii, between the Bishop of Tourmai, master of the household to the Apostolic Palace, who was on his right, and the Illustrious Lord Jacob, Marquis of Baden, on his left, and escorted by the chief German officials to the Hospice of S. Angelo, near the Campo dei Fiori, where he was entertained.

On the following day our Most Holy Lord sent him a goodly present of wine, barley, confections, capons and other things, and on *Thursday, the 11th inst.*, he had an audience of our Most Holy Lord.

On *Sunday, 14th February*, in the Piazza of St. Peter was exposed the stuff or *bravium* of red, of about two cannes in length, of scarlet cloth, for which Jews ran from the Campo dei Fiori there; and on *Monday, the 15th inst.*, the stuff of green velvet or satin, of about two cannes, for boys who ran from the Porta de S. Angelo to the said Piazza.

On *Tuesday, the 16th inst.*, the stuff or satin, of about two cannes, for young men of about thirty, who ran from the Campo dei Fiori to the said Piazza.

On *Wednesday, the 17th inst.*, stuff of scarlet, of about two cannes, for the old men.

On *Monday, the 22nd inst.*, there was the carnival for buffaloes, who ran from the Campo to the said Piazza.¹

On *Wednesday, 24th February*, the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, being Ash Wednesday, the feast was postponed to the next day.

The Pope, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel of the palace, where, after the cardinals had made him their salutation, they took their vestments, and the clergy, outside the chancel. Then the Pope, sitting with mitre on, said, *Exaudi*, etc.; then laying aside the mitre, but still sitting because the stool at his feet was too high, and, if he stood upon it, he could not, (so he said,) see the benedictions which were to be read; and so he sat and blessed the ashes, which the Lord Mattia Cibò, the sub-deacon, held in the bowl, kneeling at his right hand; when the ashes had been blessed, sprinkled and censured, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the chief penitentiary, who was to celebrate, approached the Pontiff, having laid aside all his vestments, gloves and pontifical ring, and standing with uncovered head before the Pontiff, he placed ashes upon his head bent over the stool, saying nothing. Then the Pope, taking mitre and gremial, placed ashes upon the cardinal first from whom he had received them, then upon the other cardinals and clergy in the usual way, the cantors meanwhile singing, *Immutemur habitu*, etc.; they also sang, and wrongly, when the blessing of the ashes by the Pontiff began, the antiphon, *Exaudi nos*, etc. The distribution ended, the Pope washed his hands, a senator of the city pouring the water, and the Most Rev. the Lord

¹ The *bravium* was the prize given to the winners: it generally consisted of a piece of stuff (*vide supra*). The Carnival, which only exists to-day as a reminder of what it once was, had, in the Middle Ages, and up to the end of the eighteenth century, a gorgeousness beyond comparison, which recalled in part the Saturnalia of pagan Rome. Some details of this festival may be seen in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*: T. XII. *Annali di Ludovico Monaldeschi*, col. 355; T. XXIII. *Volaterrani Diarium*, col. 163; T. III., p. ii., *Diario del Natajo del Nantiporto*, coll. 1093 and 1104; also T. III. *Infessura Diarium*, col. 1236, and the 29th dissertation of the same author in his *Antiquitates Medii Aevi*, t. ii., "Upon the spectacles and public games of the Middle Ages," p. 330, and col. 350, where there is a good definition of the *pallium*. Consult also the *Statuta et novae reformationes urbis Romae: Romae*, fol. 1558; Book III., fol. 36 and *sqq.* chap. 209-219, relating to the games of the *Agou*, and of *Mt. Testaccio*. The Canon Bossus alludes to the rejoicings, of which Burchard speaks here, in his Letter XXIII., "*Ad Severinium Calchum Patrem et Canonicum*, etc. *De foedis taxationibus Carnisprivii, Romae Idibus Februariis*" (*Familiares et secundae Matthaei Bossi epistolae*, 1498).

Vice-Chancellor assisting; he came of his own accord, and was not summoned, although it was not his office to-day but the office of the first of the cardinal-priests; but after he had come I could not well send him away and summon another; therefore I allowed it. The Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, preached the sermon; the other observances were as usual. The mass of the Day of Ashes was said and not that of the feast. Before our Most Holy Lord left the robing-room, while he was taking the vestments, I asked and obtained from His Holiness, on behalf of us clerks of ceremonies, cantors and all officials of the chapels of His Holiness, that by visiting the seven altars of the Basilica of St. Peter, we might gain indulgences of the fasts, and that any of us might choose for himself a confessor to grant plenary absolution in all cases, and plenary remission of all sins.

But I made a mistake in asking for this indulgence of the fasts for visiting the seven altars of the said basilica, for I ought to have asked for it for those visiting only the high altar of the basilica, because the seven altars are allowed in place of the seven principal churches of the city at the times of the Jubilees, or at some other time, as it is asked.

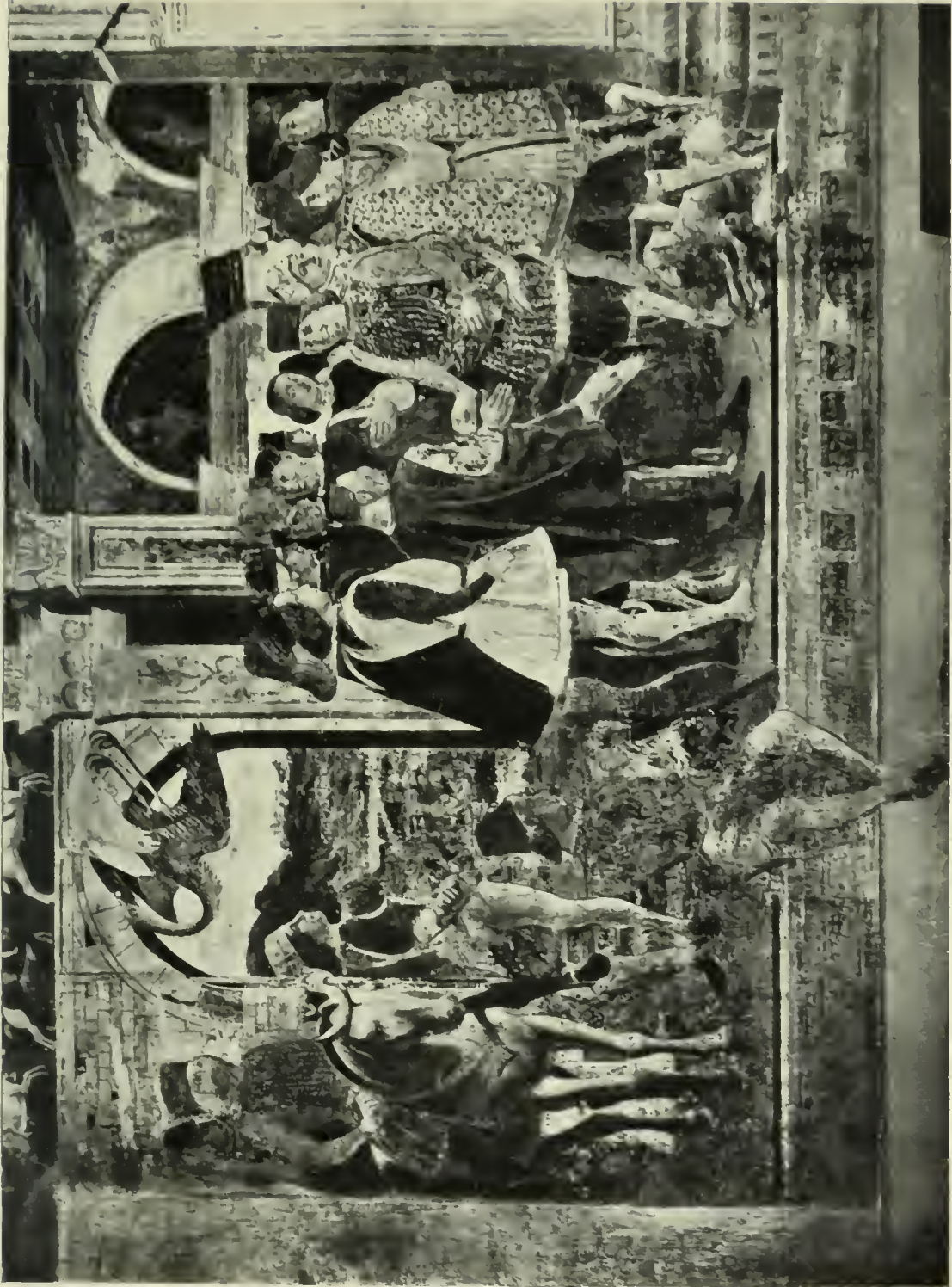
On 28th February, the last day of the month and the *First Sunday in Lent*, the Rev. Father Thomas, Lord Bishop of Dole, assistant to the Pope, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the palace; the Pope was absent, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals were present. He recited the five usual prayers. The Friar Bartolommeo, vice-procurator of the Order of Preachers, preached the sermon; the other observances were as usual.

On the Second Sunday in Lent, 7th March, the Rev. Father Orso, Lord Bishop of Siena, assistant to the Pope, celebrated the public mass in the said chapel, the Pope being present. A certain friar of France, of the Order of Minors of the Observance, preached the sermon; everything else was carried out in the usual way.

The mass ended, on the request of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Naples, protector of the Order of Preachers, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, notice was given to the Rev. Fathers, and Lords Auditors of Cases of the Sacred Palace, not to hear cases on the morrow, on account of the transference of the feast or office of the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas from yesterday to to-morrow.

On Monday, 6th March, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, neither the court nor the audience was held, on account of the transference of the office of St. Thomas Aquinas to this day. And on the same day there was solemnly performed the office of the Santa Maria sopra Minerva of the said feast, at which were present most of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals then in the city. The Rev. Father Tito, Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, celebrated the mass; the Lord Aldello, my colleague, assisting. A certain Roman scholar preached the sermon.

On Friday, the Feast of Pope Gregory, our Most Holy Lord in the morning, vested in amice, girdle, stole, embroidered alb and hood of crimson velvet, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, rode by way of the Campo dei Fiori and S. Anastasia to the Church of St. Gregory, where he dismounted; the friars gave him the crucifix to kiss in the hand of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, the first deacon assisting him. He went up to the church, prayed at the fald-stool made ready for him before the altar, then rose, and with the Rev. Father Pietro Paolo, the Lord Bishop of S. Agata, vested in sacerdotal vestments, he recited the *Confiteor*. This ended, he went to another fald-stool, on the gospel side, made ready for him, as is customary, where he knelt throughout the whole mass, even while the



XV. CENTURY FRESCO—REWARDING A BUFFOON. FROM THE PALAZZO SCHIANCIOIA AT FERRARA.



gospel of the mass was being said. Behind him knelt the Deacon-cardinals of Siena and Foix, who were assisting; on the Pope's right hand was the Vice-Chancellor, and before the Vice-Chancellor the Cardinal of Augers; all the other cardinals were ranged on the other side of the choir, viz. on the epistle side, in no fixed order. The bishops who were assisting, the ambassadors and all others remained outside the said chapel or choir. When the gospel had been read the Most Rev. the Vice-Chancellor offered the Missal to the Pontiff to kiss; the Vice-Chancellor took the book from the hand of the Lord Arnulfo, the chamberlain, the celebrant assisting, and restored it to him. After the *Agnus Dei* the Vice-Chancellor again took from the hand of the said Lord Arnulfo the instrument of the *par*, and gave it to the Pontiff to kiss. I took this from the hand of the Vice-Chancellor, and gave it first to the Vice-Chancellor himself, then to the Cardinal of S. Angelo, first of the cardinal-priests, and to the Cardinal of Siena, first of the cardinal-deacons; the other cardinal-deacons who were in the choir of the priests took the *par* from the priests on account of the lack of space, because I could not conveniently get to them. I also handed the *par* to the Archbishop of Florence, first of the assistants, and to one ambassador who was nearest to the choir, and to no one else. At the elevation of the Host, the Lord Aldello and myself held two torches behind the celebrant, kneeling before the door of the entrance to the said chapel.

The mass of St. Gregory was said without music, with the commemoration of the day, and the prayer for the Pontiff, *Deus, omnium fidelium*, etc.: when this was ended the celebrant, though reminded by me, did not pronounce the benediction, but left the altar. Then the Pontiff approached it, and standing facing the people, the said Lord Girolamo, the sub-deacon, holding the crucifix before him, with uncovered head he chanted in the usual way *Sit nomen Domini*, etc., and solemnly blessed the people: no indulgences were given or announced. Then, after again saying a prayer before the altar, he mounted his horse, and returned to the palace in the order in which he had come, but by another way, turning towards the Coliseum, before the Churches of S. Maria, SS. Cosma and Damiano, S. Adriano and the prisons of S. Pietro, S. Marco, and the Via del Papa; when he had crossed the Ponte di S. Angelo he took leave of the cardinals staying in the city, who then returned to their palaces; others staying in the quarter of the palace accompanied His Holiness to the palace.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, 14th March, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Nicola Cibò, Archbishop of Arles, an assistant, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Palace of St. Peter, the Pope being present; the Procurator of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon; the other observances were as usual.

On the Fourth Sunday in Lent, 21st March, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon celebrated the public mass in the said chapel, the Pope being present. The Procurator of the Order of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel preached the sermon.

This morning our Most Holy Lord, robed in full vestments in the papal chamber, removing the mitre, blessed the Rose, which the Lord Gaspar Biondo, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, held, kneeling before His Holiness; it had been previously censed by us in the usual place, and prepared with the customary ceremonies. Then, carrying the Rose in the left hand, and blessing the people with the right, he came to the larger chapel of the said palace, where he was present at the mass; when it was ended and the benediction given by His Holiness, he ordered to be summoned to him the Noble Lord Alfonso, ambassador of the Most Serene

Princes King Ferdinand and Queen Elizabeth (*sic*) of Spain,¹ at the Court of His Holiness, to whom he consigned the said Rose, to be presented to the Most Serene Lady aforesaid on behalf of His Holiness. It seemed to me that this should have been done in the papal chamber; but after His Holiness returned to it, and with the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor of Cathalono, who favoured the King of Spain and expected this thing, it was determined that it should be done with greater honour in sight of the people in the said chapel, and so it was done. After this the Pope returned to the chamber in the usual order. The Lord Alfonso, the said ambassador, went before the cross with the Rose, in his place among the other ambassadors. After the Pope had taken off his vestments in the papal chamber, and returned to his apartments, all the cardinals retired, and the said Lord Alfonso was escorted by the household, the chamberlain and clergy of the palace and by certain of the households of some of the cardinals, as far as his residence, riding between the Governor of the City on his right and the Archbishop of Arles on his left.

Our Most Holy Lord intended to have written to the princes to the effect that the Sultan was preparing a fleet, and now at length, after many months had elapsed, exhorted the princes of Germany by letters to send their ambassadors, before the next Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to discuss the expedition against the Turk; saying that it was hoped that it was possible easily to provide for the execution of this purpose, by means of the Turk then at the Court of His Holiness, the true heir of his deceased father, dearly beloved by his subjects, and the deadly foe of his brother then ruling the Turkish Empire, for the easier beginning of this matter.²

On *Thursday, 25th March*, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the solemn mass of the Holy Spirit in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope and the cardinals being present. He did not make the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary nor of the day, our Most Holy Lord thus commanding in accordance with the decision and wish of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Naples, because, as the sacrist reported, this morning in the small chapel, the mass of the Feast was said with the commemoration of the day. The mass ended, before the Pontiff solemnly blessed the people the Rev. Father Pietro of Vicenza, Lord Bishop of Cesena, general auditor of the Court of Causes of the Apostolic Chamber, vested in red cope over the rochet, and carrying a plain mitre in his hands, approached the Pontiff, whose foot he kissed, and, kneeling, asked for the blessing: this given he took the indulgences for seven years to be published. It seemed to me unfitting to ask for the blessing, since he was not about to preach a sermon from the gospel or the Word of God, but simply to announce the reason for which the Pontiff had summoned the princes; still, because the Most

¹ Isabella.

² As has been seen above, Djem was the younger brother of Bajazet II., and consequently the succession to the throne of Mahomet II. fell by right to the latter.

Burchard is therefore wrong in calling Djem the true heir of his father, a mistake common to several contemporary historians, as, for example, Infessura (in *Eccard*, t. ii., col. 1986); Guillaume de Jaligny (*Hist. du Roy Charles VIII.*, in Godefroy, p. 62), etc. It should be noticed, however, that Djem regarded himself as the true heir to his father, and that, although he admitted that Bajazet II. was his elder, he still considered him as an usurper, because he was born before Mahomet II. became king. See, in the narrative of Caoursin (App., No. 34), § *Zizimy ad Magistrum verba*, which is unfavourable to the contrary opinion held by Attichy, *Flores historiae S. R. E. Cardinalium*, in fol., t. ii., p. 412.

Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor thought it well, he asked for the blessing. Further, it seemed to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal S. Marco that a sermon or oration of this kind would be more conveniently given after the gospel than before it, because he said no sermon is given after the mass, except that for the dead; in which his Rev. Lordship, if I may be pardoned, was wrong, since in all synods and general councils the sermon or oration comes after the mass; therefore in this office also, in which the sermon was not to be from the epistle or gospel of the day, but upon the matters to be discussed in the diet, the sermon ought to be arranged after the mass. The sermon ended, our Most Holy Lord pronounced the accustomed benediction, saying, *Sit nomen*, etc., and the bishop who had preached the sermon announced the indulgences granted by the Pontiff; then he came down from the pulpit, and all withdrew. The celebrant, after the *Ite missa est* and *Deo gratias*, said *Placeat*, and *Evangelium S. Johannes*. He laid aside the sacred vestments, took his robe, and sat down among the other cardinals in his place, nor did the bishop begin his sermon until the said cardinal-celebrant had returned to his place among the other cardinals.

After his luncheon, our Most Holy Lord rode to the Church of the Blessed Maria at the Minerva, where he gave forty ducats for girls about to marry to the Society of the Annunciation, thence to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo; then he returned to the palace, the cardinals riding after the cross before the Pope, to whom he gave leave to return home on this side the bridge, as they did.

The Fifth Sunday in Lent, which is called *Passion Sunday*, 28th March, the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Bishop of Tornaco, celebrated the public mass in the chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present. A certain friar of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Mary preached the sermon.

On Friday, 2nd April, about eight in the evening, there came to the city, by the prato and gate of Viridarii, the Illustrious Lord Guido, Duke of Urbino, with about two hundred and fifty knights and retainers, who was honourably received by the households of the cardinals and of our Most Holy Lord, and the ambassadors of kings and princes then in the city. He came to the feet of our Most Holy Lord, who was sitting in the second room over the porches, above the entrance to the palace; he received him graciously for the kiss upon feet, hands and mouth, and heard and replied to his proposal; thence he was escorted to the palace of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, next to the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, where he was entertained. He rode between the Lord Maurizio Cibò, brother of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, on his right, and the Governor of the City on his left; others following in the usual order. The household of the cardinals preceded, and in the last place, after the noble households of the Pope and of the duke, was the Duke of Sora, riding between Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, on his right, and Count Antonio, illegitimate brother of the Duke of Urbino, on his left: these were preceded by the Duke of Merandula and several other Roman counts, lords, and barons, riding in their order of precedence.

On Saturday, 3rd April, I told our Most Holy Lord that I had bought the office of one of the masters of the Register of Supplications from L. di Bertino; I preferred to His Holiness my request that he would order this to be drawn up and sealed, and that he would graciously remit to me the composition which is usually made with the datary, for four ducats. The letters themselves he graciously ordered to be drawn up and sealed, and not only did he freely make me a gift of the composition, but he also instructed the secretary to draw up the letters by which from to-day he

admitted me to the exercise of this office. On the same day Lord L. di Bertino consented in the Chamber to the resignation of this office, to the exercise of which, on 6th day of March, I was admitted in the name of the Lord by the Lord Gabriel di Phano, senior master of the same office, rather however through my own personal request and the consent of the Lords Giovanni, Lorenzo of Venice, and Alexander of Cortesia, his colleagues.

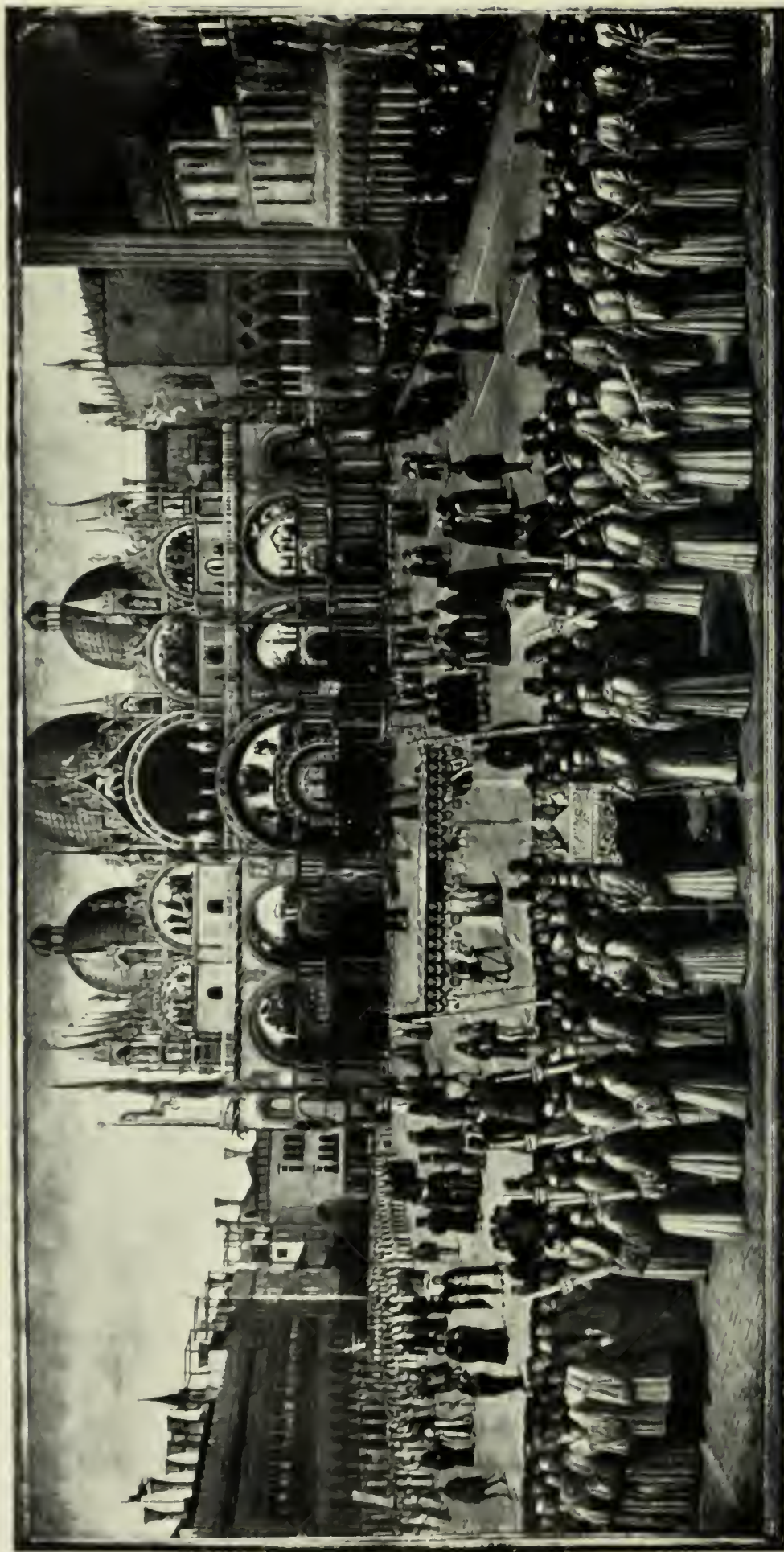
On the Sixth Sunday in Lent, which is called Palm Sunday, 4th April, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the said chapel, where he blessed the palms in the customary manner. There were present at the office the Dukes of Urbino and Sora and the Lord Mauritio Cibò, brother of the Pope, to whom the Pope gave palms after the cardinal-clergy who were assisting. The Pope's two palms were held by the Duke of Urbino on the right and the Duke of Sora on the left, standing on the throne; the Vice-Chancellor gave them to the Pontiff. The Lord Robert, Imperial ambassador, gave water for the Pope's hands after the distribution of palms, the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor assisting. In the procession the Lord Mauritio Cibò, brother of the Pope, bore the border of the Pope's cope.

When the Pontiff had taken water, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, who was to celebrate, came to the fald-stool, where, laying aside the chasuble, he took his robe and sandals: then, laying aside the robe, he took the other vestments, having first washed his hands in the usual way. The Pope gave only one palm to the celebrant. The three cantors who sang the Passion were vested in white stoles and violet mantles, by dint of great diligence on my part; the sacrist opposed this, and wished for white, black and red vestments, as are worn in his village, and had been previously the arrangement in our chapel, contrary, however, to my wish, and that of my predecessors and colleagues. The mass ended, when our Most Holy Lord was laying aside his vestments, I asked His Highness in what vesture he would go to the *Matutinae tenebrarum*. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena replied, "In a robe," of which I advised the assistants. At the Passion and the gospel, our Most Holy Lord and all the others held their palms, but at the elevation of the Host only the Pope. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

In these past days the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Parma, St. George, Orsini, and Ascanio, being together in the house of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. George, called me to them, and asked me about the place to be given to the Duke of Urbino, to which I replied that, if all agreed, I would give him a place by the Pope's throne, since the duke was powerful and a vassal of the Church, although to his father, in the time of Pope Sixtus IV. of holy memory, a place had been given after the last deacon-cardinal upon their bench; but some of the cardinals complained of this. It was, however, the more fitting, since he had been *gonfaloniere*, or general captain, of the Holy Roman Church (a position of great honour), was most experienced in military matters, and considered a man of great weight and prudence by all the princes and potentates of Italy.

The cardinals were also of my opinion; and when this matter was brought forward in consistory it was decided that a place should be given the said duke on the floor of the throne, in accordance with my opinion: and this was done.

On Wednesday in Holy Week, 7th April, the matins were celebrated in the said chapel about nine in the evening; the Pope was present in his robes without mitre, and his train was gathered up and carried, both in



NY. CENTURY PROCESSION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN THE PIAZZA OF ST. MARK AT VENICE. (BELLINI).

going to the chapel and returning, by the Rev. Father Benedict, Lord Archbishop of Nicosia, an assistant. At the antiphon, *Christus factus*, the Pope knelt at the fald-stool, and at the end said the prayer; everything else was carried out in the usual way; the torches and the candles upon the screen and the candelabra were of unbleached wax.

On the last Thursday in Lent, 8th April, the Most Rev. Lord Vice-Chancellor celebrated the solemn mass in the said chapel, the Pope being present; the mass ended, and the benediction given by the Pontiff, the cardinals took the vestments proper to them, not waiting for the Vice-Chancellor, who was celebrating, to lay aside his vestments of the mass. He, having laid aside the sacred vestments at the fald-stool, took surplice and cope, retaining the amice. The Pope, sitting on the throne, placed incense in two censers, and laying aside his mitre, went up to the altar, where, kneeling, he censed the Sacrament. The Vice-Chancellor handed to the Pontiff, as he knelt, the chalice with the Eucharist, and he carried It in the usual order to the first chapel, and to the appointed place, where he placed It. Then the Pope put incense in a censer, and, kneeling, censed It. When the Pope carried the Eucharist from the larger to the small chapel, the Duke of Urbino bore the train in the usual way. When the Host had been censed, the sacrist closed the chapel and gave the key to the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was to celebrate on the morrow. Then the Pope took the mitre unnoticed by us, and most of the cardinals who had entered the chapel left it to go to the Place of the Public Benediction, whither the Pope came on foot under the baldacchino, the said duke bearing the train, where afterwards the Pope, laying aside the white cope, took one of red. He received the cardinals for the salutation, and there were read the usual sentences, in which, contrary to custom, certain persons were anathematized and excommunicated,¹ who had compelled a certain herald of our Most Holy Lord, bringing certain letters of execution to them, to eat the said letters. They were read by the Lord Hugo of B . . . , apostolic sub-deacon, in Latin, and by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Colonna in the vulgar tongue. At the end the Pope gave the benediction and plenary indulgences, which were published by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Siena in Latin, and Colonna in the vulgar tongue. After this, all the cardinals laid aside their vestments, and in their robes escorted the Pope to the third hall, where he was to wash the feet of thirteen beggars. The Cardinal-deacons of Siena and Foix assisted, and Ascanio was to read the gospel: all were vested as deacons except those who had been present in their vestments at the procession and the benediction, and remained until the end of the washing.

The gospel before the washing was said by the Cardinal Ascanio; during the washing the Master of the Household held the towels: the Lord Sinulfo bore the cloth with the towels, and the Lord Gaspar of the Chamber the cloth with the money. After the washing of the feet the Duke of Urbino held basins and water for washing the Pope's hands; everything else was carried out as usual. On the table were placed ready, two large vessels intended for show, but which I had taken away before the Pope came, although the official of the table was somewhat obdurate upon this point. They ought not to be placed there, since it is a Lenten office, and not one of solemn show.

On the same day, at the usual hour, there were said the matins in the said chapel, at which our Most Holy Lord was not present. The Most

¹ A lacuna is found here in all the MSS.

Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the chief penitentiary of the Pope, who was to perform the office on the morrow, at the end of the office, kneeling in his ordinary place, said the prayer, *Respice*; the rest was as usual.

During these past days there came to the city news of the death of Carolo, Duke of Savoy, of pious memory, who died in his twenty-third year, on the 13th of *March* last, leaving a daughter, his elder child, and Carolo Giovanni Amadeus, about seven months old, who succeeded to his dukedom and all his dominions.

On *Good Friday*, 9th *April*, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the chief penitentiary, performed the office in the larger chapel of the palace, the Pope being present. By the arrangement of the sacrist, the altar had a black frontal, which I did not have removed, because I came too late. The cantors, who sang the Passion, had all three black vestments: a concession which I had gained with great difficulty from the sacrist, who opposed all such wise arrangements. The Procurator of the Order of Minors preached the sermon.

The Pope, after the Adoration of the Cross, gave an offering of twenty-five ducats in gold, by the hands of Bernardino, the private chamberlain. The Lord Mauritio Cibò, the Pope's brother, adored, after the bishops, with the chief notaries assisting, of whom he had the first on his left. The celebrant did not come with the Pontiff to the small chapel with the Host, but gave the key of the casket to the Lord Aldello, my colleague. The Pope, standing in the larger chapel before the Host, placed incense in two censers: he censured the Host, then taking It from the hands of the Cardinal of Siena, first assistant, bore It to the larger chapel, where, before the altar the celebrant took It from the hands of the Pope and placed It upon the altar, and the Pope took incense and again censured It: everything else was carried out in the usual way. The offertory amounted to fifty-two ducats in gold, between the large ones and those in the chamber, and seven in small moneys or thereabouts. I had for my part three large ducats, five of the chamber and twenty-two earlins.

The Pope, at my suggestion, did not bless the people, either coming from the chamber or returning.

On the same day, at the usual time, were said the matins, at which our Most Holy Lord was present, with three priests of the palace and six cardinal-deacons, wearing a robe, the train of which was borne by the Archbishop of Arles, first assistant.

On *Holy Saturday*, 10th *April*, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-priest of Parma celebrated the office in the said chapel, the Pope being present; the cantors recited the prophecies. The Lord Girolamo Calagrano, apostolic sub-deacon, vested in the usual way, said, for the Pope, *Annuncio*, etc.; the celebrant said all three *Alleluias*, and at the *Magnificat* the celebrant censured the altar, was himself censured with the mitre, the Pope without mitre, and all the others in the usual way.

On the *Feast of Easter* of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, our Most Holy Lord celebrated the solemn office in the Basilica of the first of the Apostles of the city, to which he came in procession: the Lord Girolamo Calagrano said the epistle, and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Foix the gospel. While the epistle was being sung I gave a place, by command of our Most Holy Lord, among the assistant bishops to the Lord Giovanni Antonio, Lord Bishop of Alexandria, who, from that time, was received by them as an assistant. The epistle was said in Greek by Demetrius, and the gospel in Greek by the Bishop of Soano. The Lord

Girolamo Scotti, Cardinal of Siena, and the Lord Cardinal Ascanio stood by the altar on the side for the gospel, representing the angels at the sepulchre, for the preface of the Most Rev. Lord of Orsini, and for the epistle.

After the elevation of the Host by the Pontiff, by command of His Holiness the Veronica was shown to the people. His Holiness communicated all the cardinal-deacons, of whom there were seven, after them the Duke of Urbino and Lord Maurizio Cibò, the Pope's brother, then the chief notaries assisting, then any others who come, in the usual order.

The mass ended, the Pope, retaining his cloak, saw the Veronica, and went up in procession to the Place of the Public Benediction and gave plenary indulgences, which were announced by the Lord Deacon-cardinals of St. George in Latin, and of Colonna in the vulgar tongue.

Water for the Pope's hands was given during the mass: first, by the Lord Alfonso, ambassador of the King of Spain; secondly, by the Lord Robert, Imperial ambassador; thirdly, by the Duke of Sora; and fourthly, by the Duke of Urbino; the Most Rev. Lord Bishop of Porto, the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, assisting. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Monday in Easter Week, 12th April, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, the Pope being present: all the observances were as usual.

On Tuesday in Easter Week, 13th April, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aleria celebrated the solemn mass in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being present, with the usual ceremonies,

On Saturday in Easter Week, 17th April, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Bishop Vollenae, assistant to our most Holy Lord the Pope, and private referendary, celebrated the solemn mass in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being present; all the observances were as usual; this was his first mass, and he said it well.

On Monday, 19th April, the Illustrious Lord Guido, Duke of Urbino, left the city, escorted by the clergy and households of the Pope and cardinals outside the gate of the S. Maria del Popolo. In the name of the Lord. Amen.

On Sunday, 25th April, the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, the Rev. Father Cæsar, Lord Bishop of Amelia, celebrated the solemn mass in the Church of S. Marco della Citta; the Cardinal of S. Marco was present, but he had yesterday asked all the cardinals not to come, and accordingly none came, except that the Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia came and stayed till after the elevation of the Host; at the elevation they withdrew; only one prayer was said, without the commemoration of the day, and the Preface of the Apostles. After the epistle, there came the torch-bearers and guards, with a great wax candle, which they offered to the bishop who was celebrating, and then all withdrew; after them came a senator with conservators and Roman citizens, who all likewise withdrew when they had made the salutation to the Altar; when the communion had been received by the celebrant, the procession to the altar began. The mass ended, the celebrant gave the benediction without indulgences; he went to the sacristy, where he laid aside his sacred vestments, the procession meanwhile continuing its course.

On Thursday, 29th April, the Rev. Father Pietro Paolo, Lord Bishop of S. Agata, celebrated the public mass of the dead in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being present in scarlet cope and plain mitre. The celebrant, in the *Inclina Domine*, etc., used only the name *Matthie*, leaving out *regis* by a mistake; for which the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco afterwards

blamed me. The mass ended, the celebrant pronounced the absolutions, not the Pope, and said the last *Absolve* before the absolution.

Before our Most Holy Lord left his private apartments, he asked me whether he ought, after the mass, to pronounce the absolutions; I replied that, if he wished to be present at the mass, he ought. His Holiness replied to me that the Pontiff, according to his predecessor, ought to pronounce the absolutions; this was also the opinion of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals there present, who also said that for the mass of the dead the Pope ought to appear in robes, and not in cope. Both these particulars were observed in the mass for the soul of Matthias, King of Hungary, of pious memory.

Saturday, 1st May, the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James, upon which the Rev. Father the Lord Bishop of Sinigaglia celebrated the solemn mass in the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles of the city. Nineteen cardinals were present, and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli stood last, after all the cardinals, and received all the cardinals as they came outside the door of the basilica, except the Cardinals of Lisbon and Siena, who had come before him: the said Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli also had the *pax* from the chaplain assisting after all the cardinals. The mass ended I asked him whether I ought to ask indulgences from the cardinals: he replied that it was not necessary. The celebrant said only one prayer and the Preface of the Apostles. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Sunday, 9th May, were celebrated the nuptials of Orsi d'Orsini by the Most Rev. Lord the Vice-Chancellor, to which, in the name of the said cardinal and bridegroom, all the nobles enumerated below were invited. These I arranged to ride in the Roman fashion in honour of the bridegroom, in accordance with the knowledge and desire of the said cardinal, in the following order: First was the Lord Mauritio Cibó, brother of the Pope, riding between the captain of the Church, namely, the Lord Nicola, Count of Orsini, on his right, and Francesco Cibó, the Pope's son, on his left. I arranged them thus, but I ought to have placed the captain in the middle, the Lord Mauritio on the right, and the Lord Francesco on the left; but I did not do this, out of respect for the Lord Mauritio. After them, on the right, the ambassador of the king; on the left, the prior of the city, a kinsman of the bridegroom, between the first ambassador of the King of Spain on the right, and a knight, who was a kinsman of the bridegroom, on the left; then the second ambassador of the King of Spain on the right, Christoforo Buffalo on the left; then the ambassador of Venice on the right and of Milan on the left; then Montecroce, ambassador of Mantua, on the right, the Lord Domenico Auria, captain of the palace, on the left; then the Lord Gerado Usomare, depositary to the Pope, on the right, and Gratiano, a knight, chancellor of the Cardinal of Foix, on the left; after these, Romans of the households of the cardinals; but in spite of the given order aforesaid, they rode without any order.

On Tuesday, 13th May, by the Porta Vividarii there entered the city ambassadors of our Most Serene Emperor, Wilhelm of Bibra, knight, and Everard of Rabestein, canon of Bamberg, Christopher Sacchier Blitterzanch, doctor and knight: the last two, though they had been for several days in the city, were escorted none the less as if they had newly come, but they rode in the third and fourth places, leaving the two new-comers the places of honour: they were met by the household of the Pope, and those of such cardinals as were then in the city, the ambassadors of kings and princes, namely the ambassador of the King of France, the ambassadors of

the King of Spain, four ambassadors of the King of Naples, one of the Kingdom of Venice, one of the Duke of Milan, one of the Duke of Ferrara, one of the Marquis of Mantua, one of Albert, Duke of Bavaria. They rode in the following order: the Lord Wilhelm of Bibra between the Governor of the City on the right, and the Archbishop of Arles on the left; the Lord Everard between the Bishop of Cortona, one of the clergy of the palace, on the right, and the Bishop of Nemours, ambassador of the King of France, on the left; the Lord Robert between the Bishop of Tournai on the right, and the Bishop of Beja, first ambassador of the King of Spain, on the left; then a prelate of the palace on the right, and an ambassador of a king or prince on the left, until it came to the ambassador of the Marquis of Mantua, who rode on the right of the Archbishop of Mantua, and the ambassador of Duke Albert after him on the right of the Bishop of Ascoli, because there were no clergy of the palace left: after these rode other clergy two and two in the usual order as far as the house of the Germans behind the Campo dei Fiori, where the said Lord Wilhelm, the first ambassador, was entertained; then each returned to his home, but wrongly. There came also with the said ambassadors the Lord Nicola Hesulens, canon of Cologne, ambassador of the Rev. Lord Archbishop of Cologne: but he was not honoured as the other ambassadors, he himself not taking the necessary steps.

Yesterday, 12th May, I was with the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco to learn the opinion of His Rev. Lordship as to whether the ambassadors, whose names I have given, ought to be received and honoured in the usual way. His Lordship replied to me that he had seen in the time of Pope Nicolas V., of happy memory, when His Holiness summoned the ambassadors of the Kingdom of Venice and of the Duke of Milan to treat together for peace, that he sent, to meet these ambassadors, his own household and those of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals, outside the city, in the usual way: similarly when the said Pontiff Nicolas V. made a treaty with Alfonso, King of Sicily, for ten years, His Holiness summoned the ambassadors of the Italian powers for certain reasons: and when they came, he sent to meet them his own household, and those of the cardinals: he said he did not remember any other occasions, therefore it seemed to him that when the Pontiff did this for the aforesaid ambassadors and others, since it is equivalent to doing homage, they ought to be met; but in other cases, unless it is for doing homage, they ought not be met when they came; therefore it was arranged that they should be received in the fashion described above.

On Wednesday, 19th May, the Vigil of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, there were pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, the Pope being present and performing the office. When the cardinals had made the usual salutation to him there arose a contention between the ambassadors of the Kings of Naples and Scotland, and of Venice, Milan, and the Kingdom of Florence on the one hand, who said they ought not to be divided or separated from the ambassador of the Duke of Milan and the ambassadors of Otho, Albert, and George, Dukes of Bavaria, who stationed themselves above the Venetian ambassadors, whereat the Venetian and Florentine ambassadors straightway withdrew in wrath. The ambassadors of Ferdinand, King of Naples, and the King of Scotland, still persisted in the dispute, and by special command of the Pope I ordered them both to leave the chapel, which they also did immediately.

The vespers ended, His Holiness spoke with the cardinals, whom he called round him in a circle in the said chapel, upon the precedence of the

personages aforesaid: then he instructed me to notify to the ambassadors of the Kings of Scotland and Bavaria not to come to the chapel on the morrow, and to inform them that on the next Friday His Holiness would bring this question of precedence before the consistory, which he did the same evening, and also by special instruction of the Pope I informed the ambassador of the King of Scotland he was to come at Pentecost.

On Thursday, 20th May, the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, the Pope being present: there was no sermon. The Face of the Lord was exposed, by special instruction of the Pope, after the elevation of the Host, and after the mass; then the Pope went up to the Place of the Public Benediction, where, after the solemn benediction had been given, the Cardinal-deacons of St. George and Colonna announced to the people that plenary indulgences were granted by the Pope, the former in Latin. There were present at the office and benediction the ambassadors of King Ferdinand, of Venice, of Milan, and of Florence, and no others.

On Friday, 28th May, our Most Holy Lord, learning that the ambassador of the King of Naples was arming, to come to the vespers on the Vigil of Pentecost, and to take his place by armed force, he instructed me to report this to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Angers, Lisbon, S. Angelo, Siena, and the Vice-Chancellor, that they might consider what should be done in the matter, and with regard to our ambassadors on this question of precedence, and come to deliberate with His Holiness on the morrow, in the chamber, before the vespers; this I did.

Therefore on *Saturday, May 29th*, the Vigil of Pentecost, there was held in his chamber, in the presence of the Pontiff, a private meeting of the cardinals, from before eight till nine in the evening, and at length by the Pope's instructions given in the said meeting, the ambassadors of the King of Scotland and of the Dukes of Bavaria were asked by the Bishop of Tournai to withdraw for this evening, and to leave the other ambassadors undisturbed, because on the morrow the Pope would give them a place; but the ambassadors of Scotland and Bavaria refused altogether to accept this arrangement unless the other ambassadors withdrew with them, as was done, and they all withdrew, both citramontanes and ultramontanes, and they were all bidden to absent themselves from the chapel on the morrow, and this they all observed.

After ten o'clock the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals came to the larger chapel aforesaid, where the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers, who was to celebrate on the morrow, vested in the usual way, performed the office with all the customary observances.

On Sunday, 30th May, the Feast of Pentecost, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers celebrated the solemn mass, the Pope being absent. Before he took his vestments, he commissioned me to ask His Holiness on his behalf to permit that there should be no sermon, because, the cardinal said, he was suffering from colic, and therefore had taken medicine last night, and had not slept, and could not wait longer in the church. I explained this to our Most Holy Lord, and he replied that there must certainly be a sermon and if the cardinal could not wait otherwise until the end of the office, he was to take a repast before the mass, for which His Holiness granted him a dispensation. I returned this answer to the cardinal, but he replied that he would gladly have taken a repast had he known that the Pope would grant him a dispensation, but as he had now taken his vestments and was there in public, he could not, he thought,

fittingly take a meal, but he could not wait for the sermon; otherwise he would not celebrate, but rather lay aside his vestments: so he sent me once more to the Pontiff upon the aforesaid errand, and at length, when he had learned the facts, he decided that whether there should be a sermon or not must be left to the judgment of the cardinals, who decided that the sermon should be omitted. In the mass everything was carried out in the usual way; at the close the celebrant announced that indulgences for seven years and as many quarantines were granted by our Most Holy Lord.

I noted above that our Most Holy Lord had written to the princes to the effect that they should send their ambassadors to His Holiness, for the reason then stated, about which the facts are to be found above at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

There assembled then in the city the ambassadors of very many kings and princes, between many of whom a great controversy arose upon the question of precedence. Our Most Holy Lord therefore, wishing to begin business, on *Thursday, 3rd June*, had all the cardinals summoned to him in the palace, and first placed the matter before them in the consistory; and that there might be no dissension between the ambassadors at the consistory, His Holiness sent from the consistory, which was held in the pontifical hall, to the papal chamber, where the ambassadors had assembled, the Cardinals of Angers and Lisbon, who addressed them in the name of the Pontiff, and requested that the ultramontanes would take up their position on the right side of the Pontiff, and the citramontanes upon the left, according to the party to which they belonged, and that for this time they would be content; to which address the ambassadors themselves acquiesced. And that the contention between them might not be renewed when entering the consistory, the ultramontanes were admitted by way of the Pontiff's chamber and the citramontanes by the lobby on the right of the said chamber; and in order that the ultramontanes might not go in before them, the citramontanes, who had farther to go, walked quickly, and in this way they reached the hall of the said consistory, where the ultramontanes made their genuflection on the right, and the citramontanes on the left of the Pontiff. When they were assembled before him the Pontiff began to explain his motive in summoning them to the assembly; and after speaking he was silent, and then took up again the thread of his discourse (well, as I learned from a certain auditor, for I was not at the conclave myself), laying rather, before them all, the way by which the matter should be approached, than expounding his intentions in the tenour of his despatches to the princes.

The ambassadors replied that they had been summoned to hear the wishes of His Holiness and report them to their princes, for which they had been prepared, and had not any instructions to bring the matter to a head. The two ambassadors of the King and Queen of Spain, who had a place with us, along with the Lord Robert of Blitterzanch, the Imperial ambassador, told our Lord that His Holiness should give to each his own place, and not divide them into parties, but place them together in the usual way, otherwise they would not appear again in these assemblies; already the ambassadors have petitioned His Holiness to send them away with all speed, that they may return home before the summer heat; so the assembly was thus broken up, at which the ambassadors who had instructions presented them to those who had not seen them before.

On *Friday, 4th June*, our Most Holy Lord summoned me to him, and when I was alone with His Holiness in the private garden, instructed me that

when His Holiness came to the chapel to-morrow for the vespers, a place should be given upon the steps of His Holiness's throne to the ambassador of the King of Scots, after the Duke of Sora, and after him to the three ambassadors of the Dukes of Bavaria. I replied to His Holiness that it did not seem fitting to place clergy in the place for laymen upon the throne of His Holiness, when another contention might arise between the said duke and the conservators of the city, to whom these ambassadors would not give place; further, to Johann, Duke of Bavaria; of the Diocese of Strasburg, of pious memory, once in the city, as to Philip, Duke of Cleves, and Jacob, Marquis of Baden, now in the city, a place had not been given upon the said steps and throne, because they were for the clergy. His Holiness replied to me that, precedents notwithstanding, I must give a place upon the throne to the said ambassadors, as he instructed above, and thus it must be done to avoid dissension, and that His Holiness had determined to decree that henceforth no ambassador should come to the chapel unless summoned, and to renew the Bull of Pope Pius II., of happy memory, in which it is set forth that, after six months, ambassadors are to be considered as procurators, not ambassadors.

I assented to the wishes of His Holiness and sought and obtained permission to return home to deal with money matters after the Feasts of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and to remain only until the next Feast of All Saints.

On Saturday, 5th June, the Vigil of the Trinity, our Most Holy Lord said to me in the papal chamber, while taking his vestments, that for the future, at the vespers of this day there would be no commemoration of the day, as there had been previously in his time, for the solemnity of the Feast, and instructed me to notify the contending ultramontane ambassadors not to come to the chapel this evening for the vespers, nor to-morrow for the mass, because these days were granted to the citramontanes, and they were to keep away from the chapel for the vespers and the mass of the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, and the ultramontanes were to come then, as was done; and the Pope then came to the said chapel to vespers, and performed the office with all the usual observances.

On Sunday, 6th June, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the Cardinal of Parma celebrated the solemn mass in the aforesaid chapel; the Pope being present; he recited only one prayer, and the rest was as usual. There was no sermon, although notice had been given that the Archbishop of Patras would preach, but he did not come to the chapel. This morning, before our Most Holy Lord came to the chapel, while he was taking his vestments, he told me that it rested with the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of St. George, the chamberlain, to arrange the procession for the day of *Corpus Christi* at eleven o'clock, in which the officials were to walk in the order observed in the last two years, and that, by the foresters of the cardinals, branches of vines were to be strewn on the piazza by the Cardinal of S. Pietro, by S. Marco near S. Martinello, by the Cardinal of Benevento near S. Catarina; to the other cardinals the piazza was to be divided in lengths from S. Catarina to the Castello di S. Angelo, so that each might adorn his own part for the procession on the day aforesaid.

Yesterday evening, at the vespers, by the commission of our Most Holy Lord, there was received as Master of the Sacred Palace and assigned to that post, Messer Paolo of Jaen, of the Order of Preachers, in the place of Messer Marco, who yesterday in private consistory was set over the Diocese of Teano, whereas Alfonso, son of the King Ferdinand, elected to Teano

from the Diocese of Reggio in Naples, to which he was transferred in the said consistory, the rule and administration of the said Diocese of Reggio was entrusted to the same Messer Marco.

On Wednesday, 9th June, the Vigil of *Corpus Christi*, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel aforesaid, and performed the vespers office in the usual way; in which, by command of His Holiness, given to me at the instance of the Cardinal of Naples, I gave a place in the chapel to. . . .¹

1491.—During these last days (of August) it was decreed in a consistory that the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Angers should be sent as legate to the Marquisate of Ancona. There had been much previous negotiation with people of a fort called Offida, in the marquisate. The Most Rev. Cardinal of Angers left the city, escorted by his household, on *Monday, August 8th*, about the hour of vespers, to go to the said province upon his mission as legate to make peace.²

On Monday, 8th August, the Rev. Father Pietro, Lord Bishop of S. Agata, in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace, celebrated the mass for the soul of Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory. The Pope was present, vested in plain red cope over the amice. The mass ended, the Pope pronounced the absolutions in the usual way. There were present only seven of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals—namely, Naples, S. Clemente, Benevento, Aleria, S. Anastasia, the Chamberlain, and Ascanio. None of the apostolic sub-deacons were present, and the sub-deacons who bear the cross were absent. Therefore I arranged that, when the Pope went to the church, the chief of the Venetians, chief notary of the Apostolic See, should bear the cross, and rightly, before him, which he did as far as the said chapel, where it seemed better to the Lord Falco, the chief notary and the general treasurer, in the absence of sub-deacons, to turn to one of the auditors of the Court rather than to the chief notary; and although we have never been in the habit of filling vacancies with inferior or lesser persons, but with greater, yet, rather to please him than for any other reason, I arranged that the Lord Francesco Brevio, first auditor to the Court, then present in the chapel, should carry the cross before the Pontiff, on his return to the chamber; as he did.

On Monday, 15th August, about three in the afternoon, there died the Lord Johann Montor, dean of Baden and senior canon of St. Peter's, of the Diocese of Strasburg, who was taken ill on the 4th instant, and was buried on the night of the 15th or at dawn, in the Church of the Hospital of the Germans, in the city. May he rest in peace!

On Thursday, 18th August, about eight in the evening, the body of the Lord Jean, Bishop of Tournai,³ master of the household of the Apostolic

¹ Burchard had obtained four months leave from the Pope, from 29th June to 1st November, to go to his native land. I do not know why his Diary contains a *lacuna* of fourteen months from *Wednesday, 9th June* 1490, to *Monday, 8th August* 1491, inclusive, a *lacuna* found in all MSS. *Codice Vaticano non excepto* (Burch. Diar., p. 145, No. 2 of Gennarelli). See the remark made by M. de Bréquigny in the *Notices et Extraits*, etc., t. i., p. 96.

² Infessura (in *Eccard*), t. ii., col. 2001.

³ Jean Mouissart was consecrated Bishop of Tournai, at Rome, on 28th March 1486. But the King of France, under whose authority this diocese lay, would never recognize him (see, in the Appendix, No. 35, in the "Instruction de Charles VIII. à ses ambassadeurs," the paragraphs relating to the Bishopric of Tournai), and prevented his taking possession of his church, which he had bestowed upon Louis Pot, in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction. See de Bréquigny, *Notices et Extraits*, etc., t. i., p. 83; and in Martène, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, 1717, t. ii., col. 1760, the speech made before the Pope

Palace, of pious memory, was borne from the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter through the principal gateway by the friars of the Convent of S. Maria del Popolo.

He was taken ill on Monday, the 8th inst., and died about six in the morning of the 12th inst. The body was escorted by the clergy of the palace and the households of the cardinals and by the Bishop of Beja, ambassador of the King of Spain, who followed on horseback. Before leaving, I advised the clergy of the palace as to the proper order, namely, that the clergy should precede those who were their seniors in promotion, because they were not there on behalf of the Pontiff, but to bury their colleague. However, it did not please them to observe this, for they asserted that they had always observed the contrary.

Therefore they rode immediately after the body, the Archbishop of Arles, one of the clergy of the palace, on the right, and the Bishop of Beja, ambassador of the King of Spain, on the left; then the other clergy of the palace, two and two, and after them the rest of the clergy in the same order. The executors of the will were: the Bishops of S. Agata and Urbino. Before the body there walked the friars of the Convents of Araceli, Minerva, S. Maria del Popolo, S. Crisogono and S. Maria Transpontina and the beneficiaries and other clerks of the Basilica of the chief of the Apostles of the city: about four canons of the same church came without their robes and not in procession, and the quaestors as far as the Church of S. Maria del Popolo; when they reached it they took surplices and accompanied the body of the deceased when it entered the church, taking their proper place. Forty torches were borne before the body by twenty members of the palace household: the members of the household of the deceased did not accompany the body because their mourning garments had not yet been arranged. At the door of the church candles were distributed to the monks in the usual way; and all the other observances were as usual.

On Sunday, 21st August, about the hour of vespers, the body of the Lord Pietro Altissense was carried for burial to the Church of S. Maria della Paçe of the city by the members of the Society of the Saviour. It was escorted by officials, secretaries, apostolic writers, abbreviators and solicitators of Apostolic Letters, collectors of lead, and writers of the Register of Bulls (for the deceased was himself secretary, apostolic writer, abbreviator *de prima visione*, solicitator of Apostolic Letters, collector of lead, and master of the Register of Bulls, and all these six offices were left vacant by his death), and by the household of certain cardinals. The apostolic

by the ambassador of Maximilian and the Archduke Philip, on the Bishopric of Tournai (without date), the reply of Innocent VIII., col. 1765 (19th May 1492), and the letter of the cardinals on the same subject, col. 1767 (20th May 1492).

Monissart was buried in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo. On his tomb is placed the following inscription:—

JOHANNI MONISSART,
PHILIPPI ET CAROLI DUCUM BURGUNDIAE,
CONSILIARIO,
EPISCOPO TORNACENSI,
SIXTI IV. ET INNOCENTII VIII. ROM. PONTIF.
MAGISTRO DOMUS,
FIDE ET MAGNIS MERITIS INSIGNI.
DESIGNATO ETIAM IN HISPAN.
PRO CAUSA FIDEI LEGATO
EX TESTAMENTO
OBIIT ANNO SALUTIS MCCCXCII.
DIE XII. AUGUSTI.

(Landucci, *Orig. del Temp. di S. Maria del Popolo*, giorn 4, p. 191.)

writers would not put their hands to the bier as they had been used to do, saying that it was not fitting after the members of the Society of the Saviour had borne it. Two books were placed at his feet, and one at his head because he was a doctor; he had a folded hood as secretary over a mantle of violet. Forty torches preceded the body, and it was followed by eleven mourners, ten of whom were members of the household; the eleventh was his nephew, who walked between the two first clerical secretaries; all went on foot. There were present the friars of the Convents of St. Augustine, Araceli, and S. Maria sopra Minerva, and the principal priests of the clergy of the city, to all of whom candles were distributed in the usual way outside the door of the church.

On Saturday, 27th August, there were celebrated the obsequies of Jean, Bishop of Tournai, of pious memory, in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo. The Rev. Father Pietro Paolo, Lord Bishop of S. Agata, celebrated the mass; after the mass the Friar Bartolommeo of Viterbo, of the Order of Preachers, preached the sermon, to his great credit. In the prayer of the mass the bishop expressed the name of the deceased, contrary to custom and to my instructions, because it is not usual to express the name in the obsequies of those of lower rank than cardinals. After the mass and the sermon the Rev. Fathers in Christ the Lord Archbishop of Arles, and Giovanni, Lord Archbishop of Ragusa, and the Lord Bishops of Cortona and S. Agata pronounced the absolutions in the usual way. There were present the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope and certain cardinals. Twenty torches were placed beside the bier, and two beside the tomb; for the elevation of the Host of the High Mass four torches were given; for the small or low masses which were said to-day four torches were given; for the celebrant one, and for the preacher one. To the clergy were given torches of one pound, to the chamberlains of half-a-pound, and to the squires of four ounces. He was buried in the chapel behind the high altar to the left of the Cardinal of Tournai, his predecessor, as he had instructed in his will; there were sixteen mourners. *On Friday, 19th August*, the Bishopric of Tournai, left vacant by the death of the said Jean, was granted by our Most Holy Lord the Pope, in private consistory, to the Most Rev. Lord Antonio, cardinal-priest with the title of S. Anastasia. In the aforesaid obsequies in the Church of S. Maria del Polpolo the clergy of the palace had the first place, and no one gainsaid them, although they ought not properly to have had it for the reason aforesaid given by me on the day of his death.

On Monday, 29th August, the Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the anniversary of the Assumption by our Most Holy Lord Pope Innocent VIII. of the Pontificate, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aleria celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace of St. Peter. The Pope was present, and on his right hand stood the Cardinal Savelli, the only deacon, and on his left the Cardinal of S. Anastasia, the junior priest of the cardinals, who at the due time removed the Pope's mitre, through a mistake on our part; he should not have done this, for the Cardinal Savelli ought to have removed it, and could have done so. There were present five other cardinals, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinals of Naples, Lisbon, Conza, and Benevento. The Pope came for the genuflection before the verse, *Alleluia*; the cantors recited the Prose, and the rest was as usual.

On Monday, 5th September, the Rev. Father Gabriel, Lord Bishop of Ajaccio, celebrated the solemn public mass at Rome, in the Church of the Blessed Maria, for the obsequies of the late Lord Pietro Altissense. He

said the prayer, *Deus, qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes famulum tuum sacerdotali fecisti dignitate*, etc., because he was a priest, although he never celebrated mass. Friar Bartolommeo of Viterbo, of the Order of Preachers, preached the sermon, without great credit. There were present the Bishop of Astorga, ambassador of the King of Spain; Giovanni, Bishop of Ragusa; Giovanni, Bishop of Alexandria; and a few other prelates, secretaries, and apostolic writers, and a very few abbreviators. Candles of one pound were distributed to all and each of these in accordance with the wish and command of the Lord Guglielmo of Perrero, auditor and executor. There were fourteen mourners; thirty torches were placed around the bier, two were given for the elevation of the Host and the burial, two for the celebrant and the preacher. He was buried before the altar of S. Sebastiano in the said Church of the Blessed Maria.

On Sunday, 11th September, about eight in the evening, the body of Alfonso, Bishop of Pampeluna, of pious memory, was borne from his residence by the members of the Society of the Saviour to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, and was buried there in the chapel, behind the high altar, on the left of the entrance, next the wall and the tomb of the late Urbano, Bishop of Friuli. The body was escorted by the households of the cardinals, many clergy, and the friars of the Convents of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, S. Augustino, Araçeli, and S. Domenico sopra Minerva, and by forty torches, borne by certain members of the households. The household of the deceased remained at home; the household of the Cardinal of Lisbon, except the clergy, followed the corpse on foot, and all the clergy followed them on foot. His two bishop's hats were placed on the bier at the feet of the deceased by my colleague, Giovanni Maria. He fell ill on the previous Sunday, the 4th inst., and breathed his last about the second or third hour of last night. May he rest in peace! His illness was not understood by any of the many doctors who visited him; he had never, as his relations assert, been ill before. Two candles were distributed to each of the clergy by my colleague, before the house, and at the crossways, where the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo first comes in sight; the other observances were as usual.

On Monday, 12th September, the Anniversary of the Coronation of our Most Holy Lord Pope Innocent VIII., the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the solemn mass, the Pope being absent; when it had begun, by permission of the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples and Savelli, who were then present, the three cardinals aforesaid were summoned to our Most Holy Lord, who was ill in bed, before the *Gloria in excelsis* was begun. There His Holiness, in the presence of the aforesaid cardinals, with the Cardinals of Lisbon, Conza, Aleria, and Anastasia, provided for the See of Pampeluna the Lord Cæsar Borgia, chief notary of the Apostolic See, then seventeen¹ years of age, and studying at Pisa, the son of the said Vice-Chancellor. He was made administrator until he reached the age of twenty-seven, and then bishop and pastor. After this the seven cardinals aforesaid returned to the mass while the gospel was being said, and remained till the end; the Prose was said and the rest as usual.

¹ The age which Burchard here gives to Cæsar Borgia, whose birth would consequently be in the year 1474, has done away with some objections. Gregorovius (*Lucretia Borgia*, translated into French by P. Regnaud, Paris, 1876, t. i., p. 40), who has neglected the witness of Burchard, relies upon several contemporary despatches (t. ii., p. 364), and places Cæsar's birth in April 1476. M. de l'Épinois has pointed out the difficulties presented by these two dates. See *Revue des questions historiques*, 1881, "Le Pape Alexandre VI.," p. 372.

On Friday, the 9th inst., in private consistory, provision was made by our Most Holy Lord for the Church of Constance, then destitute of a pastor, through the death of the Lord Otho of Stumberg, of pious memory, in the person of the Rev. Father and Lord, Thomas Cilia, provost of the said church. He was desired by the chapter of the church, and the provostship was reserved to him for life, to be held together with the church. *On the same day*, and at the same consistory, our Most Holy Lord also made provision for the Church of Coire, then left vacant by the death of the Lord Ottherio of Brande, in the person of the Rev. Father and Lord, Heinrich of Herson, canon of the same church, custodian and canon of Strasburg and dean and canon of the churches of Constance; he was elected to the said Church of Coire by the chapter. When the consistory was over our Most Holy Lord fell ill, and the following night was prostrated with fever. The Lord Bishop-elect of Constance had his mitre made on the following day—the 10th—and began to wear the rochet, and after luncheon he visited, first, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia, his patron, and then the Cardinal of Benevento. He could not visit our Most Holy Lord because of his illness; he paid these visits in a cloak, not in a robe, because this seemed best to the Cardinal of S. Anastasia, his patron. He visited our Most Holy Lord on *Monday, the 12th inst.*, before the hour of the mass, as he lay in bed, and obtained from him permission for the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon to consecrate him. Then the said Lord Bishop-elect came to the chapel in the usual pontifical robe, in which he took the place of the Emperor's ambassador.

On Sunday, 18th of last September, the Rev. Father Gabriel, Lord Bishop of Ajaccio, consecrated the Church of S. Juliano of the Hospital of Flanders in the city. It had three altars: the high altar, in honour of S. Juliano, in which he laid the relics of St. Gregory the Pope and the Virgin S. Praxede; another on the left of the entrance in honour of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in which he laid the relics of St. Urban, Pope and martyr, and of St. Agnes; the third, opposite the second, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in which he laid the relics of the priests St. Valentine and S. Hermolao. I was present and assisted, and in this consecration he carried out all the ceremony in accordance with the Pontifical; the consecration ended, he celebrated the solemn mass of the consecration as is ordained in the Pontifical. Our Most Holy Lord granted a plenary indulgence to all those who visited the church on that day, the indulgence to last until sunset on that day, in the usual form of the Church.

On Thursday, 22nd September, in the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, the Rev. Father Gabriele, Lord Bishop of Ajaccio, celebrated the public mass for the obsequies of Alfonso, Bishop of Pampeluna, of pious memory, in the presence of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon and many clergy and members of the cardinals' households. The mourners were thirty in number: twenty torches were placed round the bier, ten on either side, four round the tomb, in accordance with the desire of the cardinal aforesaid: four were given for the elevation of the Host, one to the cardinal-celebrant, and one to Francesco Bartolommeo of the Order of Preachers, who preached the sermon. Torches of two pounds were given to the clergy and the mourners: there were one hundred and twenty of these torches, and one hundred of one pound and half-a-pound, and small candles in sufficient number. The seats for the clergy were placed on the right side of the altar, the side for the gospel, between the altar and the tomb of the Archbishop of Salerno, at the desire of the aforesaid cardinal. He himself sat on a low seat placed in the corner by the altar, on the left of

the entrance to the sacristy; it was made ready for him before the altar by the wall, and he had before him a low desk, at which he knelt at the proper time; he was wearing his cardinal's robe, and his household stood on his left hand. The pulpit for the preacher stood next the column before the high altar, on the side for the gospel, where it had stood before in a like office. The sermon ended, the Rev. Father Nicolai, Lord Archbishop of Douzy, and Angelo of Venafro, Pietro of Barcelona, and Bernardino of Viesti,¹ bishops, pronounced the absolutions, together with the celebrant, in the usual way.

On Friday, 7th October, there reached the city the sure news that the Bishop of Praeneste, of the Holy Roman Church, commonly called Cardinal of Angers, legate to the Marquisate of Ancona, died about two o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 5th inst.; may his soul rest in peace! The said cardinal died at his legation, the Castle of Ripetransona, in the Marquisate of Ancona.²

On Sunday, 9th October, there was celebrated the marriage of the Lord Pietro Paolo de Cesarini, son of the Lord Gabriel de Cesarini, who took to wife the daughter of the Noble Lord Bruno of Conza, Ballarda by name. There were invited in her honour the Lord Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son; the Venetian ambassador; Stefano of Taberna, ambassador of Milan; the Lord Pietro Alemano, ambassador of Florence; the Lord Gerardo Usomare, the depositary, who had married the Pope's daughter; the Lord Domenico Auria, captain of the gate of the Pope's palace; the Lord Paris Pinello, cousin of the Pope; and the Lord Guglielmo Cibò, private chamberlain; who rode in the above order, each of the nine having a relation of the bridegroom on his left, to do honour to the bride.

On Monday, 10th October, the Most Rev. Lord Giorgio, senior cardinal-priest with the title of S. Maria in Trastevere, was appointed to the Diocese of Albano, by the transfer of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Angelo from there to Praeneste, which was left by the death of the Cardinal of Angers, of pious memory, without a pastor, which transfer was effected today in private consistory. The Most Rev. Lord Giorgio thus became a cardinal-bishop, and at the close of the consistory he was escorted in the usual way, by all the cardinals, to his palace hard by the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, riding between the Lord Cardinal-deacons in the last place. When he had thanked them in the usual way, and they had withdrawn, he went into the house. The cardinals escorting him were: The Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and S. Angelo, bishops; Genoa, Conza, Parma, Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia, priests; Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, and St. George, cardinal-deacons.

On Saturday, 15th October, in the Church of the English Hospital, were celebrated the obsequies of the late Lord David Villano, archdeacon of Mens, ambassador of His Highness Henry, King of England, to our Most Holy Lord, who died recently at the Roman Court. He was buried in the Church of S. Crisogono in Trastevere.

The public mass was celebrated by the Rev. Father Gabriele, Bishop of

¹ In the Capitinate (Kingdom of Naples). Ughelli calls him Bernardus, t. vii., col. 867.

² Jean de la Balue was one of the most despicable men of his time. See the Biographies of the Cardinals: *Card. Papiensis Epist. et Comment*, 1506, Book II.; the *Mémoires de Comines, passim*, 4 vols. in 4to, 1747; the remarks of Godefroy, Note C, in the proofs of these Memoirs, t. ii., p. 624; the Hermit of Soliers, *le Cabinet du Roy Louis XI.*, the same vol., p. 231; and the narrative of the embassy of Guillaume Cousinot to Pope Paul III., touching the process of J. Balue, by Gaillard, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits du Roy*, t. iv., p. 9.

Ajaccio; the oration or sermon after the mass was given by Pindaro Romano, who wore his cape, in the manner of our chapel. There were nine mourners; two torches round the bier, four for the elevation of the Host, and two for the celebrant and the preacher. There were present at the obsequies the Pope's household, which came at the close of the mass; the Bishop of Constance, the Imperial ambassador; the Bishop of Tricot, ambassador of the Duke of Brittany; the Lord Giovanni Gerona, clerk of the Chamber; the Lord Coronato di Pianca and the Lord Francesco d'Anania, consistorial advocates. Tapers of a pound weight were given to the clergy and mourners, and of half-a-pound and three ounces to the others.

On Tuesday, 18th October, before luncheon, about three o'clock, by the gate of S. Maria del Popolo, the body of Giovanni, Bishop of Praeneste, Cardinal of the Marquisate of Ancona, was borne to the Church of S. Praxede, where it was laid, to be buried in the same church, in a chapel to be built for it. The squires and chaplains of the household of the deceased bore the body on foot, and five-and-twenty grooms carried lighted torches. This was done without any clergy, except only from Monte Maria Maggiore, where, as the body was borne up the hill, the beneficiaries of the church met it, and escorted it to the Church of S. Praxede.

All this was done without our arrangement, at the pleasure of the priest, Giovanni di Castello, rector of the parochial church (among the servants of the Lord Cardinal's household), who was deputed to provide the tapers to be dispensed at the obsequies, because half of the tapers to be dispensed at the burying of the Lord Cardinal were available. So not only did he arrange matters for his own advantage, but he had them left at the said Church of S. Praxede with twelve torches, as some of the household told me afterwards; all the rest he carried off. It was arranged that the body should be left the whole day through in the Church of S. Maria del Popolo, and then at nightfall, preceded by some of the household and ten torches, and escorted by his household, should be borne by torch-bearers, unless any members of the household should wish to bear the body, to the Church of S. Praxede. The cardinal died without making a will, and therefore all his possessions of all kinds were presented to our Most Holy Lord. They amounted, as was commonly reported, to one hundred thousand ducats, of which thirty-six or forty thousand were in money, the rest in silver, books, precious stones, cloth of rascia, and other kinds. Our Most Holy Lord deputed their Rev. Lordships Nicolas, Archbishop of Arles; Giovanni Pietro, Bishop of Urbino; Falco of Sinibaldi, chief notary of the Apostolic See and general treasurer to His Holiness; and Giacomo of Volterra, secretary to His Holiness, to take charge of the arrangements for the obsequies of the said cardinal.

On Monday, the last day of October, the Vigil of All Saints, the day for the change of capes, there were the pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, at which our Most Holy Lord was present in white vestments, and performed the office.

On the following day, the Feast of All Saints, there was the solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia, the Pope being present. The Lord Bartolommeo of Aliprandi, a doctor, once vicar of the Bishopric of Papa, preached the sermon. All the other observances were as usual. *On the same day*, about nine in the evening, in the larger chapel aforesaid, were said the Vespers and Matins of the Dead. The Pope was absent, and the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, chief penitentiary, vested in amice, alb, girdle, pectoral cross, stole and cope of black, with plain mitre,

without pectoral, performed the office in the usual way at the fald-stool, made ready in its accustomed place near the altar. Between the vespers and the matins the cantors, at my suggestion, groaned slightly, the aforesaid cardinal sitting meanwhile at the fald-stool. When he rose and had laid aside his mitre, before he said the *Pater noster*, the cantors began the *Invitatorium*, *Regem*, etc.; the observances were as usual.

On Wednesday, 2nd November, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, violet stole, plain red cope and mitre of pearls, came to the aforesaid chapel, where the same cardinal celebrated the public mass. When it was ended, our Most Holy Lord pronounced the absolutions, and all the rest of the office was as usual. The two acolytes, holding the censer and the vessel of holy water, wore surplices. The others, who held the two candlesticks when the Pope pronounced the absolutions, were in their capes.

On Thursday, 3rd November, instructed by the Rev. Father and Lord Falco of Sinibaldi, treasurer-general to the Pope and commissary of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers, I gave to the heralds, Fernando del Pollo, taking it from Giovanni Anbla, the notice of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers, to be made known to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, as to the beginning of the said obsequies, the notice being to the following effect:

By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, let it be known to all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, also to the ambassadors, auditors of the Court, and the clergy of the Roman Court, and of the household of His Holiness, that to-morrow, the 4th inst., will be the first day of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers, in the Church of S. Praxede, at about three in the afternoon. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon will celebrate the mass; the Lord Domenico Crispo, squire of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aleria, will deliver the oration.

Notice that during the past few days their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, and the other cardinal-bishops, Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria in Portico, S. Angelo, and Lisbon, were often asked by the Lord Treasurer, the commissary aforesaid, and by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, by the sacrist of our chapel, to arrange among themselves which of them would celebrate the first and which the ninth or last mass of the obsequies of the late Cardinal of Angers. None of them wished to put himself forward in the matter, but each in turn declined to celebrate the mass. At length this morning the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Lisbon, when asked by our Most Holy Lord in person, agreed that he should celebrate the first mass.

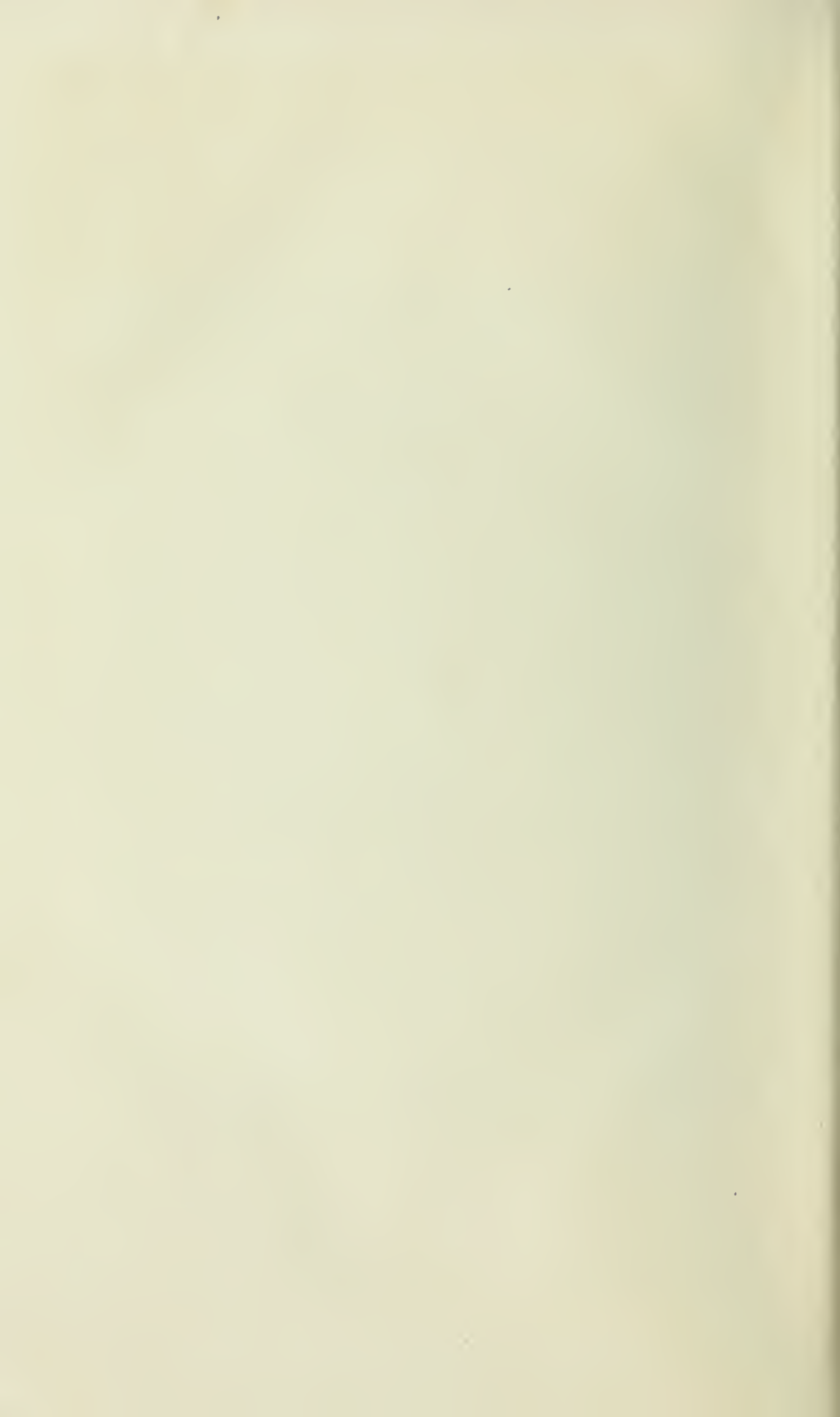
Friday, 4th November, was the first day of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers of pious memory, in the Church of S. Praxede in the city. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon came about four o'clock to the church, where all were vested in the usual way, and he took his vestments and celebrated the mass in the customary manner. The mass ended, the Lord Domenico Crispo of Pistoia, squire of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria, delivered an oration which was generally commended. After this, their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, and S. Angelo, the cardinal-bishops, pronounced the absolutions with the celebrant. There were also present at the office the Cardinals of S. Clemente, Genoa, Conza, Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia, priests; and St. George, Savelli, and Ascanio, deacons. The cardinal-bishops and priests sat on the gospel side, because at the end of the mural bench I had had placed a wooden bench of the same height, reaching to the steps of the presbytery, which was occupied alongside the bishops by the deacons.



DJEM SULTAN, STANDING BY THE STEPS OF THE THRONE.

FRESCO IN THE BORGIA APARTMENTS (VATICAN). TRIAL OF ST. CATHERINE. PINTURICCHIO.

Facing page 301.



The celebrant sat at the fald-stool facing the cardinal and back to the people, as we arrange it in the choir of the Basilica of St. Peter. At the end of the bench for the cardinal-bishops and priests, below the steps of the presbytery, was placed the pulpit for the preacher. The choir was shut in on all sides by planks of wood, except the principal entrance and the corner where was the pulpit for the preacher. In the choir, besides the ordinary seats on either side, there were added stalls two deep, running the length of the choir, on which sat the clergy; on the ordinary seats to the right of the entrance sat the clergy of the palace, and on the left the clerical ambassadors facing the altar. The clerical ambassadors had a bench behind the stalls of the cardinal-deacons, where they were stationed. The Pope's chamberlains did not have seats on account of the lack of space, and they were annoyed at this and all withdrew.

The coffin was placed in the centre of the church; it was thirty-one palms long between the columns, thirty-two palms wide (for I measured it, allowing for the thickness of them), and thirteen palms high up to the crossway beams, and these were well proportioned parts, but the lid was very low and out of keeping, for it was only about five or six palms high, and it might well have been ten or twelve. Stalls for the mourners were placed on three sides of the coffin, and on the side nearest the door they were placed across four deep. Above the pillars at the end of the presbytery or choir, there was laid a beam placed across them, and on it were set nine sockets for torches, and pieces of wood were put under, so that the wax could not drop down and annoy the clergy below. Above the principal entrance to the church were placed the same number of sockets, and on either side twenty-five. Beneath the coffin was a bier thirteen palms long, nine wide and five high, proportioned to the coffin; but the pall which was thrown over it, although it was of five pieces of gold brocade, was all too small, for at the sides and the ends it was almost two palms from the ground. Beside the coffin, on either side, were placed rests for forty torches, twenty for each side, the canvas, with the arms belonging to the deceased, painted so that as they hung from a cord they served for the two chapels. All around the church, and also on the tribune of the cardinals' choir and below the crossway beam over the presbytery, they were hung two together, one facing the church and one the cardinals' choir, and around the high altar above the pillars and within around the chapel of the pillar of Christ.

The number of coats-of-arms painted on canvas was, including those round the church and the tribune of the choir, two hundred and ninety-four, sixteen of which were painted on canvas of S. Gallo, all the rest on coarse canvas; below the crossbeam over the presbytery were fifty-three coats-of-arms; around and over the coffin on a coarse ground seventy; over the pillars of the high altar and around it, on half-canvas of S. Gallo, thirty-six; within the chapel of the pillar of Christ, on half-canvas of S. Gallo, forty-two. Arms painted on parchment were fixed up in the church, and outside on the walls and the piazza, to the number of three hundred, as the painters reckoned them, for I did not count the *sedalia*, but only the paintings on canvas. The number of the mourners was about one hundred and sixty, the chief of whom was the Abbot-General, known as the Master of the Household; after them the two nephews of the deceased cardinal, clerks having no rank. It was arranged that on the first day all the priests who came should celebrate, likewise on the last; and on each of the days between forty priests; but it was wrongly observed.

A former priest, Giovanni of Castello, was deputed to arrange the masses, and it was arranged that he should give one Florentine grosso to

each celebrant. He was also deputed to keep an account of the waxen tapers and dispense them, and he and his principal allies carried them off with great diligence. On the first day there were placed on either side of the church twenty-five torches, above the door eight, the middle one being left out, and on the beam across the presbytery, three being left out for the going in and out; above the coffin nine, and round it thirty-two, sixteen on either side; two around the resting-place or tomb, and about nine candles of five ounces over the coffin, as the said priest Giovanni reported to me. All the torches were of about four pounds weight. There were eight for the elevation of the Host and one for each cardinal. All the other observances were as usual. I drew up a list for the keeper of the waxen tapers, for the first day of the obsequies, to the following effect:—¹

To keep the waxen lights a corner room was set apart in the cloisters of the monastery, opposite the refectory, for each of the seven days of the novena, also for Sunday and the Dedication of the Basilica of S. Salvatore, and the Feast of the Bishop S. Martino. The Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Josoue, Bishop of Ascoli, celebrated the public mass and pronounced the absolutions after it. On these days there were about one hundred or one hundred and ten mourners present and no clergy.

On Friday, 11th November, the Feast of St. Martin the Bishop, there entered the city by the Porta Vindarii, after midnight, although the heralds had proclaimed the entry for eight in the evening, the ambassadors of the King of France. These were the Rev. Father and Lord Bishop of Lombez, the abbot of the Monastery of St. Denis in Paris; Antony, abbot of the Monastery of S. Antonio in Vienna; Pierre, prior of Auvergne; Charles of Alt-Besce of the French Parliament; Benedict Adam, also of the Parliament; Antoine Deseurs, archdeacon of Mâcon; Jean Brissonet; Jean de Candide; Jean de Lienans, dean of Pisoque; and Guillaume Bougier, royal secretary, with about one hundred and fifty persons in their train. They were received by the households of the Pope and those cardinals who were in the city, in the usual way, and escorted to the house of Flisco, where the first ambassador, the bishop, desired to lodge. The households of the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Benevento rode a long way beyond Monte Mario, while the others went to the usual places. The Bishop of Lombez, the first ambassador, rode between Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, who would have it so, on his right, and the Governor of the City on his left; the Abbot of S. Antonio (with whom the Prior of Auvergne concluded for the precedence, because the latter had had himself put before the abbot in the royal letters) rode between the prior on his right and the Archbishop of Arles on his left; the fourth ambassador between the Bishop-elect of Thebes and Angers on his right, and the Archbishop of Constance, the Imperial ambassador, on his left; the fifth between the Archbishop of Ragusa on the right, and the Bishop of Beja, the ambassador of the King of Spain, on the left; the sixth between the Bishop of Astorga on the right and another ambassador of the King of Spain on the left; the seventh between the Bishop of Cortona on the right and the Venetian ambassador on the left; the eighth between the Bishop of Volterra on the right of the Bishop of Torda, ambassador of the Duke of Milan, on the left; the ninth between the Bishop of Cervia on the right and the Florentine ambassador

¹ Here follows a long list of the number and weight of the tapers to be given to the various persons present at the obsequies. It is omitted as being of little general interest.

on the left. The other clergy followed next, two and two, and then the chamberlains and others in the usual way; with the last of the palace clergy there rode the Lord Mattio Cibò, the apostolic sub-deacon and nephew of the Pope, contrary to my wish, and not without the collusion of many.

On the same morning I sent to the heralds, by commission of their Lordships the Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Urbino and Falco, the treasurer and commissary of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers, of pious memory, by the hand of Giovanni Aubla, the notice appended below, that they might give notice to that effect:—

“By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope let it be known to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals, the ambassadors and clergy of the Roman Court, and of the household of His Holiness, that to-morrow, the 12th inst., will be the last day of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers, of pious memory, in the Church of S. Praxede, at about three o'clock in the afternoon: the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento will celebrate the mass.”

On Saturday, 12th November, in the Church of S. Praxede, there was the last day of the obsequies of the Cardinal of Angers, of pious memory. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the public mass and after it pronounced the absolutions, and with him their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals the Vice-Chancellor and Lisbon, bishops, and S. Clemente, a cardinal-priest. The Cardinals of Genoa, Conza, Parma, Aleria, and S. Anastasia, priests, and Savelli, a cardinal-deacon, also assisted; and all the other observances were as usual. As I noticed on the first day, the household of the deceased cardinal, preceded by the heralds, came on that, as on the first day, rightly or wrongly, from the house of the deceased behind the Campo dei Fiori to the said Church of S. Praxede in funeral garments. First came the abbot, master of the household, between the two nephews of the deceased, and these were followed by three of their servants, also in mourning, who bore the trains of their robes gathered up together.

The other members of the household followed two and two. When the masses were ended they did not return to the house in this order, but removed the trains from their robes outside the church, and each returned as he chose; but on the other days of the novena, the said mourners put on their robes in the palace next to the Church of S. Praxede, and took them off again there when the mass was over.

On Wednesday, 16th November, there was a private consistory, at which the Rev. Father Didaco, Lord Bishop of Salamanca, succeeded to the See of Baldina, which was without a pastor (nevertheless he never attained possession of it, although he had been appointed to it nineteen years before, in the time of Pope Sixtus IV., of happy memory, the King and Queen of Spain being opposed to him), and the See left destitute of a pastor was entrusted to the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Naples.

In the mean time there came to the palace the ten ambassadors of the King of France named above, accompanied by the Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop-elect of Thebes, and the Bishops of Angers, S. Concordia and S. Agata, clergy of this palace having benefices and favours in France, and other clergy and the households of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Benevento, who escorted them from the palace to the small chapel of the high altar, where they waited until they were summoned.

The first of them, the Bishop of Lombes, came to the palace between

the Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop-elect of Thebes ; after them rode the Abbot of St. George and the Prior and the Bishop of S. Concordia ; after them the other ambassadors, two and two ; with the first two was the Bishop of S. Agata, and after them other clerical ambassadors with the others summoned in order. When they reached the door of the consistory, which was held in the papal chamber, the Pontiff going in before in rochet and small red hood without stole, I led the way. There followed me the Bishop of Lombez, and then the other ambassadors in order, and after them the Archbishop of Arles and all the palace clergy summoned for the purpose and already assembled in the chamber of kings and princes. The first of these were the Bishop of Constance, and Jacob, Marquis of Baden, the ambassadors of the Emperor and King of the Romans. The ambassadors of the King of France aforesaid were received to kiss the Pope's foot, the bishop alone ; the abbot and prior came both together, and I uncovered both the Pope's feet for them. The abbot, who was on the prior's right, kissed the Pope's left foot because it was before him ; and after him the prior kissed it too, and not the right foot, which was before him. I then covered the Pope's left foot and held the right only uncovered, and each of the other ten ambassadors aforesaid kissed that foot in turn. Each of them, beginning with the bishop, the Pope, after the kissing of the foot, took by the head as if he were going to kiss them. After the ambassadors themselves there came to kiss the Pope's foot the master of the household of the Lord Bishop of Lombez, and the prior, but no others. Meanwhile the palace clergy took up their positions after the cardinal-deacons, on the Pope's left hand, and the other ambassadors after the cardinal-bishops and priests, on the right hand of the Pope. The deacons on the right remained kneeling throughout the whole consistory ; but the clergy on the left stood upright.

After the kissing of the foot of the Pope, the last ambassador, the king's secretary, gave the royal letters to the first ambassador, the Bishop of Lombez, to present to the Pope. He took them, and first kissing them, handed them to the Pontiff, and he gave them to the Bishop of Perugia, his secretary, to read there publicly. The ten ambassadors then withdrew behind the cardinals' seats and knelt there, as it were between the last cardinal-priest on the right and the first on the left as you approach the Pontiff, the Bishop of Lombez next the last cardinal on the Pope's right hand, next to him the prior, then the Abbot of S. Antonio, and then the others in order, and after them some members of their suite. When they were kneeling thus, the aforesaid Bishop of Perugia read the royal letters presented to the Pontiff, beginning with the superscription, which was "To our Most Holy Lord the chief Pontiff," then the subscription, which was "Charles, King of France" ; then the date, which was "Tours, day of . . ." ; then beginning at the beginning of the letters, which were credentials stating that the king sent to His Holiness for most urgent reasons the ten ambassadors aforesaid, and certain others named in the letters who had not yet arrived.

To all and each of these, provided that the Bishop of Lombez was one, the king asked that full confidence be placed in setting the matter forth.¹

¹ "Instructions to M. the Bishop of Lombez, abbot of S. Denys ; M. the Grand Prior of Auvergne ; M. the Abbot of S. Antonio of Vienna ; the Lord Falco, Jean Rabot, Charles de Hautbois, Benoit Adam, Michel Biquet, Antonio Flores, Jean de Caudida, Jean Breconnet, Jean Lienans, all counsellors ; and to Guillaume Bougier, secretary to the king, touching what they will have to transact for their Lord with our Holy Father

When the letters had been read the Bishop of Lombez made a short speech, in which he told briefly of the affection which has always been felt for the chief Pontiffs by the kings of France, who, said he, hold the first place among secular rulers. He then spoke of their joy at the good health of His Holiness, praised the diligence and ability of the Bishop of S. Concordia and the Lord Antonio Flores, referendaries of the Apostolic See, and formerly ambassadors in France, and commended their work. Because the king had entrusted them with many difficult matters of great importance to lay before His Holiness, which to explain them even summarily would be tedious, he asked that another time be appointed, when they might fully carry out their instructions either in the presence of His Holiness or of some one else deputed by His Holiness for the purpose. They then thanked His Holiness for the honour paid them at their entry, and commended themselves to him. His Holiness touched briefly upon all these points in his reply. The Bishop of Lombez then handed the letters which he had for the College to the Vice-Chancellor, who passed them to the Cardinal of Naples and on until they came into the hands of the Cardinal of St. George, the first deacon. He, at a word from the Vice-Chancellor, handed them to the aforesaid Bishop of Perugia, the Pope's secretary, to read. He read them aloud, first the superscription, then the subscription, which was "Charles," then the date, "Tours," etc., and after that the beginning of the letters, which was, "Charles, King of France," etc. In the letters the king himself commended the ambassadors and their business to the cardinals, and he wrote to them in a friendly manner, calling them "dear friends" as if they were his chaplains, designating them as "you" and not "Father" or "Your Lordships."

No word was spoken after the reading of these letters, but the ambassadors rose and left the chamber of the consistory, and were followed by the other ambassadors and clergy of the palace who were present. Straightway the French ambassadors returned to the house of Flisco, where the Bishop of Lombez was staying, in the same order as they came, and escorted by the same clergy, the only difference being that the Abbot of S. Antonio went between the Prior of Auvergne on the right and the Bishop of S. Concordia on the left.

On Friday, 18th November, the Feast of the Dedication of the Basilicas of the Blessed Peter and Paul, there was no chapel. *On the same evening*, about eight o'clock, there entered the city by the Porta Viridarii the Rev. Lord Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, ambassador of the Illustrious James, King of the Scots. He was received without the gate by the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope and the cardinals, and by the ambassadors of kings and princes, and escorted in the usual way to his place of entertainment between the Puteo Albo and the palace of Flisco; he rode between the Governor of the City and the Archbishop of Thebes and the Bishop-elect of Angers.

On Sunday, 27th November, the First Sunday of the Advent of our Lord, the Rev. Father Giovanni, Lord Archbishop of Ragusa, the datary, celebrated the solemn mass in the chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present. He recited the four customary prayers, and everything else was as usual.

On Monday, 28th November, in the first and larger hall of the Apostolic Palace, there was a public consistory, in which the Rev. Father and Lord

the Pope." See the Appendix, No. 37, for this document, which is reproduced here because of its importance, although it has already been published by Godefroy, *Hist. de Charles VIII.*, and by Pastoret in the *Ordonnances des Rois de France*, t. xx., p. 290.

Robert, Bishop of Glasgow, ambassador of the Illustrious Lord James, King of the Scots, came before our Most Holy Lord. He was escorted by the household of the Cardinal Ascanio and by the ambassadors of the King of France from his lodging to the Apostolic Chamber, where he waited; and thence to the consistory he was escorted by the Archbishop of Arles and the Bishop of Volterra and followed by the French ambassadors. After the usual kissing, he kneeled to present the royal letters patent containing his mandate, having the great royal seal attached and signed with the king's hand, which letters the Bishop of Perugia read in due course. Two commissions were brought forward, the first by the Lord Paolo of Pianca on behalf of a poor priest of Camina in the Diocese of Spoleto, who had been robbed and imprisoned, but afterwards set at liberty, against his despoilers, to whom he had sworn not to take vengeance against them nor to obtain absolution from his oath. He had given securities who took the same oath and bound themselves to present the same ambassador to them as often as they should be required by them to do so. At the end of this we went for the ambassador. The second commission was brought forward by the Lord Angelo de Cesi, but not at all well, and I did not gather the purport of it. The Bishop of Glasgow had a tunic of faded crimson under his cape, which was most unsuitable; I therefore advised him not to appear in public with it again. Everything else was carried out in the usual way.

On Wednesday, the last day of November, our Most Holy Lord came to the Basilica of St. Peter, where he heard the solemn mass in the chapel of St. Andrew and St. Gregory. The Rev. Father Pietro Paolo, Bishop of S. Agata, celebrated the mass in his pontificals. The chapel was made ready, and every one sat as before on the other feasts of the same saint. Only one prayer was recited, of the Feast of the Lord. Our Most Holy Lord sat upon his throne and saw the head of St. Andrew, which was publicly exposed, as he could not well kneel because of the pain in his leg.

On the First Sunday in Advent, when our Most Holy Lord was taking his vestments in the papal chamber, I reported to His Holiness that the Prior of Auvergne, one of the ambassadors of the King of France, had stated that the Illustrious Lord Jacob, Marquis of Baden, ambassador of their Most Serene Lordships the Emperor and the King of the Romans, was only the ambassador of the king and not of the emperor, and therefore he ought not to take precedence of the prior. His Holiness replied to me that he had received letters both from the Emperor and the King of the Romans, in which they constituted the said Lord Jacob as their ambassador, and therefore he considered him as the ambassador of both. He instructed me, if the prior aforesaid should desire to dispute with the Lord Marquis, to see that the Lord Marquis remained in the first place. After His Holiness had entered the chapel, the prior came, and even if he had had some dispute with the marquis upon the question of precedence as described above, when he learned that his lordship was the ambassador of the emperor, gave way and yielded the first place to the marquis, and after this there was no dispute upon the matter.

On the Second Sunday in Advent, 4th December, the Rev. Father in Christ, Girolamo Calagrano, Lord Bishop of Monte Regale, celebrated the public mass in the chapel aforesaid. The Pope was present, and all the observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of Friars Minor preached the sermon.

On Monday, 5th December, news came to the city from the Court of Charles VIII., King of France, to the Bishop of Lombez and Abbot of

S. Antonio, his ambassadors, that the King of France had contracted a marriage, which had already been consummated, with the Most Illustrious Lady Anne, Queen of the Romans and Duchess of Brittany, who had previously, about a year before, contracted a marriage by proxy with the Invincible Maximilian, King of the Romans; which marriage had been celebrated in the face of the Church.¹

On Tuesday, 6th December, the Feast of St. Nicolas, the Rev. Father in Christ, Paris, Lord Bishop of Osenio, celebrated the solemn mass in the Church of S. Nicolao in the Tulliano. There were present twelve cardinals: the Vice-Chancellor, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria in Portico, and S. Angelo, bishops; S. Clemente, Genoa, Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia, priests; Siena, Colonna, and Savelli (who occupied the last place, because it was the church of his cardinalate), deacons. Only one prayer was recited and the *Credo*, and there was no commemoration of Advent because the other masses of Advent had been said in the church. At the close, at my request, the cardinals granted to each an indulgence of one hundred days, which I announced in these words: "Their Most Rev. Lordships and Fathers in Christ, the cardinals here present, do each of them grant and give to all here present one hundred days of indulgence in the usual form of the Church. Pray God for the happy estate of the Roman Church." The other observances were as usual. The cardinals sat on one side of the church, namely, on the gospel side, and the clergy on the opposite, the epistle side. The celebrant sat facing the people on the side under the tribune. The cantors of our chapel were present at this mass, which they sang in the usual way.

On the Third Sunday in Advent, 11th December, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the solemn mass in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being present. The Prior of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine preached the sermon.

On the Fourth Sunday in Advent, 18th December, the Rev. Lord Friar, Bishop of Volterra, celebrated the solemn mass in the chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present. The Procurator of the Order of Carmelites preached the sermon, but not very creditably. Before our Most Holy Lord left the robing-room, I asked His Holiness what order he desired to be observed in

¹ Burchard's account of the marriage of Charles VIII. with Anne, Duchess of Brittany, differs from that of other historians. It is known that Charles had promised to wed the daughter of Maximilian, King of the Romans, and that Maximilian had wedded the Duchess of Brittany by proxy, is true, and without all the formalities thought necessary to render the marriage indissoluble.

Charles nevertheless succeeded in winning Anne's consent to marry him without regard to this bond. A double dispensation was needed; for besides the impediment of which I have just spoken, Charles was a kinsman of the duchess in the fourth degree. Some historians have said (*Histoire Ecclesiastique Henry*, t. xxiv., p. 130) that he had been assured of these dispensations in advance. Burchard, however, informs us that Charles's courier despatched to ask for the same, on his arrival at Rome, 5th December 1491, had announced there that the marriage was already accomplished and consummated. This was not actually the case until the next day. But it is known that the dispensations were only granted by the Pope (D. Morice, *Pr. de l'histoire de Bretagne*, t. iii., col. 711) ten days later. Burchard appears much scandalized by this marriage. In his journal he continues to give the duchess the title of Queen of the Romans, and in the table of contents this fact is indicated by the qualification, "notable adultery of the King of France." The marginal summary reads: "News of the adultery of the King of France" (*De Bréquigny, opus cit.*, p. 86). Sansovina writes in the year 1485, in his *Cronologia del Mondo* (Venice, 1580, in 4to), "Charles VIII., King of France, married Anne, Duchess of Brittany, the wedded wife of Maximilian the Emperor, and took her to wife." See, on this marriage, Daru, *Histoire de Bretagne*, t. iii., p. 176; le Roux de Lincy, *Hist. d' Anne de Bretagne*, t. i., chaps. i. and ii.; de Cherrier, *Hist. de Charles VIII.*, t. i., chap. v., etc., etc.

the chanting of the lessons at the matins on the night of the Feast of Our Saviour next, if His Holiness were present at the matins. His Holiness replied that if he were present he wished the same order observed as had been observed in the former years of his pontificate. This I notified to each of those who were to read the lesson in the same order as before at the mass aforesaid. These were Giovanni of Viterbo, dean of the acolytes; the Master of Ubaldi, auditor to the Cardinal of S. Anastasia: G. Biondo and Giovanni Geroma, clerks of the Chamber; B., the sub-deacon; Siena and St. George, the cardinal-assistants of the Pope.

On Saturday, 24th December, the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the papal chamber in the usual manner, came to the Basilica of St. Peter, preceded by the cardinals and followed by the clergy in their capes, where the solemn pontifical vespers were sung, while he stood. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Siena and the Vice-Chancellor, the assistants, began the second and third antiphons respectively, the Cardinals of Recanati and St. George the fourth and fifth, and the Pontiff the others, in the usual way. At these vespers, by command of His Holiness, I gave a place to the Illustrious Landgrave of Hesse, who came to Rome on Monday, the 19th inst., on the floor of the throne above the Lord Francesco Cibò on the Pope's right hand, and the Duke of Sora also on the floor of the throne on the left; this was by special commission of His Holiness. The other observances were all as usual. The vespers ended, I advised the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria that our Most Holy Lord would not come to the matins on the next night, therefore he should arrange for nine chaplains to be present and assist at the matins and first mass in the usual way, and he himself should take the ninth lesson and the benediction and the other parts to be recited by him.

I obtained leave to-day from our Most Holy Lord not to come to the matins to-night, but to remain at home so that I might, D.V., celebrate three masses to-morrow morning.

The following night, at eight or nine o'clock, the hour of matins, there were begun the matins in the larger chapel of the palace aforesaid; the Pope was absent, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Benevento, S. Anastasia, Siena, St. George, Colonna, and Ascanio were present. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria performed the office in his cape, sitting at the fald-stool near the altar in the usual way. When the third nocturn was begun, he took the sandals, saying, *Quam dilecta*, etc., and said the ninth lesson, to which the Cardinal of Benevento pronounced the benediction. When he had begun the *Te Deum laudamus* he took all the pontifical vestments for the mass, and when the *Te Deum* was ended he was vested in full vestments, including the chasuble, in which he recited the prayer, and wrongly, for he ought to have taken the cope instead of the chasuble to recite this prayer. Everything else was carried out in the usual manner, as my colleague the Lord Aldello reported, who was present. The Abbot of S. Sebastiano, the sacrist, celebrated the second mass.

1492.—On Sunday, 25th December, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, with the tiara on his head, came from the papal chamber to the basilica in procession, under the baldacchino, to celebrate the solemn mass. The Landgrave of Hesse bore the first staff of the baldacchino, the Duke of Sora another, and other persons the others, in the usual way. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria told me on the way to the basilica that it was an insult to the Duke of Sora for the landgrave to take precedence

of him, since the duke was of higher rank than the landgrave. I replied that the duke was in his own land, so to speak, while the landgrave was a foreign prince, and that our Most Holy Lord had ordered it to be so. The cardinal replied that His Holiness had perhaps not been well informed on the point, and that it was my duty diligently to inform His Holiness in such matters, and then to carry out his commands. Water was given, firstly, by the ambassador of the Duke of Milan; secondly, by the Venetian ambassador; and it should have been given in the third place by Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, for at the desire of my colleague the Lord Aldello, he had been nominated by us for this duty, but he refused; so it was given by the Marquis of Finale in his place; and fourthly, it was given by the Landgrave of Hesse aforesaid. The Vice-Chancellor was the assistant; the Cardinal of Siena read the gospel; the son of the Count of Pitigliano, the sub-deacon, the epistle; he also put the glove upon the Pontiff's left hand, when he was taking his vestments. The Bishop of Perugia, the Pope's secretary, read the gospel in Greek, and the Lord Lorenzo, another secretary, read the epistle in Greek.

The mass ended, the Pope gave the benediction before saying the *Placeat*; this was so arranged, and wrongly, by the Vice-Chancellor, who would not observe my wishes and those of the Roman Church. Still, I conquered, because in the Missal from which the Pontiff had said the mass for the soul of the late Cardinal of Angers, and which had been given to our chapel by our Lord, I found a note to this effect. After the benediction had been given and plenary indulgences announced by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena (the Vice-Chancellor refused to do it), our Most Holy Lord then ascended the throne, where he took the tiara. The Lord Gaspar Biondo, clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, then brought to him, as he sat upon the throne, the sword with the hat placed upon it, and by command of His Holiness, the landgrave aforesaid was conducted by me to His Holiness, where he kneeled before him. His Holiness then read from the book the words *solent romani pontifices*, and afterward he took the sword with the hat and handed them to the landgrave aforesaid, without moving the hat from the sword. The landgrave took them and then kissed the hand and the foot of the Pope, and thanked His Holiness in a few words. The landgrave then came down from the throne, and handed them to the Lord Teodorico, his man-at-arms, to bear before him. The Pope then came, preceded by the cardinals in their capes, by the nave of the Holy Face, which, by command of the Pope, was publicly exposed by the Bishop of S. Agata, vicar of the basilica. He then took leave of the cardinals beneath the portico and went up to the palace, the landgrave preceding him all the way in his place with his soldier bearing the sword before him, to the papal chamber. The landgrave was escorted thence by the clergy of the palace, the Pope's equerries and chamberlains, the Marquis of Baden, the Imperial ambassador, the Archbishop of Strasburg, and the ambassadors of the Duke of Saxony, to the Hospice of S. Angelo near the Campo dei Fiori. He rode between the Governor of the City and the Archbishop of Arles, and at his destination he thanked the ambassadors individually in the usual way. No one from the cardinals' households was present, although our Most Holy Lord had bidden me tell the cardinals that they were to send a portion of their households to do honour to the said landgrave, and they had promised that they would do so.

On Monday, 26th December, the Feast of St. Stephen the first Martyr, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia celebrated the solemn mass in the chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present. The sermon was

preached by Friar Bartolommeo of Viterbo, of the Order of Preachers, and the other observances were as usual.

On Tuesday, 27th December, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the solemn mass in the larger chapel aforesaid, the Pope being present. There was no sermon, because the preacher appointed was ill. All the other observance were as usual.

On Saturday, 31st December, the Vigil of the Circumcision of Our Lord, there were pontifical vespers in the larger chapel, the Pope being present and performing the office. On the following day there was the solemn mass in the same chapel, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Recanati, the Pope being present. The Lord Domenico Crispo of Pistorgia, esquire of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria, preached the sermon, and with great credit. Again, while the cantors were singing *Et in terra*, by command of our Most Holy Lord I gave a place among the assistant clergy of His Holiness to the Rev. Father in Christ, Filia, otherwise Filiasio, Archbishop of Ravenna. Other observances were as usual.

On Monday, 2nd January, the Noble Lord Wilhelm, Landgrave of Hesse, left the city to return to his country, in the name of the Lord.

On Thursday, 5th January, the Vigil of the Epiphany of the Lord, there were the solemn pontifical vespers in the aforesaid chapel, our Most Holy Lord being present and performing the office in the usual way.

On Friday, 6th January, the Feast of the Epiphany, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, stole embroidered in pearls over a white capuce—contrary to my wish, for it should be a red capuce, because it is only from Saturday in Holy Week to Saturday in Easter Week inclusive that the Pope wears a white capuce—preceded by the cross and the cardinals, was borne in his chair by two horses to the Basilica of S. Giovanni Laterano, every one else going in the order of their precedence. Before the door of the church he descended from the chair aforesaid, and took his seat in another, in which he was borne into the church. As he entered, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, arch-priest of the said basilica, handed to the Pope, to kiss, the cross from the high altar, which was brought to him by one of the friars of the basilica. The Pope kissed the cross, while the cantors of the basilica sang *Te Deum laudamus*; the canons and beneficiaries of the aforesaid basilica then came in procession to the high altar, where the Pope knelt and prayed. Then he laid aside stole and capuce and took another stole and a cope, and recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant.

He then ascended the throne, and received the cardinals for the reverence. There were all the other usual observances. The altar, throne, and choir of the clergy and cardinals were prepared, as described before on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, in 1487, with these few additions: The clerical ambassadors sat in the choir upon a lower bench, placed crosswise, by the chancel at the end of the bench of the deacon cardinals. Six long seats were prepared for the clergy, two between the chancel of the Pope's choir and the high altar, on the left of the entrance to the said choir, where, on other occasions, there had been seats for all, and four others, which were placed in a straight line from the high altar beyond the chancel on the gospel side to the door. The whole floor of the altar, as far as the first step leading down to the church, was railed off with wood, covered and adorned with leaves, and from the altar to the Pope's choir was laid a covering of green, as also over the whole of the Pope's choir, where there

sat sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, acolytes, chamberlains, advocates, secretaries, and procurators of orders. On the Pope's throne there stood the Duke of Sora, Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, a senator, and other nobles, in the usual way. The Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Praeneste, Cardinal of S. Angelo, celebrated the mass which was his first high mass. The mass ended, he announced plenary indulgences granted to the people by the Pope for this his first celebration. The Procurator of the Order of the Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary should have preached the sermon, but he did not do so by command of the Pope, because the hour was late. The cantors stood above the arch, or tribune, near the organ. When the Pope had given the benediction, and the indulgences had been announced, the celebrant and his assistants laid aside the sacred vestments, of richest crimson and gold brocade, which, with amices, albs, stoles, and maniples, omitting nothing, the clergy and primates of our chapel laid upon the altar, and upon the step before it. All these our Most Holy Lord the Pontiff offered and bestowed upon the aforesaid basilica. Then he made a second prayer before the altar, and laid aside there his cope and stole, taking the white capuce and over it the stole embroidered with pearls. He returned to the palace at St. Peter's by the way of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo, S. Gregorio, S. Maria in Portico, the Ghetto and the Campo dei Fiori. Beyond the gate of the Castle of S. Angelo, that is to say between the castle and the palace, the Pope took leave of the cardinals. The Pope had come by the Via de' Maximi, leaving S. Marco, S. Adriano and the Coliseum on the left, thence by the street where the statue of the Popess¹ stands, to the basilica, which he entered by the door near the high altar. The altar cloth was also of brocade, and this, too, the Pontiff presented to the basilica.

On Friday, 27th January, in private consistory, there was announced and concluded the peace between our Most Holy Lord the Pope and the Illustrious Ferdinand, King of Naples.

On Thursday, 2nd February, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, came to the larger chapel, where he blessed the candles held by the people on either side; he then distributed in the usual way. The Lord Francesco Cibò, son of His Holiness, on the right, and the Lord Alfonso del Carreto, Marquis of Finale, who married the daughter of the Lady Teodorina, a daughter of the Pope,² on the left, held the large candles of His Holiness.

The Duke of Sora gave water after the distribution. The Pope left the large chapel in procession, and in the centre of the large hall there knelt ten citizens of Ascoli, some of whom were soldiers and doctors, all naked, with their heads uncovered and feet bare, having only their shirts girded on over the navel, each with a staff or rod in his hand, and a rope upon his neck. The previous summer they had rebelled against our Most Holy Lord, and were now seeking pardon for their crimes, and relief from the penalties and censures which they had undergone in both courts until that day, one acting as spokesman for them all. Whereupon the minor penitentiaries of the Basilica of St. Peter, standing round their chief, asked of our Most Holy Lord whether His Holiness would grant them

¹ A statue of Pope Joan!

² . . . *filiam D. Theodorinae filie Pape* (daughter of the Lady Teodorina, the Pope's daughter). Such is the text in the MSS. Chigi (L. i. 10, fol. 623) which is reproduced in all the other MSS. except MS. 5521, t. iii., fol. 167, where the reading is “. . . *filiam D. Martine filie Pape*” (daughter of the Lady Martina, the Pope's daughter); but this is a copyist's error. *Vide supra*.

absolution. His Holiness granted him the absolution, and for penance bade him enjoin upon them a three days' fast, not upon bread and water, but an ordinary fast of three continuous days, to be observed by the ten citizens aforesaid, and by the whole population of Ascoli, of both sexes, as was done, as far as the absolution and first mention goes.

The cardinals and all the others were present there. Then the Pontiff came to the usual place, where he threw candles to the people. He returned thence to the mass in the larger chapel, which was celebrated by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma, to whom the Pope gave only one candle; all the other observances were as usual.

Before our Lord left the papal chamber, our Most Holy Lord bade me instruct the Lord Bernard of Brandenburg, Dean of Mentz, and the Lord Johann, provost of the Church of St. Andrew at Cologne, ambassadors of the archbishops, who were disputing the question of precedence, either to settle their dispute or both of them to refrain from entering the chapel. This message I conveyed to them in their apartments, but, in spite of it, they came to the chapel together, and disputed there for the first place. When I saw this, by command of our Most Holy Lord I ordered them both to leave the chapel, which they did immediately. In the chapel there was also the Lord Filiberto Naturello, the ambassador of the Most Illustrious Philip, Archduke of Austria, and of the Duke of Burgundy, eldest son of the Most Serene Maximilian, King of the Romans. He gave place to both the ambassadors aforesaid, saying that he had instructions to the effect that he should not go with the ambassadors of the Electors of the Empire, but should permit them to take precedence of him without dispute. The said ambassador of the Duke of Burgundy himself took precedence of the Venetian and Milanese ambassadors and others, without any dispute being raised by them. The names of the citizens aforesaid who received absolution are as follows: . . .

On Sunday, 5th February, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, precious stole and white capuce, which he insisted upon wearing, although I alleged that it was contrary to the right and proper course, which was that he should wear a red, not a white, capuce, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, who took this order, although it was not right, came early in the morning, and in continuous rain, from the Apostolic Palace to the Church of the Hospital of St. James of Gallicia, known as of Spain. Here he kissed the cross, in the hands of the Cardinal of Siena, which was brought by the Bishop of . . . , vested in a cope, and entered the church. He made a prayer before the fald-stool in the usual way; then, laying aside the stole and precious red cope, he recited the *Confiteor* with the celebrant and ascended the throne. The cardinals approached for the reverence, and the other observances were as usual.

The senior cardinal-priest, who was assisting, sat upon a seat on the left, as is customary. Because the sermon was to be to the praise of God for the victory of the King and Queen of Spain over the State and King of Granada, it seemed to me that the sermon should be given at the close of the mass and not after the gospel, since it had no connection with the epistle or gospel of the mass. The Rev. Lord Bishop of Pienza was of the opposite opinion, namely, that it should be after the gospel, and I instructed the preacher accordingly. But the procession of the clergy of the city came to the church at that moment, and the sermon was not delivered after the gospel, because of the noise they made, but, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, was reserved until the end of the mass. So, when the mass was ended, before our Most Holy Lord solemnly

blessed the people, the Lord Pietro Bosca, who was to preach the sermon, kissed the foot of our Most Holy Lord and asked for the blessing, but not fittingly, in my humble opinion, and also for the plenary indulgences, which were granted by our Most Holy Lord. He ascended the pulpit which was made ready for him above the last step of the chapel, beneath the altar tribune on the right of the altar, and preached the sermon. The sermon was not such as was anticipated, but it was thought to be due to the shortness of the time allowed for preparation. The sermon ended, the cantors began and continued the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*; the Pope then began the *Pater noster* in a loud voice and finished it privately, then *Et ne nos*, etc., with the other verses as observed above, adding the prayer subjoined there. After saying this, he added *Sit nomen Domini*, etc., and solemnly blessed the people. After this, the aforesaid Lord Pietro, who had waited until then in the pulpit with his cape on, in the manner of the chapel, announced that plenary indulgences were granted to the people present with due devotion.

Then the Pontiff laid aside the cope and mitre and resumed the white capuce, and returned by the Pario to the palace. He gave the cardinals leave to return home on the farther side of the bridge by the Castle of S. Angelo. He came to the aforesaid church by the direct route to the *Torre Sanguinea*, and in the court of the house of the Cardinal of Recanati he turned into the direct road to the church of the hospital aforesaid, which was made ready as follows: The Pope's throne and seat were placed on the gospel side, with low seats for the assistants on the left, and on the right seats for the cardinal-bishops and priests, and opposite for the cardinal-deacons. There was a lower bench for the lay-ambassadors placed crosswise, by the bench of the cardinal-priests. Lower down on the floor of the church from the steps of the chapel to the second column, and half-way to the third, were placed on either side stalls three deep, for the clergy, and these were placed round the columns, and fixed crosswise from behind, with pieces of wood, and built up at the back, so that the people might not look upon the clergy, and from these, round the columns, they had two stalls crosswise at the head, like a guard for the door, for the entrance and *exit* of the Pope, cardinals, and clergy. The sub-deacons, auditors, clerks of the Chamber, acolytes, chamberlains, etc., sat on the floor of the chapel, which was covered with green coverings. The Archbishop of Arles celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit, with one prayer only.

Thanks were rendered to Almighty God for the victory over the infidels. For the news had recently come that the King of Spain had won a victory over Granada, and that on 2nd January aforesaid his emissaries had been admitted to receive the arms of the infidels, and make ready the castle for the king, and that the king and the queen had made a prosperous entry into the castle on the seventh of the same month.¹

¹ The capture of Granada, an event of far reaching influence upon the later history of Spain, was announced the same day to the Doge of Venice, by King Ferdinand, in the following letter:—

“To the Most Serene Doge of Venice. To the Most Serene Doge, our much loved ally and friend, we, the King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, etc.

“We send you our greetings, as we dearly love and esteem you: and we pray that God may grant you long life, safety and honour, as you desire for yourself. We desire you to know that it has pleased Our Lord God to give complete victory to the King, and destruction to the Kingdom of Granada and to the foes of our Catholic faith, and after many labours, costs, deaths and much shedding of our subjects' blood, on 2nd January

There was issued beforehand a public edict to the effect that all the streets should be cleansed for the aforesaid day, and that from last evening until to-day the great bell of the Capitol should be rung more often and with double strokes, as is done upon the Anniversary of the Assumption and Coronation of the Pope, and that upon the evening of both days many fires should be kindled throughout the city; likewise in the Apostolic Palace and the Castle of S. Angelo. It was also ordained that all clergy and monks should assemble in the Basilica of St. Peter, and about two in the afternoon of the aforesaid Sunday come in procession from the basilica to the church aforesaid, the vicar of the city following the procession in pontificals. After luncheon in the court before his house, in the public thoroughfare which he fenced in on all sides with great beams, the Vice-Chancellor had five bulls killed; they wounded and killed several men before they were themselves despatched. The Bishops of Beja and Astorga, the ambassadors of the King and Queen of Spain, had made ready and built up in the centre of the Agone a lofty castle with a tower made of planks and boards, to which they gave the name of "Granada," and behind the Church of the Hospital another tower, similarly made of planks, desiring to represent the storming and capture of Granada, and they prepared prizes for those who were the first to enter Granada. This play should also have taken place on Sunday the 12th, but it was postponed on account of the rain on that day. The whole proceedings, therefore, were gone through on Sunday the 19th of the month. In the morning of the 19th, the aforesaid Bishop of Beja celebrated the public mass solemnly in the same church, and the solemn procession was there formed by the same people. Then, after luncheon, the aforesaid spectacle took place, and there in the Agone four bulls were killed; nothing was injured by them, except one horse. Several Spanish clergy on successive days gave bulls to be killed publicly.

One of them had bread and wine served in the square, to all who wished for it, for a whole day. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of St. George gave a piece of stuff or *bravium*, and a silver helmet of the value of about two hundred ducats, as a prize for the combatants with the spear in the Agone; and the combat was continued many days in the Agone, and at length on Friday, 2nd March, the prize was awarded to a certain

of this year of grace '92, there was handed over to us the city of Granada, with the Alhambra, and other forts and castles of the country, that they have retained by purchase the kingdom, and we hold it all under our power and authority. We have now delivered this land, which they have held for more than sixty-eight years, to know that henceforth you have here a Catholic land, for the service of Our Lord God and the furtherance of our Catholic faith.

"Thus, Most Serene Doge, our very dear and loved Compeer, we shall pray Our Lord God to have you ever in his special care and keeping.

"The City of Granada, 2nd Jan. 1492.

"THE KING OF CASTILE," etc.

(*Lettere di Principi lequali si scrivono da Principi o ragionano di Principi*. Venice, 3 vols. in 8vo, 1562-77, t. ii., fol. 2.)

The entry of the King and Queen of Spain into Granada is related, with all the circumstances attending it, in a curious letter from Bernardino del Roi (*Lettere di Principi*, etc., t. ii., fol. 2) reproduced in the Appendix, No. 38. See Lucius Marineus, *De rebus Hisp.*, Book XX., in Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 177, note 1; and especially Peter Martyr of Anghiera, *Opus epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis*, in fol. CI. I.)CLXX. (Elzevir), Book V., Epist. 92., on the capture of Granada, and the preceding letters (26 to 91) on Ferdinand's campaign against the Moors.

Peter Martyr took service in the royal army, so his correspondence written from the scene of war is most valuable and most interesting.

Mascolitto, constable of the Governor of the City, at which the Colonna faction complained greatly. The festival in the Agone and the other usual Roman celebrations were carried out with great magnificence; various races for old and young men, boys, Jews, asses and buffaloes were given as in the previous year.

On Ash Wednesday, 7th March, our Most Holy Lord came to the larger chapel, blessed the ashes, and taking them from the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was to celebrate, gave them first to the celebrant, then to the other cardinals and then to the rest in the usual way. The Count of Pitigliano, who is the Captain of the Church, and the Duke of Sora, received the ashes after all those who were vested, not excepting the acolytes. When the giving of the ashes was ended, the said count gave water for washing the Pope's hands, assisted by the senior cardinal-priest. The cardinals came to form the circle at the *Introit*, the *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*, and all the other observances were as usual. Before our Lord left the papal chamber, I entreated His Holiness, on behalf of us masters of ceremonies, the cantors and all the officials of the chapel of His Holiness, to grant permission to choose confessors to grant us plenary absolution and remission of all our sins; I entreated, also, that by visiting each day the high altar of the Basilica of St. Peter we might obtain the same indulgences as by visiting each day the Churches of the Stations; all which requests His Holiness graciously granted. A Frenchman preached the sermon.

On Thursday, 8th March, to which date was transferred the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Rev. Father Stefano Lord Archbishop of Patras, celebrated the public mass in the Church of Minerva. Nineteen cardinals were present, the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinal-bishops of Naples, S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Maria in Portico, S. Angelo, and Lisbon; the Cardinal-priests of Recanati, S. Clemente, Genoa, Parma, Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia; the Cardinal-deacons of Siena, Savelli, Colonna, Orsino, Ascanio, and the Chamberlain. He recited only one prayer. The clerical ambassadors sat on a seat placed crosswise near the chancel, next the seats of the cardinal-deacons, and the lay ambassadors on another similar seat, placed next the bench of the cardinal-priests; they did this of their own accord, and wrongly, for the clergy should have sat there, and they next to the deacons: the other clergy sat in the friars' choir in the usual way.

When the gospel was ended, and the sermon was to be given, all the clergy came to the cardinals' choir, and some of them sat upon other seats which were brought in, placed not far from the entrance, where they remained until the close of the sermon; they then returned to their former places, and the seats were carried out. The Lord Bernardo Basino, canon of Saragosa, master of theology in Paris, preached the sermon, winning great credit and praise from every one, which he fully deserved. When the celebrant had pronounced the benediction, he announced the plenary indulgences granted by our Most Holy Lord, though it was not necessary, because a notice in large letters was fastened upon the door of the church announcing these indulgences.

On the First Sunday in Lent, 11th March, the Rev. Father in Christ, Girolamo Balbano, Bishop of Perugia, secretary to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, celebrated the mass in the aforesaid chapel. The Pope was absent; it was the celebrant's first high mass, and all the observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of Preachers preached the sermon.

On Monday, 12th March, the Feast of St. Gregory the Pope, our Most

Holy Lord, vested in the usual way, and with white capuce under the stole, came to the Monastery of St. Gregory, preceded by the cross and the cardinals. There he heard low mass, which was celebrated by the abbot of the said monastery. He recited three prayers; the first, of the feast; the second, of the day; the third, for the Pope. The Pope remained kneeling at the fold-stool put ready for him upon the gospel side, from beginning to end of the mass, even while the gospel was being said, and behind him were the two deacons assisting with the other cardinal-deacons on his left. The Vice-Chancellor carried the Missal to the Pontiff to kiss, after the gospel, and also the *par*, which I then took from his hands, and gave first to him, then to the Cardinal of Recanati, then to Siena and Savelli and the Patriarch of Aquileia, the first assistant. I then placed it again upon the altar, and the other observances were such as were described above on the same day of the year.

When the mass was ended and the benediction chanted by the Pontiff, the Pontiff came by way of the Church of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo and the Basilica of S. Giovanni Laterano to the Church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. In this church, while it was being restored by the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Toledo, of this title, and beautifully adorned at his expense, there was found recently at the top of the arch above the choir, in a certain chest which was covered with lead, a document bound round and sealed with three seals all bearing the same impression, and on the seals were written the words: *Gerardus, cardinalis sancte crucis*, and in the centre was the image, a face in profile with a hat, in a circle rather larger¹ than the carlines of Pope Paul II., of happy memory. On the covering of the chest, on the inner side, were carved these words: *Titulus crucis*. In the chest there was placed a piece of wood very old and half decayed away, a palm long and rather more than two fingers wide; on this wood were carved in the reverse order in Jewish fashion in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the letters: *Iesus Nazaremus*; the rest of the title, *Rex Iudeorum*, was wanting, and the piece of wood itself showed writing at one end and that it had been divided in two, and therefore it was thought that the rest of the letters had been carved on the other part of the wood which was missing. The writing of the letters was sufficiently concave and of good characters, which I have had copied below.²

Our Most Holy Lord took this piece of wood in his hand and examined it thoroughly; I also saw and touched it, and the cardinals stood by and likewise saw it. The Pope then returned to the Palace of St. Peter by way of the Lateran, Coliseum, Marforeo, S. Marco, Via de' Maximi, and Campo dei Fiori, and when he had crossed the bridge of S. Angelo he took leave of the cardinals. The form of the letters spoken of above is as follows.³

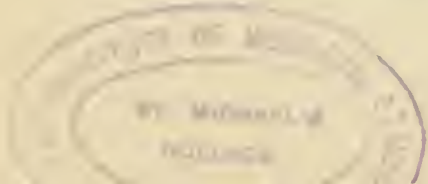
On the *Second Sunday in Lent, 18th March*, the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Giovanni Pietro, Bishop of Urbino, secretary of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, celebrated the mass in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being absent. It was his first high mass, and all the observances were as usual. The Procurator of the Order of Minors preached the sermon.

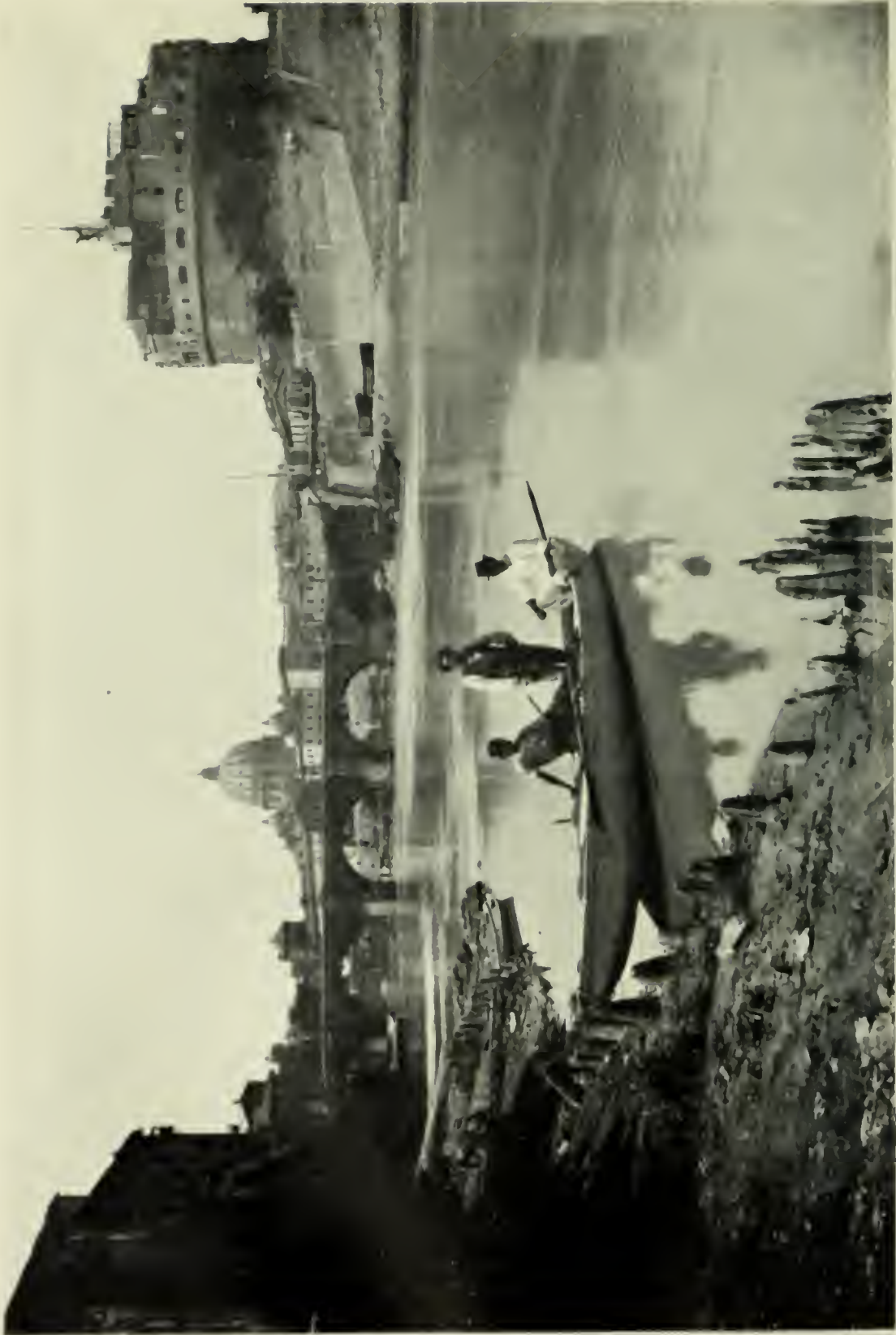
When recently the arrival of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal de' Medici,

¹ *Aliquantulum majoris* ("rather larger"). The rest of the sentence is missing in Rinaldi, p. 184.

² "Which I have had copied below." This phrase is missing in Rinaldi, p. 184.

³ The form of these letters is certainly given in the original manuscript of Burchard. Infessura mentions this discovery with details which Burchard has failed to give. See Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. iii., p. ii, col. 1238 (the text of Eccard, t. ii., col. 2003, is faulty and unintelligible at this point), and Onuphrius Pauvinius, *De praeceptis Urbis Romae Sanctioribusque Basilicis*, etc., p. 217.





THE CASTLE OF ST. ANGELO.

then in his eighteenth year, in the city, was under discussion, our Most Holy Lord instructed me to approach his lordship on the day of his arrival at the Convent of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, and because the young¹ cardinal was new to his office, to instruct him upon the several necessary points, show him what reverences he must make, and tell him all that pertained to his entry and all that he must do and say. This I did. I also asked His Holiness to be pleased to command that, on the arrival of the said cardinal, the proper ceremonies be observed, that is to say, that none of the cardinals go or send their households to meet him on the day on which he was to come to the said convent, but that all should visit him for the first time on the morning of his entry into the consistory, and escort him thither.

His Holiness was pleased to approve my suggestion and instructed me to lay the matter before the cardinals, not at his command but by virtue of my office. This I did in the case of some cardinals only, the Vice-Chancellor, the Cardinals of Benevento, S. Anastasia, Siena, the Chamberlain, Orsini, and Ascanio, and they all approved my suggestion, the Vice-Chancellor adding that before, on the arrival of the Cardinal of Foix, of pious memory, there had been the same regulation made and observed. I had two colleagues to assist me in the matter, and by our united efforts we persuaded the other cardinals also, riding to them several times and sparing no exertions. The Lord Cardinal of Orsini as a relative, and Ascanio as an especial friend, had previously arranged to be present on the day of the cardinal's arrival at S. Maria del Popolo, and to go to meet him; but at length I obtained the consent of all the aforesaid that no one should go to meet him on the first day, aforesaid, and this arrangement was very properly adhered to by them. That something may be known of this cardinal, whose name was Giovanni Medici, second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, the citizen of Florence, I will briefly relate the circumstances of his election, about which I have said nothing hitherto, because it has, for a long time, been kept secret.

This Giovanni de' Medici, on Monday, 9th March, in the year 1489, was raised to the rank of cardinal, along with five others whose names were then published. He was then in his fifteenth year, and his election was accompanied with the prohibition that, for a period of three years from

¹ Giovanni de' Medici was Lorenzo's second son. He was born at Florence on 11th December 1475. At seven years of age he received the tonsure and was declared capable of holding an ecclesiastical preferment. Upon the request made by his father to Louis XI. the latter promised the young Giovanni the first vacant benefice. The following year, 1483, true to his word, the king appointed him Abbot of Fonte Dolce. Soon afterwards Sixtus IV. gave him the investiture of the rich monastery of Passignano, and, as Roscoe justly remarks (*The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, I., p. 14), by the favours which he lavished upon the Medicis, he compelled them to forget his ancient enmity. Lorenzo desired for his son the cardinal's hat, the crown of ecclesiastical dignities (*see* the enumeration of them in Roscoe, after Fabroni).

Sixtus IV. was dead, and the new Pope, Innocent VIII., was entirely devoted to the Medicis, to whom he had just allied himself by the marriage of his son with the fair Maddalena, one of Lorenzo's daughters. Giovanni had not long to wait. In 1488, when only thirteen years of age, thanks to the incessant efforts made by his father, Giovanni was raised to the rank of cardinal, but with the condition that he should not take the insignia of his rank until three years had elapsed, which time he was to spend in completing his studies. We must indeed recognize the fact that if Lorenzo was indefatigable in working for his son's elevation, he neglected nothing which might render him worthy of the dignities with which he was loaded. *See* Roscoe's *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 1825, t. ii., p. 148, and Appendices, No. 54 *et seqq.* of the same work; *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, 1828, t. i., p. 15 *et seqq.*, and Appendix, t. iii., Nos. 1-17.

that date onward, he should neither call himself cardinal, nor presume to consider himself as such. The hat, ring, and the title of S. Maria in Domenica were then sent to him, with permission to receive them and use them with full authority when the three years aforesaid had elapsed, and not before; these were accompanied by a decree to the effect that, even if the Pontiff should die in the meanwhile, he should be considered a cardinal when the said time had elapsed. In the interval this cardinal, as a son of obedience, has considered and behaved himself as a chief notary, and has observed the commands and decrees pertaining to him in the apostolic letters.

When the end of the three years was close at hand, on Friday, the 9th of the present month of March 1492, the said cardinal with three of his household, Gio. Battista the auditor, Mario the caudatory, and Theobaldo the chamberlain, left Florence in the evening and came to his abbey, the Monastery of Fiesole, where he lay that night. On the morning of Saturday, the 13th inst., he recited the *Confiteor*, and the solemn mass of the Holy Spirit was said, but without any commemoration, by the friars of the aforesaid monastery, who are of the Order of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine. At the close of the mass the cardinal communicated, and afterwards laying upon the altar the cardinal's cape, ring and hat, he knelt there while there were read the bull relating to his election to the cardinalate, and the breve of the commission of the said monastery to the abbot. The cardinal's cape was then put upon him by Sime Staza, chief notary of Florence, and the hat and ring by the abbot mentioned above. The latter then asked of the cardinal that indulgences be given to those present, and the cardinal granted to them the indulgences usually and customarily granted by cardinals.¹ The public notary aforesaid was consulted upon all these points.

After these ceremonies the cardinal took luncheon; in the meanwhile there came to him the rest of his retainers, with the citizens of Florence, to the number of many hundreds. After luncheon a heavy rain began to fall, which lasted all that day; but, notwithstanding this, the cardinal, escorted as before, re-entered Florence in his cardinal's robes, and, dismounting from his mule before the church of the Convent of the Annunciation, he entered the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary to return thanks. He then mounted his mule and rode to the palace of the *Gonfuloniere* and the *Priori* of the people of Florence, where he dismounted and went up to thank them for favours shown. He then rode to the house of his father, Lorenzo.

On the following Sunday, 11th March, the aforesaid cardinal, escorted by a very large number of the citizens of Florence, wearing scarlet cloaks, and under them tunics of violet silk newly made for the occasion, came to the Church of S. Reparata of the city of Florence. He was there present at the solemn mass celebrated by the bishop, vicar of the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Archbishop of Florence, in full pontificals, at which mass there were also present the *Gonfuloniere* and the *Priori* of the people aforesaid. The mass ended, the cardinal visited, first, the Church of S. Lorenzo, and then returned to his father's house, where luncheon was prepared for the *Gonfuloniere*, the *Priori* and citizens of the regiment, to the number of about fifty.

After luncheon, or even while it was going on, there were thrown to the people standing outside, sweetmeats, of which on that day there were given

¹ This ceremony is related by Bossus, prior of the Monastery of Fiesole, who himself conferred upon the young cardinal the investiture of his new dignity. See Appendix, No. 39.

about 10,500. The cardinal, standing at a lattice, threw down to some of his canons new red caps, and gold rings for some of them of the value of two or three ducats. There was also prepared a banquet for the relations of the cardinal.

On Thursday, 22nd March, the arrival of the Most Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Giovanni, Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Domenica, commonly called Cardinal de' Medici, was announced to our Most Holy Lord, and, by special commission of His Holiness, I had notice of the same given to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and to the ambassadors of princes and potentates then in the city, by the heralds, to whom I gave notices to the following effect:—

“By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, let it be known to all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, that to-morrow morning, before the usual hour of the consistory, they will ride to the cloister of the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, of the city, to receive, there, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Medici, and conduct him thence to the Apostolic Palace, where there will be a public consistory, and when it is ended the cardinal will be escorted to his palace in the Campo dei Fiori, in the usual order and manner.”

This evening, the ambassadors of potentates then in the city proposed to receive and escort the said Most Rev. Lord Cardinal de' Medici, on his way to the cloister, as has usually been their practice hitherto.¹ *On the same day*, about nine in the evening, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal de' Medici, aforementioned entered the city in his cloak of red cloth, with capuce and cardinal's hat, because of the rainy weather. He was received at the Ponte Milvio by the Lord Francesco, the Pope's son, and his comrade, Count Pitigliano, captain of the Apostolic Palace, and by many others, barons and ambassadors. He came to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, where he made the customary prayer before the altar, and laid an offering of one ducat upon it. He then went by the small door, near the sacristy, into the cloisters of the monastery, where he took off his cloak and hood, which he was still wearing, and we kept them for ourselves, in return for our duties as master of ceremonies. In the cloisters there met him the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Lisbon, who presented the Cardinal of Medici with sweetmeats, marzipans and conserves in baskets, apples, pears, and many other fruits, also wine in decanters, all of which were borne by about five-and-twenty esquires, walking one behind the other in the church, carrying boxes, baskets and decanters. I remained with the Cardinal de' Medici until night, and I had his tonsure made larger. I showed him what reverences he must make to the Pontiff, and informed and instructed him on all other points, as I had been commanded by our Most Holy Lord.

On Friday, 23rd March, there was continuous rain until luncheon. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal de' Medici heard the mass in the chapter of S. Maria del Popolo, the place where the cardinals were to assemble, which was made ready with hangings on the walls and carpets everywhere upon the floor; the benches also brought from without the said chapter were covered with hangings and rugs. When the mass was ended, there came thither in the usual way their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals: first Lisbon, then Recanti, Siena, Parma, the Chamberlain, Ascanio, and Orsini, one after the other, then all together S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Angelo, Genoa, Savelli, and

¹ See, in the Appendix, No. 38, the interesting account of the journey and reception of Giovanni de' Medici, at Rome, by Petrus Delphinus, No. 40; and in Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate*, etc., t. iii., p. 406, Appendix, No 17, the brief yet adequate report of the arrival of Giovanni at Rome, sent to his father.

Colonna, and last of all the Vice-Chancellor and Naples. When these had been received and had assembled in their accustomed order, they all left together for the palace, with the Cardinal de' Medici, who rode, as is usual, in the last place between the Cardinal of Siena and the Chamberlain. When they came to the corner of the house of the Bishop of Cortona, the Cardinal de' Medici was met by the Cardinals of S. Clemente, Benevento, Aleria, and S. Anastasia; they uncovered their heads, and stood to receive him as he rode in his place between the cardinals aforesaid, also with uncovered head, and then rode to their places. When the bridge of S. Angelo was crossed, the Cardinals of Siena and St. George the chamberlain rode on ahead, in order to vest our Most Holy Lord. The Cardinal de' Medici went to the palace between the Cardinals Savelli and Colonna, into the first hall. There, with the Cardinals Orsini and Ascanio, he entered the small chapel, where there was one bench by the other door close to the altar, with a covering upon it and a carpet laid upon the floor; the aforesaid cardinals sat upon this bench to await the appointed time.

The Pope came to the consistory in the third hall, which was made ready for it, and the cardinals made their reverence.

After a short delay the Cardinal of Siena and the Chamberlain, the senior cardinal-deacons, came to the Cardinal de' Medici, and Orsini and Ascanio entered the consistory, made the reverence and sat down in their places. Meanwhile the Lord Aldello made the advocate, then bringing forward a case, keep silence, while the two cardinals aforesaid made the reverence to the Pope, and until they had taken their seats; this, however, is not usual or necessary, for their entry and reverence does not prevent the Pontiff's understanding the speaker, who is usually silent only at the entry of a new cardinal, and until he has taken his seat. At the proper time there entered the new cardinal, preceded by the Cardinal of Siena, and followed by the Chamberlain. He made the usual reverences, the first before entering the consistory, the second before the throne; he then ascended the throne, knelt and kissed the foot and then the hand of the Pontiff, and kissing his mouth also. He was next received by all the cardinals with the kiss, and at length I assigned him a place after the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Ascanio. When he had taken his place, all the cardinals seated themselves, and the advocate continued his case. When it was ended and the Pope had given his signature, the Cardinal de' Medici went up to the Pontiff, preceded by myself, but without any cardinals to assist; he was followed by his household, all the members of which were received by our Most Holy Lord for the kiss upon the foot. I was wrong, however, in not summoning the two assistants, for I should have summoned them to assist meanwhile. After the household had been received, as aforesaid, the Pontiff rose and returned to his apartments. The cardinals laid aside their vestments, and in the order in which they had come from del Popolo, escorted the Cardinal de' Medici to his palace in the Campo dei Fiori, in heavy rain. They drew up in order before his palace there, where the cardinal, keeping his hood upon his head on account of the rain, in accordance with the advice of the other cardinals, all of whom kept their hoods on their heads, thanked them individually in the usual manner, and after their departure entered his house.

It was the pleasure of our Most Holy Lord that the aforesaid cardinal should go on Sunday to the chapel or Church of the Blessed Maria sopra Minerva, where alone there was a chapel, although he had not visited His Holiness and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals.

On the Third Sunday in Lent, 25th March, the Feast of the Annunciation

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, our Most Holy Lord, robed in amice, alb, girdle, white capuce, and above it a stole embroidered in pearls, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the Church of the Blessed Maria sopra Minerva, where he was present at the public mass of the day, which was celebrated by the Rev. Father Cibò, Lord Bishop of Viterbo. There were four other prayers in the usual way, but no commemoration of the Feast, and it was the bishop's first mass.

The mass ended, the Pope gave the benediction, but no indulgences were announced, because plenary indulgences had been published on the door of the church, this being the Pontiff's pleasure. There then approached the Pontiff the friars of the Order of the Annunciation, with a bowl, and the Pontiff, through the Lord Guglielmo Cibò, his chamberlain, offered a sum of one hundred ducats; the Cardinal of Siena then gave one, the chamberlain ten, and the other cardinals at their pleasure, Ascanio seven and de' Medici ten. Then there approached sixteen maidens who were to be married, with sixteen matrons, and to each of these the Pontiff gave a purse from the bowl with money, in the usual way. The maid first, having taken the purse, and then the matron escorting her, kissed the Pope's foot. The Pontiff then laid aside his cope and mitre, and took the capuce and stole and returned to the palace in the order in which he had come, taking leave of the cardinals at the bridge of S. Angelo. The choir of Minerva was prepared, as on previous occasions, for the Pope and the cardinals only, not the assistants. The assistant priest sat with the other cardinals, and was censed there. After the offertory the Pope himself was censed, standing on the floor of the throne, where he usually sits, and then the two assistants and the other cardinals in the usual way. The clergy sat in the friars' choir; the ambassadors sat behind the bench of the cardinal-deacons, upon a bench placed crosswise, and reaching to the door of the choir, while the lay ambassadors were upon a similar bench behind the bench for the bishops and clergy. All the other observances were as usual.

On the same day the aforesaid Most Rev. Cardinal de' Medici visited our Most Holy Lord about eight in the evening, an hour named to him and also to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Anastasia and S. Clemente. He went to the house of the Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico, whom he wished to visit, but he was not at home. All the aforesaid cardinals, whom he visited, made the Cardinal de' Medici remove his cardinal's cape as soon as he dismounted, and they met him in the hall, except the Vice-Chancellor, who brought him to his apartment in his cape.

On Monday, 26th March, there was a private consistory, at which the mouth of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal de' Medici was closed. After luncheon he crossed over to the house of the Cardinal Orsini to visit him, but did not find him at home. He then visited the Cardinals of Siena, Naples, Recanati, Ascanio, Parma, and the Chamberlain, with whom he found the Cardinal Orsini.¹

On Thursday, 29th March, about nine o'clock in the evening, there

¹ There are no documents dealing precisely with the interview between the two cardinals, Giovanni de' Medici and R. Riario. In all probability it was a trying and awkward moment for both parties. Giovanni de' Medici found himself in the presence of one of the conspirators who had assassinated his uncle Giuliano, and attempted the murder of his father, the latter having had the magnanimity to protect this same Riario from the fury of the mob, who would have torn him in pieces. The memory of this bloody deed was renewed by this circumstance, and it is probable that the presence of Cardinal Orsini on this occasion was not due to chance, but was prearranged with the object of rendering less painful the obligatory visit which the new cardinal had to pay to his colleague Riario.

came to the city their Most Rev. Lordships and Fathers in Christ the ambassadors of the Most Illustrious King of Poland, sent, as they claimed, upon matters of great importance to the Christian commonwealth, and upon a matter affecting our Most Holy Lord the Pope.

Before their arrival the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, to whom the King of Poland had recourse upon matters touching His Majesty and his kingdom, asked me whether the households of all the cardinals and of our Most Holy Lord the Pope should be sent to meet them or not. I told His Most Rev. Lordship that they should not, and explained the reason of this, and he then instructed me to petition our Most Holy Lord, that His Holiness would instruct at least two clergy to meet them unofficially. But this our Most Holy Lord was not pleased to do. So the aforesaid ambassadors came to the city, and were escorted only by the household of the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor and the officials of the Polish Court, to the house prepared for their entertainment, in the usual order.

On Friday, 30th March, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Medici visited, in the morning, before luncheon, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Lisbon (whom he found in the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, which title had been bestowed upon the cardinal), Genoa, Colonna, Conza, and Savelli. He also crossed over to the palaces of the Cardinals of S. Angelo and S. Pietro in Vincoli to visit them, but did not find them at home. I had been responsible for his delay in making these visits, because he was somewhat exhausted by his exertions in visiting the other Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals on the 26th inst.

After luncheon he came to the gate of the Church of S. Maria in Domenica, which had been bestowed upon him, to visit it, but found the doors shut.

On Mid-Lent Sunday, the Fourth Sunday in Lent, 1st April, our Most Holy Lord, sitting in his own apartment next the papal chamber, upon a seat belonging to the chamber, and wearing the stole above the capuce and rochet, blessed the Rose which was held by the Lord Nicola of Ferrara, an apostolic acolyte, who knelt before him (no clerk of the chamber was present) in the presence of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Anastasia and Siena. When it was blessed, there came into the chamber also their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Benevento, de' Medici, and the Chamberlain. Then the Lord Simulfo, apostolic chief notary and clerk of the Apostolic Chamber, was summoned, and bidden by our Most Holy Lord to carry the Rose to the chapel, which he did, and was followed by their Most Rev. Lordships the five cardinals named above.

In the meanwhile there came to the chapel aforesaid the Cardinal of S. Clemente, who was to celebrate; he took the usual vestments, and performed the office in the usual way. The Procurator of the Order of Carmelites preached the sermon. After the mass was ended, the Rose was laid upon the altar, and all the cardinals withdrew; after their withdrawal, the Rose itself was carried back to the chamber of our Most Holy Lord, without any ceremony. His Holiness then sent it to the Illustrious Lord Albert, Duke of Saxony, captain-general of Maximilian, King of the Romans, in Flanders, by the Lord Heinrich Meyer, his chamberlain, who left the city with three members of his household on *Saturday, 7th April*.

On the same Sunday, after luncheon, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal de' Medici visited their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and S. Angelo, and on *Monday, 2nd April*, in the morning, he also visited their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Lisbon, in the cloister of del Popolo, and S. Maria in Portico, in his palace at St. Peter's. Three

of these he had gone to visit before in their houses, and had not found them at home, and the Cardinal of Lisbon he had found in the Church of S. Lorenzo close to his palace, and therefore they should have considered that they had been visited, but it was thought better by some persons that he should visit the four cardinals again, which he did.

On the same day, 2nd April, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, S. Angelo, Genoa, and Colonna together visited the aforesaid Cardinal de' Medici.

On Tuesday, 3rd April, after luncheon, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinal of S. Angelo, and the others aforementioned, visited him in the rain. The Cardinals of Siena, Naples, and the Vice-Chancellor came, one after the other, with a brief interval between, but they all remained with him for about two hours, and none of the others came on that day.

On the following day, 4th April, after luncheon, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Siena and Ascanio visited him in the rain.

On Thursday, 5th April, there visited him the Cardinals of S. Clemente, Parma, Benevento, Aleria, S. Anastasia, and Conza, and on *Friday, 6th April*, the Cardinal Orsini; I made no note of the others.

On the Fifth Sunday in Lent, 8th April, the Rev. Father in Christ, Filius, *alias* Filiasio, Lord Archbishop of Ravenna, assistant to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, celebrated the public mass in the aforementioned chapel, the Pope being absent. The Procurator of the Order of the Servites of the Blessed Mary, or S. Marcello, preached the sermon, and everything was carried out in the usual way.

On Tuesday, 10th April, before morning, there came to the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal de' Medici a knight from Florence, with letters from Pietro, announcing sad tidings. They reported that on Sunday, about four in the morning, Lorenzo de' Medici, citizen of Florence, father of the said cardinal, had breathed his last at Careggi, an estate belonging to the said Lorenzo, distant about twelve miles from Florence.¹ The cardinal had been informed of his father's death by the Lord Falco, general treasurer of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, who, having learned the death of the said Lorenzo, visited the cardinal in the morning. He had all ornaments and all coverings removed from his walls and couches, and ordered black caps to be given to all the members of his household. The cardinal himself wore a tunic of dark violet; all seats of brocade and velvet were removed from his apartments, and he retained all those covered with red leather and the usual stools. He had a valise made of dark violet cloth, without arms upon it, and upon his tables he retained only coverings of rascia, as also upon the buffet and couches; he had all his serving-men dressed in black. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Orsini, who was related to the Cardinal de' Medici, visited him yesterday evening, on account of the dangerous illness of the said Lorenzo, of which there was sure news in the city. To-day, after luncheon, their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Siena, the Vice-Chancellor, Naples, the Chamberlain, Savelli, Ascanio, and Aleria, and the other cardinals visited the Cardinal de' Medici in the usual way, on account of the death of the said Lorenzo. His death had been preceded at Florence by various signs, announcing, as it were, or pointing to some great event. *On Wednesday, the 4th inst.*, in a Florentine church,

¹ The death of Lorenzo de' Medici was a public calamity, and with him there disappeared the strongest supporter of the peace of Italy. (See Guicciardini, *Istoria d' Italia*, Book I., and in the Appendix, Nos. 41 and 42, the letter of Jacobus, antiquarius, to Poliziano, and the latter's reply concerning the illness and death of Lorenzo de' Medici; also the narrative of Peter Martyr, *Opus epistolarum*, Book I., Epistle CIX.)

where the sermon was being preached as usual to a large congregation of men and women, a woman in the crowd rose with a loud cry, and when asked what was the matter by the younger women, exclaimed, "Do you not see a bull with fiery horns sending forth flames and desiring to throw down the church or temple of S. Liberta¹ in which he is!" The people and the preacher alike were terrified by the woman's cry, and the office was left unfinished and they withdrew.

On the following Thursday, 5th April, about three in the morning, in the aforesaid city, there was such a heavy storm of rain as had not been seen there for many years, with such terrible thunder and lightning that the spire of the aforesaid temple was struck, and so great was the damage that several of the neighbouring houses were seriously injured by falling stones, which struck them when the spire fell. It was thought that the damage done to the aforesaid temple would cost more than 20,000 ducats to repair. It was also reported that the two lions in the palace at Florence, kept there expressly to fight, fought together so fiercely that both fell dead upon the spot.²

The first physician of Lorenzo was Messer Pierlione of Narni, a man of great learning and a wonderful master of philosophy, who, as Pietro de' Medici, brother of the aforesaid cardinal, wrote to him at Rome, because of the carelessness of the said Messer Pierlione towards the aforesaid Lorenzo, his father, in his illness, was found on Monday morning, the 9th inst., dead in a well, on the estate of the Martelli, where he had hidden the same evening after the death of Lorenzo. It was thought by many that he had been murdered and thrown into the well, rather than that he had thrown himself in alive.³

On Friday, 13th April, about nine in the evening, by the Porta Viridarii, there came to the city the Illustrious Duke Ercole of Ferrara. When our Most Holy Lord learned beforehand of his coming, he sent as far as

¹ All the MSS. of Burchard give "S. Liberta," which should be corrected for "S. Maria Novella," as is seen from the letter of Poliziano (App., No. 40) and that of Petrus Delphinus (App., No. 41). Macchiavelli (*Le Istorie Florentine*, Book VIII.) claims that it was at S. Reparata, but his witness has little weight; the history of Florence was written hastily and a long time after the event in question took place.

² He does not go so far as the sceptic Macchiavelli, who saw (or pretends he saw) in this gloomy event the intervention of heaven. (*Le Istorie Florentine*, Book VIII.)

³ We cannot state whether Pierlione committed suicide or was murdered. Sannazar believed that he was murdered. Poliziano, on the contrary (Appendix, No. 42), states that Pierlione threw himself voluntarily into a well. Petrus Crinitus also, in his treatise, *De honesta disciplina*, writes in Chapter IX., Book III., *De hominibus qui seipos in puteum jaciunt* ("upon the men who throw themselves into a well"): "What recently happened in the case of Pierlione, who drowned himself in a well at Florence, seemed an extraordinary thing, for he was a man distinguished alike for his philosophy and for his almost exceptional wisdom." Valerianus, in his *De infelicitate litteratorum*, Book I., tells the story in the same manner. According to an anonymous narrative, found in the National Library at Florence, Pierlione committed suicide to escape the vengeance of Lorenzo's servants, who accused him of having poisoned their master.

"On 8th April 1492, a Sunday, about the sixth hour of the night there died the Magnificent Lorenzo di Piero di Cosimo dei Medici at Careggi, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He had been ill for about two months of a strange malady, accompanied with severe pain in the body and head, but the physicians were never able to find out what his illness was. There was suspicion of poison, and especially because a Messer Pierlione of Spoleto, a distinguished physician who was in attendance throughout his illness, was found, on the morning following his death, lying in a well at S. Cervagio, the country seat of Francesco di Roberto Martelli, whither he had fled because certain of the household of Lorenzo had tried to murder him, suspecting that he had poisoned Lorenzo, but no trace of poison was found."

(Quoted by Fabroni, *Laurentii Medicis vita*, t. ii., p. 317, No. 220. See also in Mur., *Rer. Ital. Script.*, t. xxiii., col. 825, the *Diario di Allegretto Allegretti*.)

Florence, to meet him, the Most Rev. Fathers Nicola, Lord Archbishop of Arles, Nicola, Bishop of S. Agata, and Celso de' Mellini, Bishop of Montefeltro, who left the city on Wednesday, the 4th inst. These were followed a few days later by the Lord Bartolommeo Moreno, apostolic chief notary and governor of the city; the latter was not especially sent by our Most Holy Lord, but went because of his great affection for the duke, to whom he was as a son. The duke was met in the usual manner by the households of the cardinals, and of our Most Holy Lord the Pope of the Sacred College of Cardinals. They received him first with a kiss upon the mouth, and then spoke words of welcome as they escorted him in their midst into the presence of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, who was upon the loggia above the entrance to the palace. The Pope was sitting in his rochet, upon a low crimson seat, and he received the duke, who, kneeling before him, first kissed his foot and then his hand. The Cardinals of S. Anastasia and Orsini were present, who had been with the Pontiff along with the Cardinal of Benevento and Ascanio, who escorted the duke with heads uncovered when he came thither also with head uncovered. By command of our Most Holy Lord I gave the duke a place upon the cardinals' bench, where he sat down. The Pope then received the household of the duke to kiss his foot, and afterward the duke rose, and all the aforesaid cardinals with him, two of whom, Benevento and Ascanio, escorted him between them to the palace of S. Marco, where he was to be entertained, the other two cardinals remaining with our Most Holy Lord. We rode by the bridge of S. Angelo, the Campo dei Fiori, and the house of the Maximi, to the piazza of the principal entrance to the Basilica of S. Marco. The households of the cardinals led the way, then came the duke's household, the equeries of the Pope, and the count, all laymen, and the barons of the Roman Court and of the duke, among whom there rode last Count Pitigliano, captain of the Church, on the right, and Francesco Cibò on the left. After the duke and cardinals rode the clergy of the palace and the ambassadors; then others in the usual way. The duke had no clergy in his train. The Bishop of Mutina, his ambassador in the city, rode in his place, as an ambassador, with the other clerical ambassadors. Outside the gateway of the palace of S. Marco, before entering the courtyard, he turned and, with uncovered head, thanked the cardinals. They then withdrew, followed by all the clergy, and the duke awaited their departure, with his hat in his hand and only his cap upon his head; he then entered the palace.

Both on the way to the Pontiff and on the return journey, when riding through the narrow streets, the Cardinal of Benevento led the way; the duke followed him, and was followed by the Cardinal Ascanio. The duke came to the city with thirty-three beasts of burden, and about two hundred men on horseback, including about forty counts, barons, lords and knights.

On Saturday, 14th April, in the church of the Convent of the Blessed Maria sopra Minerva, there were held the obsequies of the aforesaid Lorenzo. Torches were placed ready in the choir and the bier with a pall laid over it, and there were the other usual preparations. There were present the Illustrious Lord Nicola Orsini, Count Pitigliano, captain-general, Francesco Cibò the Pope's son, who married the daughter of the said Lorenzo, and many other lords and clergy. The Cardinal de' Medici and the other cardinals were not present. The Rev. Father Tito, Lord Bishop of Castres in the Patrimony, celebrated the mass, and after the mass pronounced the absolutions, with one prayer, in the usual way.

Candles were distributed to all those present, to each according to his rank. Onofrio Tornabuono, who had the charge of the bank of the said Lorenzo in the Roman Court, had given orders for these to be prepared. None of those present wore mourning, but the Captain of the Church and Francesco Cibò wore long black mantles of coarse cloth reaching to the ground, and open in front. They wore them only upon that morning, and afterwards Francesco wore a dark violet tunic reaching to the knees or a little below.

On *Palm Sunday*, 15th April, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Aleria, who was to celebrate the solemn mass, came, contrary to the proper custom, to the larger chapel aforesaid, and there took all the usual vestments. Meanwhile the palms, which were to be blessed, had not yet been brought from the house of the Florentine who had prepared them, because he desired first to receive a payment of ten ducats, which were due to him on this score. Our Most Holy Lord summoned to his private apartments all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals there present, and with the consent of the said cardinals, appointed and named as Legate of the Patrimony of St. Peter the Cardinal de' Medici, and desired their Most Rev. Lordships publicly to escort him in this capacity to his palace in the usual way.¹

After this His Holiness came to the aforesaid chapel, where he blessed and distributed the palms in the usual way. The Cardinal of Aleria, when it came to his turn, came from the fald-stool for his palm and then returned to it. The Pope gave his two large palms to the Duke of Sora and the Marquis of Finale to hold.

The Duke of Ferrara was present, and received his palm after all the cardinals; after him came the Duke of Sora and the Marquis of Finale, then the assistant clergy and then the others. The Duke of Ferrara took the place which I assigned to him by command of our Most Holy Lord, after the last cardinal-deacon, de' Medici, who, both in the procession and when the Pope came to the chapel, walked alone, after the cross and before all the cardinals. Also, by special commission of our Most Holy Lord, I gave a place to the counts and barons of the duke's household, upon the first step of the throne of His Holiness, where they stood with the other counts and barons. After the distribution of the palms, the Noble Lord, the ambassador of the King of Poland, gave water for the hands of our Most Holy Lord the Pope. The Pope came in procession to his place, where he threw olive branches to the people, and then entered the apartments of the Cardinal of S. Anastasia, and the procession returned to the chapel without the Pope.

¹ Stefano di Castrocaro makes known this nomination to Pietro de' Medici in the following despatch :

“To the Magnificent Pietro de' Medici at Florence.

“To the noble Pietro.—This morning the cardinals were invited to the office, and there was the mass in the chapel of the blessing of the palms; they were all assembled when, before the celebration of the mass, our Lord summoned them within to his private audience chamber. There, all the college being present, he appointed and declared His Lordship, your brother, Legate of the Patrimony. I cannot tell you how much pleasure this appointment has given to the whole Court and city.

“Our Lord then went to the chapel, blessed the palms and celebrated the mass; when it was ended our Most Rev. Lord left the chapel and was accompanied to his house by the whole college with the greatest honour: it was a fine sight to see. Giunta arrived here yesterday evening with Mariotto, and they, with myself, present their respects to your Lordship.—Farewell.

“Rome, 15th April 1492.”

(Roscoe, *The Life . . . of Leo X.*, t. iii., p. 419, No. 24.)

The sub-deacon of our chapel took the cross and bore it, wearing an alb, because no chasuble could be had for him; two chaplains of the celebrant bore the candlesticks and censer. The Cardinal of Aleria, the celebrant, walked last after all the cardinals in a chasuble, but through a mistake on our part; for he should have worn the cope. He was accompanied by the deacon and sub-deacon who assisted him, and followed by the other chaplains.

The Duke of Ferrara did not return to the chapel after the procession, but went down to the Basilica of St. Peter and thence returned home. I had previously warned him, when the mass was over, to withdraw at once and not wait for the cardinals, who were all to escort the Cardinal de' Medici as legate, and a place amongst them could not properly be given to him for that ceremony.

Those who were to sing the Passion all had violet vestments in the proper manner, and the deacon and sub-deacon had folded chasubles. While the Passion was being sung, the Cardinal de' Medici felt a little faint and sat down; then, not being able to remain longer, he left the chapel, and went to the apartments of the Cardinal of S. Anastasia, where he heard the mass and took some slight refreshment.

At the close of the mass, while the benediction was being given, he returned to the chapel and was escorted thence to his palace in the Campo dei Fiori by all the cardinals and clergy in the usual manner. The Marquis of Baden, the ambassador of the Emperor and King of the Romans, and the ambassadors of the French king, rode after the cardinals with the other clergy, through an oversight on my part, for they should have ridden before the cardinals. I overlooked the mistake, however, for the sake of the Lord Marquis, and because I saw too late that they were riding there.

On Wednesday in Holy Week, 18th April, about nine in the evening there were begun the matins in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being absent. At the close, the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, the celebrant for to-morrow, recited a prayer. For, as our Most Holy Lord will not celebrate the public mass on Easter Day, the aforesaid cardinal and the Vice-Chancellor arranged together that the aforesaid cardinal should celebrate to-morrow and the day after, because the Vice-Chancellor was to celebrate the public mass on Easter Day.

On Thursday in Holy Week, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli celebrated the solemn mass in the aforesaid chapel in the usual way, the Pope being absent. The mass ended, all the cardinals and clergy took their vestments, and escorted the Host in procession to the small chapel, the Host being borne by the celebrant under the baldacchino. I opened the door of the small chapel which is beyond the altar, so that the clergy might go out to the Pope as they had come, and I opened it before the Host had been laid in the place prepared for It. But because, as soon as I had done it, I saw and realized that it was not right, and that it would be more fitting to wait until the Host was laid away, all except the few who had already gone away remained in the chapel until the Host was laid in the tabernacle and censed.

The clerks of the chapel took down the cross used in the Pope's processions from its staff, and bore it in their vestments, the cardinals and all the clergy being vested also. The Pope took his vestments, and came in procession to the Place of the Public Sentence and Benediction, where, after the cardinals had made him the usual reverence, the sentences were read by the Lord Giovanni de' Bernardi, the apostolic sub-deacon, in Latin,

and then by the Cardinal of Colonna in the vulgar tongue. To the sentences was added one against those who hindered requests for ecclesiastical benefices from the Apostolic See. When the sentences were ended, the Pope gave the solemn benediction and plenary indulgences. The cardinals and clergy then laid aside their vestments, and the Pope came through the usual halls and returned to his apartments. The Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli came in his white cope with the Pope to the third hall, where, having taken leave of the Pope, he laid aside the white cope and took a plain violet stole, plain violet cope and a mitre, took incense, and blessed the deacon who read the gospel.

The cardinal then took a towel and washed the feet of thirteen beggars, with the usual observances. There were present five cardinals, who stood throughout the ceremony in their capes, the Cardinals of Genoa, Benevento, Aleria, S. Anastasia, and Colonna. The table was prepared by the Pope's credentiaries in the same fashion as if the Pope had been going to do the washing. The Lords Gaspar Biondo and Giovanni Gerona, clerks of the Apostolic Chamber, and the Lord Falco, the Pope's treasurer, gave the towels and money into the cardinals' hands: all the other observances were as usual.

On the same day, about ten in the evening, there were begun the matins in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being absent. At the close, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who was to perform the office on the morrow, recited a prayer.

On Good Friday, 20th April, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli performed the sacred office in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being absent. Those who were to sing the Passion had black vestments, and the deacon and sub-deacon of the chapel had also black chasubles, folded before the breast. The Duke of Ferrara was not in the chapel, nor was there any one upon the steps of the throne. The Pope sent to the celebrant twenty-five ducats, by the sacrist, to be offered to the cross. The Archbishop of Patras preached the sermon without great credit. The celebrant came to the small chapel for the Host, and all the other observances were as usual.

The Cardinal of Recanati offered only two Florentine grossi, the Cardinal Ascanio five ducats, Medici three, and others one or an alfonso. The offertory amounted to thirty-nine ducats in gold, three alfonsi, and in small money about ninety carleni.

On the same evening, about nine o'clock, there were begun the matins in the aforesaid chapel, the Pope being absent. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma, who was to celebrate on the morrow, recited the prayer.

On Saturday, 21st April, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma, in the absence of the Pope, celebrated the office in the aforesaid chapel, where all the observances were as usual.

When the cantors had finished the prophecies and prayers, straightway, without waiting for the celebrant to lay aside his chasuble and come to the stool, they began the Litany. They should not do so, but wait.

On Easter Sunday, the Resurrection of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, our Most Holy Lord, vested in the usual vestments and wearing a tiara, came under the baldacchino, but without a procession, to the Basilica of St. Peter, where the most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor celebrated the solemn mass. The credentiaries prepared one pair of bowls and two napkins, for washing and wiping the hands of the Pope, and another napkin for the distributor and a cup for the table, and the sacrist prepared a crystal chalice with the

wafers for the communion of the people, a fair napkin for the sub-deacon, and another scented napkin for the Pope's lap, during the aforesaid communion, with a small cup for washing the Pope's fingers. After *Et homo factus est* had been said, for the communion the deacon of the chapel bore to the altar the crystal chalice, with the wafers for the communion of the people, and above it the corporal covering the Host. I reminded the celebrant that the wafers were placed ready for the people in the chalice for the consecration, which chalice of wafers was placed behind the other chalice, as before. After the celebrant had received the communion, with the purifying and washing, he washed his hands on the epistle side of the altar, standing without mitre on, with his back to the people and facing the Pope. When he had washed his hands he went up to the altar, and waited upon the same side with his face turned to the altar. Then the deacon of the chapel stood before the lowest step of the throne, and, turning half round, he recited the *Confiteor*, as before, and the Pope, taking off his cross at the usual place and not wearing it, recited the *Misereatur*, etc., and the *Indulgentiam*, etc., and, omitting several words, the *Benedictionem*, etc., then blessed the people, saying nothing.

He then sat down, took the mitre, and washed his hands in the usual way, the Captain of the Church pouring the water. I did not summon a cardinal-bishop for this wash through forgetfulness. Meanwhile, the towel was placed round the neck of the deacon of the chapel. The Pope, having washed his hands, removed the mitre and bowed low to the Host, which the deacon of the chapel first took round in the usual way in a crystal chalice covered with a paten, and then brought it to the Pontiff, taking up his position on the Pontiff's left hand, and standing there until the close of the communion. The deacon and sub-deacon were followed by two auditors of the Court, with a napkin. The Pontiff then seated himself, taking only his cap, and communicated first all the cardinal-deacons, then the Duke of Ferrara, the Captain of the Church, the Duke of Sora, the chief notaries assisting, and then others in the usual way. The cardinals kissed the Pope's hand before the communion, and his mouth after it; the others all kissed the Pope's hand before the communion, but after the communion did not kiss him at all.

The sub-deacon of the chapel stood by the pillar on the epistle side of the altar, and purified all the communicants, even the cardinals, and the clerks of the chapel poured the wine into the chalice for him.

The Cardinal of Siena, the senior assistant, held the paten with the Host placed upon it, but he did not place it under the Pope's hand when he communicated. But I think that there would be less risk if there were two patens, one of which, being empty, could always be placed under the Pontiff's hand. When the cardinals and the Duke of Ferrara had communicated, a stool was brought to the celebrant upon the epistle side of the altar, upon which he sat until the end of the communion, and wrongly. The other cardinal-bishops and priests knelt as if prostrating themselves, not as an act of devotion but for their convenience; for they preferred prostrating themselves to standing. The deacons also stood, and the four chaplains, who held torches, knelt on either side close to the altar, and held them there until the close of the communion. When the communion was ended the deacon brought back the chalice with the Hosts to its former place upon the altar. The Cardinal of Recanati, senior cardinal-priest, then approached the Pontiff, and behind him came the sacrist with the chalice and other things for the table and purificatory, and I with a vessel of wine.

After the table and purificatory had been arranged by the sacrist, who wore a surplice, the cardinal poured wine from the vessel over the Pope's fingers into the chalice, which he then gave to me, and I had it cleansed, near the altar. Then the Pope took his mitre and washed his hands, the Duke of Ferrara offering the water, assisted by the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vineoli, the second cardinal-bishop. After the celebrant had communicated, the Pope's credentiares placed upon the altar on the gospel side the Pope's two bowls with the napkins and the chalice in the usual way, and left them there until the Pope's second *lavabo*. The sacrist also placed his chalice with the cruet of wine and the purificatory upon the altar after the communion of the celebrant upon the epistle side, where he waited with them. When the communion of the people began, the grave-clothes of the Lord were exposed and shown to the people there, and they were bidden to go to the Place of the Public Benediction. After the Pope had washed his hands, the cantors sang the *Post communionem*, and the mass was ended. The Pope gave the benediction, without any indulgences. He then assumed the tiara and came under the baldacchino to the Place of the Public Benediction by way of the grave-clothes aforesaid, which were exposed to him; the cardinals and clergy accompanied him in their capes. At the aforesaid place, the Pope publicly blessed the people, and granted plenary indulgences, which the Cardinal of St. George announced in Latin, and Colonna in the vulgar tongue. There was no sermon. Their lordships the apostolic sub-deacons thought that the duty of bearing the chalice with the Host for the communion of the people was theirs, but the Lord Bishop of Pienza and myself were of the contrary opinion, and they submitted.

On Monday in Easter Week, 23rd April, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Anastasia celebrated the public mass in the same chapel, the Pope being absent. All the observances were as usual.

On Tuesday in Easter Week, 24th April, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento celebrated the public mass in the same chapel. The Pope was absent and all the observances were as usual. When the mass was ended, the cardinals formed a circle or congregation, on account of the coming of the Illustrious Prince of Capua, eldest son of the Duke of Calabria, to consider the manner and nature of his reception and the place to be given to him.

After they had discussed the matter for some time between themselves I was summoned and came to the circle, where I knelt in their midst, and was asked by the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor of the College what was my opinion upon the manner of receiving the Prince of Capua, eldest son of the Duke of Calabria, who was to come to the city, and concerning the place to be given to him in the chapel. I replied that in my opinion he should be received by two cardinals, one priest and one deacon, on behalf of the Pontiff and the college and by the households of all the other cardinals, the ambassadors and clergy of the Roman Court, and that a place should be given to him next after the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena, the first deacon. As a reason for my opinion I alleged that a place is given to all the sons of kings, whether second, third or younger sons, among the cardinal-deacons. Therefore he must be received by at least one cardinal and more properly by two, for he is the elder son of the King of Naples, because he is heir to the throne of Naples, of which he is said to hold the investiture. When Frederico and Francesco, sons of the said king, were previously in the city they had a place given them between the last cardinal-deacon and the last but one, and this prince

should have a place after the first deacon. I also adduced what I had read of these observances in the ancient books of ceremonies, and I will enter these below in the form of an extract.

The Cardinals of Aleria and Ascanio and some of the others said, in reply, that Francesco and Frederico had sat, not among the cardinals, but after the last cardinal; on this point the Cardinal Ascanio recalled that Francesco sat after him, and said that he remembered the fact well and had made a note of it.

He said, too, that Frederico, on his arrival in the city, was received by one cardinal only, viz. the Vice-Chancellor, who rode on his right hand. Further, when in the time of Pope Pius II., of happy memory, there had been in the Convent of Mantua successively Sigismund, Archduke of Austria, Francesco, Duke of Milan, and the Duke of Cleves, each of these had been assigned a place on the cardinals' bench, after all the cardinals, and had remained standing, out of respect to the cardinals. These had been dukes and higher in title and rank than the Prince of Capua, and were they present, they would never yield to him the first place.

I replied that I had previously seen, and also made a note of the fact, that Francesco had a place before the Lord Cardinal Ascanio, but I would not contradict His Lordship on this point, but yielded it. About Frederico, I did not well remember, nor was I at the Convent of Mantua, nor do our books of ceremonies state anything about this matter. The Prince of Capua is far above the Duke of Milan and the Archduke of Austria and Cleves, not by reason of his principate, but because of his anticipation of a throne and investiture. Upon my first point, the place which was given to Francesco, the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Ascanio said that I had noted it wrongly, and should correct my error, and that my further remarks seemed to him foreign to the matter under discussion. The Vice-Chancellor added that I must deliberate further upon the matter, and then give him a plain answer. My discoveries in the old books of ceremonies, of which I make mention above, are to the following effect:—

Extract from the Book of Ceremonies of the time of Lord Benedict XII.

“Ferdinand, King of Aragon, came to the Court, and on the following day there entered the city the queen with the king's eldest son, and his brother the Lord Pedro, the Infanta.

“They were received by the cardinals beyond the gate. At table and in the chapel they sat in the following order: first the Lord Cardinal of Auch, the senior cardinal, then the king with a high-backed chair and golden cushion, then the Cardinal of Toulouse, after him the king's eldest son, then the Cardinal of the Mount of Aragon; on another seat there sat first the Cardinal of St. George, then the Lord Pedro, and last of all the Cardinal of S. Eustachio.”

From another book, under the title of “Kings and Princes coming to the Court.”

“The Latin and Greek emperor, kings and their legitimate sons, if they are laymen and not priests, and kings and the daughters of the same, ought to be met by all the cardinals in the city, a good distance beyond the town. The king ought to sit upon a chair placed on the Pope's right hand, without a stool. If the son or brother of the king is present, he ought to sit between the two first cardinal-bishops, that is if the king is of the highest rank and power, but not in the case of lesser kings, when he ought to sit between the two first cardinal-deacons. If there are several.

the second, if a king, will sit upon a chair placed on the Pope's left hand ; if he is not a king, he will sit between the second cardinal-bishops or deacons, according to his rank, the third between the third, and so on."

From another chapter of the same book and title.

"Also I saw the Duke of Bourbon, the Count of Sabadell, and others, being served at banquets, at which the Lord Cardinals sat down as a college with the Pope. These lords were placed some between two cardinal-deacons, some after the last cardinal-deacon, and some among the cardinal-priests, as their rank and status demanded."

From another book.

"Let it be known that if the king is present, he receives the ashes after the first cardinal-bishop, as is said ; but the sons of kings receive the ashes in the same order as they sit among the cardinals."

From another book.

"Benedict XIII., in the twentieth year of his pontificate, in the year 1424, made a public estate in Morella, at the request of the King of Aragon who was there.

"When hearing the mass they sat in the following order : first upon a seat sat a bishop, the only cardinal-bishop then at the Court ; then came the king next to him ; in the third place, the senior cardinal-priest ; in the fourth, the king's eldest son ; in the fifth and last, another cardinal-priest. On a second seat sat, first, the senior deacon in the next place another of the king's sons, Count of Emporia ; in the third place another cardinal-deacon."

*On Wednesday, 25th April, the Feast of St. Mark, several of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, the Vice-Chancellor, S. Clemente, Aleria, S. Anastasia, Siena, Savelli, Ascanio, Genoa and others, came to the church, where the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Benevento, commendatory of that title, received them, each in the usual manner. There also came to the mass the Duke of Ferrara ; but the aforesaid cardinal, acting in accordance with my wishes, did not go to meet him. The Cardinal of Benevento stood in the cardinals' bench, after the Cardinal de' Medici, the last deacon, and the duke stood next after the cardinal. The Litanies were not said before the mass began, by my instructions ; for the Litanies are said because the approach of the Pontiff from his palace to the aforesaid church is considered as a procession, and therefore it is usual to say the Litanies then. The Rev. Father Mattia Cibò, Lord Bishop of Viterbo, celebrated the mass in red vestments ; he recited only one prayer, the *Gloria in excelsis*, the *Credo*, and the Preface of the Apostles, and the rest was as usual. After the elevation of the Host, there came the clergy with the beneficiary clerks and canons of St. Peter's. Then, after the communion of the celebrant, the ordinary procession was begun and continued, the cardinals remaining there until the end of the procession. The celebrant took his vestments at the faldstool near the altar, but, when the mass was over, he went in his vestments to the sacristy, because of the procession, and laid aside his vestments there. He then returned to the choir, and, kneeling before the Cardinal of Benevento, kissed his hand, not without a distinct appearance of levity. After the procession had completely passed, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Benevento thanked all the cardinals there present, in the usual way. They then remained in congregation, and again discussed the manner of the reception and the place to be given to the*



GIOVANNI DEI' MEDICI, AFTERWARDS POPE LEO X., CREATED CARDINAL AT THE AGE OF THIRTEEN BY POPE INNOCENT VIII. ON HIS RIGHT IS CARDINAL GIULIANO DEI' MEDICI, AFTERWARDS POPE CLEMENT VII., AND BEHIND THE CHAIR IS CARDINAL CIBO. BUGIARDINI. (CORSINI GALLERY).



Prince of Capua, but came to no conclusion. There was, however, a majority of votes in favour of his being placed either after all the cardinals, or before the last cardinal-deacon, but the decision was reserved for our Most Holy Lord.

Note that the office of St. Mark was not said to-day, but of the octave of Easter, and the office of St. Mark was transferred to Monday next: only the mass of St. Mark was celebrated and the procession held.

On Saturday in Easter Week, 28th April, the Rev. Father Thomas, Lord Bishop of Cervia, celebrated the public mass in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace. The Pope was absent, and everything was carried out in accordance with the Book of Ceremonies.

On Friday, 4th May, there assembled in the papal chamber of the Apostolic Palace at St Peter's, their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor, and the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Lisbon, Benevento, Aleria, S. Anastasia, Siena, and Orsini. The Pope was not present in the chamber, although he was in the palace. The Sultan of Constantinople sent by his ambassador (who has just reached Ancona on his mission) the head of the spear with which it is said that the side of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced as He hung upon the cross. At the close of the congregation aforesaid the cardinals proceeded to consider with what ceremonies and observances this spear-head should be received, and they agreed that it should be referred to our Most Holy Lord.¹

In the congregation various points were brought up and touched upon in relation to this matter. For, while some were of the opinion that the gift should be received with all solemnity and reverence, and in the same manner as the head of St. Andrew the Apostle in the time of Pope Pius II., of happy memory, others asserted, on the contrary, that they had seen the point of the said spear in Nuremberg, where it is exposed each year on the day which is the Feast of the Spear, and others in other States, such as Paris, where it is kept in the king's chapel. The latter, therefore, thought that it should be received from the hands of the ambassador bringing it, by our Most Holy Lord in his own apartment, in presence of all or some of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals, without any solemnity, and that we should send to Nuremberg, Paris and elsewhere to ascertain the truth, and examine the documents at Paris and also at Nuremberg, if they happen to have any apostolic letters there, from which the truth of the matter may be learned. From some chronicles . . . and the summaries . . . it appears that the spear-point was given in pledge by Baldwin II.,² then Emperor of Constantinople, to the Venetians, and by consent of the same sent to Louis IX., King of France; in others, that, from some very old chronicles, it appears that the spear-head was kept at Constantinople, and preserved there until this day, and publicly honoured and venerated by all; and that there are several witnesses, still living, who have seen it there, before the siege of Constantinople and since. They know that the Venetians sent with all diligence to the house of a certain citizen in Constantinople, who had received the spear-head during the siege of the town, and offered him for it

¹ "To Giovanni.

"There is expected here in a few days' time the point of the lance with which the side of Our Redeemer was pierced upon the cross. The Great Turk is sending it as a gift to the Pontiff, and it is said to have already been brought to Ancona. It will be received (as I hear) with especial reverence. . . .

"Rome, 5th May 1492."

(Petrus Delphinus, Book III., Letter xxxiii.)

² The names of Baldwin II. and Louis IX. are left blank in all the MSS. See *Hist. Francor Script.*, t. v., p. 333, edition of Duchesne.

fifteen thousand ducats; then again they sent to the Grand Turk, who had received it from the said citizen, and offered him seventy thousand ducats for it, but still were not able to get it. Others again said that, in the receiving of this relic, three points should be considered, namely, the gift, the recipient, and the giver, who is the arch enemy of our faith, and it would be more natural to suppose that it was done in a spirit of mockery and derision, than with any other motive.

All these, and many other remarks upon the subject, were duly considered, and it was concluded by their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals whose names I have given, that this matter and the reports narrated above should be referred by the Cardinal of Benevento to our Most Holy Lord, that he might determine and ordain what course he preferred to follow. The majority of the cardinal-priests inclined to the opinion that the spear-head aforesaid should be received by our Most Holy Lord from the Turkish ambassador without any solemnity, and then the truth should be inquired into, as to whether it were the true spear-head or some other, at Nuremberg or at Paris; then, if this fact were satisfactorily settled, it could be announced, and the relic conveyed in procession, with all veneration and solemnity, to some church, at the pleasure of our Most Holy Lord; while, on the other hand, if perhaps this relic were received in a solemn manner, and afterwards it were discovered that the true spear-head was elsewhere, the Apostolic See might be involved in contumely or confusion. However, our Most Holy Lord determined and ordained that the relic be solemnly received; and for this purpose he deputed the Lord Nicola Cibò, Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Folligno and his domestic clergy, to go to Ancona, and there receive the relic from the hands of the Turkish ambassador, and bring it thence to Rome, with a procession drawn from the several States and territories lying along the route. That this might be the more conveniently done, they were given a casket of crystal from the Pope's sacristy, and a horse, with a covered chest and other trappings in which the Host is borne, when the Pope rides out in full pontificals, with a lantern to carry a light perpetually before it.

Their lordships the archbishop and bishop aforesaid left the city to go to Ancona upon this mission *on Monday, 7th May*, and with them the Lord Aldello of Piccolomini, a canon of Siena and doctor of laws, my colleague, as master of ceremonies, who was to arrange for processions in suitable places, and direct the proper ceremonies in accordance with all previous observances.

On Friday, 11th May, in private consistory the Most Rev. Lord Giovanni, Cardinal de' Medici, was made Legate *de latere* to Tuscany and Florence, and after the consistory his appointment was announced, and he was escorted by all the cardinals beyond the Porta Viridarii in the usual way. He took luncheon in the park of the Rev. Lord Falco de' Sinibaldi, apostolic chief notary and treasurer-general, then withdrew from the city the same day and journeyed speedily towards Florence.¹

Our Most Holy Lord was apprised, about this time, of the coming of the Illustrious Lord Ferdinand of Aragon, Prince of Capua, son of the Duke of Calabria, from Naples to the city, and thereupon he deputed the Lord Francesco Cibò, his son, and the Rev. Lord Bishop of Cortona, and the Lord Falco, apostolic chief notary, clergy of the palace, and instructed

¹ After his father's death, the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici was recalled to Florence by his family affairs, and was appointed Legate to Tuscany and Florence to increase his prestige with his fellow-citizens.

them to go to the frontier of the territory of the Roman Church to meet the aforesaid Prince of Capua and receive him on behalf of the Pontiff. The aforesaid clergy left the city upon this mission *on Thursday, 17th May*.

On Monday, 21st May, our Most Holy Lord in his private apartment instructed the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Portugal to go to Civita Narina to meet the relic of the Sacred Spear-head, and for this purpose or reason he constituted and appointed them Legates *de latere*. Their Most Rev. Lordships, as sons of obedience, left the city upon this mission *on Thursday, 24th May*.

On Saturday, 26th May, about nine in the evening, by the Porta Viridarii, there entered the city their Noble Lordships Nicolao Michaele and Andrea Capello, nobles of Venice and ambassadors of the Seignory of Venice, the former, the Lord Nicolao Michaele, ambassador to the King of Naples, and the latter to our Most Holy Lord the Pope. They were received by the households of our Most Holy Lord the Pope and their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, and escorted to their place of residence in the usual way.

The form of the public proclamation was to be made throughout the city upon the coming of the Sacred Spear-head, which document, by commission of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia, I gave to the auditor of the Governor of the City on 26th May, on which same day it was to be executed. However, it was not executed on that day, but *on Monday, 28th May* :—

“Let it be published or proclaimed to-day throughout the city, by the official of the Capitol appointed for this purpose, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, that *on Thursday, the last day of this month, the Feast of the Ascension of Our Saviour*, early in the morning, His Holiness will ride to the gate of the city, near the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, by which gate there will enter the city the Sacred Spear-head with which the side of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced as he hung upon the Cross for our salvation. There His Holiness will receive the spear from the hands of the legates, and will bear it thence in procession along the river-side to the Castle of S. Angelo, and direct to the Basilica of St. Peter. Wherefore, that it may be received and carried thither with all befitting honour and veneration, let all the streets along the route be thoroughly cleansed, strewn with flowers and grasses, and adorned with hangings and with flags. Let those who are able line the way, and let all the people follow the procession devoutly with lighted tapers. Afterward, mass will be said in the aforesaid basilica, and when it is ended our Most Holy Lord will give a public and solemn benediction in the usual place, with plenary indulgences.”

The form of the notice to be given to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals for to-morrow, between six and seven o'clock, by commission of the Lord Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia, given to the heralds on Saturday aforesaid for the arrival of the Prince of Capua :—

“By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope let it be known to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals that to-morrow, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, there will enter the city by the Porta Laterana the Illustrious Prince of Capua, whom the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Benevento and Siena will go, without the said gate, to meet. All the rest will send their households, and the cardinals themselves will go to the palace to be present at the reception of the prince. Their Most Rev. Lordships will further instruct their households that, after the prince

has been duly honoured, the clergy will remain with the prince, while the other members will return home to the cardinals in order to accompany them to the Apostolic Palace, or, if they prefer, the cardinals will be able first to go to the aforesaid palace and then send their households to do honour to the prince. Let the arrival of the said prince be known, also, to the Captain of the Church, the Senator of the City, and the ambassadors of princes and potentates now in the city, and let them go to meet him with all due honour. Likewise, let it be known to the Lord Raffielle of Siena, expeditory to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, and vice-master of the household, that he send, to meet the prince, the clergy of the palace and the household of the Pope in the usual way."

On Sunday, 27th May, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, given to me by Giovanni of Pavone yesterday evening about nine o'clock, this morning I went from the city to Marino, where the Illustrious Prince of Capua was, in order to explain to him the order and ceremonies with which he was to enter the city, and come before our Most Holy Lord. In accordance with my instructions I laid these before his lordship, and gave him the order to be observed by his suite also in everything, which order, however, was not observed. His lordship left Marino about three in the afternoon. He was preceded by mules bearing burdens to the number of one hundred and thirty-three; then came the servants of lesser rank, to whom there succeeded those of higher rank, each in the order arranged by his officials deputed for this task. The first of the princes of noble blood was the Lord Alfonso of Aragon, Marquis of Gerace, half-brother of the prince; the second the Illustrious Duke of Amalfi, brother of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena; the third the noble Lord Marquis of Pesaro, and others, as will be seen registered in the list below.

About six miles beyond the city the prince was met by the Count Pitigliano, captain of the Church; Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son; Alfonso del Carretto, Marquis of Finale; and the Lord Domenico Doria, captain of the Pope's palace, with their suites. The first three did not dismount, only the Lord Domenico Doria.

The prince received, on the right, the Captain of the Church, and on the left the Pope's son, and rode between them until they met the cardinals. The prince was next met by the Rev. Lord Bishops of Beja and Astorga, ambassadors of the King and Queen of Spain, and they also did not dismount, and rightly; but the Bishop of Cortona, who came a little after the ambassadors aforesaid, did dismount from his horse, which was both unfitting and derogatory to his episcopal dignity.

About four miles from the city there came to meet the prince the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Naples and Ascanio, who had not been deputed to do this, but had come of their own accord as relatives of the prince; they uncovered to the prince, and he to them. They escorted the prince between them for about a mile, to the place where the ways divide, one leading to the Porta Latina, and the other to the Porta Asinaria, where they left the prince, who took the road to the Porta Asinaria and the Porta Laterana, so called, while the cardinals took the other leading to the Porta Latina.

In the meanwhile I arranged for our nobles to escort those in the prince's train; to the Captain of the Church I gave a place on the left of the Marquis of Gerace, to the Pope's son on the left of the Duke of Amalfi, and to the Marquis of Finale on the left of the Marquis of Pesaro, then to the others as best I could. But our nobles rode before, in a disorderly

fashion, for the Pope's son had taken his place before the Captain of the Church on the right of the Marquis of Gerace, and the Marquis of Finale rode on his right, while the captain was on the left of the Marquis of Gerace.

In this order we came to the Porta Asinaria, outside which the Cardinals of Benevento and Siena were waiting in the usual place near the Torre Rotonda. But, either because the notice was wrongly given by the heralds, or because they themselves had not obeyed it carefully, none of the households of the cardinals came without the gate, except only the household of the Cardinal of Vicenza, which came about a mile beyond the gate, and welcomed the prince in the usual words.

The two cardinals last named then received the prince without the gate with the usual words and ceremonies, and escorted him between them to the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, entering the city by the aforesaid gate. The Cardinal of Benevento led the way, and was followed by the prince, and he by the Cardinal of Siena; but afterwards, acting upon the advice of the Cardinal of Siena, the prince rode first when they came to the narrow places; Benevento followed him, and then Siena. When they reached the Basilica Laterana in the Piazza del Cavallo, the households of the cardinals began to arrive; the Pope's household came in the piazza before the church of the Monastery of S. Maria, thence they came by the furriery, and turning by the Angelo de' Maxime into the Campo dei Fiori, straight to the Apostolic Palace. In his apartment the prince drew out from its sheath the sword which he was wearing, and gave it to me to take charge of. But as I could not keep it because of the ceremonies which I must superintend, I handed it to Count Antonio of Mirandula, and he took charge of it.

The prince then came to the papal chamber, where the Pontiff was seated upon a high seat wearing amice, alb, girdle and precious stole, and the cardinals were seated round him in the manner of a consistory. He received the prince for the kiss upon foot, hand and mouth, and after kissing them the prince, kneeling, as it were, but not touching the ground, commended the king, his father, and himself to His Holiness in a few words, to which the Pope also made a brief reply. The prince then approached, and beginning with the Vice-Chancellor, was received by all the cardinals for the kiss upon the mouth.

I then, by command of the Pope, gave him a place next after the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Siena, the senior deacon, where he sat down and all the cardinals with him. There then approached to kiss the foot of the Pope, the Marquis of Gerace, the Duke of Amalfi, and all the other barons, knights and nobles in the prince's train. The prince then returned to the Pontiff, who bade the Cardinals of Benevento and Siena escort him to the apartments of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Chamberlain, next to the apostolic chamber, which apartments had been splendidly and lavishly adorned for his receptions, as well as all the preceding halls.

On Monday, 28th May, by command of their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia, I notified to the Rev. Father in Christ the Lord Giacomo of Torda, vicar of the city, that he should instruct all the clergy and monks of the city, with those of S. Paolo and all others, under whatever penalty he thought well to impose, to assemble in their vestments in the neighbourhood of the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, thence to go in procession to the Basilica of St. Peter for the veneration of the Sacred Spear of Christ.

The tenour of the documents, notifying the officials that they be present at the procession of the reception of the Spear of Christ :—

“ By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, let it be known and commanded, to the officials named below, that all and each of them, each bearing a torch, be present on Thursday next, which will be the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, at nine o'clock, in the Piazza of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, then to go in procession to do honour and reverence to the Sacred Spear with which Our Saviour's side was pierced when he hung upon the Cross for our salvation, to the Basilica of St. Peter, in such order and place as the Most Rev. the Lord Chamberlain shall ordain, each to carry in his hand his torch, under pain of a penalty of five ducats of gold, to be paid to the Apostolic Chamber without remission of the same.

“ The Masters of both Registers—The Masters of the Lead—The Keepers of the Seals—The Collectors of Lead—The Abbreviators *de parco majori et minori et prima visione*—The Solicitators of Apostolic Letters—The Procurators of Appeals—The Notaries of the Court—The Writers to the Penitentiary—The Procurators of the Penitentiary—The Notaries to the Auditors of the Chamber.”

Executed by the heralds on *Tuesday, 19th May 1492.*

“ By command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, let it be commanded those named below, that upon pain of a penalty of ten ducats, to be paid without remission to the Apostolic Chamber, that this day they give, in writing, to the Most Rev. Lord Chamberlain the names and surnames of all officials, and the offices over which they preside, or of which they themselves are the officials or chaplains, and note in the margin the names of any of the said officials absent from the city.

“ The Rescribendary—The Chaplain of the Writers of the Penitentiary—The Chaplain of the Abbreviators—The Chaplain of the Solicitators—The Chaplain of the Collectors of the Lead—The Treasurer of the Notaries of the Court.”

Executed by the heralds on *Tuesday, 19th May 1492.*

In order that the Sacred Spear-head which the Grand Turk is sending by Chamisbuerch, his ambassador, to our Most Holy Lord, might be the more fittingly received, and that our procession be not derided or mocked at by the same infidel ambassador, our Most Holy Lord ordained that the said ambassador should make his entry into the city on the Vigil of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the day preceding the coming and reception of the spear; the form of the notice to be given by the heralds being to the following effect :—

“ By command of our Most Holy Lord, let it be known to all the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals that to-day, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, there will enter the city by the gate of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, the ambassador of the Sultan. Wherefore let them send to meet him their esquires only, not their clergy or chaplains, and let them wait for him beyond the gate aforesaid, and let the Count Pitigliano, captain of the Holy Roman Church, speak for all, and welcome him to the city, then let them receive him and escort him thence in the usual way.

“ Let it also be known to the Captain of the Church, Francesco Cibò the Pope's son, the Master of the Household of His Holiness, the Senator of

the City, and all ambassadors of princes and potentates now in the city, that they go to meet him and escort him, as is said above."

Executed by the heralds on *Tuesday, 19th May 1492*, at the hour of luncheon.

On *29th May*, about the hour of Vespers, the Count of Pitigliano, captain of the Church, Francesco Cibo the Pope's son, with the Roman nobles, left the city by the *Porta Viridarii*, and hastened by way of the meadows towards the *Ponte Milvio* to meet the Turkish ambassador, but he, in the meanwhile, rode by the bridge aforesaid towards the *Porta del Popolo*.

When I saw the captain's mistake, I made the ambassador wait half-way between the bridge and the gate aforesaid, and the captain and Francesco, with their nobles, came up from behind and welcomed the ambassador, the captain saying, "Welcome. Our Lord and the cardinals send their households to do you honour. Welcome."

The households of the cardinals were scattered in both directions, so that the ambassador could not see them at the time, but he came up with them and they each joined his escort but said nothing to him.

The ambassador had only five retainers, and with him was the Lord Giorgio Bucciardo, cousin of the Bishop of Arles, also his interpreter with two servants. This Giorgio repeated the captain's words to the ambassador, and then replied in his name. The ambassador rode between the captain on his right and the Pope's son on his left, from the aforesaid place to his place of entertainment. There also came beyond the gate to meet the ambassador the lay ambassadors of the King of Poland, the Seignory of Venice, the Dukes of Milan, of Florence, and Siena. We rode in the following order:—A mounted soldier rode first, and was followed by the households of the cardinals and they by the ambassador's household; then came the ambassador himself, between the captain and Francesco, followed by the ambassadors named above, and they in their turn followed by the other nobles. In this order we came to *S. Maria in Via Lata*, and thence by the house of the *Maximi* to the *Campo dei Fiori*, and straight to the *Piazza of St. Peter*, thence by the road which passes close to the stables of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of *S. Maria in Portico* we came to the house of the Lord *Bartolommeo Mentino*,¹ late private chamberlain to our Most Holy Lord the Pope, once the house of the Bishop of *Cervia*, which had been assigned for the entertainment of the said ambassador. Here, after being thanked by the ambassador in the usual way, they all withdrew.

Form of the notice to be given to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals concerning the reception of the spear-head, delivered by me to the Abbot of *S. Sebastiano*, the Pope's sacrist:—

"Let it be known to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals that on the Vigil of the Ascension there will be vespers in the larger chapel of the palace. On the next day, early in the morning, our Most Holy Lord will ride to the gate of the city which is by the Church of the Blessed *Maria del Popolo*, through which gate there will enter the city the Sacred Spear-head, with which the side of Our Lord Jesus Christ was pierced when He hung upon the Cross for our salvation; there he will receive the spear from the hands of his legates and will bear it in procession thence by the river-side to the Castle of *S. Angelo*, and on to the *Basilica of St.*

¹ *Bartolommeo Antino*, MSS. 5153-9, *Oxtino*, 149; in *Vialard, opus cit.*, p. 48 C., *Ertino*.

Peter. There will be sung the solemn mass of the Feast, which the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente will celebrate; after the mass our Most Holy Lord will give the public and solemn benediction in the usual place. The procession will be made in white vestments and with torches, but at the benediction no vestments will be worn, and there will be no sermon."

I therefore advised the Pope's sacrists, the clerks of the bells, and the Pope's foresters, to send to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo for the appointed day the white cope, the precious and the plain mitres, two fair napkins, one for the neck and one for the hands of the Pope, two candlesticks, a censer with naviele and incense, and the baldacchino.

During these past days I was summoned to the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia, to arrange for the reception of the said relic, and I found there with them the Rev. Father in Christ, Giovanni Pietro, Lord Bishop of Urbino. Many things relative to the ceremony were spoken of, and, among others, that on account of the ill-health of our Most Holy Lord, the spear-head might be conveyed by way of the meadows to the palace of the Spinelli without the Porta Viridarii, and borne thence in procession by way of the aforesaid gate or the castle. This would be the most convenient route for the procession in the extreme heat of this season, or in case of mud, if the rain falls on that day, as it has for many days past. Another suggestion was that the procession be from the del Popolo to the Basilica of St. Peter, all wearing their vestments, the clergy of the city walking, those of the Pope's chapel as is done at the Pontiff's coronation, except that they would properly use on this occasion ordinary trappings and not those with white embossing. They thought also that the Blood of Christ in the Basilica Laterana and the Title in the Church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, should be borne in procession to meet the said spear-head. I also recalled to their memory the things which had been said recently, on the 4th inst., in the congregation of cardinals met together for this purpose, that because of the story current in Nuremberg, in Germany and in France about the presence of this spear-head with them, and also because of the ill-health of our Most Holy Lord, the spear-head should be left at Narina, or in the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, or brought privately to His Holiness and kept in his possession; that, in the meanwhile, diligent inquiry should be made to learn the nature of the real spear-head, and where it was to be looked for, so that we might know if this were indeed it; then it might be received and preserved with all veneration and honour and without fear of calumny.

The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals aforesaid considered each of these points, and said that they would lay them all before our Most Holy Lord, who would then decide as seemed best to him. They also told me that our Most Holy Lord thought it fitting that on the Vigil of the Ascension next all the people should fast, because of the reception of this relic; I replied that such a reception should be accompanied with rejoicing on the part of the people, and as between Easter and Ascension there are no fasts, perhaps some might be led to blaspheme by this fast, instead of showing devotion. I was of the opinion that it would afford more rejoicing if, instead of a fast, our Most Holy Lord should order fountains of wine to be placed in some of the Piazze, through which the procession was to pass, for the refreshment of the passers-by. This also they said that they would lay before His Holiness, and having listened to all their suggestions, omitting only the command for a fast, His Holiness ordered every thing to be done as is seen in the notices entered above.

On *Wednesday, 30th May*, there were the pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the Apostolic Palace at St. Peter's, the Pope being absent. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente, performed the office, and all the observances were as usual. After the vespers, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope, I informed all their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals that His Holiness intended to be at the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, and therefore they could either come earlier to the palace or be at the said church at that hour.

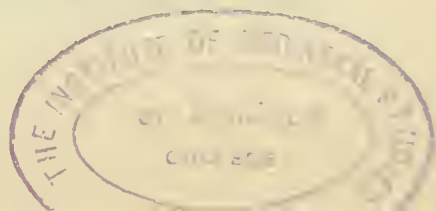
On *Thursday, 31st May*, the Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ, early in the morning, our Most Holy Lord, vested in amice, alb, girdle, and precious white stole over white capuce, preceded by the cross and the cardinals, came to the Church of the Blessed Maria del Popolo, not by way of the river, but before the Church of S. Celso, the Torre Sanguinea, and the house of the Cardinal of Portugal, and thence direct to the church. He made a prayer before the altar, removed his capuce, and, retaining the stole, put on over it the precious cope and mitre. Meanwhile all the cardinals and the clergy took their proper vestments, without or within the church, and the officials surplices. Our Most Holy Lord then came in procession, but without the baldacchino, because of the great throng of people, preceded by the officials, the cross, the clergy, cardinals and others in the usual way, about forty paces beyond the Porta del Popolo, where there stood the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Lisbon in their vestments, with their households and many lighted torches.

As our Most Holy Lord drew near, the two aforesaid cardinal legates, lately sent upon this mission to Narina, advanced towards our Most Holy Lord. S. Pietro in Vincoli offered to our Most Holy Lord the spear-head in a crystal casket, which he was holding in his hands, with a few words fitly prepared for the occasion. Our Most Holy Lord, laying aside his mitre, also replied in a few words, and took the casket with the spear-head, which he kissed reverently. Then the Pope resumed his mitre, and the procession was set in order by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Chamberlain; the Pope did not offer incense here or in the Church of del Popolo, or outside the gate, because of the tumult of the clergy of the city, with the societies (or *confraternite*) of S. Salvatore, S. Annunziata, Gonfalone and many others. Everything around the church was in such confusion that it was more than an hour late before the Chamberlain could set the procession in order; the societies would not follow the clergy, and even contended one with another for the precedence.

At length, when the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal bade them, under pain of penalty, either to withdraw or to proceed, they proceeded, and our procession followed in the order given below.¹ . . .

The baldacchino was borne by the barons and nobles who came with the Prince of Capua to Rome, as well as by our own nobles, so that there was a large number of them. To avoid dispute, I gave a place to our conservators before the baldacchino, by command of our Most Holy Lord the Pope. Our Most Holy Lord had arranged on the day aforesaid that a priest should return to the church with the spear-head. This was omitted, however, as superfluous and unnecessary, on account of the tumult and throng of people, which caused the procession to be arranged and begun in great confusion, though it was continued in a more fitting manner. All the

¹ Here follows a long list of officials, clergy, etc., which is omitted as containing little of general interest.



route from the Palace of the Martelli to the Basilica of St. Peter was thoroughly cleansed and ornamented with hangings; and before the houses of the Cardinal of Parma and others there were hangings, and from the Church of the Blessed Maria in Transpontina to the basilica, on either side, were the banners of the cardinals. My colleague Giovanni Maria had divided the road into lengths between them. By this route and in this order we came to the basilica. I saw there that our Most Holy Lord was weary and faint; therefore, not far from the house of the Cardinal of S. Clemente, I said to His Holiness that it would be better if he went up straightway to the Place of the Public Benediction, solemnly blessed the people there, and then returned to his apartments and to rest, while the cardinals went to the mass to be celebrated in the basilica. This His Holiness decided to do. The procession was therefore dismissed beneath the portico of the basilica, and the cardinals and clergy went up in their vestments after the pontifical cross to the aforesaid place, where the Pontiff solemnly blessed the people with his hand in the usual way, the Vice-Chancellor holding the casket with the spear-head before the Pontiff meanwhile, and granted plenary indulgences to those both there and in the church who took part in the procession. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal Chamberlain announced these in Latin and Colonna in the vulgar tongue, and when they had been read, the Pontiff made the sign of the cross over the people with the casket and the relic.

There then approached the Pontiff, Chamisbuerch, the ambassador of the Sultan, by whom he had sent the relic aforesaid, and presented certain despatches to His Holiness. He further explained by Giorgio Bucciaro, his interpreter, that His Highness had sent this relic, and requested, that he might visit the brother of His Highness, that His Holiness would speedily send him back. His Holiness replied that he would see the despatches and would then give him his answer; he handed the despatches to the Archbishop of Arles to keep, and they were not opened then. It was said that the ambassador had brought the Pontiff forty thousand ducats in the despatches here specified, and on this account they were not read.

The Pontiff then went up to the palace, dismissing the cardinals in the court, and they went to the basilica, where the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Clemente celebrated the public mass, and all the observances were as usual. The Illustrious Prince of Capua was present at the mass, and sat after the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena, the senior deacon. I was asked by the latter in what order the *pax* should be given to the prince, as he was standing among the cardinals, not behind them. He desired me to take the opinion of the Most Rev. the Lord Vice-Chancellor on this point, and both he and my Lord Bishop of Pienza, to whom likewise I then communicated it, were of my opinion. This the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Siena followed, and gave the *pax* to the prince and the prince to the Chamberlain. Towards the close of the mass the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia said that it might happen that the prince would escort the Pope to the palace; and in that case they wanted to know what place I thought should be given to the prince. I replied that they should place the prince between them, but this was by no means agreeable to the Cardinal of Aleria, who was between them, or to themselves. They desired me therefore to ascertain the opinions of their Most Rev. Lordships the Vice-Chancellor and the Cardinals of Naples and Siena upon this point, as I did: they all agreed with me. When they learned this, they wanted me to ask the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico also; he replied that he left the

decision in this matter to those who had thought that the prince should be assigned a place after the first deacon.

I told the Cardinals of Benevento, etc., aforesaid, that it ought not to be news to them that the prince must be received between them, because, since a place has been given to him in the college before all the cardinal-deacons, except only the first present, and he therefore in the college takes precedence of the cardinals present, it is only right that outside the college all the cardinals should do him honour—that is, as individuals, to him as an individual. Wherefore, if one or five priests or deacons ride with the prince through the city, they must receive the prince amongst them, and far more must they do so in the Apostolic Palace, where the cardinals reside. But whether the cardinal-bishop should put the Prince before him in the road or not, that point I left to the judgment of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal-bishops.

On Sunday, 3rd June, in the first chamber after the hall of the Pontiff's, above the garden, there was placed ready a low chair of gold brocade, with one step leading up to it, placed against the wall, and above it a golden canopy was spread, and by the chair on either side many stools were set covered with velvet, for the marriage of the Pope's nephew to be celebrated there. As the hour drew near, about two in the afternoon, by the instruction of our Most Holy Lord, the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia went to the Prince of Capua and brought him between them from his apartments to the Pontiff, accompanied by his princes and barons. When he had come to the Pontiff, the ladies were waited for, and after their coming, the Pontiff came out to the chamber aforesaid, and took his seat upon the said chair.

On his right were the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and S. Anastasia, on his left Benevento, and next to him the Prince of Capua. Next to S. Anastasia with a moderate space between, upon similar stools, sat Teodorina, the Pope's daughter; Peretta, her daughter; Battistina the bride, also her daughter; Maddalena, the daughter of the late Lorenzo de' Medici, wife of the Pope's son; and many other ladies after her. Next to the Prince of Capua, that is to say on the left of the Pope, there stood Aloysio of Aragon, Marquis of Gerace, the bridegroom; the Duke of Amalfi; Francesco Cibò, the Pope's son, and many other nobles to the number of about forty. After silence had been secured, the Rev. Lord Giovanni, Archbishop of Ragusa, the datary, kneeling before our Most Holy Lord, at a proper distance of two cannes or thereabouts, made a brief oration, in which he expounded the institution of the sacrament of matrimony and its dignity. After this, he rose and stood in the same place, and turning to the Illustrious Lord Alfonso of Aragon, the half-brother of the Prince of Capua, spoke these or similar words: "Most Illustrious Lord Luigi of Aragon, will you take the Most Illustrious Lady Battistina Cibò, here present, to be your lawful spouse and wife?" and he straightway replied, "I will." Then, turning to Battistina, the archbishop said: "Most Illustrious Lady, will you take the Most Illustrious Lord Luigi of Aragon, here present, to be your lawful spouse and husband?" To these words she made no reply, but after the archbishop had repeated the words, she replied, "I will." The bride and bridegroom then approached the Pontiff, and kneeling before him, the bridegroom placed the wedding-ring upon the third finger of the bride's left hand, and then many rings upon the other fingers of that hand, and upon the other the right hand of the bride, which Giovanni Gioviano Pontano, the chief secretary of the Most Serene King of Naples, handed to him. Next, the bridegroom first

and then the bride kissed the Pope's foot, and the bridegroom standing up also kissed the bride. She then returned to her place, and the bridegroom sat beside her. The Pontiff then rose and returned to his apartment, and all the others separated and went their own ways.¹

On Monday, 4th June, there was a private consistory at which the Illustrious Prince of Capua was invested with the Crown of Sicily, to which he was to succeed after the decease of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, or, should he die first, after the decease of King Ferdinand.²

On Wednesday, 6th June, about six in the evening the Illustrious Prince of Capua rode between the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Siena on his left and Benevento on his right to the Apostolic Chamber, all the households of the Pope and cardinals waiting for him there or without on horseback, and then withdrew from the city to return to Naples, escorted as far as the Porta Laterana, or Asinaria, by their Most Rev. Lordships aforesaid, and the clergy and households of the Pope and all the cardinals. At the narrow places the prince took the lead, followed by Benevento and then Siena. He rode out by the route by which he had entered the city; he lay that night at Marino, but took breakfast in the Grotta Ferrata, where the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli. . . .³

On Saturday, 9th June, the Vigil of Pentecost, there were the pontifical vespers in the larger chapel of the palace, the Pope being present. The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Parma performed the office.

On the following day there was solemn mass in the Basilica of St. Peter, which was celebrated by the aforesaid cardinal, the Pope being again absent. A friar of the Order of Carmelites preached the sermon, and at the close announced the plenary indulgences granted by our Most Holy Lord the Pope for the Cardinal of Parma aforesaid.

There was in the city at the Church of the Blessed Maria Transpontina a general chapter of the friars of the said Order of the Carmelites for the election of a new general of their Order, or the confirmation of the present general in his office. The friars of this Order made a general procession, and entered the basilica when the sermon was begun, and came as far as the chancel of the Pope's larger chapel, but did not enter, and left the church by another nave. The old general was confirmed in his office at this chapter.

On Thursday, 14th June, about seven in the evening, by the Porta Viridarii there entered the city the Rev. Father in Christ, John, Lord Bishop of Durham, ambassador of the King of England; he was received by the households of the Pope and all the cardinals, and those princes who were then in the city, and escorted by them in the usual order to the house of the late Lord Giacomo Biqueto, which was prepared for his occupation.

¹ King Ferdinand addressed a letter of thanks to the Pope on the occasion of this marriage. (See Trinchera, *Codice Aragonese*, Vol. II., No. xli., p. 43.)

² This new investiture of the Kingdom of Sicily was necessary, Innocent VIII. having declared in public consistory in the month of November 1498 that King Ferdinand was dispossessed of his kingdom, and he then returned to the Roman Church. (See Infessura in *Eccard*, col. 1991; and Rinaldi, *Ann. Eccl.*, t. xxx., p. 158, No. 8, and p. 180, No. 10 and No. 11 the Bull of Investiture; *Dudum felicitis recordatorius*, published by Lunig, *Codex Italiae diplomaticus*, t. ii., No. 128, col. 1295.)

The King of France protested in the person of his ambassadors against the investiture of the Kingdom of Naples. King Ferdinand sent instructions on this subject to Giovanni Battista Coppola. (See Trinchera, *Codice Aragonese*, Vol. II., No. cxxiv., p. 115.)

³ The same *lacuna* occurs in all the MSS.

There was a dispute between the ambassadors of the King of Spain, the Bishops of Beja and Astorga, on the one part, and the Lord Giovanni Gilio of Lucca, an old ambassador of the King of England, on the other, upon the question of precedence, and persuaded by the said bishops, I gave to Giovanni, Archbishop of Ragusa, the first of the palace clergy, a place on the right of the Bishop of Durham, and to the aforesaid Lord Giovanni Gilio on his left, although . . . (*Ejusdem, licet preter. . .*¹)

On the following day the Pope began to be ill, and through fear of his death Prospero Colonna and Giovanni Jordano, son of Vergineo Ursino, who were staying with the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, came with many other barons and Roman citizens to the palace of the conservators, and there addressed them,—the heads of districts were not with them,—and stated and made known to the said officials and citizens that they, the barons, were of one mind with the Roman people, whom they dearly loved, and forthwith they offered themselves and their castles and their goods to the Roman people for their welfare and goodwill, and asked them, if the death of the Pontiff should chance to come, that they would join with them for their aid: on their part the conservators and citizens offered them whatever could be offered.²

On 25th July, St. James's day, about six or seven o'clock in the morning, Pope Innocent VIII. died; may his soul rest in peace.³

¹ MS. 5521, t. iii., f. 301: *Ejusdem, licet preter*, is written in another hand and has been added later. *Licet per D. Iacobum Biguetum fuerit contradictum*, MS. Chigi, f. 689, V. The first volume stops here; there follows an index of contents. *Licet preter ordinem*, thus ends MS. Magliabecchi 149, fol. 384, and also MSS. 5158, fol. 224, and 5159, p. 1070. As for MS. 5521, t. iii., it contains forty-two lines more of not very close writing, which give word for word the text of Infessura. We reproduce them only to conform to MS. 5521, which we have followed. Burchard's journal here shows a *lacuna* of five-and-a-half months, for he only properly resumes on the first Sunday in Advent, 2nd December 1492. It was probably to fill this *lacuna* that the text of Infessura was interpolated. For the same reason we have published in the Appendix the despatches, hitherto unpublished, of the Florentine ambassadors, dating from 15th July 1492 to the election of the Vice-Chancellor Rodrigo Borgia, who succeeded Innocent VIII. under the title of Alexander VI. (App., Nos. 44-56). On the night of November 20-21, 1488, Innocent VIII. had had an attack of apoplexy. In March 1490 he had almost died, and from that time he had never completely recovered (see Infessura in *Eccard*, col. 1997). His feeble health made him anxious for rest and to avoid all occasions which might cause distress. For some time he had been ill with fever, and his condition was aggravated by fits of coughing and an affection of the bladder. The doctors despaired of his recovery, and had forewarned his family of his approaching end. See the despatches of Vespucci to the Signory, in which the Florentine ambassador reports day by day the condition of the Holy Father, the situation at Rome, the action of political factions, and the practices of the cardinals in view of the election of the new Pontiff. (Appendices, Nos. 44-57.)

² (1) What this present was is not known. (2) *Salutatio* = *munus, donum* ("present"). See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, at the word *Salutatio*, 3. (3) See Appendix, No. 50, the despatch of Valerio to the Otto di Praticà, dated 23rd July.

³ When the Pope was dead, Valerio addressed the following despatch to the Signory:—

"My Noble and Most Honoured Lords.

"Your Lordships have many times heard from me of the Pope's serious illness, and in what danger of death he has been for a week past. It has pleased God to this hour, about half-past eight, to call to Himself his blessed soul, so that our city has truly to mourn at the loss of such a Father. His Holiness died as a good Pontiff, with all the Sacraments, and retaining consciousness until he breathed his last. The country is all in arms at his death, but I will not write at more length upon any particular, so that

no time may be lost, for it seems to me to serve every good purpose to make known his death without delay to your Lordships, whom I will diligently keep informed day by day of everything which, etc.

“Rome, 26th July 1492, 9 a.m.

“FILIPPO VALORIO, *Ambassador.*”

On the back: “To the Noble Eight Lords of the Praticà of the Republic of Florence. My Most Honoured Lords—Florence.

△ + △

“Cito.
Cito.
Cito.
Cito.”

(*Archivio Fiorentino*, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8, No. 378.)

On Innocent VIII., see Giacconius, *Vitae et res gestae Pont. Rom.*, etc., t. iii., col. 100, and the note by Mansi in the *Annales Eccles.* of Rinaldi, t. xxx., p. 186, note 17.

“Innocent VIII. was a man of fine stature, fair and comely; he was a man of slow wit and of little or no culture. He was sometimes seen to fall asleep at public functions. He enjoyed good health, but two years before he died, during an illness, he fell into a sort of trance, and remained to all appearance lifeless, with no perceptible movement of the pulse, for about twenty hours. The news that he was dead was spread abroad; and the cardinals had already assembled to arrange about his successor, when suddenly he was found to be alive.” (Volterrani, *Commentariorum Urbanorum*, Book XXXVIII. Basilicae, 1530, *Anthropologie*, Book XXII., fol. 261, V.)

The Pope was buried in St. Peter's. His tomb (see Gregorovius, *Le tombe dei Papi*, p. 105) was the work of the chisel of Pollaiuolo, and bears this epitaph:

D . O . M
 INNOCENTIO . VIII . CYBO . PONT . MAX
 ITALICAE . PACIS . PERPETUO . CUSTODI
 NOVI . ORBIS . SUO . AEO . INVENTI . GLORIA
 REGI . HISPANIARUM . CATHOLICI . NOMINE . IMPOSITO
 CRUCIS . SACROSANTAE . REPERTO . TITULO
 LANCEA . QUAE . CHRISTI . HAUSIT . LATUS
 A BIAZETE TURCARUM . TURANNO . DONO . MISSA
 AETERNUM . INSIGNI
 MONUMENTUM . E . VETERE . BASILICA
 HUC . TRANSLATUM
 ALBERICUS . CYBO . MALASPINA
 PRINCEPS . MASSAE
 FERENTILLI . DUX . MARCHIO . CARRARIAE . ETC.
 PRONEPOS
 ORNATIUS . AUGUSTIUSQ . POSUIT . ANNO . D . MDCXXI .

APPENDIX

1

THE Pope has had pains in the body and a fever of a bad kind. The astrologers have predicted his death for June.

“To the Magnificent Lorenzo dei Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—This letter is only to inform you that our Lord was taken ill with colic on Sunday, accompanied by a fever of a bad kind, which has not yet left him. It is given out by our Lord’s household that His Holiness is better, but the facts point to the contrary, for the Castellan of S. Angelo has provided the castle with both coin and men. The Orsini have only taken the bridges: to their mind there is no hope of his living, especially as the astrologers have prophesied that His Holiness is to die this month, and the eclipse is due to-day. May God provide for the needs of his people!

“ROME, June 16th, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI.”

(*Archivio Mediceo innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

2

The Pope’s condition is worse. His tongue is so swollen that he can no longer articulate. Candidates for the Papacy.

“To the Magnificent Lorenzo dei Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—It is understood that our Lord is worse, and his tongue is so swollen by catarrh that he cannot form any words. It is thought that he will not live more than two days. I consider that we should think of a successor who will be, if possible, more neutral and more friendly to our State; and that the Lord Ascanio on his journey will agree in this with you. Here they are preparing for the proceedings: They are agreed upon *Marcello ad Agri and Molfetta*. I thought that they would look to *Naples*, nor do I think there is any doubt of his being *too much for the King*, because he is not at all well pleased about the money. If he should not meet with your approval *Lisbon* would be a good candidate, and he is well disposed.¹

“ROME, August 12th, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI. *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

¹ The words in italics are in cipher in the original.

3

The Pope is at his worst.

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation. . . .

“I wrote to-day to your Lordships of the attack which His Holiness our Lord has had. I have since learned that he grows steadily worse; and the catarrh has so swollen his tongue that he can scarcely form a word. It is anticipated that he can only live a very short time, perhaps less than two days. I have thought it well to give this information to your Lordships, to whom always I present my respects.

“ROME, first hour of the night, *August 12th*, 1484.

“Your Lordships’ Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

“To the Noble Lords the *Dieci di Balìa*, of the State of Florence, Honoured Fathers, etc.”

(*Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

4

The Pope has had a seizure. His life is despaired of.

. . . “ROME, *August 12th*, 1484.

“*Postscript.*—It is reported, on good authority, that our Lord had a seizure, or fit, about two o’clock, which lasted about forty minutes. They sent from the palace for the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, despairing of His Holiness’s life. He was just beginning his dinner, and with his Lordship was the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Novara, but notwithstanding this he left without ceremony and went to the palace. The attack passed off, but left His Holiness very faint, and he took a little nourishment. It is stated by his doctor, as I have learned from a reliable authority, that this is a bad sign, and that with two more such attacks or less, His Holiness would render up his soul to God. I have thought it right to notify this to your Lordships.

“ROME, at the same hour, *August 16th.*”¹

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

5

The Pope is dead. Ascanio, in spite of the opposition of some of the cardinals, will be admitted to the conclave.

“To the Noble Lorenzo, etc., at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—You have learned from myself and others of the Pope’s death. And in one of my letters I told you that things were pointing

This letter is not signed, but it is in Vespucci’s handwriting.



ERCOLE I. D'ESTE, DUKE OF FERRARA. DOSSO DOSSI. (MCDENA).

Facing page 353.

to *Agri and Molfetta*, and this I repeat: what is needed is either one who would be a staunch friend to the community, and this as far as one can judge we have hardly any one qualified to be, or one more neutral if it could be, and thus it seemed to me that *Naples* would be best: nor is there any doubt . . . *because his household is not well pleased with the King, and he himself is very ill disposed*, and the result of this is seen in the quarrel with him. For this or other reasons I wrote to you of *Lisbon*, who, I believe, would be a friend to you and to the city, or at any rate neutral.¹ There has been some discussion among the cardinals as to whether the Lord Ascanio should have any voice, active or passive, in the election of the Pontiff, by reason of a Bull made by Eugenius IV., in which it is stated that no one, who has not been first received in consistory, can be admitted. I think this affair is brought up against him by his enemies in order to be free in their votes; but as far as I hear, the Vice-Chancellor and others are of opinion that he should be admitted.

“Of other events following upon the death of the Pontiff you will learn from my letter to the Duce.

“ROME, August 14th, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Medi. inuanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

6

After the Pope's death, the cardinals assembled in the palace and delegated some of their number to take an inventory of the effects. The populace has sacked the houses of Count Riario and Girolamo della Rovere. Messer Giacopo Conti is deputed to guard the palace.

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation. . . .

“After the death of His Holiness the Pope the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals all betook themselves to the palace the same night, and deputed to take the inventory of the goods and to guard what is in the palace the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Novara, Macon, Molfetta, and Agri. Then the Noble Messer Giovanni Angelo and the Rev. Lord Ambassador of Ferrara and myself went to offer our condolences to the aforesaid cardinals as representatives of the whole College, upon the death of the Pontiff, and to inquire the wishes of our Lords for all honour and advancement to the Holy See and the Sacred College. We did the same to their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Parma, and the Chamberlain respectively, all of whom showed themselves much gratified by our visit, and replied thanking us, and tendering such wishes as are befitting to such a visit. The Most Rev. the Lord Chamberlain, in earnestly recommending the Count, was shown to be of an open mind, especially as the Sacred College had been often offered to him.

“On our return from the palace we saw a great throng of people around the Count's house, sacking it. It was only the common people, however, and there was no one to prevent them. In the house there was nothing else to be pillaged but wood-work and provisions. All this was taken away, and the doors and windows were carried off, and a large part of the window railings; the trees and plants in the garden were uprooted and a

¹ The words in italics are in cipher in the original. The same remark applies to the following despatches.

marble fountain in the garden, the lead of the conduit, the partitions in the stable, and the racks and mangers, which were all of marble and built into the wall. Chimneys were cut down and thrown from the windows to the ground, and even a piece of the gilded rose of the ceiling. Never was there seen such contempt and destruction; and still they did not cease to destroy and take away until they came to the hinges and nails of the house, and truly one may say that this house is little better than that of the Colonna.

“Here all the city is under arms, and yesterday they sent to sack some of the warehouses and vessels belonging to the Genoese on the river bank; the warehouse of the Centurioni would have suffered in the same way, but it was ransomed for thirty ducats. Every man is on his guard, and the Genoese scarcely let themselves be seen.

“The Lord Giacomo Conti is deputed to guard the palace with a force of infantry; likewise the Caporioni, who are like the Gonfaloniere, with us to guard the city.

“His Excellency the Count was still in camp yesterday morning, because in the evening the noble ambassador of the Duke received a letter of the 13th inst., from which it was clear that he had not yet received the news of the Pontiff's death.

“The Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals of Colonna and Savelli have not yet arrived, at this hour, mid-day, as far as I know. Their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals, according to their custom, assemble twice every day in the Chamberlain's house. It is thought that they have chosen this place, so that if any wished to do them harm, they might lose courage; nor would it be possible to begin to pillage his house, while the others would run the greatest risk.

“On the 16th the obsequies will begin, and on the 25th their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals will be shut up in conclave. No other . . .

“ROME, *August 14th, 1484.*

“E. V. M.

“Your Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

7

Yesterday evening Count Girolamo della Rovere stationed himself with his troops at the Ponte Molle, in accordance with the wishes of the Sacred College. The Castle of S. Angelo is for him. There are two factions led by Borgia and Giuliano della Rovere.

“To the Noble Lorenzo dei Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.—Yesterday evening the Count of the troops called out by the College arrived at the Ponte Molle and encamped there in accordance with the wishes of the College. The castle is for him; and yesterday evening the Countess returned with the Count and entered the castle accompanied by Signor Paolo Orsino. His Excellency is very bold and says he will remain until the new Pontiff is elected. His boldness is founded upon the army and the Orsino faction, and upon having the castle at his service; and he imagines that he will have some of the cardinals in favour of his

intentions, among them the Vice-Chancellor, but I do not know how it will turn out.

“There are two leaders here at present; the Vice-Chancellor and S. Pietro in Vincoli. The party of the latter made two proposals in the last congregations; the first, that the College do everything possible to get the castle into its hands; the other, that the congregations be no longer held in the Chamberlain’s house. However, neither the one nor the other of these resolutions was carried, as I am writing more fully to the Ten.

“To-day I shall go to visit the Count, to express my condolence at the Pope’s death, and offer, etc., and I think it well in view of the facts to do everything in one’s power to prevent a disturbance, because every disturbance would only give fresh power into the hands of the Venetians. The noble ambassador of the Duke is of this opinion, seeing the reputation they have acquired in this place.

“ROME, *August 15th*, 1484.

“The Cardinals Savelli, Colonna, and V.¹ are not yet in the city.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI.”

(*Arch. Medi. inanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

8

After the Pope’s death, the Sacred College wrote to Count Girolamo to break up the camp at Palliano, and to establish himself on Ponte Molle. Yesterday the Count betook himself there with his troops, and with him the Signor Orsino. The Countess, who was in the camp with her husband, went at the same time to the Castle of S. Angelo.

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation. . . .

“After the death of the Pope, of holy memory, the Sacred College wrote to his Excellency the Count to break up the camp at Palliano and betake himself to the Campagna by the Ponte Molle, about two miles from Rome. And so yesterday evening, about eleven o’clock (?), the Count and his troops reached the appointed place, and with him was the Lord Vergineo Orsini. The Countess, who was in camp with her husband, went at the same time to the castle, which is still for the Castellan, and the Count has put men into it. On her entry into the castle she cried:—‘The Duke, the Duke, and Girolamo, Girolamo!’ By this sign the castle was held at his request.

“The Sacred College has appointed to represent it a commissary over the forces, who is the Bishop of Tarento, a Piedmontese. This is all that I have learned of events up to this hour, eleven o’clock, and if anything more should transpire before the courier is despatched, I will give notice of it to your Lordships.

“I have since learned that his Excellency the Count appears very bold and says he desires to remain until the new Pontiff is elected. The reason of his boldness is to be found in the troops which he has under him, and the favour which the Orsini show him, as well as in the fact that he has the castle in his power. And he also supposes that some of the cardinals are favourable to him, especially the Vice-Chancellor, but I do not know how

¹ Viniliani.

much trust can be put in the latter, except in as far as he sees that his cause is the Count's.

“As far as I understand at present there appear to be two leaders of factions; the leader of one faction is the Vice-Chancellor, and the Chamberlain is of this party; the other is S. Pietro in Vineoli.

“Yesterday two matters were brought before the College, and are not yet decided by them, both calculated to destroy the credit of the Chamberlain and the Count. The first is, that the Congregation of the Cardinals, which is held twice every day in the Chamberlain's house, be held at the Church of the Minerva; those opposed to S. Pietro in Vineoli defend it by saying that it is the custom to hold the congregation in the Chamberlain's house; but I believe they will persevere and carry this point, by replying that it is so when the chamberlain's office is held by a person of more weight and more advanced age than is the present chamberlain, although this has not been alleged as yet. The second is, that the College decide to hold the castle altogether in its own hands in order to have more freedom in the election of the new Pope, thinking that if the castle were held by the College the Count would be obliged to depart.

“As I have said, neither point is yet decided, and they are both of the greatest importance. I have not yet heard, certainly, whether their Most Rev. Lordships the Cardinals of Venice, Savelli, and Colonna have arrived: It is said that the family of Colonna have recovered Cavi and some other of their territory, and their friends are signalizing their good fortune. No other news.

“ROME, August 15th, 1484.

“E. V. M.

“Your Servant,

GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Class X., Dict. 4, No. 33.*)

9

The Count is ready to comply fully with the orders of the Sacred College. He has no intention of fleeing. The obsequies have begun. Della Rovere, Savelli, Colonna, and Cibò did not attend because of the danger which they fear as long as the Castle of S. Angelo is in the Count's hands. The Roman citizens are afraid this may cause a great scandal and that there will be bloodshed and schism.

The city is under arms, the cardinals' palaces are barricaded; the Colonna have recovered the lands they had lost.

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation.

“The Noble and Reverend Ambassadors of the Duke, and of Ferrara, and myself went to visit his Excellency the Count, as I informed your Lordships in my letters of the 15th inst., and after the condolences and wishes and othersuch general remarks as are made upon such occasions, his Excellency said that he had come there by order of the Sacred College; and although it was usual for the troops to be stationed in the Borgo di S. Pietro, yet as it was the desire of the Sacred College that his Lordship and his troops should be stationed outside the city, he wished to obey.

“He had no intention of fleeing at all, for two reasons; the first, because he did not think he had done anything to cause him to fear harm to

himself, and if any had suffered things which displeased them, it was to be imputed to their disobedience and to the Pope, who had commanded him to do what he had done; to whom he had always been obedient, as he would be to the new Pope when he entered upon his office. The second reason was that he felt himself strong in having both the troops at present with him and those which he was expecting from Romagna and Lombardy, the favour of the house of Orsini, and all the principal fortresses of the Church in his hands, of which he had no doubt. Nor can I write to your Lordships how fearless and joyful he seemed. And in discussing the question of the future Pontiff, his Excellency said that there were two things to be considered: one, that there should be chosen a man of upright character who would be a friend to our Most Holy League, or at any rate neutral; the other, that he should not be so great a friend of S. Pietro in Vincoli, for he would not doubt it when he says that his highest consideration would be to hold him in esteem if S. Pietro in Vincoli were of the same mind towards him as was his Excellency towards his Most Rev. Lordship, because as a nephew and one of the blood of Pope Sixtus IV., he would only strive to please him, and would defend him from whatever might harm him; but he knew well that his Lordship was not of that mind towards him, and his Excellency could suffer no detriment in his position which the State of Milan and your Lordships, on whom he always relies, would not feel. And so everything must be done to get rid of all these suspicions, which are in effect public; and so, after a long conversation we left the camp of his Lordship.

“On the 16th, because some of the troops in the camp had done great damage to the vines of certain Romans, and also to remove certain suspicions which had taken root in the minds of some of their Most Rev. Lordships, the camp was broken up about six miles from Rome and moved to a place called l'Isola.

“The obsequies of the Pontiff began on the 17th in St. Peter's. The Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Savelli, Colonna, and Molfetta did not come, saying that they could not safely do so with the Castle of S. Angelo in the Count's hands, as they would have to pass by one of the gates of the said castle. So they say they will not come to the conclave at St. Peter's unless the guard of the Palace, which is in the hands of Signor Giacompo Conti, of the Orsini faction, is changed, and the castle put into the hands of the Sacred College. The Roman citizens, seeing that this may be the beginning of a great quarrel in the city, and of much bloodshed and schism, are doing everything in their power to bring the house of Orsini and their followers into agreement with the house of Colonna, if only for a time. To-day, in the house of his Most Rev. Lordship the Cardinal of Novara, the Cardinals of Orsini and Savelli were to agree upon a division. Up to this hour, eight in the evening, nothing has been done, nor do I think anything will be done, for in one quarter of the city where those of S. Croce live, the partisans of the Orsini, there has been an uproar, because some of the Colonna faction tried to sack it. The former offered resistance, and in the fray three persons were killed. The riot has now been quieted, and it is reported on good authority that the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals Colonna and Savelli know nothing of it.

“The Cardinals Colonna, Savelli, and S. Pietro in Vincoli have troops to the number of a thousand from their own estates outside the city, and also a number of men-at-arms, and they are still increasing. Their houses, as well as those of the other cardinals, are all made ready, as if they are expecting a siege, and the Orsini are doing the same. And if this matter

is not settled by some means, I have little doubt that the city will be put to the sack and two Popes elected. All the principal shops are shut, and nobody comes into the piazza with oats or corn to sell, for fear of being plundered. We must pray God to free the land of these two *furori*, for they would result in such disaster both to the Christian religion and to the goods and persons of all here, as none could imagine.

“To-day there have arrived the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Venice and Raona (*sic*), and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio is eagerly awaited.

“ROME, August 18th, 1484.

“I have since learned with certainty that the Colonna faction has recovered all the territory it had lost, and has plundered a part of Curriaggi of the Church.

“E. V. M.

“Your Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*.”

(*Lettere ai X. di Bahia, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

10

Practices of the Cardinals. Rodrigo Borgia, the Vice-Chancellor, tries to corrupt his colleagues, some by money, some by offices and benefices. The Count is hostile to S. Marco, Savelli, the Cardinals of Lisbon and Molfetta. The Count and the house of Orsino are together.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.—I wrote to you upon the 10th of the situation in the city, and so I will not dwell at length upon this point, thinking of other matters of which you ought to be advised.

“I wrote to you of the canvassing of *Manello*; he still continues this, and is for the *Vice-Chancellor*, who is seeking to corrupt every one, some by bribes, some by [offers of] offices and benefices. I know that he has offered *his office and house* to *Raona*, and to *Colonna* twenty-five thousand ducats and the Abbey of Subiaco; and *the same* to *Savelli*. I do not know if this canvassing is done by desire of the King. I think, indeed, that it is not done by instruction, for there has been no way for any old instructions; in *Ostia*, *Manello* is canvassing *Naples* to get his vote for the *Vice-Chancellor*. Now that *Raona* has come (he has come to-day) the King's desires will be better known.

“The Count in his conversation says that he is not in favour of *S. Marco*, *Savelli*, *Lisbon*, or *Molfetta*, and states quite plainly that he means to prepare, so that when the change is made in the Pontificate, he may *aggredi rem armis*, and make the thing go to his own mind, and he is summoning the troops to come. I am still of the opinion, that if it is possible to have one of the two of whom I wrote to you, it would be a good thing for the world in general, as for our city, and for your interests in particular. It seems to me better to concede something to the *Duke of Milan* and the King than to fall back upon one from *Venice*, because of the necessity of acting unitedly, and that we should do all in our power to

further an united policy on the part of the Lords Raona and Ascanio, for that would bring the vessel into port.

“It seemed to me wise in every respect under your letters of credit to me, to open your mind to the Cardinal Orsini who, I believe, will serve you; but do not let it make any difference to you, for it may not succeed, as the Count and the house of Orsini are at one on this point.

“I have made many offers to the Count on your behalf, because I believe they may be of use, which brought tears to my eyes as I made them, and I believe that we shall be compelled to make still further efforts if the State is not to be precipitated into the hands of Venice. He appeared to prize the said offers highly, and made many gracious and kindly speeches concerning you, such as the occasion demanded.

“Messer Lionardo da Colle. . . .

“If the usual course is not taken, and the conclave is held elsewhere than at St. Peter’s, or if the Castle of S. Angelo is in the hands of a person whom they do not suspect, or if the Colonna and Savelli factions come to an agreement and S. Pietro in Vincoli is cast off, I foresee that there will be two Popes: if, however, one is elected, I do not know what tells me, but I only hesitate to-day to yield it to one of the old cardinals for a little time.

“ROME, August 18th, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

11

The Count has sent his wife to the castle. The Cardinal of S. Marco might well wear the *pallium*. It is most necessary to keep a strict watch.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de’ Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—This letter is merely to inform you that the Count has sent the Countess to the castle for safety. She, hearing certain words spoken to certain men of Imola, which aroused her suspicions, although the Count had put his most trusty men as constables in the castle, she sent them all way, and the affair is one *non parvi momenti*. So it has transpired that to-day, when the Lord Castellan came to speak to them in the castle on the behalf of St. George, she commanded that he should not be admitted save with one companion. The aforesaid Lord Castellan waxed wroth, and when he was thus wroth, she took leave of him, saying, ‘This man wants to jest with me to recover his wits; he does not know that I have the wits of Duke Galeazzo, and am, too, as fantastic as he.’ The Noble Lord Giovanni Angelo told me this; you see, therefore, how matters stand in this quarter.

“I have learned that it was formerly the intention of the State of Milan to make *Siena Pope*, for one. I do not think it would be at all to our purpose to be natural and propitious to our enemies. I would suggest that you discuss the matter with the Lord Ascanio, and get rid of what is imagination, and do not trust to yourself.

“For if these are united and [the cardinals] all go into consistory, I am of the strong opinion that *S. Marco* will have the tiara, for this evening I

was in no common place, and we counted thirteen votes for certain for him. There is great need to keep one's eyes open.

“ROME, August 18, 1484.

“Sixteen or seventeen votes are enough to secure the prize, because there are twenty-five, with the Lord Ascanio, and twenty-three are needed.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI.”

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

12

Reflections of the Ambassador upon certain candidates for the Papacy. The Vice-Chancellor Borgia is offering money, offices, his palace and benefices, but he is considered so arrogant and so little to be trusted, that there is nothing to fear from him.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.—In answer to your letter of the 17th inst., I will reply to the necessary portion. You tell me that the State of Milan desires Noara, and I believe that their desire is a very reasonable one, and I understood that he would be very favourable to your private interests and to the city, as far as I have been able to learn up to the present, but it does not seem to me that he is a candidate likely to be successful, for two reasons—first, because he is too young and of too youthful an appearance; and secondly, because he has a legitimate¹ son; and how far it would be becoming for them to elect a Pope with a legitimate son, you can judge for yourself. Apart from this consideration, all the Rev. Fathers consider that he might be the means of ruining Italy by desiring to give them the State, so you see that, as he is not a candidate likely to succeed for the reasons given above, to concentrate all our energies upon him alone would be simply to urge on the canvassing for one of the Marchesi, and how far that is our intention God knows.

“Believe me, Lorenzo, if the League is united not only to the exclusion of the Marchesi ultramontanes, but if they take into their favour as friends those who are least opposed to them, you will see that the Pope will be either S. Marco, because he is esteemed an upright and influential man, or Girunda or Lisbon, because they are old, and would hold their office only a year or two, till God calls them to Himself. The fear felt in their attaining to the Papacy is all due to S. Marco, because he is thought to favour all the Genoese and the Marchesi, as well as some of the ultramontanes and a few members of the League, by reason of his particular friendship for them.

“I understand that my visit to the Count has been noted there and not blamed by you. I beg to inform you that whoever has informed you that I went alone to visit him has written a false report, for I went with the ambassadors of the Duke, and Ferrara and the ambassador of the King had been there before; but it has been well remarked that his Lordship has given drink-money to the man who brought news of the Pontiff's death, because, wherever the temper of the city is inclined towards his

¹ Above and beneath the words *ha figliuolo* (“has a son”) is written *fratello* (“a brother”).

Excellency the Count, it is well able to disguise the fact, because by so doing all our plans are more likely to succeed. The vendetta promises to be a great affair, and not to be worked out by idle fellows who are only puppets. I would advise you that the State of Milan could not make a greater demonstration of goodwill towards His Lordship than it is doing, and every other day the Duke's ambassador goes with His Lordship to the camp, and I do not think that we can do wrong to follow his lead, considering the intercourse between yourself and the city with the State of Milan and Signor Lodovico.

“Yesterday evening.

“There are two leaders of factions, as I have already written to you, and they have raised two points—one, that they will not go to the obsequies unless the castle is put into the hands of the College, and on this point S. Pietro in Vincoli is supported only by Molfetta, Savelli, and Colonna.

“The last two had good reason for supporting him, for they have to pass through the Orsini. The other point is that the conclave shall not be in the palace unless the castle is put into the hands of the College. This point is urged by all whom you will see with the same mark to their names as S. Pietro in Vincoli. These factions will not, I fancy, hold good for the election of the Pope, for this reason, that there are many candidates and varied opinions.

“The coming of the Count was courageous, but prudent, generous and necessary, and it was kept entirely secret, as I have told you in other letters, and he is not more to be blamed for coming against the Church, for he came in obedience to the summons of the College, and, with their letters, he has continued to obey them for the most part in so far as they were in agreement, nor do I think that even now the conditions are such as to do offence to the Church.

“The Bull for the creation of the new Pope has not been drafted up to the present time, but it is for the trivial reason that the absentees are to be waited for, for ten days from the day of the death, and longer according to some of them. And so they will wait until the 25th of this month, if they do not change their plans.

“Whoever has written to Milan to the effect that I am making too great a demonstration in favour of Naples and Lisbon does me great honour, for the fact that he has written proves that he has a regard for my work. But I do not think I have done anything which could bring blame either upon our city or your person, because in the little work that I have done I have never employed either your name or that of the city, nor should I have done what I did, I think, had I not been already reproved for not reciprocating the affection shown towards me by these two lords.

“My so-called work has consisted only of this:—In the first place, in carrying such intelligence from one to the other that they may be sure of seconding one another's efforts; and this means will have the desired result. In the second place, my work has consisted in convincing the Duke's ambassador of their disposition, and proving to him that if the State of Milan will not have a Genoese, because it is not possible for it to fall to any but Molfetta, if they wish for a Genoese, it must needs fall to Noara, Naples, or Lisbon; and that to trust only to one of these would be folly. Milan was not named because it did not meet with his approval. I pointed out the difficulties which Noara had to face, and he agreed with

me, remarking that it must of necessity fall to Naples, because all the ultramontanes, Marchesi and Savelli, are wanting to Noara.

"I did not discuss Siena with him, but *I have* discussed the matter *with others*. It is true that to carry my point in canvassing one of their Lordships, I have mentioned what I thought right, and I have conferred upon all this with the Duke's ambassador; and may it please God that my efforts be successful in the service of our city, you and myself. But enough of this. Believe me, if it does not go without fiction to Naples (for it seems to me that the League altogether excludes Lisbon, and God knows by what right the Papacy falls to a Marchese or to an ultramontane: I for one cannot believe it), let the League do whatever it wishes to succeed with Noara or Milan, for they will never have the votes; I, however, shall go with all my might, and I believe I can turn a few votes, wherever the other members of the League go, setting all my own interests on one side.

"I am sending you the names of all the cardinals. Some who have votes are such that they cannot wear the pallium because they are too young.

"The Vice-Chancellor is making great exertions, on his own behalf, by promises of money, offices, his house and benefices, but he is considered so proud and so little to be trusted that there is no fear. . . .

"August 21st.

"I beg of you to inform the X. of all that I have written to you, for at this point I have received letters from them, desiring to be informed of these particulars. I have written to you, and am in too great haste to write to them; please make my apologies.

"GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*."

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

13

The Cardinals Savelli and Orsini have met at the Cardinal of Noara's house. Their resolution.

"Noble Lord, . . .

"In my letters . . . I informed your Lordships of the disagreement between their Rev. Lordships because some of them said that they would not go into conclave in the palace if the castle was not in the hands of the College, and that Savelli and Orsini were to meet together at the house of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Noara. And so they met there upon the 19th, and they agreed that the Castellan who is at present in command, the Bishop of Rhodes, master of the household of the Cardinal of St. George, should remain as castellan, but that all the men at present on guard there should be removed and St. George should set another guard, but that they should all swear in the hands of the College to hold the castle at their demand, and to give it to the future Pontiff when canonically elected. Also, that the Lord Giacopo Conti, who was deputed to the palace guard, should be removed and another put in his place, or that he should be given a colleague. There were other terms referring in particular to the Orsini

and Colonna factions. This agreement was notified yesterday morning in the congregation to St. George, and he has taken time to reply.

“ROME, August 21st, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPECCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Lettere ai X. di Balia, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

14

The decision of the three cardinals.

Count Girolamo della Rovere has drawn 7,000 ducats for his soldiers' pay.

Truce between the Orsini and the Colonna.

The conclave will begin on Thursday at latest: the Cardinals of S. Marco and Lisbon have the best chance of winning the votes.

“Noble Lords, etc.,—I have written to you . . . of the agreement made by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals Orsini and Savelli in the house of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Noara, and of how the Chamberlain took time to reply. And yesterday a resolution was passed to the effect that the castellan now in charge, who is the Bishop of Rhodes and master of the Chamberlain's household, should remain as castellan, but that all the rest of the guard should be changed and the Chamberlain set to another (duty), all of whom should swear to obey the College and to deliver up the castle to the future Pontiff after the arrival of the Count in his dominion, and not otherwise. The Sacred College has promised the Count to continue all the allowances made to him by Pope Sixtus, of holy memory, in the matter of the moneys he is to have, and yesterday the College disbursed 7,000 ducats for one allowance of pay to the troops, which sum the cardinals provided each as he was assessed; and they have taken a bond for the silver and goods of the Pontiff. His Excellency has promised to leave to-morrow morning and to go to his house; and on his arrival hence to consign the other fortresses of the Church which are in his hands. Two prelates are deputed to accompany him as far as his house, and indeed the matter has passed off very securely and creditably and without any dishonour to his enterprise.

“Between the Orsini and Colonna there is an undertaking not to do any injury from this day forward to a month after the creation of the Pontiff; and ten Roman citizens are standing surely on either side. Each of them is sending away his troops; and it is no small marvel that after such preparations for discord the affair has ended so peaceably, without hurt to any, and truly we may believe that God has held their hands, and that the prudence of their Most Rev. Lordships has well carried out the divine pleasure.

“The conclave will begin on Thursday at latest, and, I believe, in the papal palace. Jacopo Conti will be removed, or a colleague given him, and all their Most Rev. Lordships will go into conclave.

“Although we can but ill judge of who will be the future Pontiff, it seems to me that if the cardinals remain steadfast, of whom his Majesty the King and his Excellency the Duke of Milan can in all probability dispose, they will make a Pontiff to their own liking; not because they are sufficient to make him, but they are sufficient to hold him; and each of those named

by his Majesty the King and the Most Illustrious Duke of Milan has favour with the others : and as far as we can see at present of those named in favour of the League, the favourites are Naples, Siena, Noara, and Geronda, and it might happen that disagreement upon some point would make the pendulum swing to Milan to give him the office for some months. Of those not named, the chief favourites are S. Marco and Lisbon. May it please God to bring about such an election as shall be to His honour, to the spread of the Christian religion, and the maintenance of the peace of Italy.

“The Most Rev. Lord Cardinal Ascanio is expected to-day. If he arrive before this post is despatched I will notify your Lordships with your favour to which always I commend myself.

“ROME, *August 23rd*, 1484.

“Your Lordship’s Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Class X., Dist. 4. No. 33.*)

15

The French Bishop of Castres is commissioned to guard the palace. To-morrow will be the day of entrance into conclave. Various deliberations.

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation, etc.

“In my letter of the 23rd, I informed your Lordships of the agreement between the Colonna and Orsini and of how it was arranged to leave the castle. All these arrangements have been carried out this day, and since dinner the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of S. Pietro in Vincoli and Savelli have taken their places in the congregation with the others at the palace, where they would not go before.

“They decided yesterday in the congregation that the Bishop of Cervia, who was set over the infantry which are ordinarily on guard at the gate of the palace, and the Lord Giacopo Conti, who, as I wrote to you, was deputed to guard all the rest of the palace, should be removed, and in their place was appointed the Rev. Bishop of Castres, who is a Frenchman and a noble ; this they have done merely to ensure his neutrality.

“They decided further that the Lord Giacopo Conti should take seven squadrons of the troops under his Excellency the Count, and go with them towards Ronciglione and the lands which belonged to Deiphebo, and that four squadrons should remain with the Count, if he desire it, to escort him.

“It was further decided that his Excellency the Count should leave Isola, where he has been stationed, to-day, and that he should be allowed either to remain at Viterbo until the election of the new Pontiff, or to go straight to his own dominions. He will be accompanied by the Bishop of Tarento¹ and, it is said, Signor Vergineo ; and it is thought that he will go

¹ In a postscript to another despatch of the same date, indicated in the *filza* under No. 50, is written : “His Excellency the Count has changed his mind, and instead of the Bishop of Tarento is taking with him the Bishop of Nola and Cajazzo.”

on his journey without staying at Viterbo. His route is not known. Some say he will take the usual route by the Marco, and some the direct route by the Citta di Castello.

“To-morrow for certain their Most Rev. Lordships will go into conclave to elect the future Pontiff. May the Holy Spirit give them light to elect such an one. . . .

“Yesterday evening, about midnight, the Most Rev. Lord Ascanio entered the city *incognito*.

“ROME, August 24th, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*.”

16

Canvassing of the cardinals.

“My Lords, etc.,—In my letter of the 24th I informed your Lordships that the Rev. Lord Ascanio had entered Rome *incognito*. This letter is only to inform you that this morning the Vice-Chancellor, Savelli, and Colonna, and seven other cardinals, unbeknown to one another, went to visit his Lordship and met in his house. They then all escorted him to the congregation in the palace, where he was honourably and graciously received. I was only able this morning to shake hands with him, and to-day I have accompanied him, and as we rode he addressed many kindly and affectionate words to me through his regard for your Lordships. It seems to me that his Lordship is inclined to elect a Pontiff who will not be distrusted by our Most Holy and Serene League, and indeed I consider that if his Most Rev. Lordship and the Cardinal of Raona go straight to the same mark, as they appear to intend to do, they are not only sufficient to exclude those whom they suspect, but to elect whoever they desire. For, at the outset, the Lord Ascanio has shown that he has a high reputation and merit, and if only he had the Milanese votes, which are four, and could direct them at his pleasure, as is supposed, it is natural to think it a great matter with this number. I thought it well to inform your Lordships of this.

“By reason of the many visits that have been paid to the Rev. and Illustrious Lord Ascanio, I have not been able to be with his Lordship so as to learn on whom his Lordship has set his mind for the Pontificate.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*.”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere di X. di Balìa, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

17

Canvassing of the cardinals.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—I have written to the Ten of the honourable reception accorded this morning to the Most Rev. and Illustrious Lord Ascanio. When I was accompanying his Most Rev. Lordship to-day

to the Vice-Chancellor's we began, as is the general custom, to discuss the election of the next Pontiff. His Lordship appears to be set upon excluding the Marchesi, and says that Savelli and Colonna will follow his lead in this and other matters, of which I am very doubtful. I cannot learn where his Lordship and the Lord Raona mean to turn, that is to say, to whom. God knows, but I fear that the Vice-Chancellor may corrupt them both, and Manello act as go-between in the matter, for many persons are connected with him; and by reason of this trickery, of which I am told, I do not see the results come about. And yet in the letters of one who is with the Count on his journey, he says that his Lordship has shown some leanings to the Count; the letters were written on behalf of the Count to St. George, and their united action would spare nothing to gain and to hold the tiara, and it would be a miserable election. I thought that I ought to inform you of this.

“ROME, August 24th, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

18

Canvassing of the cardinals.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—The Most Rev. and Illustrious Lord Ascanio has been all day at the palace with St. George, Orsini, the Vice-Chancellor, Noara, and Raona; your opinion has been made known to them, by Lamano, in a safe manner, and this evening on his return home, which will be by night, Messer Giovanagnolo will give the reply to him and I will inform you of his answer.

“Their Most Rev. Lordships Raona and Ascanio are united upon the question of who should be excluded from the Pontificate. As to who should be included by their remarks they appear to be at variance, for Ascanio desires Noara and Raona [desires] Naples. They have ceased to canvass together, and since then both appear to have been canvassing for the Vice-Chancellor, and when that could not succeed, Ascanio appears to have moved the Vice-Chancellor to canvass with him for Noara.

“Raona takes the lead in these discussions, and it is not known, up to the present, if it is *hot* again for Naples. I am of the opinion that the Vice-Chancellor has to deceive them both, and without loss of time and amidst such diversity we cannot agree, but shall make one of the old cardinals Pope, and give him the Papacy for a few years, or make it fall to Girondo. However, it is hardly possible to forecast anything, because of these persons' lies and perfidy.

“To-morrow morning, in the name of the Holy Spirit, they enter into conclave.”

“ROME, August 25th, 1484.”¹

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

¹ This letter, written in Vespucci's hand, is not signed.

The sons of the King of Naples recommend their ambassadors to proceed without violence and to hinder the election of the Cardinals of Lisbon, Molfetta, Savelli, and S. Marco, and to act cautiously with regard to Borgia.

“ Copy of a letter written by their Illustrious Lordships the Dukes of Calabria and Bari, to their ambassadors at Rome, dated August 26th, 1484, from Trezzo.

“ Ambassadors,—In our other letters recently received by you, you have been exhorted and adjured by us to proceed unitedly, and to act in concert in the canvassing for the election of the Pontiff, and thus once more we remind you of this, for this way lies the welfare of the Church and of the confederate States, and should you proceed otherwise it would have the opposite result. Having then yesterday received a letter from you, Messer Gio. Angelo, and learned of what is happening, and understanding from this letter that there is such mutual distrust and suspicion between the Rev. Lord Cardinals, that it is doubtful whether the election will proceed in the usual freedom, but that it may proceed with violence and by recourse to force, it has seemed good to us to write to their Most Rev. Lordships, our illustrious brothers, the Cardinals of Aragon and Visconti, in such wise as you will see from the copy enclosed, to the end that if you are not able to speak by word of mouth, the Lord Cardinals may read the said letters in the College, and exhort their Most Rev. Lordships on our behalf to proceed in the accustomed and Catholic manner, and to lay aside all suspicions and doubts of violence, by the which confusion might make its way into things spiritual and temporal, as you well know what is likely to follow.

“ And to the end that these suspicions and causes of violence may the more quickly be done away, we desire you to make known to his Excellency the Count, and to the Lord Vergineo, that it is our express pleasure that they hinder and prevent the election from falling to any of the four cardinals, Lisbon, Molfetta, Savelli, and S. Marco, so also it is not our pleasure that they make any demonstration of force, because this would only tend to occasion those troubles of which we write in the said letter, and it would be impossible for the result to be otherwise.

“ And moreover you will exhort the aforesaid to proceed tactfully and without making any demonstration of force, both in preventing the four cardinals aforesaid from being elected, and in favouring the assumption of the other six, because the same ends can be attained by the use of tactful and prudent counsels, and this is to the interest of the Holy Church, of the Confederates, and also in particular of the Lord Count himself. So, therefore, on this matter, you will make due request to the aforesaid, and let your request be such that you make both us and yourselves well understood, and speak so plainly that you cannot be charged with any obscurity or doubtful meaning. You, Messer Gio. Angelo, have given us to understand how *apropos* was the arrival of his Lordship of Aragon, and how eagerly expected that of his Lordship Visconti. We are persuaded that when they are both together there they will have made the fallow land ready for all good sowing, and that they will suffice to correct and adjust the burdens, and that by their example and their warnings,

they will have conveyed such admonitions to the Count as we are herewith sending.

“And as you are on the spot, you will speak, and remind them more or less in accordance with these remarks, as shall seem expedient to you, always and in everything acting in concert, for to do otherwise will be simply to drive the ship out of her course.

“With regard to the attitude to be maintained towards the Vice-Chancellor you have been already instructed in other letters; and it is the more essential to proceed with caution as there have been repeated to him the words which you spoke of to us. Thus both with the aforesaid and against the four in favour of the six, and with the Count and Signor Vergineo, you will regulate your behaviour in accordance with what you see to be our wishes, using such means as the times and the course of events shall require.

“When you receive this letter it is probable that their Most Rev. Lordships will be assembled in conclave, and therefore, as you will not be able to give the letter to the cardinals aforesaid, see that it is given in consistory, and make it clear that the said letter concerns the College and the preservation and dignity of Holy Church, although it is directed to the two cardinals as to brothers and kinsmen, neglect no precautions to secure its being read in consistory.”¹

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

20

At the first ballot S. Marco had the greatest number of votes. If the *accesso* followed he would be Pope. Giuliano della Rovere and Rodrigo Borgia, his declared adversaries, canvassed their colleagues during the night, while the partisans of S. Marco were asleep, and elected Cardinal Cibò Pope. See in Infessura (*Eccard*, col. 1947) the story of this intrigue. It was during this canvassing that Vespucci addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici and the Seignory of Florence the following despatches (Nos. 20, 21), which reproduce exactly all the ups and downs in this struggle between the Cardinals of S. Marco and Molfetta, which ended finally in favour of the latter on the next day, Sunday, August 29th, about an hour after noon.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence.

“Noble Lorenzo,—At this moment, that is to say about 1 p.m., the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta has been announced and declared Pontiff. Of which fact I wished to inform you as soon as possible.

“He calls himself Innocent IV., or rightly VIII.

“ROME, *August 28th*, 1484.

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

¹ On the same day the Dukes of Calabria and Bari wrote to the Cardinals of Aragon and Visconti, in their own name and in that of the League, to remind the Sacred College that they were able to prevent the discussion among the cardinals from lasting any longer, and the election of a Pope hostile to the League.



MONUMENT OF POPE INNOCENT VIII. POLLAJUOLO. (ST. PETER'S).

Facing page 368.



21

“To the same.

“*Magnifice vir*, etc.,—At this point the Rev. Cardinal of S. Marco has been announced and declared Pontiff. I will inform your Lordships of what follows.

“*Quae bene valeat*.

“ROME, *August 28th*, 1484, 7 p.m.

“Yours,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*.”

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filzu XXXIX.*)

22

“Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation, etc.

“At this point there has been announced and declared Pontiff the Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta. I wished to inform your Lordships of this, and I beg to present my respects to you.

“ROME, *August 29th*, about 3 p.m., 1484.

“He calls himself Innocenzo Quarto.

“E. V. 17.

“Your Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*.”

Endorsed:—

“To the Noble X. di Balìa, of the State of Florence. . . . Honoured, etc.”

23

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation,” etc.

(A copy of the previous despatch. In a postscript is written: “He calls himself Innocenzo IV.” This despatch also bears the date the 29th, that is to say it had first the 28th (XXVIIJ.) to which Vespucci afterwards added a “J” (XXVIIJJ.).

24

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation, etc.

“At this point there has been announced and declared Pontiff the Rev. Lord Cardinal of Molfetta,¹ of which act I deemed it well to inform your Lordships, to whom I present my respects.

“ROME, *August 28th (sic)*, about ——— (sic), 1484.

“Innocenzo VIJ. J. (sic).

“E. V. 17.

“Your Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore*.”

¹ In the original S. Marco is crossed through, and above is written “Molfetta.”

“To the Noble Lords and Honoured Fathers, salutation.

“At this point, that is to say at — (sic) o'clock there has been announced and published as Pontiff the Rev. Lord Cardinal of S. Marco,¹ of which I deemed it well to inform your Lordships, to whom I present my respects.

“ROME, August 28th, 1484.

“Innocenzo VIII.

“E. V. M.

“Your Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent., etc. : Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33. Ai X. de Balia.*)

Details of the election of the new Pontiff. Description of the latter.

“Noble Lords, etc.,—If my report upon the election of the new Pontiff has come later than it should, I pray your Lordships to have me excused, for the election was announced as we ambassadors were on our way back from mass all together. And by reason of the great press of people we could not return to the palace. In the meanwhile Antonio Tornabuoni and Francesco da Casale, who is here with Lord Ascanio, despatched the post-riders. I then informed your Lordships in duplicate letters, one sent by our cavallaro, and the other by the Milan post; so this lateness is not to be set down to negligence on my part, but to the impossibility of earlier action. And he is to be called Innocent VIII., although in one of the said letters, by mistake, there was written Innocent IV.

“After the said election was announced, which was done about two hours before daybreak *nem. con.*, His Holiness, in accordance with custom, was conducted to St. Peter's, and seated by the altar of St. Peter, where each of the cardinals and we ambassadors went and kissed his foot, and then returned home.

“The election was carried in this way. On Saturday there was a ballot, in which S. Marco had many more votes than any one else. That evening the Vice-Chancellor, seeing that it could not be himself, strove to win the favour of the Rev. Lord Cardinals of Raona and Visconti for Geronda. In the meanwhile S. Pietro in Vineoli was working to bring about an agreement between the Cardinal Orsini and the Chamberlain on the one part and the Colonna faction on the other, and to win their favour for Molfetta. It appeared an easy matter to win them over, for Molfetta was a Guelph, and thus of the same faction as Orsini, and moreover a kinsman of the Chamberlain. Learning of this and seeing that the votes of his party were wavering, the Lord Cardinal Visconti, induced by the Lord Cardinal of Parma, who appears to be altogether with his Lord-

¹ Above S. Marco is written “Molfetta.” Neither of the two names is crossed out.

ship, saw the danger, and went over to this other party because he realized that the Pontificate would be filled by them, and the Vice-Chancellor, who was persuaded to go over without the least difficulty, for he saw that if he did not agree to this, the Pontificate would fall to some one still more hostile to himself; Raona also went over. Thereupon, seeing that the number of votes had almost reached the full number required, they made the matter known to some who were on the other side, stating that they had all the votes required. And learning this, before they came to ballot, they all agreed, so that when the ballot was taken two hours before daybreak all gave an open vote, except S. Marco, who gave it *per accessum*. And this canvassing went on all night long. This conclusion was announced about one o'clock, as I wrote with the notice of the election.

“And as your Lordships are well aware, that those who agree to such an election for the most part expect to reap some benefit, and as far as we can learn at present, S. Pietro in Vincoli has resigned the Legation of Bologna, which was given to the Cardinal Visconti, and he has withdrawn in favour of Savelli; and further, he has resigned the Legation of Avignon, and this has been given to the Cardinal of Milan; the Legation of the Patrimony His Holiness the Pope has given to Parma, and he resigned it to Visconti. His house His Holiness has given to Raona, the Count's house and his pay to Visconti. I do not know how he is to satisfy Colonna, but I know that I heard from his own lips that he would not give his vote to any one if he were not compensated for his losses. To Noara, a castle, of which I do not know the name, but I have been told that in the chapters of the conclave it was set down that each cardinal should have a castle. The Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli has further resigned certain abbeys, but I do not know how they are to be distributed. This is all that I know of the details of the election.

“His Holiness may be described as follows:—He is a man of rather more than medium height, of fair culture, pleasant and kindly as a cardinal, more so than the dignity of a cardinal requires; he appears to be a man of peaceable disposition, but I doubt whether, in time, his office may not make him change his mind. He has an illegitimate son, who is now at Naples, a man of more than twenty years of age, and some married daughters who themselves have sons; he has a brother and nephews besides, one of whom is a priest, a canon of St. Peter's, Messer Lorenzo by name, and it is thought that he will make him a cardinal at his first election of cardinals. Filippo di Nerone has a niece of his as his mistress, who was the wife of Stoldo Altovite, and when the Pontiff was a cardinal he held him in high esteem. He is naturally rather stout, fifty-three years of age, and very prosperous, and an admirer of learned men. May God put it into his heart to do such things as are pleasing to God, worthy of the Pontificate, and for the preservation of the peace of Italy. The Pontiff is a Genoese noble, of the house of Cibò.¹

“Their Rev. Lordships S. Pietro in Vincoli and Visconti will have great influence over His Holiness, and Parma will again be in favour.

“The Lord Deiphebo, either because his affairs have not turned out as he hoped, or, if they have done so, because he feared that he might not keep them, or because he is relying upon the clemency of the College under the protection of S. Pietro in Vincoli, came here this morning and gave

¹ Compare this portrait of the Pope with that drawn by Loete, in his despatch of August 30th.

himself into the hands of the Pontiff, and it is thought that he will be reconciled to His Holiness.

“ROME, August 29th, 1484.

“E. V. M.

“Your Servant,

“GUIDANTONIO VESPUCCI, *Oratore.*”

(*Lettere ai X. di Balìa, Class X., Dist. 4, No. 33.*)

27

The Cardinal of Molfetta is elected. Details of his election. Rewards given by the Pope to those who have given him their vote.

“To the Noble Lorenzo de’ Medici at Florence.

“Noble Sir . . . etc.,—I will tell you all I know about the Pontiff. When he was cardinal he was of an affable and kindly disposition, and bestowed caresses freely and saluted any persons whatever, more than any whom you know; he has not much experience in affairs of State, nor much learning, though he is by no means illiterate. He was altogether in the hands of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and it was he who secured for him the cardinal’s hat. He has a full face, and is a tall man, about fifty-five years of age, and very strong. He has one brother; he has illegitimate sons who are grown men, or, I think, one at least, and daughters who are married here. As cardinal he did not get on well with the Count. S. Pietro in Vincoli may now be said to be Pope, and will have more power than he had with Pope Sixtus, if he knows how to hold his ground. He has a brother in Genoa who, it is said, has a mistress. He is a Guelph and of the house of Cibò. He has one nephew here who is a priest and kinsman of Filippo of Nerona, who has, as a mistress, one Clemenza, who was the wife of Soldo Altovite. The old captain of the infantry has for mistress one of his kinswomen. He appears to be more a man to be advised than to advise others. The election of Molfetta came about in this way: The Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Raona and Visconti, seeing that they could not elect the Vice-Chancellor, and that the latter was striving to bring about the election of Geronda, strove to win over the Vice-Chancellor and make him of their party; and first of all the Chamberlain and Orsini came to an agreement with S. Pietro in Vincoli, to whom the former were beginning to turn, and therefore might guarantee with promises the possessions of the Count and the Chamberlain, and they have satisfied many with presents: the Cardinal of Raona the Pontiff’s house, the Lord Visconti the Count’s house, which is part of the Count’s pay, which besides the house amount to twelve thousand ducats; and the Legation of the Patrimony; to Noara some castle; to Savelli the Legation of Bologna; to Milan the Legation of Avignon, all of which Legations were held by S. Pietro in Vincoli, and he has consented to all this in order to bring about this business. Lastly, he has resigned certain abbeys to satisfy others whose names I do not know. Colonna will be also satisfied, I do not doubt; the Vice-Chancellor has guaranteed for himself certain possessions in Spain, Noara has had some castle. I know of no others, but you may imagine more of the same sort.

“I conclude that this election is entirely the work of Visconti, and

I should think that I ought to wait on him, for I have need of his help in doing your work, and he is willing to be of service. And if you see well to do so, send a good letter to S. Pietro in Vincoli, for in the matter of the King's troops, I have no doubt except of him, and he is Pope and more than Pope.

“And believe me that Raona and Visconti will, in any election, plunder the Court, and they are the greatest rascals in the world.

“ROME, August 29th.”¹

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

28

More details of the Pope's election, and of his character.

“To my Noble and Most Honoured Lord Lorenzo de' Medici, at Florence.

“*Magnifico Lorenzo*,—Last night at seven or eight o'clock, as I judge, you must have had news of the election of the new Pontiff, the Cardinal of Molfetta, a Genoese, to be called *Innocenzo Ottavo*. I did not notify you of this election because Antonio and I were both at the palace with letters prepared, and it was sufficient for him to send you word.

“The election is due to the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and at present he seems to play a large part in the arranging and ordering of affairs. The Pope is naturally a meek, gentle and affable man, and in some ways easily influenced, as he was when cardinal, and I fancy that if in governing and ruling he will use his own judgment, and not another's, he will be a good and peaceful Pontiff, and will refrain from all recourse to arms, and will make the Court good, because it is thought he will be gracious. He has sons and daughters, nephews and many kinsmen, and he is a noble of Genoa of the house of Cibò. And, as I learn, in sympathies he is a Guelph. It is said also that he is an enemy of the government now ruling in Genoa. He has made depositary-general Giovanni Francesco Frangiotti of Lucca, who has, as wife, the sister of S. Pietro in Vincoli. It is said that he has given his house to the Cardinal of Raona, and the furniture to some one of the Colonna. To Cardinal Sforzesco Ascanio he has given the Legation of the Patrimony; to the Cardinal of Noara he has confirmed the Legation of Perugia and added certain cities beyond those usually included; to the Cardinal of Orsini the Legation della Marca, and that of Bologna to Savelli; to the Cardinal of Milan, or rather, to speak more correctly, Macon, that of Avignon; and to the others many abbeys and benefices, and many of these were held by S. Pietro in Vincoli. To the Lord Paolo Orsini he has given the guard of the palace. These things have been given and also confirmed; I do not know if they will be accomplished. It is further stated, but this I have not been able to learn for certain, that the Lord Prospero, brother of the Cardinal of Colonna, is made prefect, and the prefect, who is the brother of S. Pietro in Vincoli, is made captain of the Holy Church. The matter is, however, so recent that it is impossible to be certain of the details of what I have written. There was pillaged one house of a Genoese, the Pope's son-in-law; when I learned the news,

¹ This letter is not signed, but it is all in Vespucci's handwriting.

the plunder was not great; however, they say that about 400 ducats in money was found.

"Matters here between the Colonna and Orsini are peaceful, and so I believe.

"According to reports, few of the cardinals had many votes. S. Marco, they say, had more than any one else, except the Pontiff. It is not stated that the Vice-Chancellor had any; and yet, thinking that he would be Pope, he had had two bastions erected at the doors of his house, to prevent its being sacked if he were made Pope; but there was no need of this precaution. Milan had no votes. Noara and Naples are said to have had a few. The coronation, I think, will take place on Sunday week.

"ROME, August 30th, 1484.

"Your Lordship's Servant,

"LOISIO ANDREA LOETE."

"The Cardinal of Milan has, however, had the Legation of Avignon and also the Arch-presbytery of S. Giovanni Laterano. The Lord Paolo does not appear to have the guard, but there has been no discussion of the matter. It is stated that the Castellan will be the Bishop of Ferrara, the brother of S. Pietro in Vincoli."

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XXXIX.*)

29

Account of the murder of Count Girolamo Riario.

"To Lorenzo de' Medici, Ludovico and Checho dell' Orso.

"To our Noble and Most Honoured Lorenzo.—We are sure that your Lordship has been informed before now of the death of that iniquitous and accursed man. It was not our wish that our State should say that he did not deserve to be, but to acquit ourselves in part of our debt to you, which before has not been possible. Considering his rash presumption, brutishness, and the great audacity which led him to desire to stain his hands with the blood of your great and noble house, it has seemed good to us to inform you of the cruel death which we have brought upon him, and that deservedly. Your Lordship knows that the tyrant had, besides his household, a hundred retainers in his house. God so inspired us that we did not think of any danger, although the moat was very large, and we were filled with a fixed determination either not to return home or verily to carry out what we have done; and considering the strong guard which the villain had, and that we were only nine persons to do the deed, we impute it rather to divine than human agency, as your Lordship can imagine, for, with the exception of the accursed man himself, and one apparitor of his master's nature, not one drop of blood was shed, a thing beyond belief. The community could not be in better humour nor more united than it is. We have desired to inform your Lordship of all these things, because we have been guilty of a great offence, and we are sure that it will not be approved by all. We could not give you a full account of his behaviour to our community, but to give some idea of it, you must know that not only had he no affection for his citizens, but he had no

regard for God or the Saints ; he was a drinker of the blood of the poor, he never kept his word, and finally he loved no man but himself. He had brought this land to the direst necessity, and scarcely was there any breath left in us. At length it has pleased Almighty God to free our people from the hands of this Nero ; and what he desired to do to us, this God has brought upon his own head, for he could no longer endure such treachery and wickedness as reigned in him. By reason of his evil behaviour, and for love of your Lordships whose servants we are, for the good of the Republic, and for our own advantage, we have done this deed and freed our people from this *Inferno*. We therefore pray your Lordship, that in this our time of need, it may please you to grant us some aid and favour, for we look to your Lordship to advise us what we should do in this our need, offering ourselves to your Lordship to do what is his pleasure in as far as we are able. We commend ourselves to your Lordship and pray for your good health.

“And to the end that your Lordships may rest altogether satisfied, we beg to inform you that of this accursed race no root will ever more be found. And concerning the fortresses, we hope to have possession of one before the close of to-day, and to besiege the other so that it must perforce make terms.

“FORLI, *April 19th, 1488.*”

(*Arch. Med. inanzi il Principato, Filza XL.*)

30

Another story of the murder of Count Girolamo Riario.

“To the same, at Florence, Stefano of Castrocaro.

“My Noble Lord,—Yesterday evening I wrote my last letter to your Lordship concerning what I had learned of the occurrence here. This morning I repaired to Forli and had an interview with Lodovico and Checho dell’ Orso, speaking to each separately, as your Lordship instructed me. I cannot tell you how well they entertained me, showing that my visit was most gratifying to them. I told them that your Lordship had sent me to Signor di Faenza and had also instructed me to see that I had an interview with them, and to give them to understand that, as far as you were able, you were naturally disposed to show them favour and kindness, etc. They appeared to be greatly relieved and delighted by these words, and replied that all their devotion, faith and hope were in your Lordship, and that they were your Lordship’s most faithful friends and servants. They prayed me to commend them to you and to entreat you to be pleased to write to the Balia of our State, that it should think good to come valiantly to their defence and succour. For all the people had determined unanimously, willingly and firmly, rather to feed one upon other and endure every hardship, than to submit themselves longer to the power of a tyrant, seeing the great iniquity, insupportable tyranny, and wickedness of that scoundrel and villain the Count, who had so destroyed the city and country of Forli that they were now compelled to abandon their native land by reason of his insatiable greed, which had been the cause of his ruin and perdition, and so dominated him that he esteemed no man, and desired money from them, and this they could not

give, and yet he paid neither the soldiers nor others who should have been paid by him, save only with insults and threats of hanging them, or putting them in the dungeon, saying that never was there found on the earth a more iniquitous man, nor a greater scoundrel and villain. All these are the words which they used with many others which *longum esset referre*. Because, they say, they could no longer live with him, and were in fear of their lives because he was always saying that he would take their lives, and also to free their country from this misery, they began to deliberate upon his murder. So Checho found Lodovico, and said to him : ' Friend, only if I had a companion to my mind, I would make thee smile.' Lodovico, it seems, said to him ; ' Whenever you will, you will have two of us, for they will follow on good legs, and I will be one and Giacopo dal Ronche the other.' And finally they agreed to go to Checho's house, and there they put on their cuirasses, and arranged that Checho should go first to the palace and they would follow him. This they did, and found the Count, who was having supper. Checho went inside, and the other two remained without the door of the room, and his Lordship said : ' Checho, what have you come for ? ' ' You will soon know, my Lord.' With these words he struck at him with a sabre which he had under his tunic upon the face. Lodovico and his companion at once rushed in, while the Count took refuge under a table. Lodovico seized him by the hair, dragged him into the centre of the room, and ran him through with a sabre. Six of his men came upon the scene and began to defend him, so that he escaped, wounded as he was, to the door of the room, where a son of Checho's, who was on guard, despatched him. Finally, there hurried to the scene certain retainers, who were in the hall, and after them the apparitor, of whom twenty-two were wounded and the apparitor and a few others killed. They say that it was the judgment of God Himself, and not the work of man, that they three should have done this thing against so many. When they had the dead man, they stripped him and flung him straightway from the window, whereupon all the people rose in their favour, and sacked the palace, where they found no money but jewels and silver to the value of about sixty thousand ducats, which were all plundered. They say that they have everything in their hands, and no one has wished to take anything away. This is the gist of what they related about the death. But Checho says that it was done with the knowledge of the Pontiff, and that they had beforehand sent word to him that they could no longer endure his Lordship the Count by reason of his iniquitous behaviour. Lodovico asserted that no one in the world had ever heard of the matter except the three of them, and afterwards their kinsmen. Truly it has been a wonderful affair and permitted by God, nor can I tell you how much everybody is rejoicing at it, while the people and countryside is as one man in devotion to the Church, and ill-disposed towards any who should speak of Ordelaffi or any other individual lord. This man has, by his evil behaviour, and violation of faith in infringing their rights and plundering the people, put them in such humour that they will never consent to submit to another. The aforesaid have told me that should Milan or any other potentate come, they would sooner agree to turn their swords against one another than submit to a tyrant. We trust, they say, in the Pope to succour us ; but should it be otherwise, we will set ourselves to try our fortune by going in a body to find recruits for our camp, and if Messer Giovanni comes, as he promises, he will witness our experiment. They told me that they hoped to gain possession, by to-morrow, of the fortress of Schiavania, upon which they are spending all their efforts.

They say that it will be easy to secure the Castle of Ravaldino, because it cannot possibly be succoured, because they are turning the course of the river close to it, and making a dam to shut it in, and if they get two or three days' rain they expect that it will spoil their crops by flooding them. Now I do not know that it will be such an easy matter, for it seems to me that it is one of the finest and strongest fortresses I have ever seen, and I hear that it is provisioned for ten years. Of the other fortresses and places it remains to be seen, and according to them they are devoted to the Church, with the exception of Fronpopoli. About those of Imola I do not speak, because I know you will have been informed by the commissary of Piancaldoli. However, Checho has told me that they have to-day had a message from Tosignano, and they are willing to surrender to Margiocho, and so also the other castles round. He also tells me that Imola is devoted to the Count's son, and when I asked him what would become of these sons of his, he said that they were in the place, but would never be seen again. I fancy they have despatched them, for Giacomo dal Ronche said to me *apropos* of this, that a dead man never makes war. They appear to be pleased because the Madonna is set on a rock, and to be very hopeful of victory, especially since they heard of the Breve which our State wrote yesterday to the Governor, commending him for having taken possession and promising to be with the College, and to make such provision for their preservation that they shall be strengthened and consoled at once. The Governor on the first day gave them the same hope in very kindly words; he has persuaded them to constancy, and according to them he is a valiant man, and behaves himself like a man. This morning, as he was standing at the defences, a shot carried his cap off his head.

“Lastly, they asked me what the Florentines would do. I said: ‘They will dance as others play.’ They showed that they were pleased, and Checho in most expressive words again said: ‘Commend me to the Noble Lorenzo, and tell him to be good enough to take our part with the Pontiff, and that we do not mean to submit to a new lord.’ I replied that your Lordships would afford them every favour and assistance in their power, that they had no reason to be suspicious of the Lord Francesco, because your Lordship had no *pelo addosso vi pensassi*, nor was he desirous of undertaking a new task, but intended to live in greater tranquillity and peace if possible for the remainder of his life. He then said to me: ‘I and all my house are the servants of the Noble Lorenzo, and had I never done aught else, I am content to have avenged his brother's innocent blood, nor have I any other desire, save to be loyal to him, that I may have the privilege of being among his servants, and it will suffice me that in one note he tell me this.’ I replied to him that he could rest assured of this without any other testimony, and I gave him the assurance, adding that when the Church has this land, his Lordship Lorenzo will be able to dispose of it as if subject to him. I further asked him what men the Church had sent: he told me that three captains had come, Gian Francesco of Bagnano, Count Carlo of Meleto, and Hector of Forli, with about two squadrons and some light horsemen, and there had come equal detachments of infantry and more were still coming. They say that they know nothing of the Venetians, and I have learned from a soldier coming from Ravenna that they have altogether forbidden any one to come to Forli. They assert, that whenever the Pope pleases, and aid of some kind comes to them from that quarter, they will carry this enterprise against and in despite of every one else; they have some suspicions that the Lord of Faenza will not

give a pass to those who come in the name of Milan to the succour of Madonna, and I have tried to assure them in the most prudent way I know, and as far as I have learned at Faenza and afterwards at Forli between the Lord and Checho and his house, there is a little ill-feeling, and in conversation they talk a great deal of one another.

“The missiles, which are falling everywhere, are doing some damage, as I saw yesterday, and thus far they have killed two persons, and brought to the ground some of the houses in the neighbourhood of the fortress. About the Lord of Faenza’s sending to say that he was anxious, I do not think that the matter has any foundation, but is pure conjecture, and he says he has heard it said that the people of Milan are not getting on any too well with you, or that they have used strange words, saying that you want to govern all Italy, but that it will not come to pass, etc.

“I do not think of anything else just now to write of to you, and commend myself to the favour of your Lordship; may you enjoy good health.

“CASTROCARO, *April 21st*, 1488, 11 p.m.

“I do not think that I have any more to do here, and shall leave tomorrow if nothing else intervenes.”

(*Arch. Med. innanzi il Principato, Filza XL.*)

31

Letter of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal of Aleria to Pope Innocent VIII, the chief Pontiff, upon his excuse when he withdrew from the Roman Court.

“Most Holy Father,—Messer Graziano of Villa Nuova has brought me the Breve of your Holiness, at the reading of which I was cut to the heart, when I learned of the distress of your Holiness and of the Sacred Senate of my Most Rev. Lords the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and also because I realized how my action has been misconstrued in what I have purposed, not rashly, lightly, or suddenly, but with all deliberation with regard to my change of condition in life. Your Holiness will not fail to remember how many times in the first year of your most happy accession to the Pontificate I besought you to think fit to agree to the ardent desire which I felt to transfer myself to a regular life in some religious order. And when your Holiness denied me the boon, often and often in the years that have followed have I repeated my request, even with tears. I confess that your Holiness referred my petition to the College of Cardinals. And when again after their decision the fire of this sacred resolve still burned within my breast, in the month of April last, I renewed my prayers to your Holiness. Your Holiness brought forward many arguments against my request, but at length acceded to it; and permission was given to me by word of mouth to enter a religious order, and afterwards was granted by two supplications signed by the hand of your Holiness.

“Therefore, when the day for my departure drew near, I again asked permission of your Holiness to depart, and this permission your Holiness graciously granted me when I resigned my hat. Your Holiness then blessed me, and permitted me to kiss your most Sacred Feet. I do not write these things, Most Holy Father, because I deem it needful to recall them to your Holiness, who is most kindly disposed towards me; but that you

may understand that I was not suddenly or precipitately or lightly moved to the act, for which some attribute to me a sinister motive. Nor ought any one to marvel, or think it a new or rash thing to do, when even among the Roman Pontiffs canonized by the Church there is to be found one who did the same. Celestine II., who is known as S. Pietro of Morano, is said to have retired into a private and religious life; and S. Girolamo, a priest of the Holy Roman Church, whom they say was a cardinal; while of Pietro Damiano, who though he is not reckoned among the Saints, is yet honoured as one, we learn from the books written by him, which I myself have read, that from being a cardinal, and, if I am not mistaken, Bishop of Ostia, he became a monk, by permission of the chief Pontiff. Whether he had permission from the Sacred College, I do not remember. I have not asked for this permission from the College, nor have I thought that the power of the Vicar of Christ was so weak and feeble that he could not stretch out a hand to help one who desires to provide in the highest and best way for the safety of his soul. For while I do not deny that in difficult matters the Pontiff is bound to consult the College, I think that the authority of the Pontiff alone is sufficient for one who asks of him, when the safety of his soul is at stake. For what is it, Most Holy Father, to enter upon and profess the religious life, save to humiliate and annihilate oneself, and taking the form of a servant, to make oneself obedient unto death, following the example of Our Saviour, who in doing this set before us an example. Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, gave up his bishopric that he might have leisure for study and contemplation. Wherefore those who accuse me of hastily entering upon the religious life accuse these men also; if they have sinned, I confess that I have done so, although the testimony of so many Fathers, and the reasons they have urged, may make my excuse. As for the fact that I laid aside my cardinal's robes, and set out upon my journey in disguise, I do not think that I should incur blame from wise and prudent men on that score. For, as far as that point is concerned, I desired to be as secret as possible, and to hide the fact even from my own brother, who is most faithful to me; therefore I thought it better to go among strangers in disguises than to wear my real robes. I think that I am immune from penalty, guilt or blame of any kind. If, however, I have erred in this, since to err is human, I beg of your Holiness, as you have remitted graver sins of mine, to remit this sin also; whatever penance you may enjoin upon me for this offence, I will undergo with all devotion as with humility.

“Most Holy Father, may your Holiness who has always loved to cherish my person, and hast honoured me in so many ways, now be pleased to uphold your action and your part in my sacred resolve, bearing in mind that there is no duty more peculiarly incumbent upon the Vicar of Christ than to be solicitous for the safety of souls. The safety of my soul is now at stake, which alone is always before my eyes; for though I know full well that the estate of cardinals and bishops is a more perfect one than any other in the religious life, yet I have felt that to pass to a lower estate is safer for me in my weakness. As your Holiness knows full well, you will have to render an account of my soul at the Day of Judgment, and the account which you will render will be far better, if you accede to my humble request, than if you recall me from my long-formed and sacred resolve. In this let your Holiness be moved by my humble and tearful entreaties, and let not your Holiness desire me to spend a life harder than death itself, in bitterness of mind. For my mind is so much distressed that I can scarcely grasp the words I write. Pity my distress of mind

Most Loving Father, who hast always been gentle, kindly and pitiful towards me in all things, who hast borne with my follies these many years with ineffable clemency; I ask only to come as an unfortunate suppliant, before a father's loving eyes. Turn, O Lord, and look upon mine affliction, and consider also how mine honour is at stake. If now, having put my hand to the plough, so to speak, I shall look back, will not the eyes of all turn to me, thinking that lightly I departed and yet more lightly I have returned? When your Holiness has in your great wisdom considered all this, may you be pleased to console me with your most loving and much-desired reply, and to restore me to my former place in the favour you have now taken from me, but which, before, you so kindly showed toward me, knowing that you can give me no gift more precious at this moment. For, though I am a sinner and not worthy that God should listen to my prayers, yet if I gain this so great boon from your Holiness, I will endeavour, by my unceasing prayers to God on your behalf, to recompense you a hundredfold. In whatever place your Holiness desires me to be I will acquiesce, whatever commands you lay upon me I will carry out, I will obey the Vicar of Christ as if he were Christ himself, and I shall deem it sinful to depart from my obedience to him. May your Holiness enjoy health and happiness. At your Sacred Feet I humbly prostrate myself.

ROMIGLIONE, *June 12th, 1491.*"¹

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Djem arrives at Civita Vecchia. The first creation of cardinals.

"To the *Praticà di Otto*, in the Noble Republic of Florence. *March 9th, 1488-1489.*

"Three days ago there arrived in safety at Civita Vecchia the Sultan's brother, to be handed over by the Knights of Jerusalem to His Holiness the Pope. His Holiness then created their Grand-Master a cardinal, as he had promised them to do, as soon as he had arrived. For this purpose there was held this morning in the name of the Holy Spirit a consistory, and there were created and published all the cardinals below: Mess. Lorenzo Cibò of Genoa, Archbishop of Benevento, castellano of the Castle of S. Angelo; Ardicino della Porta da Novara, Bishop of Aleria; Antoniotto Gentile of Genoa, Bishop of Auray, datary; the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a Frenchman; the Grand-Master of Rhodes, a Frenchman; one other was created secretly, a Florentine, for the honour and satisfaction of our Republic, who, with your good leave, cannot be published now, but will be announced another time, because it has to remain a secret; and now I must excuse myself, because I should be blamed, for I have not to write things which have not to be said, and which may cause harm and loss in public and private uselessly. I shall continue to perform my duties firstly as I am accustomed to do, and to fear little while I am not to blame. Messer Cesare has gone to Pitigliano to advise Pier Filippo; and the Cardinal Orsini has sent here this morning to do the same—Farewell.

"GIOVANNI LANFREDINO, *Oratore.*"

(*Class X., Dist. 5, No. 15, Agli Otto di Pratica.*)

¹ From a small book in 4to *s. l. n. d.*, in Gothic characters, preceded by the funeral oration of Ardicino della Porta, written and pronounced by F. Cardulo.

The entry of Djem into Rome. Portrait of the Prince. The King of Naples tries to have him murdered, and the assassin, when put to the torture, avows his criminal designs.

“To the Illustrious Canons of the Abbey, concerning their mutual welfare, and the entrance into the city of the Sultan of Turkey’s brother. Letter XXX. of the same Matteo Bosso.

“. . . But not to leave you in ignorance of what is happening in the city, it seems to me that the arrival of the brother of the Great Sultan of Turkey is an event worth hearing of. He was received with solemn pomp, while the whole city looked on. He came through the finest streets, riding upon a noble horse between Franceschetto, the Pope’s son, and the brother of the Grand-Master of the Knights of Rhodes; he then went up to the Sacred Palace and was there honourably entertained. Not many days after he was brought into the presence of the chief Pontiff, who sat upon a high throne in public consistory. He neither bowed himself before him, nor kissed the ground in the Turkish manner, as those who are set over the sacred rites and ceremonies instructed him to do; he was suffered to do as he pleased, so that the Christians who witnessed the sight were all filled with grief and indignation, and foamed with rage and gnashed their teeth one to another; and had he not been restrained by the armed attendants, or seized by the beard at the Pontiff’s sacred feet, the dignity of our Christian faith would have been set at naught by one who, with his father Mahomet, caused our noble blood to flow in streams and gush forth as rivers. Many and various are the tales which idlers tell of the reason of his coming; but the commonest theory is that he is to be handed over to the Sultan as bearing arms against his brother on the throne, who has recently sent ambassadors to Rome to demand his surrender. They say that the Sultan promises the Pope much gold and the holy city of Jerusalem, while his brother promises that if he conquers the Sultan and gains possession of the empire and dominions of his vanquished brother, he will restore all that has been wrested from the Christians in former wars.

“The appearance of the barbarian prince is fierce and cruel, his body is well-knit and strongly-built, his neck is broad, his chest wide and prominent; he is above medium height, has one defective eye, an aquiline nose and a head which is never still, as he gazes threateningly around him. He is, I fancy, about forty years of age. I have often seen an image of his father cast in bronze, which he resembles perfectly. As in natural features, so in the baseness of his character he is the equal of his father, distinguished also in his cruelty and atrocity. If this venomous serpent break his bond and escape from the cage in which we Christians have secured him, alas! what destruction and what wounds he will inflict upon us, if only he have the power.

“But see how our rulers differ one from another, how hostile and contrary are their desires. While this Turkish prince was among us as a prisoner, and guarded by a strong and watchful guard, a Turk newly arrived begged to be admitted by the guards, saying that he had deserted from the great Emperor of the Turks, and, after surmounting many dangers, had come to live in captivity with the Prince, to devote himself to his service as long as he should live, and to fight for him if he take up righteous arms and make war against his brother on the throne.

He entered the Prince's presence with the ceremonies of his native land, kissed the ground and then the captive's foot, saluting him and calling him Emperor and his Lord and the rightful King of all the Turks. The Prince fixed his keen gaze upon him, for he is an astute and wily man and fears often when there is no ground for fear, and suspected that he was a traitor and a murderer. He turned to the Pope's son, who was a witness of the scene, and made known to him by his interpreter that he appeared to him to be an assassin, and he put no trust in the empty speeches of a fawning man. When the Pontiff's son heard this, he had him straightway seized and taken from the Sacred Palace to the Castle of S. Angelo to be tortured, when he confessed that he had been sent by the King of Naples to murder the Prince. This event has greatly exercised the minds of the faithful. We dedicate this to the memory of our pleasant intercourse and holy love. We shall be moved to write of other things to you as occasion and circumstances arise. Farewell."

"Second Letters of Matteo Bossos to his friends."

Subscription :

"Printed at Mantua by Vincenzo Bertocho of Reggio, November 9th, 1498 R. D., the famous and Noble Prince Francesco Gonzaga, the fourth Marquis, holding the reins of the Republic."

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"The commentary of Guillaume Caoursin of Douai, Belgium, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes, concerning the adventures of Prince Djem begins. (Extracts).

"It will not be, I think, without interest to put down in writing the story of Prince Zizim (the son of Mahomet II., Sultan of Turkey). For the affair is worth remembering, and one which should stir Christian people and arouse the faithful to do noble deeds, such as promote the welfare of the Christian commonwealth not a little. The quarrels of brothers, indeed, discord between citizens, and wars between nations often bring about the overthrow of great cities, kingdoms and mighty empires. Antiquity is full of examples of this: nor is the present age free from this blot. The city of Athens, wisest among cities, once suffered this deadly wound.

Bayazet and Zizim: and their opposing factions.

"Mahomet, ruler of Turkey, reigned for thirty years, during which time he subdued powerful cities, kingdoms and dynasties. At length he was worsted in battle with the Rhodians, his mind was affected by this disgrace, and he died suddenly in his distress; he was fifty-eight years of age. He left two sons, the Princes Bayazet and Zizim. These princes, when they grew to manhood, were set over provinces and separated one from the other; they lived quietly while their father was alive. They did not concern themselves with the empire, nor take any part in public affairs, but were as private citizens, and as long as their father lived both were content. At their father's bidding, who feared that they should plot one

against the other, as brothers do, they met but once, when they embraced fondly. For a barbarian with the genius of the Germans anticipates faction; and this faction generally comes to barbarian peoples (as a peculiar poison) on attaining to the chieftaincy.

“Bayazet, who was called Ildrimi, which means lightning, the elder of the two, was in Paphlagonia, upon the shores of the Euxine, where he lived an idle and effeminate life, after the manner of Sardanapalus. Zizim, whose name is interpreted to mean love, was established in Iconium, an ancient city of Lycaonia; he lived a hazardous life, devoting himself to hunting or the baths, now disporting himself in the river, now joining in revels and the licence of youth. When their father's sudden death was rumoured abroad, both hastened from their quarters, thinking that he who should first lay claim to Constantinople would gain the Imperial throne and royal treasure. In Constantinople at this crisis there arose two parties among the soldiery; some called loudly for Bayazet, others for Zizim, to be king. While the pashas, nobles and satellites were divided by their desires into various parties, a part of the royal treasury was at the mercy of the plunderer. While the plunder was still insecure, they fell upon one another with bloody swords, and one of the pashas was slain. Meanwhile Achmat, a pasha, the stormer of Otranto, a man skilled in the art of war, of great mind and ready hand, desiring better things than booty, attached himself to Bayazet's party. This man, relying upon his wisdom, dared to quell the seditions that had arisen and allay the tumult; full of wrath and threats, he took up his position in the market-place, supported by a strong band of Bayazet's followers, he put forward one of Bayazet's children (he had several sons), a lad of eighteen, and showing him to the mob, proclaimed his father king. He placed the lad upon the royal tribune to hold the reins of government until his father came.

“While these events were happening and the people of Byzantium were in suspense and anxiety (natural in such an unsettled state of things), Bayazet crossed the Euxine with a few triremes made ready for the purpose and put in at Constantinople. His followers received him with acclamation and saluted him as Emperor and master of the royal treasure, while the party in favour of Zizim were struck dumb with surprise and fear, but concealed their chagrin through fear of the victor's cruel sword.

“Meanwhile Prince Zizim, who had to travel by land through Lycaonia and Bithynia, was delayed a little, and thus lost his chance of the throne to which he aspired. Induced, however, by the secret encouragements of his party, and hopeful of gaining possession of the kingdom, he pursued his way steadfastly to the ancient royal city of Prusia. He gathered an army and summoned his brother to do battle. For he supposed that his brother's rule was not yet securely established, and hoped easily to bring the waverers over to the other side.

“While the brothers were wearying one another with strife, another son of Bayazet, a youth of fourteen years of age, was planning flight. He was a comely lad, and endowed with seriousness and ability beyond his years. When his grandfather Mahomet had passed away, he ruled over Caria and Lycia, guided by the counsel of his pashas. Now he feared that Zizim, who aspired to his father's throne, and was already threatening him, supported as he was by a strong force, would put him to death by violence or treachery. Such indeed is the race of mortal men. When a man is striving for a throne, he cannot spare even his own flesh and blood. The young Prince purposed to have fleet horses ready for the flight, and make for a town of the Rhodians (this town is dedicated to St. Peter the

Apostle, and is situated in the region of Halicarnassus, part of Caria), and throw himself upon the mercy of the Rhodians. And the Master, a man of understanding, thinking that the royal Prince was purposing to flee, determined to receive him. But while the Prince was in doubt, and wondering how he could safely go by land to the town of St. Peter, so as not to fall into the hands of Zizim's followers, there put in to the shore of Caria, on which the young Prince was standing fearfully, a merchantman. He paid the toll, pledged them to secrecy, and embarked upon the ship, in which he crossed to Galipoli; it is a well-known fact that in this way he escaped disaster. Some say that he remained in the provinces with the horses ready for flight if necessary, and that when his father's fortune was in desperate case he straightway departed, and going by land made his way to Byzantium with all speed.

"At this time Zizim, advancing with his army, laid claim to Prusia, from whose inhabitants he wrung a sum of money, given either in love or fear (more probably the latter, I think). Bayazet, who was watchful for the safety of the empire, took measures to prevent Asia, no small part of his empire, from becoming subject to his brother. The pasha Achmat, a wise counsellor, threw the Prince's army across the Propontis into Asia, and opposed his forces to Zizim's. Now the Thracian army was finer and more stalwart than the Asiatic; for the inhabitants of Europe are said to be bolder in mind and stronger in body to undergo dangers, while Asiatics are always considered effeminate and weak-minded, although only a narrow strait divides the two peoples. Moreover, Achmat, their leader, by his skill in warfare, his nobility and courage, struck terror to his foes.

"Zizim betook himself to Jerusalem, then to the Court of the Soudan Kaibai in Egypt, whose support he demanded. The latter preferred to undertake negotiations with Bayazet II., while Zizim made a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. The negotiations came to nothing. Zizim appealed a last time to arms, but was worsted, and refused to respond to new proposals made to him by Bayazet II. After wandering for some time among the rocks on the sea coast, the fugitive Prince was at length driven, as a last hope of safety, to throw himself upon the mercy of the Knights of Rhodes."

Zizim and Bayazet scorn to make a treaty.

"Meanwhile the King of Egypt tried to bring about an agreement between the brothers, but neither of them would enter into a compact; nor have minds filled with wrath a place for concord.

"So, when those who are bound together by ties of blood disagree, that very community of blood makes their spirits prouder, so that by their mutual enmity each is led to despise the other; and the more closely nature has bound them together, the more vehemently does depravity of heart divide them. For the effects of contraries are diverse. So, those whom a common flesh and blood makes loving friends, perversity makes bitterest foes.

"Both preferred to settle their quarrel by an appeal to arms. Bayazet, as was natural, being in possession, despised his brother, a wanderer, a fugitive and an exile; Zizim scorned his brother's cowardice, violence and weakness, and desired the battle to be ended by a single combat. This he desired with all his heart (for he saw himself outmatched



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

in numbers), and called out his brother to a duel (his desire was not gratified; by this contrivance he would win over the soldiers of opposing armies, who do not desire to slay one another. Indeed it is a rare thing for any one not to desire wars to be ended by single combat of the leaders, for each man prefers another's danger to his own, for he would be a phoenix who thinks otherwise).

“But all was deceit, treachery, craftiness and cunning. Bayazet promised that he would give his brother two thousand pieces of gold, and furniture worthy of royal splendour, boys also, and maidens, yearly, as slaves, on condition that he lived beyond the frontiers of the kingdom. By delaying with such parleyings, he strove to ensnare his brother. But Zizim scorned his brother's promises, when he saw that he was deprived of the kingdom of which he rightly claimed a part, and by accusing Bayazet of tyranny, he strove meanwhile to work upon the minds of the soldiery. For the Turks feel a great affection for kings' sons, and do unbounded honour and reverence to their Prince; nor dare they claim royal blood unless born in the palace. To come to the next attack, time was wasted in parleyings, so that the passes might be seized and Zizim and the King of Cilicia taken prisoners. They anticipated treachery and distrusted their strength. They fled to the heights of Mt. Taurus, where they defended themselves as far as they were able by the natural defences, and waited further developments. But both in different ways decided to provide for their safety.”

Zizim determines to flee to Rhodes.

“Now Prince Zizim, loathing the sight of his brother, and fearing his cruel and bloody vengeance, decided to take refuge with Christians. Many were the plans he pondered, but at length this one remedy occurred to him, to go to the Rhodians.”

Prince Zizim sends ambassadors to Rhodes.

“So Prince Zizim sent to Rhodes ambassadors to whom he had previously given letters. But as the messenger was journeying by land the soldiers of King Bayazet intercepted him. The ambassadors found a Rhodian skiff in a hut on the shore of Cilicia, and in this they put to sea and sailed to Rhodes. Meanwhile, Zizim hired a vessel which was anchored off that shore, so that, in necessity compelled, he might get on board and provide as best he could for his safety. When the ambassadors put in to Rhodes, the senate was summoned by order of Pierre d'Aubusson, master of the knights, and the ambassadors addressed them in words to this effect” :—

The Speech of the Ambassadors in the Senate at Rhodes.

“Most excellent Prince and Master; most worthy Knights. Prince Zizim, a most noble youth and born to high estate, nephew of the greatest Ottoman King, son of a most glorious Emperor and brother of a powerful tyrant, yielding for a time to adverse fortune, desires to take refuge with you, most sapient Prince, and all-victorious Master, and you, bravest of

athletes, by whose prudence, counsel and aid may he mend his broken fortunes. He begs you to send a fleet with all speed to take him on board and convey him to Rhodes, and he implores your public pledge that he may have a safe entry into your dominion. I will not in this place bring arguments to prevail upon you not to reject the royal youth. You are men of nobility and of great prudence, and know full well the weight of my demands, and the nature and number of the advantages to be won. For we know that you are men who have won glory in the field of war, and are to be moved by deeds and not by words; wherefore we will not weary you with longer speech. Do not think lightly of the coming of a powerful prince into your midst, exile though he be. It would be unseemly to close against a prince an asylum which is always open to small and petty men. Famous indeed is your name among foreign peoples; a name which has climbed the Caucasus and made its way into the heart of India, the name of a people who know how to repel violence with war, but a people of generous heart who do not scorn to offer exiles a safe refuge.'

"The letters which were read in the senate were to the same effect."

The Decree of the Senate.

"The ambassadors then withdrew from the senate-house; the Master and senators consulted together upon the matter, and weighed many arguments, some inducing them to receive Prince Zizim, some to reject him. At length, from the strife of arguments (as a fiery spark from the rubbing of pebbles), one opinion resulted. They decided that the Prince should be received, welcomed and entertained; that the occasion of his coming might turn out for the advancement of the Christian religion. The ambassadors were summoned, and the decree of the senate announced. They returned thanks, and asked that the preparations be made with all speed, lest delay bring disaster."

The fleet is made ready and sails for Cilicia to take Zizim on board.

"Thereupon there were made ready a merchantman, triremes and other vessels. A captain was chosen, a famous knight, who went on board the fleet accompanied by a distinguished band of the Knights of Jerusalem, and sailed for Cilicia, where he put in to shore. Prince Zizim, hard pressed by his brother's soldiers, had already embarked upon a vessel (of which we made mention above), after riding at full gallop upon the horses. The story states that when he was a little distance from the shore, Zizim wrote a brief letter, and addressed it to his brother; this he wrapped round and bound to his arrow, and drawing his bow shot it into the ground. It is said that the letter was found by his brother's soldiers, who were in pursuit of the royal prince, and they handed it to his brother. When he read the letter he wept a little, and was long silent, distressed at heart; he forbade any one to approach him, and remained in his pavilion. He took it ill, forsooth, that his brother, a follower of the law of Mahomet, should have betaken himself to Christians (which the Mahometans hold to be the most heinous of crimes), and especially to those who were the deadliest foes of the Ottoman family, and had brought upon his father so great disgrace; and that his brother, by going over to the Christians, would bring the greatest dishonour upon the name of the law of Mahomet: he showed that he was fully alive to these things, in that he persecuted him with such cruelty. The letter was as follows":—

Letter of Zizim to Bayuzet.

“Prince Zizim to Prince Bayuzet, his most cruel brother. ‘Because I have sought for what was fair, just and fitting, you, violating alike human laws and divine, despising the law of Mahomet, compel your brother to turn for Christian aid, and, above all, to those who, wearing the Cross, have ever been the foes of your illustrious family. You are guilty of this heinous crime. I go to them unwillingly—to save my life. If you had granted me what, with good right, I claim, I would have stayed within the limits of the kingdom; nor would a royal brother of the family of Mahomet, bound to you by the closest ties of blood, be driven to live among Christians, where I cannot observe our laws, ceremonies, customs or religion.

“‘I call upon God to avenge such an impious act, upon Mahomet the prophet to be my champion, and to exact from you the penalties that are deserved.

“‘Had your father foreseen this, he would have compassed your death (I speak in no riddles) with poison or the sword. For he was the founder of the race of Ottoman, while you desire to be known as its destroyer. I do not think, indeed, that your empire, won by such acts of cruelty, vengeance and tyranny, will long endure. For, when the foundation is not firmly laid, the building cannot be lasting or secure; and wise men say that the violent does not endure.

“‘For it is in violation of laws both human and divine that you seek for a brother’s blood. There will come an avenger of this unheard-of crime, who, with the high judgment of heaven, will one day smite your head; because you plot against me and my sons, another will weigh out to you just measure against you and yours. Farewell, and repent, lest dire destruction come down upon you and your sons, consume you and devour you.’

“Zizim set sail upon the sea in his crazy craft, and seeing a fleet, betook himself to a neighbouring shore to wait what chance would bring. For already the enemy’s soldiers had gone off at full speed to bring tidings of his brother’s flight to Bayuzet, thinking that he who should first bring the news would win a reward. Zizim had not learned of the Rhodian’s decree; wherefore, fearing to fall into the hands of pirates, he dared not trust himself to the open sea until he recognized the fleet and its crew.”

Prince Zizim embarks upon the Rhodian fleet.

“When he was informed that the Rhodians had come for him, he took courage, went on board, and gave himself up to the Knights of Jerusalem. The captain of the ship treated the Ottoman prince with courtesy, honour and kindness.”

The Pomp with which Prince Zizim was received by the Rhodians.

“Meanwhile the Prince’s coming was announced at Rhodes, and fitting preparation made for doing him honour. A wooden landing-stage was built for the Prince to disembark, which ran out about ten paces into the sea, and was four paces wide, so that several men could ride upon it, and was adorned with stuffs woven of gold, silver, silk and wool. The stage was adorned in the Belgian manner, for they are thought to be the

inventors of this art, in which they are highly skilled. The path on which they were to set foot was covered with Turkish tapestries. The streets along which they were to pass were strewn with myrtle flowers, that give off a fragrant odour, and were beautified in various ways. The nobles and common people who had gathered to see the spectacle lined the streets. The matrons and wedded and unwedded maidens sat at the windows. The rest of the folk climbed to the roof-tops to get sight of the Prince. For, at the mouth of the harbour, the Prince's ship weighed anchor, and a Rhodian trireme came alongside it, and taking the Prince on board, brought him to the landing-stage. Distinguished knights of senatorial rank were sent to welcome Zizim as he landed. A long array of the Grand-Master's servants followed, wearing wreaths and singing Gallic songs; then came the Knights of Jerusalem, young men with the first down on their lips, who rode upon sleek steeds, robed all in silken tunics and gorgeous trappings. After them came the Grand-Master himself, seated upon a noble charger in harness and trappings of gold, which champed the foaming bit, and now and again it neighed and stepped proudly, so that none could come near to its rider by reason of its prancing. Then followed the stately senators upon their horses. The Grand-Master went no further than the church of S. Sebastian in the forum, and there, as he planned, Prince Zizim met him, seated upon a goodly steed and escorted by the faithful companions of his flight. When the Prince beheld the Grand-Master, he thrice pressed his fingers to his lips, which is the customary form of salutation between barbarian princes, while the Grand-Master saluted the Prince in his own manner. After these salutations they joined their right hands, and, conversing through an interpreter, rode on to the palace. When the palace of the French knights, splendidly adorned for the occasion, was reached, the Grand-Master took leave of the Prince, and went to his own house. The Prince sprang nimbly from his horse, and mounted the steps, supported, as a mark of honour, between two Turks, then entered his private apartments. He threw off his barbarian mantle, and sat with crossed legs upon a couch in the Turkish fashion. That day he rested after the voyage."

Speech of Zizim to the Grand-Master.

"On the next day, the Prince addressed the Grand-Master in the following words: 'Most distinguished Master and renowned Prince,—When the wrath of my brother pursued me and fate brought me to such a pass that it seemed better to yield to misfortune than to tempt fortune further, I thought of many things: I looked around me on all sides, but could see none to whom I might flee. At length my thoughts turned to you, a warrior of renown, and I bethought me of the great fame of your name, which has reached not only Christian peoples but the shores of other nations, and even India itself. Added to this was the integrity, generosity and nobility of mind of yourself and your companions in arms, and further, the glory of the famous victory which you won when my father laid siege to Rhodes. That was indeed a glorious achievement, to have driven back by your prowess the house of Ottoman, which for more than eight hundred years had known only victories, triumphs and ovations. Filled thus with admiration for your valour, not only did I esteem, but loved, revered, and worshipped you and your company of knights. For such is the strength of your prowess that it appeals not only to the minds of your own nation but also to foreign peoples. And it gave me no small degree

of confidence to know that you enjoy, and that right worthily, the favour and regard of Christian princes, and that the renown of your name is spread abroad throughout the East. None, therefore, should marvel that we trust our person in your hands, who with true greatness and wisdom reckon little of the wrongs you suffered in times past at his father's hands, and do not scorn the son of a tyrant when he comes to you for refuge, but aid him with your counsel, your help and your protection. But perchance you are wondering by what right a younger son contends with his brother for the throne. I admit that my brother was the first to see the light; and for this very reason I hold that he should be excluded from the throne. For he was born when my father was not yet king. Therefore, let him have what was my father's when he begot him. But I was born and brought up when my father wore the purple. Nor did I ever see, know and reverence my father, save as a king, the emperor and master of the empire. Wherefore, by good right, all that was my father's when he begat me is due to me his son. But let us leave this. Has he not driven me out from my father's and my grandfather's kingdom, and denied to a royal prince his rightful portion? Has he not invaded, appropriated and plundered the royal treasure, and gorgeous furnishings? Has he not bribed, enticed and stirred up the soldiery against me, and threatened me even with death? O the fierce cruelty of a brother, the shameless tyranny, the blind cupidity of mine own blood! It is not seemly to complain thus of a brother. But seeing that he has not blushed to rob me of my inheritance, it is right that I, thus wrongfully despoiled, should complain thus openly to those with whom I have taken refuge. For he who seeks a doctor's aid must, of necessity, disclose the wound. I have put myself in your hands, most happy Prince of Rhodes, and I embrace you, bravest of knights; thus let my father's wrongs be done away. May you regard the calamity which has befallen me, most famous warrior, who dare resist the army of your foes and know how to aid the calamity of princes. I will make a perpetual treaty with the Christians, I will not strive to attack them with war, but content with no unworthy portion of my father's empire, I will lay down my arms and live in peace. Nor will I be unmindful of your kindness to me. I implore your aid, I invoke the help of the princes of Christendom, that they may act for my advantage and their own; in avenging my brother's cruelty, they will champion a friend against a foe, a guest against an enemy, a faithful friend to Christendom against an infidel.'

"The Prince was silent, and the Grand-Master thus replied":—¹

The Reply of the Grand-Master.

"Your words, Most Illustrious Prince, are full of wisdom. In that you praise myself and the Knights of Rhodes so highly, we ascribe it to your modesty. For if there be any glory, fame or prestige attaching to our company, we attribute it to God the giver of all good, from the fount of whose providence all things flow and are derived. And let it not distress you that we are Christians, and wear the cross. For the State of Rhodes

¹ At the outset of his narrative, Caoursin warned the reader that he was going to relate the misfortunes of Zizim *litterario ordine*. Hence these words, which are little in accordance with the proud and reserved character of Zizim, but which must certainly reflect with exactitude the thoughts of the Ottoman Prince. (See on this subject the *Dissertation zur Zizim*, by the Abbot Vertot, relative to the narrative of Caoursin; and G. de Jaligny's *Histoire des Chevaliers de Saint Jean de Jerusalem*, Amsterdam, 1732, t. ii., p. 579).

is a refuge for all peoples, an asylum and a safe harbour, where those who have taken refuge (in the memory of our fathers, princes of no mean name of your own and other nations) have met with a gracious and kindly welcome. For it ill befits generous souls to call to mind hostile arms when we are treating of a compact. If your father laid fierce siege to Rhodes, he thought it was for the honour of his law. He acted as a foe: and as a foe we met him with our swords, till God at length, in His mercy, aided the rightful cause and was pleased to send the angel of victory to Rhodes. But you come as our guest and friend, and to you we offer the rights of hospitality, goodwill and affection. It befits you to be of good and steadfast heart and to await the issue of events manfully, nor do we scorn to pursue what may be for your profit and that of Christendom, as far as ability and fortune will allow. The Roman Pontiff and the Catholic princes and potentates who guide the helm of Christendom are possessed of power, wisdom and the goodwill of the Christian commonwealth, and they will know how to make use of your coming; we will not desert you and you will find us propitious to your cause, and it has pleased us especially to learn of your rightful claim, so that we may seem to be striving for a just cause. Pleasant, too, are the thanks which spring only from a grateful and generous mind which scorns all taint of ingratitude." The Prince acknowledged these words and then returned to the palace."

The Consultations of the Rhodians.

"All day long the senate was thronged, and matters were discussed in wise deliberation. At length the Prince and the Senate of Rhodes decreed, and all were of the same opinion, that letters should be addressed and messengers sent to the Roman Pontiff, to the Emperor, and to Catholic kings and princes, to announce that Prince Zizim had taken refuge in Rhodes, to point out that this was an opportunity sent by God to be used for the advantage of Christendom. It seemed, moreover, best that the fugitive Prince should, under the escort of the Grand-Master and the knights of Rhodes, go farther west. In accordance with the decree of the senate letters and messengers were despatched, and a merchantman was made ready to take the Prince on board. Distinguished knights of Rhodes were deputed to escort him, and they embarked on September 1st, 1482, and set sail prosperously with the same pomp and display that marked Zizim's entry to the city.

"He left Rhodes, after a stay of forty-two days there."

A Banquet is held.

"On the day before his departure the Prince was invited and sat down to table with the Grand-Master. Viands of all kinds were served, and confections made by the skill of the cooks were not lacking. The barbarian wondered at the customs of the Latins, nor did he sit at table without discomfort, because his legs were not crossed in the usual way. He tasted the dishes with his forefinger: what was sweet he refused, and took those that were sour. As he ate he watched those standing to serve. He leaned towards the table and ate with his body bent; from time to time he glanced furtively at the Grand-Master to notice how he took his food. Nor were there wanting musicians to make sweet strains with the harmony of instruments. Among these was an Englishman, who played sweetly upon four strings joined by fans, which he pressed with his hands,

The tuneful voices of singers also delighted them, but the barbarian, unused to sweet singing, showed no pleasure until a Turk, playing upon a barbarian instrument, produced a melody fit for the kitchen; then he lifted his head and smiled slightly."

Description of the habits and features of Zizim.

"It will not be out of place at this point in my story, I think, to describe the habits of the barbarian prince. Prince Zizim was twenty-eight years of age, tall, healthy, and of insolent mien. His eyes were blue and squinted, his heavy eyebrows almost met above his nose. The right eyebrow sloped down to the eye, while the left was turned upward towards the forehead. His mouth was small; his lips thick and generally drawn to the left; he covered his teeth, and with the same movement drew down his left eyelid and then almost immediately raised it again. His nose was aquiline, a little prominent in the centre, while the end of it turned to the left; his chin was small, his skin the colour of a chestnut; his scanty beard was not worn long, but shaved off close to the skin; his neck was thick, his ears small, and his body fleshy, though more in the stomach and hinder parts than in the other limbs. His arms, legs, ankles, and feet were well proportioned, nor did his stoutness prevent his being nimble in leaping, riding, hunting and shooting. For he managed his body as if he were slightly built and not troubled with stoutness. If anything annoyed him, he showed his anger by the flash of his eyes and his shrill voice; but if a distinguished man approached him, his face changed on the instant and he smiled, and delighted to act a part. When he was angry, his voice was shrill, not unlike a goat's, but when he was speaking calmly, his speech was serious, temperate and modest, and he spoke but seldom. Nor, though a fugitive and an alien, did he forget his princely rank. He had a large appetite, and a stomach as greedy as a furnace. He refused wine, unless it was flavoured with spices, which he thought altered and changed its kind, as vinegar made from wine alters its nature. He ate and drank more greedily than became a prince, so that you would think that he swallowed rather than ate his food: nor did he chew his food with his teeth, but put it into his mouth and swallowed it down unchewed, with his mouth wide open. Roasted meats he liked, but would not touch them boiled: melons, grapes, pears, apples, and all fruits of every kind he took eagerly. He ate bread sparingly; he used water as a drink, putting sugar in, which gradually melted. He could not endure heat, cold or want. He perspired abundantly, and great drops of sweat stood on his forehead and cheeks. He delighted in gay robes, took baths frequently, first washed his body in the warm baths and then had cold water poured over it: he was a skilful swimmer; each day he dived into the sea and swam there freely, while all looked on. He watched the bystanders with his eyes and seemed always pensive and thoughtful. If he gave any signs of pleasure, he did it chiefly when the Grand-Master was present. He was deeply religious in accordance with the Mahometan law, of which he was a faithful follower. If he saw one of his servants drunk he attacked him furiously. He was so restless that he could not stay long in the same place: he wandered through all the rooms to lie down, nor did he scorn the roof. Five beds were prepared for him, and on some nights he took his sleep in the open air. He was very skilled in the Turkish tongue: from his youth he had applied himself to letters, so that he knew well how to write of his deeds, and he also set forth in writing the glorious deeds of his father.

His mother, who was the daughter of a famous family of Servian princes, and two children, a boy and a girl of tender years, he left at Carrhae" (Cairo).

The Commentary of Guillaume Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes, upon the famous Treaty made by the Rhodians with Bayazet II., Sultan of Turkey.

"Heavy losses, defeats and disgraces, both in our time and in the memory of our fathers, have the cruel, wicked and abhorrent race of Turks brought upon Christendom. But it is not my intention to enumerate these on the present occasion, for I have not the command of language or the ability to dare venture upon so wide a field of literature as this. For there are men well known to fame (I speak plainly) who write fully of these things and have a wider knowledge than mine of the history of our own day.

"I propose briefly to set forth the famous treaty of the Rhodians with Bayazet the Ottoman Prince, ruler of the Turks, recently concluded, and to unfold the causes."

The Causes (of entering into a Treaty) are given.

"Bayazet, at his father's death, seized for himself the reins of government and drove Prince Zizim, his brother, who strove with him for the kingdom, out of Asia by force of arms. The latter in his exile took refuge with the Rhodians, as is described more fully in my commentary. While the Ottoman princes were thus striving for the empire, a most favourable opportunity was given by the divine clemency to the followers of Christ to avenge the wrongs they had suffered, as was proclaimed in an oracle delivered concerning the Turk's death. But the people of Christendom did not open the eyes of their mind, which were wrapped in spiritual darkness, and rejected the offered opportunity, each being intent upon his private affairs. Assuredly the blood of Christ in Christian hearts is colder than the waters of the Euxine, and he who should be fired with zeal is frozen with a more than icy coldness. Alas for my grief! When most of all the fire of zeal is needed, then is it burned most low. Italy, with its wisdom and its wealth, is consumed with internal feuds, and its cities turn their swords against each other to their mutual destruction. France, noble and powerful in war, is harassed with pestilence and famine, and turns her sword against the Belgians, the bravest people of France. The brave Spaniards are indeed enjoying peace, but spend their time in idleness and constant plans to drive the alien race who hold sway in Baetica to cross the straits of Cadiz and return to their ancestral homes. The famous Teuton nation, easily first in the number of its inhabitants, is troubled by its very size and the number of its chiefs, who strive each to keep or to increase his petty kingdom. England, a land of strenuous men, is seeking to recover a dowry from the King of the Scots, and is bent upon avenging the wrong done to a bride. Hence it is that the most warlike men are involved in a fierce war, through the wondrous folly of their ways, if I may speak thus with the leave of all, impelled by the zeal of my faith. The people of Christendom, who should be avenging the insults offered to their Redeemer, blinded by their private desires, are turning their strength to profane uses. Would that these fierce arms, these brave hearts, this strength, this wealth might be used against the Turks, so that at least the Grecian and imperial

city, taken in our time from the Catholic religion, might be restored to Christ, and that what our fathers and we their sons have lost, we may win back for our faith, and may give up our quarrels! God, without whose will nothing is rightly done, who lookest down from above upon the wandering wills of men, will pour His grace into their hearts that by its light the people of Christendom may take vengeance upon a wicked tyranny. Nor among this din of arms and the strength and dread arms of the foe most hostile to the faith, does Rhodes, the island of fair fame, lying beside Asia Minor, which obeys Turkish rule, remain in peace. She, indeed, has undergone many losses, many perils, and many afflictions, yet, though attacked, stormed, and hard-pressed by the foe, has not been conquered, taken, or divided. But she has bravely guarded the Christian faith, and with God's help, in her small kingdom and little company of Knights of the Cross, as among the Maccabees of old, the divine virtue shone forth and wrought terror in the ungodly hearts of the 'Turks, who do not give God the glory, but rely upon their own hardihood and strive in their own strength."

The Sultan of Turkey, desiring peace, sends secret emissaries to prevail upon the Grand-Master to make a Treaty.

"So Bayazet, the Sultan of Turkey, while pursuing his brother and robbing him of his kingdom, induced by the generosity of the Rhodians, desired to make a peace with them in order to deprive his brother of his hope of a refuge. But the barbarian Prince, to preserve his dignity and do no violence to the imperious temper of the Ottoman princes, sought to bring about a treaty by secret means. He sent privately certain persons to exhort to a treaty under pretext of negotiations thought out with much cunning. But the Noble Grand-Master of Rhodes, Pierre d'Aubusson, a man of keen discernment, avoided their trap and turned a deaf ear to their counsels, and thus gaining time, awaited the issue of the brother's quarrel. Bayazet, thinking that his emissaries had not sufficient weight, secretly induced Sankiakbe, ruler of Lycia, who lived upon the border of the Rhodian territory, to persuade to peace, and offer himself as a mediator. The Grand-Master now paid some little heed, because the Lycian ruler was a man of weight. So a truce for six months was concluded, that they might with the more security treat for peace. The Grand-Master put no great faith in the treacherous nature of the barbarian, but in order to gain time by the pretext of a truce, he adopted the barbarian tactics. But the longer the peace was deferred the more ardently did Bayazet desire it. So while the quarrel of the brothers was hot and the kingdom was shaken, he persuaded the Pasha Achmat, the stormer of Otranto, to exhort the Grand-Master, in a letter, to embrace peace. The Pasha therefore, at the King's bidding, sent a letter to the Rhodian Prince, of which the following is a copy":—

The Letter of the Pasha to the Grand-Master of Rhodes exhorting him to make peace.

"Achmat the pasha, counsellor of Bayazet the invincible King of Asia, Emperor of emperors, to the Most Glorious Prince the Grand-Master of Rhodes, Pierre d'Aubusson, the bravest of Christian warriors, greeting. Your generous nature, well known to me in deeds as in words, has impelled me to write this brief letter to you. For such strength is there in valour, that

it compels the love of strangers and of foes. Induced, therefore, by your valour, I would persuade you to give heed to establish peace with Prince Bayazet, a course that has been often adopted by noble and warlike men, who make war to find the peace that they desire. Nor is the genius and wisdom of a great man less glorious in peace than in war, nor do the arms we now wield belie our words, for we drive back the foe that we may attain peace. Truly peace is a divine gift, without which neither individual substances, nor the movements of the heavens, nor the changes of the elements, nor the human frame, nor kingdoms, nor cities, nor domestic life could endure or last or prosper.

“Induced by this argument, those rulers who are possessed of wisdom and of power, whether East or West, of the frontiers of my master, prudently make an alliance with him, nor ought you to reject so sure and so heaven-sent a good, but you should learn from their example. For if you seek after this, your reputation for prudence amongst us will be wondrously enhanced; but if you reject it, I shall judge that you rely more upon divine aid than upon human strength.

“Embrace this good gift with all speed, most sapient Prince: enjoy the peace which the pacific Bayazet, King of kings, has denied to none that seek it, but, from the beginning of his rule, has received the embassies of all with courtesy and kindness.

“Thus, led by your great valour, shall I further the cause of one whom I desire to serve. Farewell.”

“The Grand-Master was not moved by these fair words, but knew whither these arts of the barbarian tended, who, setting aside his wonted ferocity, used such gentle speech. Or rather the sagacious Prince did not give heed to the tongue, that he might avoid the stings of the poisonous tail; nor did he account arguments of any value, but merely that he might tread more carefully and gain time by constantly sending envoys, thus prudently awaiting the important issue of the brothers' quarrel. In reply to the Pasha's letter he wrote to him to the following effect” :—

Letter of the Grand-Master of Rhodes in reply to the Pasha with regard to entering into a Treaty.

“Pierre d'Aubusson, Grand-Master of Rhodes to the Most Noble Commander of the Turks, the Pasha Achmat, royal counsellor, greeting. There has been delivered to us your courteous and prudent letter, persuading us to make a peace. Nor are we ignorant of the great good wrought by peace, nor of the efficacy of this divine gift, which rules the world. For if mortals would but embrace this gift of peace, and each would be content with the limits of his domain, we should indeed have reached the golden age. But cruel greed and lust of empire so possess the restless minds of some men, that they cannot rest in peace nor permit others to enjoy it. If the peace to which you persuade us is like those terms which we may embrace, if a safe approach lies open, we think it of no small value to seek after a compact. For it is a matter which conduces to the public good. Nor would we propose other than this to you; each man strives to attain what he thinks favourable to himself. For neither God nor nature nor men seek for aught save what it is within human power to furnish: further than that human nature cannot go. Farewell.”

“While letters were being sent about making a treaty, and envoys were going to and fro, the armies of the brothers at war with one another met on the field of battle in Asia. Zizim, inferior in strength, fled from Asia,

and it was at this juncture that he took refuge in Rhodes. Bayazet was anxiously concerned about his brother's flight, and sent messengers and letters to the frontiers of his empire. The ruler of Lycia, a man of wit, sent certain low-born Asiatics to make diligent inquiries whether Zizim had fled to Rhodes. When he learned that he was in Rhodes, he sent news of it to Bayazet by a swift messenger, and the latter despatched a letter without delay to the Commander of Lycia for our Prince, bidding him use it as the occasion required. The tenour of the letter was as follows":—

The Letter of the Turkish King to the Grand-Master, urging him to have all confidence in the ruler of Lycia.

“The Emperor Bayazet Khan (greatest of the great), the invincible King of Greece and Asia, to the Most Gracious and Renowned Prince Pierre d'Aubusson, Grand-Master of Rhodes, greeting. I have entrusted certain matters to be laid before you, to the ruler who governs Lycia on my behalf, who will disclose my intentions to you. Do you put all confidence in him, and I would have you hear him as if I spoke to you in person, for his words spring from his inmost heart. Whatever he may arrange with you, be assured that it will meet with my approval. Farewell.”

“The ruler of Lycia, a shrewd man, did not despatch the letter, for he anticipated that ambassadors would shortly arrive, and waited in order not to hinder their departure; the letter he preserved until a fitting season.”

The Rhodian Ambassadors cross to Asia to make peace.

“About this time an embassy of distinguished knights was despatched to Asia, Guido Montarnaldo and Leonardo Prato by name, to treat for peace. Their instructions were to refuse anything of the nature of tribute, and to agree to no terms that would be dishonourable and not becoming to the Knights of the Order of Jerusalem. For it would be a disgraceful and unseemly thing for those who fight for the faith to make a paltry compact with a Mahometan. On the day on which the ambassadors were despatched, Zizim also left Rhodes to cross to Gaul. The ruler of the province, a cunning and astute man, a friend and a faithful servant to Bayazet, received the ambassadors with a joyful face, and questioned them cautiously, striving to deceive them with ambiguous statements. Expecially did he seek to ascertain the nature of their instructions and to learn of Zizim's movements. But the ambassadors were prudent and discreet men, who gave little heed to the ruler's words, which were now fair, now threatening, but answered always soberly, nor did they disclose the purport of their mission. Thus the ruler's cunning was thrown away, since it could not deceive the shrewd minds of the ambassadors, though he detained them several days for this purpose. At length, with expressions of courtesy from the ruler, whom they had both impressed and restrained by a sense of the arduous undertaking of the embassy, and the right of the Prince, they left Lycia and proceeded to the King's tribunal.”

The Ambassadors of Rhodes lay their instructions before the Pashas at the King's bidding.

“When the ambassadors reached the Court they paid their respects to Bayazet, King of the Turks, in the usual way. The King asked whether the Prince of Rhodes were well, and they replied that the Prince was in

good health. He bade them lay the instructions of their embassy before the pashas. For they are used, at the Turkish Court, to appoint pashas to hear ambassadors through interpreters and intermediaries, imitating the old Kings of Persia, to avoid all familiarity, which practice produces arrogance, according to the wise.

“In the conclave at which the most distinguished pashas were present, Achmat, the stormer of Otranto, and Missach, the besieger of Rhodes, the ambassadors, were honourably received and bidden to be seated and to announce their instructions.”

After a long discussion, the Ambassadors of Rhodes and the Sultan agree upon the conditions of peace.

The Terms of the Treaty and the King's Oath.

“The pashas referred the demands of the ambassadors to the King. The King decided to conclude a treaty with the Rhodians: the conditions of the peace were as follows:—Bayazet, King of the Turks, took an oath after the manner prescribed by the Mahometan law, and spake thus:—‘The soldier shall not draw his sword, he shall take heed not to inflict an injury, nor shall he appeal to arms on land or sea. The merchant shall salute the fleet when he meets it, he shall traffic in his merchandise with safety. He shall carry supplies, shall decide his suit according to the manner of the tribunal, shall restore a runaway slave, if he is within the bounds of the law; if without those bounds, shall pay twenty pieces of gold for him. The Citadel of St. Peter shall be open to fugitives; while Bayazet survives he shall preserve the peace.’”

The Words of the Author in commendation of the Treaty.

“On these terms a treaty was duly entered into, with all dishonourable bargains entirely rejected, such a treaty as we understand was denied even the more powerful. Very seldom indeed have we heard of so splendid a treaty, made between people of different religion and power, and we ascribe the praise to Divine Providence, who, through the revolving chain of circumstances, brought Prince Zizim to Rhodes, and sent down the triumph of victory to Rhodes from on high. For it was these things that compelled Bayazet to this compact.”

The Sultan addresses the Rhodian Ambassadors in private.

“When the treaty had been signed, in presence of the ambassadors, King Bayazet bade the witnesses withdraw, and retiring into his private apartments, ordered the Rhodian ambassadors to be summoned. When they were seated, he questioned them graciously concerning his brother's exile, asking where he was and whether he was well. To these questions the ambassadors gave careful answers; he then added:—‘I have concluded a peace with your Prince, who I trust is well, and I exhort him to listen to the words of the ambassador whom I now send to him, as if they came from my own lips. He will learn my own intentions, which I ask that he will strive to further.’ Thus saying, he dismissed the ambassadors.”



The Sultan sends an Ambassador to the Grand-Master.

“After the great peace was concluded, the ambassadors returned in joy to Rhodes, loaded with royal gifts, at the expense of the Prince’s treasury. They were accompanied by the royal ambassador, a person of distinction, and the treaty was proclaimed by heralds in Asia and in Rhodes, to the sound of trumpets, and in the presence of a large concourse of people. The royal ambassador approached the Grand-Master, and presented his letters which were to the following effect” :—

Letter of the King to the Grand-Master.

“King Bayazet of the house of Ottoman, Khan, invincible Emperor of Asia and Greece, to the Most Noble Prince Pierre d’Aubusson, Grand-Master of Rhodes, greeting. I have entrusted certain difficult matters to be announced to your Worship, to the bearer of the present despatches, a trusted envoy. What he will say comes from my inmost heart. You will hear him as if you heard me, I beg. Do not refuse to listen to the demands of one who thinks it of no small account to spend his life under an equal compact with you. Farewell.”

“In compliance with his instructions, the ambassador spoke as follows” :—

The Royal Ambassador lays his instructions before the Grand-Master.

“King Bayazet’s brother Zizim has taken refuge with you, is in your dominion and is following your counsels. Nor, it is clear, Most Distinguished Prince, can this have been without great expense to you. When he learned this, my Lord was greatly rejoiced, and he now entreats you to keep, care for and protect him, beneath your wings, that his passion for war may die away. He promises that money shall be furnished, suitable for the expenses of a prince and a royal brother. The Grand-Master did not reject the ambassador’s demands, considering that the times were such, that the Christian peoples, involved as they were in manifold anxieties, could not yet turn their strength against the common foe of their Faith. For we must wait for the age which, when the Divine will sees good, shall avenge the wrongs done to Christendom. We must yield to the force of circumstances, and wait upon human weakness which, thanks to the Most High, sometimes becomes strength and achieves great things.”

“The Grand-Master thus replied to the ambassador” :—

Reply of the Grand-Master given to the King’s Ambassador.

“It does not become a man of noble mind to remember wrongs nor to be cruel to those who are laid low, for it is the part of mean men to bow before the proud and turn away from the lowly. The City of Rhodes is an asylum for all who come; not only those of low degree but kings, sons of noble blood, are welcomed with all courtesy. We have received Prince Zizim willingly, though he is the son of our deadly foe and a tyrant, and have pitied his unhappy lot, and entertained him at our own expense, denying him nothing that was befitting to his princely rank. Let not Bayazet cast off Zizim to be an exile and a fugitive, for it would ill befit the family of Ottoman that the Royal Prince should spend his days among foreign peoples in want and in poverty. Nor has he been welcomed by us to be a cause of quarrels, only let your Prince give no occasion for these.”

The compact made for the maintenance of Prince Zizim.

“With these courteous words, suited to the time and circumstances, he won and pacified the heart of the ambassador. So he promised for the yearly maintenance of Zizim five and forty thousand pieces of gold, which King Bayazet would pay to Rhodes yearly on August 1st. The Grand-Master then undertook to keep Prince Zizim with all royal state, under the charge of the Order of the Knights of Jerusalem, that no subject of dispute should arise.”

The Exhortation of Guillaume Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes, concerning the sending of Prince Zizim to France and the keeping of him in close custody.

Zizim departs for France, his life each day menaced by his brother's emissaries, who, “neither waking nor sleeping, thinks, purposes, or sees, aught else than Prince Zizim.”

The Commentary of Guillaume Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes, on the handing over of Zizim, the Sultan's brother, to the City.

“... It is natural, after having described Zizim's adventures, that I should briefly relate the manner of his coming to that city, which is the ruler and mistress of the world. The ambassadors of the Grand-Master and chief men of Rhodes, Philippe de Cluys, warden of the Marches, and Guillaume Caoursin, vice-chancellor, appointed for this purpose, had in accordance with their instructions agreed with Pope Innocent VIII. upon the bringing of Prince Zizim to the city. The French king had also given his consent, upon condition that Zizim should not be sent into any strange land or one hostile to him, nor should his person be disposed of without his knowledge, under a penalty of ten thousand pounds in gold, for which sum the Roman Church was to be liable. These terms the Pontiff and the Sacred College had agreed to, and they had been set forth in writing. It was determined that Zizim should leave France, where he was in the Castle of Bourg Neuf, under the charge of Guido de Blanchefort, prior of Auvergne, nephew of the Grand-Master, and after travelling by land should embark upon a Rhodian merchantman, and cross the Gallie and Tyrrhenian Sea to Civita Vecchia, in the Pope's dominions. The crossing was a dangerous one; there were tempests, and the ship was driven by adverse winds, so that he scarcely escaped with his life. When he put in there and went ashore escorted by a goodly company, by command of the Sovereign Pontiff there was set at his disposal the castle of the town where Zizim was to be entertained until his coming to Rome. The castle was handed over by Leonardo Cibò, a member of the Pontiff's family, to Guido de Blanchefort, on March 6th, in the year 1488 of the Incarnation of the Divine Word. While these things were going on, the Sovereign Pontiff, not neglecting his promises, created, on March 7th, as cardinals and members of the Sacred College, several distinguished clergy: the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a Frenchman, and a counsellor of the King of France; the Archbishop of Benevento, of Genoa, a datary, of the family of Gentile; and the referendary, the Bishop of Aleria, an Italian, to be cardinal-priests; and Pierre d'Aubusson, Grand-Master of Rhodes, a native of Limoges, to be cardinal, with the title of S. Adriano. On the same day he created a cardinal-

deacon, but did not announce his name, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence, making, on account of his age, for he was only fourteen, the condition that for three years he should not wear the scarlet hat and insignia of a cardinal, but should spend the time in studying the ceremonies and holy offices.

“When the three years were past he left Florence shortly before his father's death, entered the city with great pomp, and also did reverence to the Pontiff in the usual manner. His father's death was then announced, and he was appointed *Legate a latere* to Florence, and returned to that famous city. The Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Grand-Master of Rhodes were not present at the Court, and their red hats were sent to them by envoys. Pierre d'Aubusson received the investiture of the cardinal's office in the Church of St. John, in Rhodes, on the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, on June 30th, with great pomp, after taking the usual oath. There were orations made, and he was appointed *Legate a latere* of the Pontiff in the East, but we will not tell of these things at greater length. There were many people who were distressed, because the Grand-Master rode upon a horse, though some approved. Guillaume Caoursin, too, brought upon himself the hatred of not a few on this account. But, let us pass over these things, and refrain from entering the mazes of this labyrinth, but let us return to the progress of Prince Zizim. After the creation of the cardinals had been announced by order of the Pontiff, the Bishop of Albano, Cardinal of Angers, Jean Balue, an Aquitanian, and Nicolo Cibò, Bishop of Cosenza, of the family of the Buzardi and kinsman of the Pontiff, and Francesco Cibo, the Pontiff's son (whom his father begat before he was in holy orders, but still of fighting age; he took to wife the daughter of Lorenzo de' Medici), these with a hundred distinguished knights, all fully armed, went to meet Zizim, and when the Princes came into sight of one another, they saluted and embraced. They then went on their way, and came within twelve miles of the city, on March 13th, where, by order of the Pontiff, there awaited them Domenico Auria and the Pontiff's cavalry, who escorted Prince Zizim to the Appian Gate, which is by the Church of St. Sebastian the Martyr. When they had gone on a little further, they were met by a senator accompanied by Romans of knightly rank. He addressed the Prince in courtly terms, and afterward there came archbishops, bishops, chief notaries and abbots, all wearing their hats in the customary manner, and there followed them in a long array the households of the Pope and cardinals, who came in the order of their precedence and rank to receive the Mahometan Prince Zizim. Behind them were ambassadors of the King of Sicily, and of the cities of Venice, Florence, and Siena, who welcomed the Prince in pompous phrases; last of all there followed a great throng of people. The entry is said to have been a very gorgeous one, and the Master of Ceremonies arranged the order of the procession:—First rode the Roman nobles, followed by the households of the cardinals, the archers, men-at-arms and knights, then the ambassadors and the knights of Rhodes, splendid in their trappings. The Senator of the City rode before the Ottoman Prince Zizim, on his right was Guido the Prior, splendidly attired, and seated on a noble horse, and on his left the Lord de Faucon, ambassador of the French king, and Francesco Cibò, both on fine horses. Prince Zizim, intrepid and showing the arrogant mien of the Ottoman, rode upon a noble horse, the gift of the Pope. He was followed by the Pope's household and Domenico Auria, captain of the guard. There were about twelve thousand horse, and crossing the Campo dei Fiori they came to the Basilica of St. Peter. At the crossroads and in the streets there stood crowds of men,

while matrons and maidens watched the sight from windows and roofs of houses. When they were about two miles from the city, the Cardinal of Angers left the company and rode on to announce the Prince's coming to the Pontiff; this he did because to enter the city with him would not become the dignity of a cardinal. When Prince Zizim reached the Apostolic Palace, he was very graciously received by the Cardinal, who escorted the Ottoman Prince to the apartments prepared for him. It was in these apartments that Pope Clement lived, and in them that Pietro Raymondo Zagosta, Grand-Master of Rhodes, held the general chapter in the pontificate of Pope Paul II. After these arrangements had been carried out, Guido the Prior, and the knights of Rhodes, had an audience of the Pontiff, who received them graciously and bade them take up their abode in the palace. On March 14th a consistory was held, at which the royal ambassadors presented their instructions. The Pontiff sat upon the throne, and there were presented the cardinals, the archbishops, and bishops of the palace, and distinguished men. There entered the consistory Guido and the Lord de Faucon, Zizim's trusty escort, who presented the Mahometan Prince to Innocent VIII. They say that he kissed the Pope's right shoulder with the sacred vestments, notwithstanding that he showed that he was greatly vexed; and he addressed a few words to him through an interpreter, but I did not understand them. Zizim then turned to the cardinals and greeted them, and they also returned the salutation. The Mahometan Prince is of an arrogant disposition, and holds the family of Ottoman to be superior to all. After these ceremonies, Zizim withdrew and retired to his apartments: he praised the elegance, pomp and observance of the Pontiff and the Sacred College, and it was a pleasure to him to have seen them."

(The title of the work is: *Description of the Siege of the City of Rhodes*. By Guillaume Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor of Rhodes.

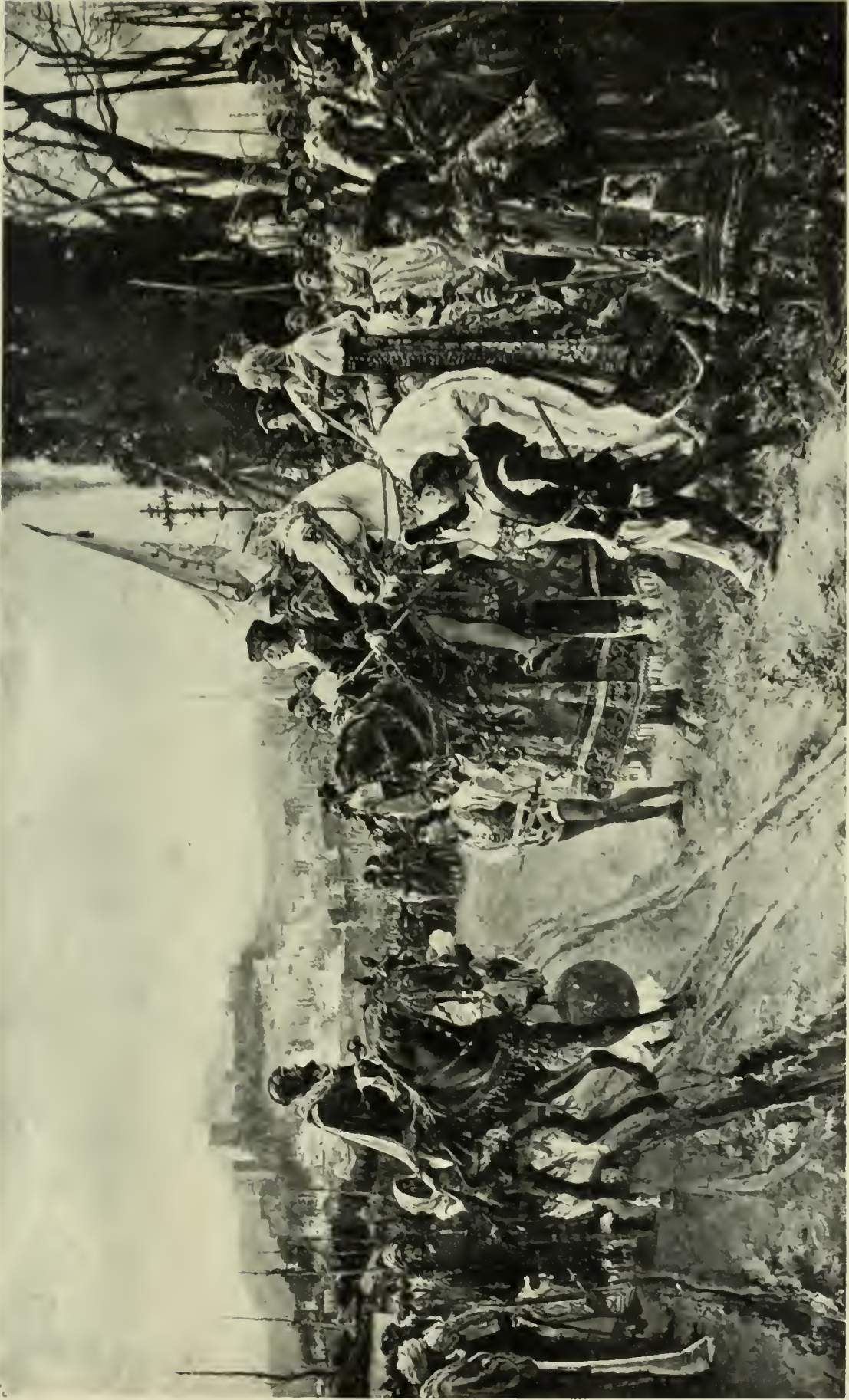
In folio, Gothic, containing nine small works, forming together 60 ff. with 47 lines to the page, and 36 engravings on wood, of a very curious nature. It bears the subscription:

Printed at Ulm
On October 24th 1496.)

Commission of the King to de Blanchefort and Antoine Gimel for the conduct of Sultan Zizim to the States of the Church.

"Charles, by the grace of God King of France:

"To our friends, trusty and well-beloved, Antoine de Blanchefort, knight, our chamberlain, and Antoine, Lord de Gimel, marshal of our houses, greeting and love.—As by our commission, leave and licence, Zizim, Sultan, brother of the Grand Turk, has been brought into our realm by those of the Order of Rhodes, to be more surely guarded there, the which has been done for a certain time, during which our Holy Father the Pope, also the Grand-Master of the Knights of the said Order of Rhodes, have sent to us that the said Zizim be taken from our said realm to be brought to the States of the Church, and to do thus some good and great service to Christianity, as the ambassadors of our said Holy Father and the said Religion of Rhodes, who have been charged with this affair, have affirmed on their conscience.



FERDINAND AND ISABELLA RECEIVING THE SURRENDER OF BOABDIL AFTER THE CAPTURE OF GRANADA.
PRADILLA. (PALACIO DEL SENADO, MADRID).

“ For which reason we have willingly consented and agreed that the said Zizim be taken into the said states of the Church, to the end aforesaid, provided, however, that the said ambassadors commissioned and deputed for this purpose by our said Holy Father and the said Order, have promised and bound themselves to see that the said Zizim shall not be put, directly or indirectly, into the hands of our enemies, or malignant and malevolent persons in any manner whatsoever, and also that no injury shall ever result from it to us, or our realm, or to the said Christian religion, as in letters and seals of the said promises delivered to us, these things and others appear more fully set forth. Following which consent of ours the ambassadors commissioned and deputed for this purpose intend and purpose to bring and conduct this Zizim to the said states of the Church, for which it is necessary to commission and depute trusty persons and faithful to us. We hereby give you to know that we desire the said Zizim to be safely taken thither without disturbance, and for the good, great and entire confidence which we have in your persons and you, for these and other reasons prompting us to this, we have commissioned and deputed you or one of you, in the absence of the other, and by these present writings do commission and depute you, to lead and conduct the said Zizim to the States of the Church. We command and expressly enjoin upon all our marshals, admiral, vice-admiral, seneschals, bailiffs, provosts, captains of gendarmes, commanders, consuls, and juries of large towns, castles, fortresses, bridges, ports, highways, jurisdictions and sounds, and upon all our justiciaries, or their lieutenants or servants, and upon each of them in what place soever, that the said Zizim and those of his company and nation, and others who shall escort and conduct him with you, to the number of four hundred persons, and as many horses and the rest, they do suffer, allow and permit to go, come, stay, sojourn, pass and repass by sea, water, or land, by day and by night, and in such time and manner as you shall advise, by all and each of the places in their power, highways and jurisdictions, without giving or suffering or permitting to be done or given any arrest, disturbance or hindrance in any manner whatsoever; but if such have been done, they do repair and restore it without delay to full deliverance and do give you strength, comfort and aid: for so it pleases us and we desire to be done, for which we give you full power, authority, commission and special mandate.”

(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MSS. franç., 15,541, fol. 287. Quoted by Godefroy in his *Histoire du Roy Charles VIII.*, p. 586.)

36

The Entry of Zizim into Rome.

“ Philippe de Clivis, Warden of the Frontier, and Guillaume Caoursin, Vice-Chancellor and Ambassador of Rhodes, agreed with Innocent VIII., upon the coming of Zizim to Rome, and the consent of the King of France was given to it, provided that he should not go to countries unfriendly to him, and that nothing should be determined touching him without his knowledge, upon pain of ten thousand pounds of gold, to which the Church was bound. This pleased the Pope and the consistory, and was put into execution. It was resolved that Zizim, under the escort of the Grand Prior of Auvergne, Guido de Blanchefort, who was keeping him in the Castle of Bourgneuf, his own country, should bring him by land to the sea, and there he should embark upon the order of the Grand-Master of Rhodes

to go from France to Civita Vecchia. The crossing was a dangerous one by reason of heavy storms, and they scarcely escaped with their lives.

“ He disembarked, and by order of the Pope there was assigned to the said Prior the Castle of Civita Vecchia by Leonardo Cibò, his kinsman, sent here to meet him on March 6th, 1489. Here Zizim stayed until his going to Rome. In the meantime the Pope, in accordance with his custom, created cardinals on March 9th, with others the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, with the title of S. Adriano; the Archbishop of Bordeaux, a Genoese, of the house of Gentile; and the Referendary, Bishop of Aleria. At the same time there was created, but not published, a cardinal-deacon, Giovanni, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, a Florentine of fourteen years old, with the stipulation that for three years he should not receive the cardinal's red hat, but in the meantime should acquire a knowledge of the ceremonies and divine offices, after which time he made a solemn entry into Rome, where he learned of his father's death, and was declared Legate *a latere*, and returned to Florence. The Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Grand-Master not being in Rome to have the hat, it was sent to them by the Pope. When their coming was announced, the Pope sent, to meet Zizim, Jean Balue, Cardinal of Angers, an Aquitanian; the Bishop of Albano; Nicolo Cibò, Bishop of Cosenza, of the house of Buzardo, which was related to the Pope, and in the third place Francesco Cibò, his son. These, with a hundred mounted men-at-arms, met Zizim. When the two princes perceived one another, they embraced and saluted. When they were twelve miles from Rome there came to meet them Domenico Doria, captain of the Pope's Cavalry, with whom they came to the Porta Appia of S. Sebastiano, where there was waiting to meet them the Senator of Rome, with many nobles and knights. There joined this cavalcade many archbishops, bishops, chief notaries, and abbots with their chaplains. Afterwards there came the ambassadors of the King of Sicily, of Venice, Florence, and Siena, and a large number of people. We rode in the order arranged by the Master of Ceremonies: the Roman nobles, then the households of the cardinals after the light horsemen, and the ambassadors and the knights of Malta armed, next the other princes, then the Senator of Rome, on whose right hand rode the said Prior Guido, very richly attired, and on his left hand the Prince de Fauçon, ambassador of France, and Francesco Cibò, and last of all Zizim, with fierce mien, upon a fine and richly-caparisoned steed. After him came the Pope's household, and following them Domenico Doria, aforesaid. There were in all twelve hundred horses. The procession crossed the Campo dei Fiori and went to the Vatican Palace. All the windows along the route were decorated. The Cardinal of Angers, who went by order of the Pope to meet Zizim, when about two miles from Rome left him, with the excuse that he was going to advise the Pope of his coming, not wishing to be in Rome with a Turk, thinking that it was not compatible with the dignity of a cardinal. When Zizim reached the Papal Palace he was welcomed by the said Cardinal and conducted to the apartments of Pope Clement, where under Paul II., the Grand-Master, Fra Pietro Raimondo Zagosta, held the general chapter. Meanwhile the Prior Guido and the Knight of Rhodes went to kiss the feet of the Pope. The following day, March 14th, 1489, the Pope held a public consistory, at which Prior Guido and the Lord Fauçon presented Zizim and conducted him before the Pope, who was in pontificals. He refused to kiss his feet, because, as it is said, he had been so induced at the Court of Charles, and persuaded by those who accompanied him, and by means of an interpreter spoke a few words; he then made a reverence

to the cardinals, who returned the salute, and was conducted to his apartments, where he praised the majesty of the Pontiff."

(Quoted by Bonani, *Numismata Pontif*, t. i., p. 108.)

37

Instructions to the Bishop of Lombez.

"The King orders his envoys and commissaries to make new concordats with the Pope touching beneficiary and ecclesiastical matters; to justify his pretensions to Tournai and his rights over Brittany; to treat of the rights which the Holy See claims over the Contés of Diois and Valentinois; to obtain the performance of the promises made by the Pope to the King and Grand-Master of Malta concerning Zizim, brother of the Great Sultan; to prevent any foreigners from holding benefices in France without the permission of the King and letters of naturalization; to see that the Pope gives the bailiwicks and commanderies of Rhodes in accordance with the disposition and tenour of the Bulls; to recommend that Antoine du Bois be made cardinal; to see that Friar Louis Pot be not disturbed in the possession of the bishopric of Tournai; to solicit the canonization of Pierre Berland, Archbishop of Bordeaux; to prevent Guillaume of Cambrai, Dean of Beauvais, from being disturbed in it, and to have the summons brought against him at Rome revoked.

"Firstly, after the filial recommendations of the King have been made to our Holy Father, by the ambassadors aforesaid, they shall represent that the King and his realm have very excellent prerogatives and pre-eminences, and not without cause. For the late Kings of France, predecessors and progenitors of this present Lord, have done so many and so great things for the Church and generally for all Christendom, which it would be a long and difficult task to recite in detail. But the histories and chronicles are full of them, and therefore it is not wonderful that it has been granted to the Gallic Church to use special privileges, of which it is in full possession and enjoyment, in which possession and enjoyment it should be maintained, both for the honour and reverence of the divine service which is done there continually, and in favour and contemplation of the King and his realm, also of the very notable Universities which are in the said kingdom and of their holy doctrines.

"And especially great regard should be had for that very ancient, very famous, and very fruitful, University of Paris, which has been, and is the light of theology and philosophy, and the foster-mother of the great theologians and philosophers who have arisen, and arise daily in Christendom.

"Further, it is to be considered that from the said realm there come to the Holy Apostolic See such great profits in money and otherwise, that one could not well estimate the amount of it as our Holy Father and the Lord Cardinals and others know.

"All which things presupposed, it seems that the affairs of the King, his realm and the said Gallic Church, deserve to be authorized at the Court of Rome, as the said Lord hopes, and, for this reason he has been pleased to change his ambassadors aforesaid, to act in the matter of the concordats, concerning which the ambassadors of our Holy Father have spoken to his Lordship: of which also His Holiness has written to him touching beneficiary and ecclesiastical matters.

"On which matter it is known that certain concordats were made in the time of Pope Sixtus, whom may God pardon, notwithstanding which at the

Court of Rome they have since desired to provide for the See of Tournai, without the seal and consent of the King, and for this reason it is not to be wondered at if the subjects of the said realm have ceased to make use of the said concordats.

“ However, the King, knowing the affection which our Holy Father bears him, and trusting in that, desires to enter into communication with our Holy Father upon the subject of the said concordats, which were made in the time, and with the will and consent, of the late King Louis XI. of most glorious memory, his father, whom may God pardon. But for what there is need to modify and add to in them, the ambassadors will say that they will speak of modifications and additions after the despatch of the other matters with which they are charged.

“ And if they are further questioned to give particulars of the said modifications and additions they will reply that they are instructed to treat the matters aforesaid before all.

“ And to enter upon these, they will say that the King is well aware that our Holy Father and the Holy Apostolic See have heretofore and of late received several letters and embassies against and to the prejudice of the King, in which letters and embassies neither truth nor integrity has been observed, for the Lord has always and in all things put God and justice on his side, and there is no person living who could rightfully complain of him. And though often he has been forced to enter upon undertakings wrongly and without cause in divers manners and on several occasions, yet he will be found never to have exceeded the limits of his just defence, nor to have invaded the rights of others, and all that he has done virtuously by force of arms has been in the defence of his own, for and in his own, and he could wish that these things were truly understood by all men, and that each was minded to cherish peace among Christians, to honour the name of God, and recover the lands held by the infidels.

“ But those who have not this desire, do hold other terms, and do not cease to forge and make inventions to stir up great and terrible wars in Christendom, and do take up arms upon such frivolous quarrels as they see fit, among which the King has heard that they speak very strangely and without any foundation concerning his Duchy of Brittany.

“ Wherefore, his Lordship has instructed his ambassadors to show to our Holy Lord, and to all whom it may concern, the contents of the articles delivered to them touching the justification of what has been done on his part in the matter of the said country of Brittany.

“ And, in as much as our Holy Father has cause and grounds to do the King right and justice in this matter, the said ambassadors will request our Holy Father so to do and to declare his good intentions in this respect.

“ And in order that our Holy Father may know further that the King has proceeded honestly and justly in the matter of his said Duchy of Brittany, these ambassadors will tell that his Lordship has always desired that the claims put forward by any one soever be seen, offering to show his own; and had it been found that the said duchy was not his, he would not have held it. But, inasmuch as his claims are all clearly proved, and that, without question, the said duchy belongs to him, the other party has not been willing for the said claims to be seen, and has thus always shunned the right course, and refused all fair offers.

“ Afterwards the ambassadors will speak of the matter of the Comtés of Valentinois and Diois, according to the information which Maître Jean Rabot, one of the said ambassadors, has on this matter, who was a commissary sent

by the King with the President of the Dauphiné, in drawing up a case in this matter in company with the ambassadors of our Holy Father, having sufficient authority in this matter. Wherefore there is no further need to discuss the said matter, seeing that it has been treated at length by them as is said; in suchwise that it is all duly reduced to writing in proper form, and it only remains to know with what sum our Holy Father will be content by way of a contract and agreement for the rights in it that the Holy See lays claim to, and upon this point the said ambassadors will write straightway our Holy Father's final reply with their advice.

“In addition, they will say that our Holy Father has in remembrance the promises made by His Holiness touching Zizim, the Sultan brother of the Great Turk, and how the King does not call in question the said promises, and is fully assured that our Holy Father will keep the same. However, the matter is of such importance that he has thought well to recall it to mind, so that the said promises made both to him and to the Grand-Master of Rhodes and to his Order be maintained in every point according to their form and tenour.

“For by means of the said Zizim, a great service can be rendered to Christendom if our Holy Father and the Christian princes would exert themselves to exterminate the infidels, or at least to recover the lands which used to be beneath the dominion of the Holy Church, but are now held by the said infidels. For this, the King desires above all to act for the honour and glory of God the Creator, and for the recovery of the said lands, and he declares it will not be through his fault that such does not come about if the other princes are of this mind.

“Further, the said ambassadors will say that, by a notorious observance of the Realm of France founded in right and all uprightness, those who are not natives of the said kingdom ought not to be received into ecclesiastical benefices in the said realm, unless they have for this letters of naturalization and permission of the King, for it is but right that his own subjects be preferred in his own country to foreigners. However, the said ambassadors will not speak of it in such manner as to call in doubt the said observance, but merely that our Holy Father may find it good, and that His Holiness may be warned not to make any expeditions to the contrary. And if our Holy Father reply favourably, as is to be expected, the said ambassadors will use all diligence to have letters and instructions of his reply, and will see to it in treating of these things, that henceforth they do not despatch at the Court of Rome, interdicts or penal monitories to be executed in the lands of the King.

“Again, the said ambassadors will make request to our Holy Father that it may please His Holiness to maintain what has been granted and accorded to the said Grand-Master of Rhodes, touching the priories, bailiwicks, commanderies, and other benefices of the said Order of Rhodes, and that His Holiness do not dispose of the same in any manner contrary to the tenour of the Bulls drawn up thereupon; and further, they will request that for the profit and advantage of Christendom our Holy Father command the said Grand-Master to come to Rome, and to write to him very expressly to that end.

“Also, they will say to our Holy Father that the King has in very special esteem Antoine Dubois, nephew of the Lord Dequerdes, Marshal of France, alike in favour of the said Lord Dequerdes and for the good manners and virtues of the said Maître Antoine, and inasmuch as the King desires greatly to see his promotion in the Holy Church, he desires and commands that the said ambassadors recommend very especially to our

Holy Father, the affairs of the said Maître Antoine Dubois, now and for the future.

“And also his Lordship the King desires that the said ambassadors make use of all their power to the end that Friar Louis Pot, possessor of the Bishopric of Tournai remain in peace as its bishop, and be not in anywise disturbed and molested, and if our Holy Father should say that he has provided a cardinal with it, through the decease of the late Maître Jean Monissart, his major domo, the said ambassadors will reply that the said Monissart was never in possession of it; for the said Monissart, who was a foreigner, could never have, hold or possess it without the interest and prejudice of the King, and without infringing the laws and ordinances of the realm, for the reasons that have been often declared to our Holy Father; and the King would greatly marvel if our Holy Father would again call in question the matter of the said bishop, seeing also that His Holiness was used to say that the provision made to the said Monissart was not of the time of His Holiness, but was made by the late Pope Sixtus, and therefore the ambassadors will pray that our Holy Father be not pleased to stir up a new discussion in this matter in which the King for his interest has deliberated, besides to keep the said ordinances and avoid his detriment, nor will he ever permit a foreigner to have the said bishopric.

“Again, the said ambassadors will make repeated prayers and requests to our Holy Father on behalf of the King, to advance the canonization of the late Maître Pierre Berland, in his lifetime Archbishop of Bordeaux, of which canonization the King has often written to our Holy Father.

“Also they will say that Maître Guillaume de Cambrai, Dean and elect of the Church of Bourges, and also of the Church of Beauvais, counsellor of the King in his Court of Parliament, has been canonically and unanimously elected, confirmed and installed in the said Deanery of Beauvais by the canons and chapters thereof, the which deanery is an elective dignity and the highest after that of bishop, and in this title and power has enjoyed peaceably the said deanery and the fruits thereof, without suit or disturbance, for the space of thirteen years past. Nevertheless, about a year ago, one Marc de Monte by name, Archbishop of Rhodes and a native of Greece, has unduly cited in Court of Rome the said Guillaume de Cambrai, under pretext of a certain provision that the said de Monte affirmed that he had obtained in the year 1468 from the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli, being in Avignon, to come to this realm as legate, but without being at this time received in this realm as legate, and what is worse, the said de Monte has entered proceedings in the said Court of Rome against the said de Cambrai, who was never warned of the said procedure, nor of any summons, nor had anything of it come to his knowledge. And inasmuch as the said de Monte claims to have obtained sentence, and has proceeded by excommunications and affixions in the said Court of Rome against the said de Cambrai, the King has no reason to be pleased at this, seeing that the said de Cambrai has been for thirty years past a counsellor in this Court of Parliament, and also in the Grand Council, and that the said procedure is directly contrary to right and reason, and contrary to the liberty and franchise of the said realm, and it seems that the said procedure is only made with the purpose of infringing upon the prerogatives of the said realm, and of scandalizing its subjects. The said ambassadors will represent to our Holy Father that it may please His Holiness to break and set at naught the said procedure, by imposing perpetual silence upon the said de Monte in suchwise that the said de Cambrai may remain in the peaceful possession and enjoyment of the said realm.

“Further the said ambassadors will state that the King has been desirous of being of service in making any agreement in the matters which may be in dispute between our Holy Father and the King of Naples, and for this end they will say that his Lord the King has bidden them work in the event of its being the pleasure of our Holy Father, and finally they will thank our Holy Father for the good graces and praiseworthy services that his ambassadors have done to the King. That is to say, the Lord Bishop of Concordia and the Lord Chief Notary Antonio Flores, who in all their charges and commissions have borne themselves very honourably and prudently, in suchwise that they are worthy of all high praise, and it has not been through their fault that matters have not been more speedily despatched, for they have acted with extreme diligence in the affair, but it has been necessary to give consideration to the nature of the said matters and places, and also of the things which have supervened.

“Given at Tours this sixteenth day of September, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-one.

(Signed) “CHARLES.

“And lower,

“BOHIER.”¹

38

Entry into Granada of the King and Queen of Spain.

“Although the deeds of our Most Serene King and Queen are so glorious that we can scarcely in a letter express their greatness, nevertheless I desire to signify to your Lordships how they happened, as a true testimony of all these things of which I have been a witness.

“The Moors of Granada, constrained by force of arms and hunger, surrendered to the said King and Queen on January 2nd, 1492, and to the end that the said King and Queen might with safety enter Granada, the aforesaid Moors sent the King's son with six hundred knights and the first two citizens of the said city as hostages to the King and Queen. They were divided amongst the leaders of the army.

“The following day at dawn the Commander-general of Leon, with 500 horse and 400 foot, went from the King, and with him was a Moor, the son of the governor of the said city, and two other chief men. There came to meet them one Zabi by name, who conducted them to the castle, where they found a door bound with iron; they took the keys from the said Zabi and opened it; then the said commander divided his men into two parties for the strongest parts of the said castle. Thence he went to the palace, where he found the King with his men-at-arms, who, when the commander's entry was known, had gone out of the said castle by a secret door. An altar was at once erected in the palace, where a mass was celebrated. This palace is so large that the smaller part of it is larger than all that of Sibilina. In the first entrance there were flying seventeen Christian standards, among which was one more than 150 years old, lost by the Christians together with the others. The mass ended, adoration was offered to Christ in that place which had been an offence now for more than 800 years. The King and the Queen, with 10,000 horse and 50,000 foot, made a good and

¹ These instructions, as M. Isambert rightly observes, “are important, because they are a protest against the concessions of Louis XI., and against the subsequent concordat of François I.” (Note quoted by M. de Pastouret, p. 290, t. xx., of the *Ordonnances des Rois de France de la troisième race*, where this extract is given.)

peaceful entry, and orders were at once given for the prisoners who were in the hands of the Moors to come forth. They came in procession with the cross and the image of the Blessed Virgin, which they had had in prison with them, and I conducted them to the King, who, as a Catholic prince, received them graciously, and commanded me to wait for the Queen, who was coming with the other forces, and with her the Cardinal of Spain. The Queen received them with great honour, and commanded that they should be taken to the Castle of S. Lede. I was a witness of all these things, because I was with the said commander. At the first entry to the said fortress, as the men approached the castle, a friar of a Holy Order, holding in his hands a cross, mounted to the highest tower of the said castle, on which were the Archbishop of Calor, the Bishop of Agila, the Bishop of Candise, the Bishop of Malagri, and many other clergy. The cross was raised aloft and they began all with one voice to sing *O crux ave spes unica*; the standard of St. James and the royal standard were there, held by the brother of the Count of Sciphoente, and three times the said standards were made to bend before the cross. When the hymn was ended, there went up to the top of the said tower a man-at-arms representing the King, who three times began to cry: 'Sant Jago, Granada, and Castile, these cities by your aid are beneath the empire of the King and Queen; and this City of Granada, with its castles and all the kingdom, they have reduced by force of arms to the Catholic faith, by the help of God and the Virgin Mary, St. James and Pope Innocent VIII., with their clergy, with the forces and city and peoples of the said King and Queen, and of their kingdom.' This done, the trumpets sounded and the mortars were fired in presence of the King and Queen. They ordered to be brought the King's son aforesaid, who had been given as a hostage, and he was restored to his mother. The Commander-general and the Count of Tuetilin remained in the castle with 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot, in which castle there were put 30,000 loads of meal and 20,000 of barley; in the Castle of S. Lede remained Don Giovanni di S. Maggiore, and Don Alcanzelo, major-domo, with his household. The following day the King and Queen returned in due time, and the next day there was a procession from the castle to the City of S. Fede, in which the King and Queen took part with 400 clergy, and to which there came the prisoners, 700 in number, who were given clothes and presents by the King and Queen. At all this I was present.

"Given in Granada, *January 7th*, 1492.

"BERNARDO DEL REI."

(This letter is found in t. ii., fol. 3, of the precious collection: *Lettere di Principi lequidi si scrivono o da Principi o a Principi o ragionano di Principi*. In Venice, 1575. It is reproduced almost complete; translated into Venetian dialect, in the *Annals of Malipiero*. See the *Archivio Veneto*, t. vii., first part, p. 311.)

39

Giovanni de Medici receives the investiture of the Cardinal's office.

"To Arcangelo at Vicenza, Father and fellow Canon.

"Of the manner in which Gio. de' Medici received the investiture of a cardinal. Letter 110.

"It must seem a very long time since I wrote to you, Padre

Arcangelo, and indeed I even accuse myself of negligence and idleness that I may the more readily gain your forgiveness. And if you do not grant it me, I love your most affectionate and reasonable censure more than I fear it. Never, however, has the holy and delightful memory of you left my mind, nor will it ever do so, although I have spared my pen so long, because no occasion or cause for writing has offered itself. But as I was sleeping an event has now aroused me, which, as I think, you will be glad to hear of, Arcangelo. For you have spent no small part of your life at Fiesole, and have honoured the famous family of Medici, and have been almost one of their household and always dearly loved by them. The event is briefly this: to give you some idea of what was done here on the day that Giovanni de Medici, the great Lorenzo's son, received the investiture of the cardinal's office; to relate and describe the order, the ceremonies, applause, public rejoicing, generous expenditure and choice and costly banquets would need an eloquent orator or an historian, but it should be told in lofty phrase, nor would such a theme besit a poet. I frankly confess that I am unable to cope with such a task, nor did I wish to do so, could I devote sufficient time or labour to setting forth the matter, for it is Holy Lent, and the sacred mysteries call me to other things. But I will, however, write a brief epitome of the chief events, so as not to whet your palate to no purpose. When the said Giovanni de' Medici was declared a cardinal, then only fifteen years of age, the Pontiff and the Holy Fathers desired him, by reason of his youth, to wait three years for the administering and investiture of so high an office, that he might in that space of time grow and make progress in character and knowledge, and thus, adorned with virtue and with wisdom, be worthy of such high honour and such great responsibility. The longed-for day came, God preserving him, and the completion of the three years' space. So he was to take the insignia of which I have spoken, viz. cape, cap, scarlet hat and ring: and on the day before he was to be presented with these, he came in the afternoon to Fiesole, with only a small company of attendants, and in modest and simple attire. On the next day there joined him, in the morning, Giovanni Pico Mirandula, of our number, and Giacomo Salinato, husband of the Cardinal's sister, and Simeone Staza, the notary; about six in the morning, accompanied by these, the holy youth left his chamber and entered the chapel. Here there was first of all celebrated, to the praise of the Virgin (for it was Saturday, the day dedicated to the Virgin in the old religion), with solemn rite and singing, the divine office, which we commonly call the mass, at which, when I had first consecrated the Sacred Body and Blood of Christ, he kneeled before the altar and communicated with singular humility, and, as could be seen, with a devout mind ever turned toward God. After the office was ended, the vestments were also blessed by me; then, holding the Bull and Breve of the chief Pontiff in my uplifted hand, I addressed him in this manner: 'May it be a happy and a blessed thing for you, the Holy Church of God, your country and your father, this day, Giovanni de' Medici, the three years prefixed to your cardinalate by this Bull and Breve have transpired. Let them read, who will. All things have been observed, of which do you, Simeo, draw up a public notice and testimony.' Thereupon, he was vested by me in the cloak in justice and holiness of truth. I then handed him cap, hat and ring, with the words, 'These are the adornments of your high calling handed and granted to you by the Apostolic See: which, as long as you live may you wear to the glory of God and your own salvation.' After these ceremonies the Frati, with tuneful voices, sang before the altar, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*. Afterwards such indulgence as a single cardinal can grant was

granted to those present and to those also who visited the altar on the same day each year. He then returned with us to the house. Shortly after luncheon his brother Pietro, with a few attendants, arrived, riding on a steed of great spirit and size and gleaming with plates of gold. At the gate of S. Gallo, by which you enter Fiesole, there was such a throng of men on horse and on foot that the road was completely filled, and no one entering the city could make a way through. All this crowd were bidden to halt at the Ponte Munio, and none were allowed to cross the hedge and the river. But everything else being arranged in order, he dismounted with his brother, and, crossing the river, was received by the chief notaries of the Pontiff and other clergy and the chief citizens of the city, and was escorted by them with elaborate pomp to the city and through the chief street which leads to his house. When he came to the Basilica of the Annunziata he dismounted from his mule, and prostrated himself humbly before the altar, and prayed in a low voice. Thence he repaired to the Church of S. Reparata, where he prayed in the same way for help and grace. He then betook himself to his own house, where almost all the city were gathered together in such numbers that not only the street but the windows and roofs could scarcely hold the spectators. On the following night they lighted fires in the piazze and on towers and hills, which made it as bright as day, and the air resounded with the voices of men shouting, and with strains and sounds of every kind, and men forgot their slumbers, in their great rejoicing, and you could plainly see how highly the city prizes the saviour and support of the Republic. Let it suffice for the present to have told you of this: another will write this story at more length and in more flowing words. Farewell, good fortune wait on you.

“FIESOLE, *March 14th.*

(Signed) “N. IV.”

“The various subjects brought together after a long interval of time are arranged in this volume under the brief title, and may be known to the reader by the name *Recuperationes Faesulae.*”

Volume in folio, very rare, printed at Bologna in 1493, as is seen by the subscription:—

“These most elegant *Recuperationes Faesulae*, a work glorious and altogether excellent, was printed in the smallest type, with all diligence, by Plato of the Benedetti of Bologna. In his native city of Bologna, July 19th, A.D. 1493.

40

On Giovanni de' Medici's journey to Rome and the reception that was accorded to him.

“Pietro Delfino to Guido, prior of the Angeli.—I am persuaded that there are not lacking friends to report diligently to you what happens amongst us day by day. For I know that news has been brought to the Noble Lorenzo daily by messengers and runners of his son's progress, and you must have learned the news from the same source. It is on this account that I have delayed thus long in writing to you. But, as when news is pleasant, we still enjoy to hear it, even if told over and over again, and as I have been almost continually up to this day in the company and service of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal, I will briefly go over the story,

of what occurs to my mind as worth telling, so that I may not seem to fail in my duty or in gratifying your desire. Well then, as you know, on March 12th, at four in the afternoon, the hour that had been announced, we mounted our horses, and his Most Rev. Lordship left Florence with his household, preceded by the citizens, with great pomp, who escorted him for two miles and were then bidden to return to the city, after they had exchanged greetings with the Cardinal and his attendants. The Cardinal and most of his household stopped that day at his Abbey of Passignano, but myself and some of the others reached Poggibonsi. The following day he spent in meditation at his monastery, and we preceded him to Siena, and were bidden to announce his coming there. About eight in the evening we met him two miles from the city. If I were to relate in detail at this point what an honourable reception our Cardinal was given at Siena, the rejoicing and feasting in the city, the day would not be long enough for my tale.

“He was met outside the city by a number of the chief citizens and by all the people. And that none might have occasion to remain at home, it was ordered by public edict that all the shops in the city should be closed. You would have thought that the chief Pontiff had come, so aroused was the whole city.

“This reverence, devotion and faith shown to the Cardinal in Siena was so pleasing to all that none could leave Siena dissatisfied. On the 16th we all departed thence, lunched at Buonconvento, and in the evening we came to S. Quirico. On the following day we were invited to luncheon at Palea, and always entertained with the same splendour as at Siena. We lay that night at Acquapendente, a town of the Church. Several of the clergy set forth next morning, and we in like manner reached Viterbo, but the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal was detained half-way by the Orsini, his kinsfolk. At Viterbo we found the Pontiff's son, the husband of the Cardinal's sister, and we announced his coming. On the following day we met the Cardinal and entered Viterbo with him. Leaving there next day we stopped in the evening at Bracciano, a town of the Orsini. There we were received with regal splendour at the palace of the Count Vergineo, who had come eight miles to meet us with a large detachment of cavalry. We spent a second day at Bracciano, to the great enjoyment of every one. At length, on the last day of our journey, March 22nd, we entered Rome, met on the way first by one party and then by another, who had come to escort the cardinal, in nowise hindered by the heavy rain, which was then falling in torrents, from performing this courteous office. At the first gate of the city the cardinal retired with a few attendants to the Monastery of S. Maria del Popolo; on the following morning all the cardinals assembled there, again in stormy weather, and escorted him to the presence of the Pontiff in the public consistory. He was received for the kiss, first by the Pontiff and then by all the cardinals, as we are wont to do when we receive any one into a religious order. Each of the members of the Cardinal's household also kissed the Pontiff's feet in turn. On his return home he was accompanied by all the Court, as is customary; heavy rain still fell continuously. Scarcely had we left the Pontiff's palace when, suddenly, from the clouds which filled the sky, there fell such a tremendous shower of rain that not only were we drenched by the downpour, but we were almost carried away.

“On the following days the Cardinal visited the Pontiff and the cardinals in their palaces. After he had paid all the necessary visits, he was visited in his turn by all the cardinals, as is customary. This interchange of visits only came to an end yesterday. But, to write some-

thing more gratifying to you concerning the Cardinal, I would have you know that he has given satisfaction to all beyond what many looked for who had thought they would see a mere stripling, not so much by his personal appearance and his stature, which is tall for his age, as by the seriousness of his demeanour and the appropriateness of his speech on all occasions. As far as I have been able to observe, both at home and abroad, he performs the ceremonies of his office so fully and becomingly that you might easily suppose that he had been engaged in them for many years. His behaviour is also marked by courtesy and affability, as we daily experience; but of this elsewhere. How greatly our Most Reverend protector esteems you, and how he enjoys to hear you spoken of, his own letters will show you, and I shall refer to this topic at more length when our Lord permits. I commend to you our affairs at home, of which you know.

“In the service of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinal de’ Medici here we are less fit and suited to our duties, but we do them willingly and faithfully. Pray for a happy and safe return both for him and us; and when you have opportunity commend us to the Noble Lorenzo. I have written this letter rapidly and in hasty writing, since in truth we have but little leisure.

“If you find anything barbarous in the language, you will accept our excuse. Farewell.

“From the City, *April 7th*, 1492.”

(*Petri Delphini: Epist.*, Book III., Letter 27.)

41

Account of the Death of Lorenzo de’ Medici.

“Giacomo Antiquario to Angelo Poliziano, greeting.

“I reached Ticino on April 9th. On the next day I went, upon a matter of business, to see Iakob Pusterdam, the commander of the castle, and a most genial man. He saluted me very graciously, and told me that, in the second watch of the night, a courier came in great haste to the Prince, with news of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s death. I was dumbfounded at the tidings, and with downcast eyes exclaimed, ‘Is God angry with us, that He has taken from us, in the person of the wisest of men, all hope, all sign and symbol of virtue, as if giving the signal for retreat?’ But of Italy’s calamities later. For the evils which befall us in our high places are often like snows which, as they melt upon the mountain tops, make mighty rivers.

“Two days later, on my return to Milan, I heard rumours of every kind, for by that time the people had all learned of the melancholy event. Some stated that the Church of S. Reparata had been struck by a bolt shortly before Lorenzo died, others that when his life was despaired of, Pierleone, the physician who had attended him in his illness, had flung himself into a well. For some few days I gave myself up to my grief, nor can I, Poliziano, but be cut to the heart, for both on my own account and that of others, I am sorely stricken. You know in what veneration I held him, and how, as it were, in recompense, he himself esteemed me; throughout my career I always looked upon him as my one never-failing protector. But in the multitude of public interests there are many reasons for mourning his loss. Often placed between Scylla and Charybdis, he maintained

the peace of Italy, just as the Isthmus, which seems to have been so set by nature, stands between the Ionian and Ægean waters, that those two seas may not run together and be confounded.

“I learn that upon the distinguished person of the young Pietro de’ Medici the authority of his father has been fully conferred by the whole city, to alleviate our grief as far as is possible; and since, in the safety of that one family the welfare of the whole State is bound up, we hope and desire that this public decree may long remain in force.

“MILAN, *April 14th, 1492.*”

(*Angeli Poliziani: Opera, 1553, Epistolarum, Book II., p. 45.*)

42

Upon the same subject.

“Angelo Poliziano to Giacomo Antiquario, his greetings.

“It is usual for those who are somewhat late in replying to the letters of their friends to say in excuse that they have had no leisure. Now I do not put the blame for not writing to you sooner upon my lack of leisure, although of that I have had but little, but rather upon the bitter grief which the death of so good a friend has brought me, for under his patronage I was deemed but lately the most fortunate of all who profess the study of letters, and most fortunate indeed I was. But now that he is dead who was the prompter of all our learned labours, the desire to write is dead also, and our zeal for the old studies has grown faint. But if you so greatly desire to learn of our misfortunes, and to hear how the great man bore himself in the last moments of his life, though I am hindered by my tears and my mind shrinks from the recital, or, so to speak, retreats before its grief, yet I will gratify your strong and worthy desire; for I could not, nor would I, fail you by reason of the bond of friendship we have made. For assuredly I should seem to myself lacking in courtesy and kindness were I to deny anything to such a friend as you, so thoughtful for me as you are. But as the matter upon which you ask that I should write you is of such a nature that it is more easily grasped by instinct, and in silent meditation, than expressed in writing, I now limit my service to you by this restriction, that, while I do not refuse my service for your sake, neither do I promise what I cannot fulfil.

“Well, then, for about two months Lorenzo de’ Medici had suffered from pains, which, as they affect the cartilage of the lower organs of the body, are known as hypochondriasis. These pains, however, are not of themselves fatal to any one, but as they become very severe, are rightly considered very dangerous. But in Lorenzo’s case, either through fate, or the ignorance and carelessness of the physicians, it came about that in the cure of the pains he contracted one of the most insidious fevers, which gradually affected not the arteries and veins, as other fevers do, but the limbs, entrails, nerves, and even the bones and marrow. It came on, however, gradually and imperceptibly, creeping upon him, as it were, with slow steps, and so was scarcely noticed at first, and even when there were unmistakable signs of it, it was not so carefully treated as it should have been, and so entirely weakened and broke down the patient that, not only did his strength fail, but it was as if the whole body shrank and wasted away. And so, on the day before he passed away, when he was lying sick

in his villa at Careggi, he collapsed so suddenly that it plainly showed that there was no hope of his recovery. Lorenzo, as always, most cautious and heedful, would have nothing done before the physician of the soul was summoned, to whom he made confession of the sins of his whole life, in accordance with the Christian practice. I afterwards heard the man tell in wonder that never had he seen anything greater or more marvellous than the way in which Lorenzo, steadfast, and ready to meet death, and unperturbed, had recalled his past life, arranged for the present, and also taken all godly and prudent heed for the future. At midnight, as he lay quietly meditating, he was told that the priest was at hand with the Sacrament. Aroused at these words, he exclaimed: 'Be this far from me. Shall I suffer my Lord, Who has made me, and Who will redeem me, to come hither to this couch? Nay, take me hence at once, take me, I pray you, to meet my Lord.' And with these words he raised himself as far as he could, and overcoming his weakness by an effort of will, supported by his attendants he went out to the hall to meet the aged priest, at whose knees he flung himself with entreaties and tears: 'Dost Thou, most tender Jesus, dost Thou deign to visit this Thy most worthless servant? But, what said I, a servant? Nay, rather Thy foe, and most ungrateful one, who though loaded by Thee with countless benefits, yet never has listened to Thy words, and has so often wounded Thy Majesty. I beseech Thee, by the love which Thou dost bear to all mankind, the love which brought Thee down to earth from heaven to wear the guise of our humanity, and which constrained Thee to endure hunger and thirst, cold, heat and toil, mockery and insult, scourge and thongs, and, after all, death and the cross, by that love of Thine, Jesus, Saviour, I pray Thee and beseech Thee turn Thy face from my transgressions, that when I stand before Thy judgment seat, where I know that I am now summoned to appear, I may not be punished for my guilt and sin, but pardoned through the merits of Thy Cross. May Thy Blood avail for me, Jesus, Thy most precious Blood, which Thou didst shed upon the high altar of our redemption, that thou mightest set man free.'

"These and more words he spake with tears, while all who stood by wept, and then the priest bade them carry him, and lay him upon his bed, where he could more easily administer the Sacrament. For a long time he refused to do this, but at length, that he might not be disobedient to his priest, he suffered himself to be persuaded, and repeating words to the same effect as before, he partook of the Body and Blood of the Lord, with holiness and adoring the Divine Majesty. Then he began to console his son Pietro (the others were absent), and bade him bear steadfastly the yoke of necessity, for he would not lose the protection of Heaven, which had never failed him in all the vicissitudes of fortune; let him strive after virtue and sound mind, for good purposes bring forth good results. Afterwards he lay some time in contemplation; then putting the others out, he again called his son to him, and gave him much advice, warning and instruction, of which we have not yet learned the words, though, as we have heard, they were full of high wisdom and piety; but one thing that he said we have been permitted to learn, and this I will write to you:— 'The citizens, Pietro,' he said, 'will doubtless recognize you as my successor. Nor do I fear but that you will enjoy the same influence in the State as we ourselves have enjoyed to this day. But, since every state is a body which, as they say, has many heads, nor can the caprice of all be gratified, remember in the variety of counsels always to follow that which you know is the most honourable, and give more heed to the general voice than to that of any individual.'

“ He also gave instructions with regard to his funeral, after the example of his grandfather Cosmo, to the effect that his should be likewise within the limits which are appropriate to a private citizen. There then came from Ticino your friend Lazzaro, who appeared to be a physician of wide experience, and although he was summoned too late to be of use, yet to leave nothing untried, he made trial of the most costly remedies, made by grinding down gems of all kinds, and pearls. Lorenzo asked of a member of his household (for several had been admitted) what the physician was doing, and what remedy he was preparing. When I told him that he was preparing a poultice by which the heart might be kept going, he recognized my voice at once, and looking gaily at me (as he always did): ‘*Ohi,*’ he said, ‘*Ohi, Angelo,*’ and at the same time stretching out his wasted arms, with an effort, he clasped both my hands.

“ I was choked with sobs and tears, but turning away my head, I strove to hide them, and he continued to hold my hands, in no way showing emotion. But when he perceived that I was hindered, by my weeping, from giving heed to him, he pressed my hands, and then let go as if he saw nothing. I flung myself into the next room weeping, and there gave rein to my grief and tears. Soon, however, I recovered myself, and dried my eyes as far as I could. When he saw me, and he saw me at once, he again called me to him, and asked me very graciously what his friend, Pico Mirandula, was doing. I replied that he was still in the city, because he was afraid lest, if he came, he should be troublesome. ‘*But I,*’ said he, ‘*were I not afraid that the journey would be troublesome to him, would much like to see and talk with him for the last time, before I leave you altogether.*’ ‘*Would you,*’ I said, ‘*like him to be summoned?*’ ‘*Yes, indeed, and as soon as possible,*’ said he. This I did, and he came, and sat beside him, and I too knelt close by that I might the more easily hear my patron’s words, since his voice had grown weak. Good God, with what courtesy, what kindness, what flattery, if I may use the word, he welcomed him! He first asked him to pardon his having enjoined this task upon him, and to ascribe it to his love and goodwill towards him, saying that he would the more willingly give up the ghost after his dying eyes had feasted upon the face of his dearest friend. He then talked wittily and familiarly, as was his wont. Occasionally he even joked with us, as, for example, looking at us both, he said: ‘*I would that death had at least waited for me until the day when I had altogether exhausted your library.*’ Many books, truly. Scarcely had Pico gone when Girolamo of Ferrara, a man noted for his learning and piety, and a famous preacher of divine knowledge, entered the bedchamber, and exhorted him to hold fast the faith: Lorenzo replied that his faith was unshaken. To resolve to live henceforth most faultlessly, he replied that he would strive so to do. To meet death, if need be, steadfastly; nothing, said he, would be more pleasant, if God so willed it. The priest was then about to withdraw, but Lorenzo said: ‘*Your blessing, father, before you leave us.*’ Thereupon he bowed his head, and with all the forms of devotion he responded duly and rightly to all his words and prayers, not one whit moved by the mourning of his attendants, who now wept openly and strove no longer to conceal their grief.¹ You would have said that all were doomed to die, save only Lorenzo. Thus he alone of them all showed no sign of grief, distress or sorrow, and retained his customary vigour, constancy, equality and greatness of mind until his last

¹ On the last moments of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and his interview with Savonarola, see Pasquale Villari, *La Storia di Girolamo Savonarola*, Firenze, 1861, t. i., chap. ix., p. 135, and the note on p. 155 of the same work.

breath. The doctors stood around still, and that they might not seem to be doing nothing, continued to annoy him with their attentions, but still he neither rejected nor opposed whatever they might offer, not indeed because he was enticed by a false hope of prolonging his life, but in order that, as he lay dying, he might not chance to wound any one. He remained so calm until the last that he even jested from time to time about his own end, as, for instance, when some one gave him food and then asked how he liked it, he replied: 'As a dying man does'! After that he graciously embraced each one, and humbly asked their pardon if, by reason of his illness, he had perchance been more severe or troublesome to any, and then he gave himself up entirely to Extreme Unction and to the commendation of his passing soul to God. The gospel was read where the sufferings laid on Christ are told, and he showed throughout that he followed the words and almost all the sentences, now silently moving his lips, now lifting up his failing eyes, sometimes even signing [the cross] with his fingers. Last of all he cast his eyes down and gazed upon the silver figure on the crucifix, which was superbly set in pearls and gems, and ever and anon he kissed it, and so he passed away.

"He was a man born for all great deeds, who so trimmed his sails to fortune's ever varying winds, that it is hard to say whether he was more constant in prosperity or more unmoved and steadfast in adversity. His genius was so great, so versatile and so far-reaching, that, while others thrive a much to excel in some one thing, he outstripped all rivals, in all things equally. For probity, justice and good faith had, as all men know, chosen the heart and mind of Lorenzo de' Medici to dwell in, as it were some pleasant dwelling-place or shrine. How great were his courtesy, kindness and affability is shown by the extraordinary goodwill borne to him by all the people, and by men of every rank. But, amongst all these qualities, his liberality and magnificence were pre-eminent, which had won for him an almost godlike and undying renown. He did nothing for fame or glory, but all for love of virtue.

"So great was his regard for men of letters, so great the honour and even reverence that he paid them all, so great his labours and his zeal in searching out the treasures of all the world, and in buying works in both the learned tongues, so great and so munificent was his outlay upon such things, that not only this age or this generation, but even posterity itself, has sustained an irreparable loss in his death. But we are consoled in our great sorrow by his children, worthy sons of such a father, the eldest of whom, Pietro, but just entering upon his one-and-twentieth year, is now bearing upon his shoulders the weight of government with such gravity and prudence, that it would seem that his father Lorenzo lives again in him. The second son, Giovanni, eighteen years of age and a distinguished cardinal (a dignity which has never been held before at so early an age), and, moreover, a legate of the chief Pontiff, and that not in the patrimony of the Church but in his native city, in such an onerous position, behaves and acquits himself so well that he is the cynosure of every eye, and men have formed the highest expectations of him, which he will most completely fulfil. The third, Giuliano, is still but a boy, but he has already won the hearts of all the citizens, by his modest and gracious demeanour, and by the charm of his disposition, which gives wonderful promise of an upright and able manhood. But, to say no more of the others for the present, about Pietro, I cannot refrain from adding here the testimony of his father.

"For about two months before his death, when Lorenzo was sitting in

his bed-chamber (as he often did), and talking with us of philosophy and letters, he said that he purposed to spend the remainder of his life in these studies in company with Ticcino, Pico Mirandula and myself, far from the city and its busy life. I replied that the citizens would not permit him to do this, for every day they seemed to need his counsel and his influence more. Then he smiled and said: 'But we shall relegate our place to your pupil, and we will lay all the burden and responsibility upon him.' And when I asked him whether he had discovered such strength in one who was still a youth, that we could in confidence rely upon it, he said: 'I see that in him the foundations are so great and so firmly established, that I have no doubt that he will bear whatever I may build upon them. I would not have you think, Angelo, that any one of our family, hitherto, has had so great ability as Pietro gives promise of, as I hope; and I would predict that, unless the trials of his ability, which I have made, have misled me, he will be second to none of his forefathers.' And, indeed, he has recently given ample and clear proof of his father's judgment and prediction; he was always by his side in his illness, performing even the menial offices for him himself, enduring long hours of watching and discomfort. He would never be taken from his father's bedside, save when the State had urgent need of him. And while the most extraordinary devotion could be seen in his face, yet, that he might not increase his father's illness or anxiety by his grief, with incredible courage he kept back all groans and tears. And more, the one beautiful sight among all that was saddest, the father, on his part also, not to make the son's sadness greater by his own, would, on the instant, turn, as it were, a different face to him, and for his sake restrain the tears that would flow, never showing a grieved or broken heart as long as his son was there to see. So both strove alike to do violence to their affections, and to conceal their love by reason of its greatness. And when Lorenzo was dead, I can scarcely tell you with what graciousness, and yet high seriousness, our Pietro received all the citizens who flocked to his house, how appositely, yet in different and always friendly words, he replied to their expressions of grief and sympathy, and to their promises of aid. Then, too, what thought and pains he expended upon the family affairs, that he might console all his kinsfolk in their grievous affliction, and might restore, encourage or consider even the humblest member of the household who was cast down or in despair at the calamity, that, in the duties of the State, he might fail in no place, time, office or relation, that, *in fine*, he might in no respect be found lacking. So it seems that he has entered upon the course, and begun his journey at such a pace, that, in a word, he may be expected to follow in his father's footsteps. There is nothing to be said about the funeral. It was carried out after the manner of his ancestors, in accordance with Lorenzo's instructions upon his deathbed, of which I have written. There was such a concourse of people as we never remember to have seen before. His death was preceded by these portents, though others were also commonly reported. On April 5th, about three in the morning, the third day before Lorenzo passed away, some woman, whose name I do not know, while the congregation were listening to a sermon from the pulpit in the Church of S. Maria Novella, suddenly rose up amidst the throng of people, in terror and consternation, and rushing distractedly about, with terrible cries, exclaimed: 'Alas, alas, citizens! do you not see the furious bull which, with flaming horns, is tearing down this great temple?' Also, in the first watch, the heavens became suddenly black with clouds, and the roof of the chief basilica, whose single arch of wondrous workman-

ship is the highest in all the world, was struck, so that some of its huge masses were hurled down, and, especially at the side where the Medicean Palace can be seen, great pieces of marble were wrenched away with awful force and violence. In this portent it moreover happened that one of the gilded balls, which are to be seen upon the roof, was struck by the lightning, and fell, so that by that further sign the disaster to befall this family was foretold. And it is a noteworthy fact that, as soon as it had thundered, the clear sky at once returned. And, on the night on which Lorenzo died, a star, brighter than usual, and larger, hung over the country villa where he lay dying, and at the very moment at which it was ascertained that he breathed his last, it seemed to fall and go out. It was said, too, that for three nights in succession lights flashed across the sky from the hills of Fiesole, gleamed for a space above the vault where the dead of the house of Medici are laid, and then disappeared. And again, a noble pair of lions, who are kept in a cage for the public view, fought together so fiercely, that one was badly wounded and the other died. At Arezzo, above the castle, twin lights, like Castor and Pollux, shone for a long time, and a she wolf in the same place howled terribly beneath the walls. Some, too, according to their dispositions, interpret as a prodigy the fact that the most renowned doctor of the day (for so he was considered when his art and previous experience had failed) disappeared, and flung himself, of his own accord, into a well, and made an offering to the shade of the Prince by the death of his servant of healing (if you look at the meaning of the word *medical*).

“But I see that, though I have kept silence upon many important points, I might not be betrayed into any kind of flattery, still I have written at greater length than I intended in the beginning. I have been led to do this partly by my desire to obey and serve you, who are the best, most learned and most prudent of men, and moreover my dearest friend, and if I were to satisfy your desire, brevity in writing was not possible, partly too by the bitter sweetness of recalling and dwelling upon the memory of the great man. If our age has produced one, or perchance two, such men, it can boldly claim to rival even antiquity in glory and renown. Farewell.

“*May 18th, 1492: at my country seat in Fiesole.*”

(*Polit., Opera, Epist., Book IV., p. 46.*)

Upon the same subject. For the Abbot of St. Michele, at Murano.

“Let me tell you briefly of what has happened during the past days at Florence, as we have fuller information at Rome from the reports of many persons and from letters. It began a week ago to-day, when a sudden storm arose about the third hour of the night, with a heavy shower of rain and hail. Lightning flashed on all sides, the winds howled, and thunder crashed in the heavens. At length the lantern situated on the top of the dome of the Church of S. Reparata was struck by a thunderbolt; great slabs of marble fell, so that not only was the roof of the church broken and damaged in several places, but the débris which fell headlong with a great rush, was carried down on to the houses which are close by the church. One stone, heavier than the rest, falling upon the tiles of a house, penetrated not only the outside roof, but also the inner ceilings, which are built below, so that it was almost completely buried in the ground.

“They say that the church will have to be restored at a great cost, and that it cannot be done for less than twenty thousand pieces of gold. On the morning of the same day—this was in the evening—a certain friar was preaching, as usual, in the pulpit of S. Maria Novella, when, in the midst of his sermon, a woman of a religious and an honourable life, one of those whom they call *pinzochere*, cried out in a loud voice that she saw a great black bull breathing out balls of fire from its nose and eyes, which was about to destroy the church. She could not be silenced or restrained, and the sermon had to be stopped. They also say that at the same time a lioness attacked a lion, one of the great ones which are kept in Florence, and was of course strangled. Four days afterwards Lorenzo de’ Medici, a man, as you know, of the highest reputation and fame, died at about the fifth hour of the night, on the 9th of the month, in his palace of Careggi, which is outside the city, having suffered greatly from a tedious illness. After his death I must tell you of another miracle. Pierleone, whom our Venetians employed two years ago at Padua at a public salary, was in especial attendance upon Lorenzo de’ Medici in his illness, and it is said that he went to the house of a citizen of Martelli, and there threw himself into a well, and was found drowned there in the morning. For two years past certain preachers, and one in particular noted for his life and learning, have not ceased to foretell that many misfortunes were to come upon Florence. I hear that they now prophesy and threaten far worse than these, which are to befall that city this next summer. They say that very many persons are in terror on this account, since especially is the evidence of past events wont to be a sure augury for the future. You will pray the Lord with all your household, both for the peace of the soul of the deceased Lorenzo and for the safety of Florence. Farewell.

“ROME, April 12th, 1492.”

(*Pet. Delph.*, Book III., Letter 28.)

44

The Pope’s condition is despaired of. The city is calm. The cardinals are away from Rome, but near enough to return in a few hours.

“My Most Noble Lords.

“In my letter of yesterday evening I wrote to your Lordships of the Pope’s condition. Since then, this morning, a little catarrh has set in, which is a great cause of anxiety. The doctors have told the family of His Holiness that there is no longer any hope of his life, and they are of the strong opinion that His Holiness must pass away this month. To-day he has made confession, and to-morrow morning he will receive the Sacrament. Here, as yet, there is no great demonstration, and although it is well known throughout the country that the Pope cannot live long, every man stands willingly to his post. The majority of the cardinals are out of Rome, but not so far away that they could not be here in a few hours.

“Your Servant,

“FILIPPO VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent.*: *Lettere agli Otti di Pratica*, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.)

The doctors despair of the Pope's life, and give him no further remedies. The cardinals are returning to Rome. The ambassadors put the forces of their Governments at the disposal of the Sacred College.

“ My Noble Lords.

“ Your Lordships learned by my letter of yesterday that the doctors had given up all hope of the Pope's recovery, and that he had made confession. To-night, at five o'clock, His Holiness was taken with a fever, accompanied by a slight fainting fit; and the fever has lasted up to the hour of writing. The doctors have abandoned all hope for His Holiness and are giving him no remedies. They say, however, that if he has enough strength, he may live three or four days. This morning he received the Sacrament with great contrition, as I told you in another letter. The cardinals of the palace, and all who are around him, seeing him *in extremis*, hourly expect his death, and already all the palace is empty. They have increased the number of infantry in the palace guard, and also those under the Governor on guard in the country; and as soon as the Count of Pitigliano arrives, they will make the number up to 500 or more, if they see that there is need. The cardinals who were away have almost all returned, and by to-morrow there will be no one missing. In their houses a great provision of arms is being made, as also throughout the State. The Count of Pitigliano is expected to-morrow, and the men-at-arms of these are all urged to come to the meadows. As yet I see no danger in these things, and if only the College is united, as it appears to be, I think that everything will proceed in an ordinary way.

“ Yesterday I visited many of the Lord Cardinals, and gave them to understand that, for the preservation of the Holy See, your Lordships will not fail in anything in the duty of a true and Catholic Christian and a lover of liberty. We were answered in especial by the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of St. Pietro in Vincoli, and Siena, that the College held your Republic in such high esteem, as no other power in Italy; and thus, as I offered the forces of your Lordships privately for the preservation of the Holy See, they encouraged me to offer them publicly to the College, because, in the event of the Pope's death, it would win for us great favour and esteem, even though they had not to make use of them. The ambassadors of Venice and the Duke are going to offer to each cardinal all the forces of their Lords, and also, they say, that they are instructed to do so to the College. I also, although I have had no instructions from your Lordships, knowing that you would not be behind the others in the promotion of the liberty of the Holy See, have done and am doing the same office. I shall not, however, unless I have further instructions, present myself to the College. I know that if, at this juncture, a letter were written by your Lordships to the College, offering, etc., it would certainly be a good thing.

“ ROME, *July 16th*, 1492.

“ Your Servant,

“ FILIP. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

The Pope may live two or three days longer, the doctors say. The cardinals brought him yesterday the head of the lance of Christ. The Pope replied in clear words, and commended the Church to them. He asked the cardinals for permission, which has been granted him, to distribute the 48,000 ducats, which he possesses, to his kinsfolk.

“My Lords.

“Yesterday evening . . .

“Since then, up to this hour, the Pope has failed considerably, and his strength continues to grow less: he has begun to vomit his food, and takes little or nothing. The doctors say, however, that notwithstanding this, he will live three or four days longer, so much strength is still left in him. His Holiness is quite conscious, and hears and speaks plainly.

“To-day all the cardinals have been to the palace and have taken the head of the lance, which was in the Pope’s study, to St. Peter’s. Their Lordships first visited the Pope, and His Holiness spoke tenderly and graciously to them, commending to them the Church and those whom he leaves behind. Afterwards he informed the College that he had forty-eight thousand ducats, and asked their permission for them to be distributed to his family. The College consented very generously, and so he has distributed the aforesaid moneys to the Lord Francesco, son (*sic*) of the Lady Teodorina, and his other nephews and kinsfolk, and set aside a good sum for his funeral.

“ROME, *July 17th*, 1492.

“Your Servant,

“FILIP. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. . Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

The Pope is at his worst. His end is praiseworthy and edifying. The people are quiet. The College seems united.

“My Lords . . .

“Although the Pope has failed considerably he is, however, still alive, and from yesterday up to this hour his condition has remained unchanged. No improvement is seen in him, nor is there any hope for him, and he is so wasted there is nothing remaining but the spirit. He is still conscious and hears and answers well: he has been greatly relieved by epithems, jellies and other things. None the less the doctors still give him a little time: at the longest, to the end of the month, because they found his strength continually growing less. Yesterday His Holiness had his relatives and servants summoned, and to all he gave whatever he had—things, however, of no great value; so that he has nothing more left; and truly his end is praiseworthy and edifying, as is expected of every good Pontiff.

“The city is all quiet, and the Count of Pitigliano is expected here this evening, and the care of it will be given to him. The people of Rome appear very ready to uphold the Church, and in this, they say, they did not wish to be of any party. They have appointed fourteen captains, and a large number of men, to guard and maintain order in the city; the

College takes great account of this. And after these provisions, no danger is to be apprehended on this side, and if the College is united, which is doubtful, by reason of the rivalries amongst them, everything will proceed quietly and in proper order.

“ROME, July 19th, 1492.

“Your Servant,

“FIL. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist 6, Filza 8.*)

48

The Pope has had a better night, but the doctors do not consider it a sign of improvement. The cardinals met this morning and have taken the necessary measures to preserve order.

“My Lords, etc.

“The Pope has spent a better night, and has had less discomfort than usual. And this morning, at this hour, he is somewhat better: the doctors, however, have not any better opinion of his case. . . .

“This morning there was a congregation of cardinals, and they have arranged that all the care of government, while our Lord lives, shall be in the hands of the two cardinals at the palace and the Cardinal of St. George, and they have given them full authority to set everything in order. They then decided that, whereas it had been arranged that the men-at-arms should come to the Campagna, this arrangement should be superseded, and there should only come 100 archers, who should be under the command of the Count of Pitigliano, who returned yesterday evening, and desired that these archers should have the duty of keeping the streets secure which are around Rome. Besides this they arranged to set 200 infantry to guard the gates and bridges.

“ROME, July 15th, 1492.

“FILIP. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

49

The Pope is dying. At the palace and outside they are victualling as if he was already dead.

“My Lords . . .

“Yesterday I wrote that the Lord Cardinals had arranged for a guard for the city, and that there was a slight improvement in the Pope's condition. Since then, to-night, His Holiness has had much shortness of breath, and in him there are, as is learned from the doctors, all the signs of approaching death, and they think he may go at any hour; and in the palace and outside all provisions are being laid in, just as if he were dead.

“ROME, July 21st, 1492.

“FILIP. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

The Pope is *in extremis*. He has taken a little woman's milk. He cannot live through to-morrow. The cardinals are considering the measures to be taken for the public safety. Yesterday the Colonna and Orsini offered their goods and persons to the Conservators of the Capitol.

“ My Lords . . .

“ Your Lordships have learned of the course of the Pope's illness up to the 21st inst. Since then, for the last two nights, His Holiness has been growing worse, and is so reduced that he takes little else but a woman's milk. His voice has altogether failed, and yesterday, at eight in the evening, the death-rattle set in, and it goes on increasing, and he can no longer turn in bed, nor has he strength for anything. Nevertheless he is conscious. The doctors, by this rattling and many other signs, confirm what they have always said, that His Holiness cannot live through the day, and they are greatly surprised that he has lasted so long.

“ The Lord Cardinals, seeing that the Pope's condition is so serious, have to-day begun to post the troops, and are calling out the soldiery to the number of 500, of whom 100 will be set each hour to guard the Turkish Prince in the palace, and 400 will be on guard in the city, under the command of the Count of Pitigliano. This provision, they say, has been made to prevent any disturbances which might arise in the city, and also to intimidate any who might be planning to perpetrate such things.

“ Yesterday morning the Lord Giordano Orsini and Prospero Colonna, who are here, went in company to the Capitol, to the conservators, who were assembled there, with all the captains and officials of Rome. They spoke to all to the effect that they had come to join with them for the service of the College and the preservation of the State. And to this end they offered their goods and persons. This action has been much commended, and now, if the College is united, everything will proceed in its proper course.

“ Our Cardinal arrived here this evening in safety, with all his suite.

“ ROME, *July 23rd*, 1492, *three o'clock*.

“ FIL. VALORIO, *Oratore*.”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

Yesterday, there was a congregation of the cardinals, who delegated all their authority to the Cardinal of St. George. The Abbot of St. Denis, a French ambassador, is appointed Governor of Rome. They have removed Zizim to the room above the chapel of Sixtus IV., where he will be as safe as in the Castle of St. Angelo. The canvassing is beginning. The town is under arms. Acts of vengeance are carried out *tra questi Romani*, as is usually the case under such circumstances.

“ My Lords . . .

“ Yesterday there was a congregation of cardinals, at which there was given to the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of St. George the full authority of the College, so that he may, at this time, make whatever provision his Lordship may judge proper. When the Chamberlain had received this authority, he called out troops to the number of 800, half of whom will be on guard in the Borgho of St. Peter's and the palace, and the other half

on guard in the city. Besides this, his Lordship has made Governor of Rome, with 400 men-at-arms, the Abbot of St. Denis, the ambassador of the French King, who, they say, has had experience, and is a man of spirit for such governments: and to him, together with the governors and captains of Rome, has been given the charge of the city. To the Count of Pitigliano they have given the guard of the Borgho and palace, at his request, who, moreover, in the palace and Borgho will be given 800 men or more, and further, the Count has had instructions to bring four squadrons into the Borgho, and to bring the other troops to within two miles of Rome, so that they may be at hand in case of need. These provisions being made for the safety of the Borgho, the palace and the city, it appears to me natural to hope that these things will proceed well, and without trouble, if the College is united as is hoped.

“This morning, by order of the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Benevento and S. Anastasia, who are in the palace, they began to arm the Rivellino and other parts of the Pope’s palace with cannon, small guns and other artillery. They have put the Sultan’s brother over the chapel of Sixtus IV., a very strong place, where he will be as safe as if he were in the Castle of S. Angelo. These are the provisions made, up to this hour: I think, however, that when the Pope is dead they will make greater provision, because the Lord Cardinals say that they desire to remain in conclave without risk of danger.

“The cardinals are taking active measures with regard to the election of a new Pope, and those chiefly named for the papal dignity are Naples, Lisbon, Aleria, and Portico. There are some who would have the Cardinal of Siena, and some the Vice-Chancellor. I do not advise you in particular of these matters, in order not to confuse your Lordships and myself, for they are not yet ended, and any hour there may be a great change.

“The Pope this morning received Extreme Unction; he neither retains nor takes anything now, and indeed I think that your Lordships will have received the courier announcing his death before this letter [reaches you] by the muleteer, for the doctors, it is reported, say that he will not live till midnight. The city is all under arms, and every man is guarding his property. There have been a few acts of vengeance among those Romans, as is usual at such a time.¹

“ROME, *July 25th*, 1492.

“FILIP. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

52

The Pope is dead. Measures taken by the cardinals. Offers of the ambassadors. The College has shown itself united and disposed to act in concert. Everything leads one to hope that things will be done regularly. The territory of Rome is in arms, but calm. The patrols go the round of the town. The Pope’s obsequies begin on Saturday. On the tenth they will go into conclave.

“My Lords . . .

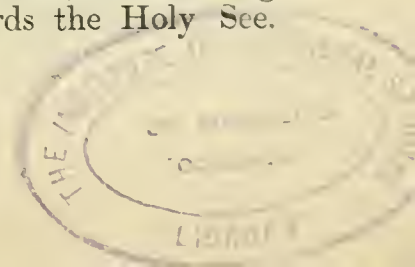
“This morning at nine o’clock, without entering into any other details, I informed your Lordships of the death of Pope Innocent, of holy memory.

¹ See *Infessura* in *Eccard*, t. ii., col. 2006, and the “Conclave of Alexander VI.” in the *Conclavi de’ Pontifici Romani* (1667), p. 73.

Immediately after it the Sacred College of the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinals was transferred to the palace, and, as is the custom, all the cardinals created by Pope Innocent accompanied his body to St. Peter's with all the clergy. The College was afterwards shut up in conclave, and it was first of all decided that the Rev. Bishop of Maillzais, on the strength of the Bull which he had, should receive the investiture of cardinal and be admitted into the College as a cardinal, and the Most Rev. Lord Cardinals of Colonna and Ascanio went to fetch the aforesaid Bishop of Maillzais, and brought him, with the robes, to the palace, where he was at once received by the College into their number, with no small demonstration and affection.

“The College further gave command that the Castellan of S. Angelo should at once present himself at the palace; and having received the command he at once obeyed. On his arrival he was admitted by the Lord Cardinals, who, in accordance with the custom at the death of a Pontiff, commanded him to swear fealty to the College. The Castellan, without any demur, swore in the hands of the College to be faithful and to hold the castle at the good pleasure of the College, and to hand it over as often as shall be desired by the College. The Cardinal of Benevento, for their greater satisfaction, stood surety for the Castellan, promising the College, under pain of privation of his hat and separation from the College, that he would observe as he had sworn, and His Most Rev. Lordship took the oath to observe like the Castellan; so the Castellan was immediately sent back to guard the castle. This act has considerably relieved the minds of many of the Lord Cardinals, because they were not entirely free from doubt of the good faith of the Castellan; afterwards the Prior of Langho, who is guarding the Turkish Prince, swore likewise to guard and preserve the Turkish Prince at the instance of the College. They then ordered that the two palace cardinals should remain with the guard of the palace, and over Messer Domenico Aurea, who is captain of the guard, they set the Most Rev. the Lord Archbishop of Terracina, whom the said Messer Domenico has to obey as the College. In all these oaths and decisions the notaries of the Chamber were consulted with the customary forms. They conferred similar authority upon the Chamberlain to deal with the affairs of the city, and they assigned to him the sum of money which he might spend.

“After these orders were made, the Noble Venetian Ambassador was admitted to the College, and presented letters from his Most Illustrious Seignory, containing offers, etc. He then more fully and by word of mouth expressed condolence upon the death of the Pope, and offered to put all the forces of the Seignory at the disposal and command of the College. The Noble Ambassadors of the Duke and myself were then admitted: and first their Lordships presented the letters of their Lords, and then I, in the same way, presented the letters of your Lordships, which you sent during the past days. They were read by the Bishop of Tortona, and there was added, very appropriately, that the States and forces of our Most Illustrious and Noble Lords were ready to do all and everything for the preservation of the Holy See, exhorting their Most Rev. Lordships to work for the election of a Pope who would be for the safety, preservation and peace of all Christendom. In words which seemed to me fitting, I confirmed what had been set forth by the Bishop, confining myself to general topics, as your Lordships instructed me by letters. The Vice-Chancellor made a suitable reply, accepting the offers and thanking for them, commending our Lords for their loyalty, devotion and love towards the Holy See.



This was the substance of the statement and reply, as your Lordships will learn in more detail from a common letter which we ambassadors have still to write.

"The College has, in these first arrangements, shown itself so united, and disposed to act in everything with unanimity, that more could not be desired. By reason of this and the good arrangements that have been made, it is to be hoped that everything will proceed in a quiet and ordinary way.

"No change has taken place in the city since the Pope's death, and although it is aroused and under arms, every man stands at his post. The arrangements made in the palace, the Borgho and the city are the same as I wrote to you in my letter of yesterday, and they have all been carried out. The men-at-arms are continually to be seen in the Borgho, where they are to the number of about 100 with the Count. The others will be stationed here about two miles from Rome.

"The barons of Rome, the Orsini and Colonna, are all to be seen here, and this evening, or to-night, the Lord Vergineo is expected with 200 horsemen, who, they say, are his own household. His Lordship is not thought to be wise or pious, but desires to change his nature by altering these things. His Lordship and the Colonna say that they desire to give their fortunes and their lives in the cause of ecclesiastical liberty, whenever they are needed. However, all the Lord Cardinals are not a little suspicious of the coming of Vergineo. Notwithstanding, if the College remains united, I do not see that this can make much difference.

"The Pope's obsequies are arranged to begin on Saturday, and will last eight days, and on the tenth they will go into conclave. What is done. . . .

"ROME, *July 26th*, 1492.

"Your Servant,

"FILIP. VALORIO, *Oratore.*"

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

53

Since the Pope's death nothing extraordinary has happened. The barons are working among the cardinals to secure the election of a Pope who will be well disposed towards them. The obsequies have begun, and will last a week. During this time the canvassing will go on constantly. The favourites are the Cardinals of Naples and S. Maria in Portico; but these rumours are not much to be relied on, for they change hourly.

"Your Lordships . . .

"There has been no great change following upon the Pope's death. The city is still in great tranquillity, and each man continues to stand to his post to carry on his calling. The arrangements made in the city and everywhere are good, as you have learned in previous letters. The barons are well disposed and confine themselves to working among the cardinals to secure a Pope favourable to them. . . .

"This morning the obsequies began and will continue for eight days, and on the tenth the Lord Cardinals will enter into conclave. During this time, nothing else but canvassing is looked for, which, from what I

hear, is most favourable to the Cardinals of Naples and S. Maria in Portico. However, as these reports change every hour, no reliance is to be placed in them.

• ROME, *July 28th, 1492.*

“Your Servant,

“FIL. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

54

The canvassing of the cardinals.

“Your Lordships . . .

“This morning there was a congregation, and the Lord Vergineo presented himself before the College, and, with many judicious and appropriate words, informed them that his Majesty the King had sent him here as his representative. In accordance with the instructions which he had received from his Majesty, who would not fail to work in every way for the preservation of the Holy See, with all his forces and wealth, he represented to their Most Rev. Lordships that he was at their service, and offered in all and everything to be ready, and to do whatever was commanded them. Afterwards his Lordship, it is said, said that he had come willingly to prove to the Sacred College that he and all the house of Orsini were good and loyal subjects of Holy Church, and were ready to risk their lives and fortunes for its maintenance and liberty: that, for the sake of their country, and inasmuch as the house of Orsini had received countless benefits from the Church, they were bound to observe these conditions, with respect of any others. The College made a suitable reply, first thanking his Majesty the King, then commending his Lordship for the offers made in his name and that of his house, and assuring him that the Holy See held them to be good sons and faithful subjects as others whom she had. They said then that, as the Sacred College was entirely united, and the city well disposed, they did not expect to need help from him or any one. Nevertheless, just as his Lordship wished, they gave him leave to be in his house. And by reason of this demonstration on the part of his Majesty the King and the Lord Orsini, it is not understood or seen that there will be any preparation against them, and if the College remain united as it now appears to be, it is really to be supposed that matters will proceed in their due order and without disturbance.

“Of the action of the Lord Vergineo in particular I know nothing more at present than that his Lordship makes a great demonstration of affection for the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli; and because of this it is thought that the Lord Vergineo will try to dispose the cardinals to give their votes in accordance with the wish of S. Pietro in Vincoli, who is altogether for making the Cardinal of Lisbon, Pope. The Cardinals of Naples and S. Maria in Portico, and even Aleria, are high in favour with the Lord Cardinals. May God inspire them to elect one who will have the approbation of all Christendom.

“This morning it was decided by the College that the Patriarch of Venice, who will be here in two days, be admitted and received into

the number of the cardinals. So he will go into conclave with the others.

“ROME, *August 1st*, 1492.

“Your Servant,

“FIL. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

55

The majority of the cardinals is favourable to the Cardinal of Naples, but nothing can be stated with certainty.

“My lords, etc.

“The Patriarch of Venice entered the city to-day. To-morrow morning he takes the insignia, and will be admitted to the number of the cardinals, in the same manner as Sanseverino. Concerning the canvass for the election of the Pope, as far as I have learned it seems to me that the majority of the cardinals is in favour of Naples : some wish for Lisbon, and others for the Cardinal of S. Maria in Portico, and Aleria. And, according to the turn the canvassings take, it is to be supposed that the lot will fall to one of these four. But, seeing such futility in these daily rumours, I cannot tell your Lordships certainly that one cardinal rather than others will be created Pope. I have, however, found that the Cardinal of Naples has more supporters than any one else, and Aleria comes second, while Portico and Lisbon are third. May Our Lord God permit to happen what is best.

“ROME, *August 3rd*, 1492, *at six o'clock.*

“Your Servant,

“FIL. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

(*Arch. Fiorent. : Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

56

Arrangements made for the conclave. The Cardinals of Naples and Lisbon seem to be the two candidates. The town is quiet.

“My Lords . . .

“By the grace of God and the Holy Spirit, this morning, after mass and dinner in the palace, the Lord Cardinals entered and were shut up in conclave, with two servants each as is usual. To guard the conclave there are appointed first the Pope's assistants and the barons who are clergy, all men of authority ; for the second guard, all the ambassadors of potentates here present ; and at the third gate, the barons and noblemen of Rome, as is always the custom.

“To-day they will do nothing. To-morrow they will devote to the chapters upon the conclaves, to make them clear and to see that nothing needs to be added, and on Wednesday morning they will begin their first voting.

“As far as I have been able to ascertain by the turn the canvassings have taken—if the reports do not change, as they almost always do—it is to be expected that the Most Rev. the Lord Cardinal of Naples, or he of Lisbon, will be Pope; may it be for the peace of all; and by the age, and lives of these two Lords, it is to be deemed a wise election than which no better could be made.

“The city, the palace and the Borgho are well guarded, and everything is very peaceful: nothing is known at this moment of the conclave, to give rise to any uneasiness, and therefore unless anything occurs which merits a despatch, do not expect letters from me until the election of the new Pontiff. . . .

“The Patriarch of Venice entered the conclave with the other cardinals. he is more than eighty years of age. He is held in high esteem by all.¹

“ROME, August 6th, 1492, six o'clock in the evening.

“Your Servant,

“FIL. VALORIO, *Oratore.*”

“To my Most Worshipful Lords, the Noble *Otto di Pratica* of the State of Florence.

“FLORENCE.

△

“Cito.
Cito.
Cito.
Cito.”

△

(*Arch. Fiorent.: Lettere agli Otto di Pratica, Class X., Dist. 6, Filza 8.*)

57

Account of the death and obsequies of the Pope, and of the entry of the cardinals into conclave. (Ex. MS. Coel. Bibl. Alteriana: Not. Conclavia, No. XXXII.)

“After a long illness, which grew daily worse, and after great dangers with which the city was threatened while he lay at death's-door, Pope Innocent VIII. (Innocenzo Cibò), of Genoa, died, between the fifth and

¹ Maffeo Gerardo. “Hearing of Innocent's death, he came to Rome to receive his hat, and desired to enter the conclave, although he could with difficulty move or stand upon his feet” (*Concl. de' Pont.*, p. 74). See Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, in *l'Arch. Stor. Ital.*, t. vii., p. ii., p. 690. He died the following month, on September 7th, at Narnia, on his return to Venice from Rome, where he had taken part in the election of Alexander VI. He was, as Panvinio remarks, a man “*stoliditatis immensue*” (*Epist. Rom. Pontif.*, Venice, 1567, p. 147). The Bishop Garimberto (*La prima parte delle vite . . . d'alcuni Papi e di tutti Card. passati*, Venice, 1567, p. 499) expresses himself in still stronger terms upon the subject: “*Il più inetto e inesperto animale di quella città*” (Vinegia).

sixth hour of the night, on July 26th. When most of the cardinals were preparing to take a holiday, and had already retired to their pleasant country villas, they had to return to hard labour and an unhealthy city to take measures for the public safety.

“At daybreak the cardinals created by Pope Innocent VIII. accompanied his body to St. Peter's, as is customary; Benevento, Aleria, S. Anastasia, de' Medici, and Sanseverino, who had come hastily to receive his hat. There the body was left to be viewed by the people, and, bewailed by the mournful cries of old women, they looked for the last time upon him; he was happy in this one thing, that his body shared the resting-place of the Blessed Augustine, but whether this was by chance or as a mark of honour is uncertain; when the tomb was made ready the relics of the Saint were discovered.

“After the cardinals there followed the other members of the palace, with tired eyes, faint sobs, a few tears, but no wailing, either of kinsfolk or friends, except those whom hope had deceived and whose wealth a reckoning now about to fail had increased; these were torn with anguish. See one who with inexorable diligence was wont to settle the people's quarrelsome disputes, who but recently gave all his thought to the people's quarrels, and to settling others' business, but now is exposed to the attack of every clamour, for whom the white and gilded halls of the spacious Vatican seemed narrow, but now mouldering in a ghastly, darkened tomb, is content with a brief inscription, still more briefly carved. Who will measure the joys and sorrows of that day, the mingled fear and hope of what the change may bring! Some it was to hurl from their high estate, and to rob their too great prosperity of all its riches, so that they feared to be carried away to an open death. Others, the men of factions, gathered their hired troops and ranged wildly through the city, as if all the magistrates had lost their power along with the Pontiff.

“To take measures in face of these great dangers, the Sacred College called a council, and determined to choose two men, to one of whom they would give command of the palace guard, and to the other the government of the rest of the city. The charge of the palace soldiery was undertaken, though unwillingly, by Gundislao, Archbishop of Tarracina, a Spaniard, a man of great prudence, and of the old nobility, who had before brought the King of Aragon and Innocent VIII. into peaceful relations, had put down the risings at Ascoli, and so behaved himself that Alexander, after he had been made Pontiff, appointed him Governor of the City.

“On the next day the necessary preparations for the nine days' obsequies were made, and on the following day they were begun; then when the last farewell had been said, the cardinals turned their thoughts to electing a pastor for the Church. So, on August 6th, all assembled to hear the sacred Mass of the Holy Spirit at St. Peter's before the looked-for election of the Pontiff.

“Then, after the mass, they turned their ears and thoughts to the oration, for the Sacred College imitates the ancient fathers, and when a festival was to be celebrated or a doubtful matter decided, they called their most learned men and heard the orators.

“There were in the city the two ambassadors of the King of Spain, Bernardino Carvajal, Bishop of Carthage, and Giovanni, Bishop of . . . , late of Astorgo. The duty of making the oration was given to the Bishop of Carthage, and his oration was praised for its learning and elegance. The offices of Giovanni, the Spaniard, in the city, and the splendid oration of the great Spanish ambassador, are said to portend well for the people of

the provinces. After hearing the oration, they shut up in conclave the three-and-twenty cardinals who were then present. They were:—

Cardinal-Bishops.

Roderigo Borgia, Bishop of Porto, Vice-Chancellor.
 Oliviero Caraffa, Bishop of S. Sabina, of Naples.
 Giuliano della Rovere, Bishop of Ostia, known as S. Pietro in Vincoli.
 Battista, Bishop of Frascati, known as S. Maria in Portico.
 Gio, Bishop of Penne, S. Angelo.
 Giorgio, Bishop of Albano, called Cardinal of Portugal, or Lisbon.

Cardinal-Priests.

Girolamo of S. Crisogono, Bishop of Recanati.
 Domenico of S. Clemente.
 Paolo of S. Sixto, known as Genoa.
 Giovanni Giacomo, of S. Stefano in Montecelio, known as Parma.
 Lorenzo of S. Maro, known as Benevento.
 Ardicino della Porta, of S. Giovanni e S. Paolo, known as Aleria.
 Antonio of S. Anastasia.

Cardinal-Deacons.

Francesco of Siena, of S. Eustachio.
 Giovanni Battista Savelli, of S. Niccolo in Carcere.
 Raffaele Riario, of S. Giorgio of the Golden Veil, the Chamberlain.
 Giovanni Colonna, of the Blessed Maria in Aquiro.
 Battista of Orsini, of the Blessed Maria Nuova.
 Ascanio Maria Sforza, of S. Vito in Macello the Martyr.
 Giovanni de' Medici, of the Blessed Maria in Dominica.
 Federico Sanseverino closing one side;
 Rodrigo the other.
 Maffeo Gerardo, of the title of the S. C. Patriarch of Venice, the twentieth.

“He filled the third place in the Order of Camaldoli, a professed monk capitular, now advanced in years. Hearing of the death of Innocent VIII. he hastened towards Rome and received his hat from the cardinals for the first time, went through the funeral ceremonies, into the midst of which he had come, and went into the conclave, feeble as he was and scarcely alive.¹

“The nature and proceedings of the conclave are described in two chapters of the canons of the Pontiffs, but as to where and when each one took his place, we will tell what we saw . . . etc.”²

(Bib. Nat. de Paris, fonds. lat., MS. 12,546, fol. 61, a, b, c. *Conclavi Alexandri VI., Pont. M. Michael Ferno Mediolanense, auctore*).

¹ See note upon the preceding despatch (No. 56).

² A very faulty copy, and in several places unintelligible.

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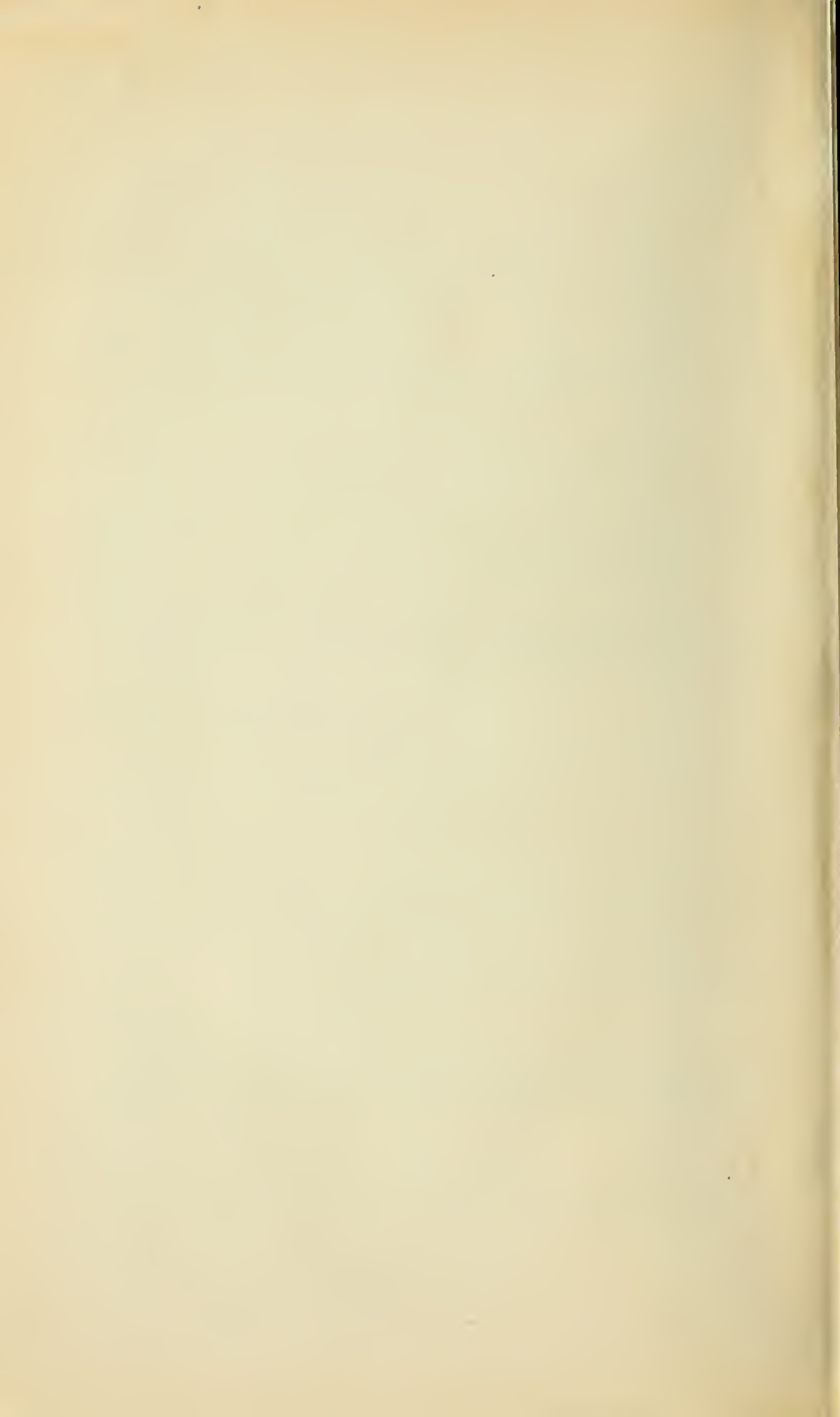
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